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**HISTORICAL**

**THE CHURCH HISTORY OF  
ETHIOPIA**

*by Michael Geddes*

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**THE**  
**CHURCH-HISTORY**  
**OF**  
**ETHIOPIA.**

**WHEREIN AMONG OTHER THINGS,**

*The Two Great Splendid ROMAN MISSIONS into That Empire are placed in their true Light.*

**TO WHICH ARE ADDED,**

*An Epitome of the Dominican History of That Church. And an Account of the Practices and Conviction of MARIA of the Annunciation, the Famous NUN of Lisbon.*

**COMPOSED**

**BY MICHAEL GEDDES,**

*D.D. Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of SARUM.*

*To the Right Honourable AND Right Reverend Father in God,  
HENRY, Lord Bishop of LONDON; One of the Lords of His  
MAJESTY's Privy Council.*

May it please Your Lordship,

THE following Book being the History of a Church that was never at any time under the Papal Yoke, and which when its Princes, instead of being Nursing Fathers, struggled hard of late years to have brought its Neck under it; never rested until it had both broke that insupportable Yoke asunder, and secured it self from ever having the like Attempts made again upon its Liberty: To whom can it so naturally go for Patronage, as to a Noble and Great Prelate, who had the Courage, when Popery was in the height of its last Triumph among us, in his own single Person to give it the first Publick Check that it met with (a kindness the Church and State of *England* will, I hope, never forget, I am sure they ought not), and who has furthermore, for near these Twenty Years, made it his chief Study, by *creating* a right understanding betwixt all Antipapal Churches, to unite them all into one Body; that so they may be the better able to withstand their common Enemy, who is still indefatigable in his Endeavours to bring all Churches yet into bondage.

Which Consideration, together with the great Obligation the Compiler of this History is under, to neglect no opportunity of owning to the World how much he has been beholden to your Lordship; as they have put me upon dedicating it to You, so I cannot but hope, that a Person of Your Lordship's High Birth, and admirable Benignity and sweetness of Temper, will both pardon my Presumption in so doing, and pass by any weaknesses that may discover themselves in the Composure; and also accept it as a small Testimony of my being,

*Your Lordship's Devoted, and most humble Servant,  
Michael Geddes.*

## THE PREFACE.

WHEN in the Preface to the Synod of Diamper, I promised, from Portuguese Relations, to give some Account of the Churches which were never within the Bounds of the Roman Empire; I intended to have begun with the Church of Mosul, or Babylon; but not having hitherto been able to procure those Informations of it which I had then some reason to expect; and having, during my nine Years Residence at Lisbon, furnished myself with all the Portuguese Books which do any ways treat of Ethiopia, I was persuaded by some Friends to alter my mind, and to begin with That Church, which of all others, till within these Two hundred years, had had the least Communication with the Roman; and which, notwithstanding all the pains its Princes and the Jesuits have been at of late, to bring her under the Bondage of the Papacy, has, tho with a terrible struggle, maintained her Primitive Liberty and Independency on that Ambitious and Usurping See; and does to this day, with greater Zeal than ever, assert them.

And that I may not seem Actum agere in publishing an History of Ethiopia after the Learned Mr. Ludolphus: I am to acquaint the Reader, That whereas the two great Splendid Roman Missions into that Empire, are the most remarkable things that have come to our knowledge in the History of that Church; so if some of my Learned Friends are not mistaken, Those Two Missions, with all their Steps and Circumstances, are here placed in a truer Light than they were ever seen in before.

And tho I will not promise that my Conjectures upon the dark and hidden things of those Missions are all true; as who indeed that makes many, and especially in matters which have been industriously disguised by men of Art, will venture to promise? yet this I can safely say, that I have not made one but what I thought I had some ground for; And as to matters of fact, I do assure the Reader, that in the matter of the Missions, I have set down few or none, but what I had out of Roman-Catholic Writers, and licensed by the Inquisition, and who for the most part were Jesuits.

There are Four things, whereof, if I am not mistaken, this History will abundantly satisfy the Impartial Reader.

**The First is,** That the Roman Missionaries, but especially the Jesuits, having neither the gift of Miracles, nor of Patience, to wait for the slow

issues of the old method of converting Nations by preaching the Faith to them, and every where (where they can come at them) for dispatching it with Dragoons, or by some other violent and sanguinary way. The Jesuits being all to a man of the same opinion with their great Apostle of the Indies, Francis Xavier, whose Maxim, as Ravarette informs us, was: *Mientras no estiuveron debaxo del Mosquete, no avia de ver Christiano de provecho*; that is to say, Missionaries without Muskets do never make Converts to any purpose: the truth of which Maxim, John Bolunte, a Missionary Jesuit, tells us, is confirmed by universal Experience. *Ni en el Brasil (saith he) Peru, Mexico, Florida, Philipinas, y Maluca, ha havido Christianidad, ni Conversion, sinla sombra de vel Poder Secular*; that is, Neither in the Brasils, Peru, Mexico, Florida, The Philipins, or Maluca, have any Conversions been made, without the help of the Secular Power; affirming in another place of his book, *Que en nenguna parte se ha hecho fruto sin Armas*, that is, That Missionaries have done nothing any where, without Military Arms.

**The Second is,** That there is no Tyranny in the World equal to that which the Roman Prelates (where they have the Secular Arm at their command) do continually exercise, and that without the common relentings of humanity, upon all sorts of people, that will not turn to their Religion.

**The Third is,** That Missionaries, when ever they have inspired a Prince, the main Body of whose Subjects are Anti-papists, with a bigotry to introduce their Religion into his Country, do commonly before they have done with him, either run him out of breath, or make him run his head against a wall.

**The Fourth is,** That Ambition did very early take possession of the Jesuits Order, that Society not being above ten years standing in the World, when it had engrossed a Mission to it self, which did promise both greater and cheaper Honours to its Ministers than ever any Mission had done before.

The clear discovery of which Truths, together with that of the true Spirit and Temper of Missionaries, and the Precipices they put Princes upon, who are so unhappy as to be their Converts, must make This History to be of some use to all Protestant Countries, which may therein, as in a glass see, what treatment they are to expect from popery, when ever the Supreme Power is in its hands.

I have as an Appendix, given the Reader an Epitome of the Dominican History of Ethiopia, writ by a Friar of that Order, and printed at Valencia, in the Year 1610, and not only licensed by the Inquisition, and all the other Regular and Secular Licensers of the Diocese, but recommended likewise by them to the World, as a true, useful, and edifying History: As also a Full Account of the Practises and Conviction of Maria of the Annunciation, the Famous Lisbon Nun; which I take to be two such Originals in their several kinds, as are not easily to be met with.

**A CATALOGUE OF THE AUTHORS OUT OF WHOM THIS  
HISTORY WAS COMPOSED.**

*Athanasius. — Spondanus. — Ruffinus. — Philostorgius. —  
Elmirinus. — Paulus Venetus. — Damianus Goer. — Maffeius. —  
Zaga Zabo. — Gueriuro. — Francis Alvarez. — Pays. — The  
Patriarch Bermudes. — Godinus. — John de Barros. — Almeyda.  
— Antony de Gourea. — Fernandez. — Osorius. — Tellez. —  
Pereira. — Rodriguez. — Thomas a Jesu. — Vega. — Wunsleb. —  
The Patriarch Mendes. — Job Ludolphus. — The Missionaries  
Letters. — Baronius. — Virichus.*

## THE

## CHURCH-HISTORY

## OF

## HABASSIA, OR ETHIOPIA ALTA.

HABASSIA, or Ethiopia Alta, or Ethiopia super Egyptum, which are all the same, according to the Newest and best Accounts we have of it, is 9 Degrees in length, reaching from Bergamo in the 8th Degree of Northern Latitude, to Focay, which is in the 17th Degree of the same Latitude; and about 140 Leagues in Breadth, taking it from the Shore of the Red Sea to the Banks of the Nile. [A league is 3.0 statute miles or 4.8 kilometers.]

The King or Emperor of Habassia, is called the Naggasi, that is, the Lord or Ruler, and not Prester, Presbyter, nor Preto John, which Title was first given him by the Portugueses, upon their imagining him, when they first discovered the Empire, to have been the great Christian Prester John, who had been so much talked of, and so little known in Europe; not considering, that all that had spoke of that Great Prince, had placed his Empire in Asia, to the North of China, and not in Africa: And as to Zaga Zabi, calling him in his Relation published at Lisbon, Precious John, in that he played the Ambassador, rather than the Historian, not caring to undeceive Europe at the expense of a Title which made his Master's name much greater in it, than it would have been otherwise.

Now though our Geographers have in their Maps been very liberal to this Emperor, having extended his Empire 30 or 40 Degrees from South to North, his Neighbors have not been so kind to him, who within these 100 years have very much contracted it.

The Countries he is at present in possession of, are Tigre, Gojam, Amhara, Dembya, Bagemeder, Enarea, part of Zoa, Mazaga, Salem, Ogara, Abergal, Holcait, Salgade, Cemen, Saloa, Ozeca, and Doba: The Countries that have been taken from him, are Anget, Doaro, Ogge, Balli, Adea, Alam-ale Oxela, Ganz Betazamora, Gurague, Sugama, Baharguma,

Catrub, Boxa, Gumer, Couch, Damota, Mora-Aura, Habera, Oyfal, Guedem, Marabet, Manz, Beramo, with all the Ports he had formerly on the Red Sea. Tigre, which is the chief Kingdom in the Habassian Empire, begins at Matzua, a small Island not far from Arkiko, a Seaport Town in the 15th Degree of the Northern Latitude; it is 90 Leagues in length, and 50 in breadth, and is by much the most Fertile and Trading Country in Ethiopia, for which reason the Jesuits have fixed their first and greatest residence in a Town called Maegoga, or Fremona, which stands near the middle of it.

The Kingdom of Bagemder lieth to the North of Tigre, and reacheth to Amhara, and to the Banks of the Nile; it is about 60 Leagues in length, and at present not above 20 in breadth, several Provinces having lately been torn from it, which when united, made its breadth to be near equal to its length.

The Kingdom of Gojam is 50 Leagues in length, and 30 in breadth, and is in a manner encompassed by the River Nile, whose Head is near the middle of it, in a Country called Sacahala; it is either the Island of Meroe, so much celebrated by the Ancients, or else there was never any such place.

The Head of Nile, which was so long reckoned among the Chief Secrets of Nature, is now known certainly to be in a Lake in this Kingdom of Gojam; the Lake which gives birth to it, is not above a Stones throw over, and so full of Bushes, that in the Summer one may step upon them to two deep and clear Fountains, which are near the middle of it, and not 40 yards from one another; the Streams of which Fountains, as is visible from the Verdure of the Herbage, doth run under ground for near half a mile, where they break out; and being joined, do make a good large Brook; and then bending Northward, after a Course of 15 Leagues, the River Jama runs into it; after which Conjunction it bends its course towards the East, and is presently joined by two Rivers more, whose names are Kelti, and

Branti; after this it runs directly East, till it enters the great Lake of Dembea, which is about 20 Leagues distant from its Head in a right Line; and without intermixing its water with those of the Lake, runs into the Channel it hath opened to it self on the North side of it.

This Lake, which the Habassins call the Sea of Dembea, lieth in the Latitude of 13 Degrees and a half, and on its South-shore is about 20 Leagues in length, and on its North 35, not reckoning its windings, which



make it a great deal more; near its middle, and where it is deepest, it may be about 10 or 12 Leagues over: Its Waters are very clear and wholesome; it abounds with Fish of all sorts, and has great herds of Sea-Horses, which come ashore daily and graze on the Plains; but for Snakes and Crocodiles it is free from them, as it is from Tritans and Mermaids, by which it has been reported to be inhabited.

Divers great Rivers beside the Nile discharge themselves into this Lake, which is the common Receptacle of all the Prodigious Floods of Rain which in the Winter Months do tumble down from the high Mountains of Dembea; and this Lake having no other source for this vast body of Water but the Channel of the Nile, it makes bold with that, and thereby increaseth its Stream prodigiously.

The Lake of Dembea is adorned with One and twenty Islands, some of which are pretty large, namely that of Dek, which contains as much Arable Land as 40 Yoke of Oxen can plough; there are several Monasteries in seven or eight of these Islands, which were anciently very great; they do all abound with Oranges, and other delicious Fruits. Even within Habassia, the Nile has some Cataracts, its first is near a place called Depeqem, which is about 9 or 10 Leagues above the Lake of Dembea; the second is 6 or 7 Leagues below it in the Kingdom of Begamder, at which it makes a prodigious noise; the fall of the first is about 50 Palms, and that of the second about twice or thrice as much.

The cause of the rising and falling of the Thames at Oxford, is not more certainly known, than that of the Nile in Egypt is now; for the Winter in Ethiopia, which is one continued Storm of Rain, being in the Months of June, July and August, by sending a vast body of water into the Lake of Dembea, which has no other vent for its Waters than the Channel of the Nile, doth swell that River to a prodigious height, all which Torrent of water being kept together by steep Mountains on both sides, until it comes down into Egypt, which is a flat open Country; it there expands itself, impregnating the Land thereof with its Mud, which was hindered from subsiding before by the unconceivable rapidity of that River, while it was pent in on all sides by high Mountains.

This is the true Cause of the rising of the Nile; which though the world would not, it seems, believe, was told by Nearchus, Pliny, Strabo, and others; neither is their calling them the Summer-Rains any Argument at all

of those Learned Men having been ignorant of the time of the Year when they fell, but rather the contrary; for notwithstanding the Habassins upon the account of those great Rains do reckon June, July, and August, their Winter Months, yet in Egypt and all other Places without the Northern Tropic, they are reckoned Summer.

Besides the Nile, there are several other great Rivers that rise in Habassia; namely, Pacaza, whose Head is in the Mountain of Axcua, in the Kingdom of Angot; and the River Zabee, which is much bigger and swifter than the Nile; it riseth in the Kingdom of Narea, and taking its Course Southward falls into the Sea at Momboca; Haoa is likewise bitter than the Nile; it riseth in the Kingdom of Zaoa, and running North-East, doth the same good office to the parched and thirsty Countries of Adeld and Zegla, that the Nile does to Egypt; and as the River Maceb, which riseth within Two Leagues of Fremona in the Kingdom of Tigre, does to the dry Province of Derqhem.

Now that Countries wherein it seldom or never rains, should have that great want thus supplied by the overflowing of Rivers, is a clear evidence both of the Goodness and Wisdom of Providence.

Habassia is reported by the Jesuits to abound with pure Gold; which we have reason to think was represented by them to be much finer and more plentiful than it really is, on purpose to prevent the Kings of Portugal and Spain growing weary of the great Charges of their Missions. Where the Land is Arable, it is said to produce good Wheat and Barley; and in several places to have Three Harvests in a year. It produceth likewise Silk, which is gathered off the Bushes, as it is in India; and in some places extraordinary Sugar Canes. Its Horses and Cows, with which it is said to be well stocked, are much larger than the Europeans. It has also great store of Lions and Elephants, and those of the best Cast; but the Wild Beast that is the most remarkable in it, is the Giratacahem, that is to say, the Smooth-head, which is reported to be so tall, that a Man on Horseback may ride under its Belly.

There is a great mixture of People in Habassia, from which the country is said by some to have had its Name.

As Heathens, Jews, and Mahometans of sever[al] Nations; but the Main Body of its People are Christians. The Jews speak Hebrew, or rather Syriack; the Heathens as many different Languages as there are Kingdoms;

but the Court-Language, and which is spoke by all Persons of any Quality, is the Amehara [Amharic]. The Empire does not descend to the Eldest Son, but to him whom the Emperor at his death is pleased to Name for his Successor. The Emperors formerly kept their Court in the city of Axum, from which the African Ethiopians were commonly called Axumites; which is at present reduced to a Village of about a hundred Families. The Royal Arms of Habassia are a Lion holding a Cross, with this Motto, *The Lion of the Tribe of Judah is Victorious*. I do but just mention these things, my Intention in this Work being to write the Ecclesiastical, and not the Natural or Civil History of Ethiopia.

### OF THE RELIGION OF THE HABASSINS.

IT is a constant Tradition among the Habassins, That the Queen of Sheba that went to Visit Solomon, was Empress of their Country, whose Name, they say, was Maqueda; and who, within a few weeks after she returned home, was delivered of a Son, Begat by Solomon, whom she Named Menileher.

Menileher, so soon as he was of Age to undertake so long a Journey, was sent by his Mother to Jerusalem to receive his Father's Blessing, and to be Instructed by him in the Law of Moses, and all other useful Sciences.

Solomon having received his Son when he arrived at Jerusalem, with great Tenderness and Affection, made him change the Name of Menileher, for that of David; and having thoroughly Instructed him in the Jewish Religion, and made him promise to introduce it into his Empire, he dismissed him with Noble presents, giving him also several Priests and Levites to take home with him to assist him in so good a Work. David being returned home, did with the help of the Priests and Levites, set immediately about introducing the Mosaical Law into his Empire, and was so successful, that in a few years it was embraced by the whole Body of his People, and continued to be professed by them, until the Publication of the Gospel among them. Upon which Fable, for I cannot look upon it as any other, they have built a hundred more, which are much fitter for a Legend than an History.

Neither is the Habassins having used Circumcision, any argument at all of their having been ever of the Jewish Law; since there is nothing more certain, than that Rite was the ancient usage of the Ethiopians, and divers

other Nations, who were always Enemies both to the Jews and their Religion.

And as the Habassins will have their Forefathers to have been of the Jewish Faith, from the days of Solomon till the Preaching of the Gospel; so they will have Christianity to have come among them early in the Apostles time.

It being a Tradition among them, That the Eunuch that was Baptized by Philip the Deacon, was Steward to their Empress; and who returning home after he was Christened, Converted his Mistress and her whole Empire to the Christian Faith, in the Profession whereof they have ever since continued steadfast. Which Story, notwithstanding I take it to be of a piece with that of the Queen of Sheba and her Son, yet this may be said for it, that it has a greater Air of probability than most of the Traditional Histories of the first Conversions of Countries.

What is known from History of the first Introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia, is, That in the beginning of the Fourth Century, one Meropius, a Christian Philosopher, going into India with Two of his Scholars, whose

Names were Frumentius and Aedesius, had the misfortune to touch on the Coast of Ethiopia; where Meropius was inhumanly Murdered by the Natives, but his Two Scholars having the Lives spared, and being found to be Youths of fine Parts, as well as Beauty, they were carried to Court, where Frumentius was put into the Secretaries Office, and Aedesius into the Buttery.

When the Emperor, who had always been very kind to them, came to Die, he gave them both their Liberty; but as they were preparing to make use of it and return home, the Queen Regent was importunate with them to stay, and to undertake the Tutelage of her Son till he was of Age, which they having consented to, did during that time, write to all the Roman Merchants residing in the Ports of Ethiopia, that were Christians, to assemble together to Worship God, as they themselves, and the Converts they had made at Court, did Daily.

When their Pupil came to take the Administration of the Government upon himself, they both desired Leave to return home, which having obtained with great difficulty, they left Ethiopia; Aedesius went to Tire to live with his Relations; but Frumentius having a greater love for his Religion, repaired directly to Alexandria, with an intention to acquaint the Bishop

thereof, who at that time was the Great Athanasius, with the footing Christianity had taken in Ethiopia.

St. Athanasius, who was overjoyed at this good news, having consulted with his Clergy what was fit to be done, persuaded Frumentius, whom he observed to be a Person of great Zeal and Piety, to be Consecrated a Bishop by him, and to return into Ethiopia with that Character, to accomplish a Work he had so happily begun; and accordingly he was Consecrated a Bishop by St. Athanasius; and going back to Ethiopia, did in a short time Convert both the Emperor and the main Body of his People to the Christian Faith.

This Account of the Introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia, is to be met with in the 9th Chapter of the 1st Book of Ruffinus, who saith he had not this Story from the chat of the People, but from Aedesius' own mouth, who was Ordained a Presbyter at Tire.

And as Frumentius was undoubtedly Orthodox as to the Doctrine of our Lord's Divinity when he was Consecrated a Bishop by St. Athanasius; so the World coming afterwards to complain of its being turned Arian, could not shake his Constancy in the True Faith, as appears from Constantius' Letters to the Princes of Axum, whose Names were Abra and Azba; which Letter I shall here set down as I find it in St. Athanasius' Apology to that Emperor.

AS there is nothing we study so much as the knowledge of the Truth, so we reckon our selves obliged to recommend the same diligence and industry to all sorts of people, that we may all think so of the Divinity, as to pass our lives in hope, and without dissention, concerning what is true and just.

Wherefore since we do think fit to extend this our Care to you no less than to the Romans, we do enjoin you to maintain the same Doctrines with them in your Churches; and to that end to send Bishop Frumentius into Egypt with all possible expedition, there to be judged by the most Venerable George, and the other Egyptian Prelates, in whom is the Supreme Authority of Ordaining and Judging of Bishops. For unless you will pretend to be ignorant of what all the world knows, you must be sensible that Frumentius was consecrated by Athanasius, a man made up of wickedness, and who not being able in the least to vindicate himself as to any of the Crimes he stands charged withal, was thereupon deposed, and

has since that turned a Vagabond, roving from one Country to another, as if he hoped to lose his Guilt by shifting his dwelling.

In Case Frumentius should yield a ready obedience, and give a full account of the whole Conspiracy, so that it shall be certified that he does not dissent from the Ecclesiastical Laws, and the Faith that is now established, and it doth appear that he is a Person of a Good Life, he may then be ordained a Bishop; which at present he is not of Right.

Whereas if he shall seek delays, and decline coming to Judgment, that will be an undeniable Proof of his having been seduced by the words of the most Profligate Athanasius; as also of his acting impiously against God, and of his being involved in the same Crimes whereof Athanasius stands convicted: In which case if he should be suffered to go on without control, as he will do all that he can to corrupt your People with his Wicked and Impious Words, and not only disturb and destroy the Church, and belch out Blasphemies against the Supreme God; so he will likewise bring Ruin and Destruction upon all Nations. Whereas if he could be persuaded to come and converse familiarly with Venerable George and other Learned Men, he would reap great Benefits thereby, and return to his Bishopric well instructed in all Ecclesiastical Discipline. God preserve you, my most dear Brethren.

As this Letter is a clear demonstration of the greatness of the Arian Rage against the Orthodox, which not being satisfied with having Persecuted them with the utmost Barbarities in all parts of the Roman Empire, pursued them beyond its bounds; so such a boundless Rage was never more conspicuous in Constantius, or any other Persecutor of the Professors of the True Faith, than it was in a Modern Prince, who not being contented with having harassed and destroyed several Thousands of Protestant Families within his own Kingdom, did within these Ten Years write to all his most dear Brethren, the Great Turk not excepted, to drive all his Protestant Subjects, if they did not presently turn Roman Catholics, out of their Territories; or which was worse, did by Solemnly withdrawing his Protection from them in Popish Countries, leave them at the mercy of the Inquisition.

Baronius in his Roman Martyrology, according to his humor of multiplying Saints, has made Two of a single Frumentius; for whereas in the Martyrology it is said among the Indians, for so the Habassins were called

anciently, of St. Frumentius, who was there first a Captive, and afterwards Ordained a Bishop by

St. Athanasius, and did propagate the Gospel through that Country; the Cardinal in his Notes adds, At the same time there lived another Frumentius, who was Bishop of Axum in Egypt; whereas Axum is in Ethiopia, and not in Egypt; and was the City Frumentius mentioned in the Martyrology was Bishop of.

Philostorgius, who was himself an Arian, speaking of Theophilus Indus, having been sent by Constantius on this Embassy, insinuates as if the Ethiopians had been turned by him to the Arian Sect. But Philostorgius being the only Historian that insinuates any such thing, we have little reason to believe it upon his bare word.

About the Year 480, Nine Monks [but the author names ten] are said to have been sent from Rome into Ethiopia; their Names were Araguai or Michel, Alef, Gavi, Ase, Adimata, Cuba, Garima, Saham, Lebanos, Pantaleon; the Patriarch Mendez, who quotes the Chronicon Axumense for this, truly observes, That by Rome here, is meant Greece; which after the Roman Emperors had fixed their Court in it, was called in these remote parts by that name; but the Dominicans in their History of Ethiopia, of which the Reader will meet with an Epitome in the Appendix, will have all these Monks, though dead near a Thousand Years before Dominick was born, to have been Friars of his Order sent from Old Rome, and having turned Adimata, whom they call Imata, into a Woman; they have made her likewise a Holy Sister of their Order that accompanied the Eight Brothers in their Mission.

Metaphrastes, and after him the whole herd of Legendaries, do speak of one Elesbean a Christian King of Ethiopia in the time of Justin the Emperor; of whom, and of his having Vanquished a Jewish Tyrant in Arabia, who had been a Cruel Persecutor of his Christian Subjects, they have framed a tedious blind Story, that is not fit to be offered to any Reader that has not a Legendary Nose.

But as most Fables have something of History for their foundation, so if this of Elisbean has any, it must be the following History that is met with in Procopius' Persian War.

Justinian the Emperor being engaged in a War with the Persians in the Year 530, sent one Julian Ambassador to the King of the Axumites, or the African Ethiopians, and to the King of the Homerites, a Nation Inhabiting the Asiatic Coast of the Red-Sea that is opposite to Ethiopia, to engage them, being Christians, to join with him against the Persians, the common Enemy of their Religion.

The King of Ethiopia's Name at that time was Hellesteus, who a few years before had out of Zeal for Christianity, the Christian Homerites having complained to him of their being miserably oppressed by the Jews and Heathens they lived among, crossed the Red-Sea with a Numerous Fleet and Army, and having in a pitched Battle Defeated and Killed the King of the Homerites, who had been a Cruel Persecutor of Christians, he advanced one Esimetheus, an Homerite Christian to the

Throne, but upon Condition that he and his Successors for ever should pay a yearly Tribute to the Crown of Ethiopia.

The main thing proposed by the Ambassador to the Ethiopian for the incommoding of the Persians, was to open a Trade for Silk to the Indies, which the Romans, who used to buy those Silks of the Persians, would promise to take off his Merchants hands: But for the Homerites, the Ambassador desired Esimethus, who was their King at that time, to enter into a League Offensive and Defensive with their Neighbors the Madaans, who were Sarazens; and having joined their Armies, for to invade Persia. The Kings did both promise to do what the Romans had desired of them; but when they came to execution, they found their parts not to be feasible; the Silks that were brought by the Indians being all constantly bought up by the Persian Merchants, who lay much nearer to them than the Ethiopians; and for the Homerites, the vast Deserts they were to pass through before they could come at the Persians, discouraged them, at this time, from attempting it, though King Abraham did attempt it afterwards, but with no success.

But as it is the common Fate of Nations, that invite their Neighbors into their Country, to be conquered by their Deliverers, so it fared with the Homerites at this time; for the Servants, and Thieving part of the Ethiopian Army, finding Arabia a much better Country than their own, they resolved to remain where they were; and not being long



contented to live among the Homerites as Inmates, they set up to be their Masters; and having by force of Arms deposed Esimetheus, they bestowed the Crown upon one Abraham a Christian, but who had formerly been a Slave to a Roman Merchant that resided at the Port of Adel in Ethiopia.

Hellenestus having received Advice of the Pranks his Subjects, that remained in Arabia, were playing, dispatched 3000 Soldiers thither to chastise their Insolence, and restore his Creature Esimetheus to his Royal Dignity; which those Troops were so far from doing, that having been corrupted by some Emissaries sent among them by Abraham so soon as they landed, when they came to engage the Rebels, after having slain their Chief Commander, who was a Prince of the Blood, they all went over to them, with a Resolution to stand by Abraham to the last.

Hellenestus being much troubled at this Loss, sent a greater Army than the former against Abraham, which coming to blows, was totally routed by him; after which Hellenestus growing weary of the Charge of the War, gave it over, leaving the unfortunate Esimetheus to his unkind Stars.

Elmicinus, in his Sarazen History, reports, That in the 39th year of the Hegira, which is 659 of Our Lord, an Ambassador was sent from Ethiopia to Simon Syrus, the Jacobite Patriarch of Alexandria, to entreat him to ordain them a Bishop, and some Presbyters; which the Patriarch having, I know not for what reason, denied to do, the Ambassador complained of him to Adulmelius the Sarazen King of Egypt, who commanded the Patriarch to ordain him as many as he desired; but the Ambassador did so highly resent Symon's denial, that when he offered him his Service, he would not make use of him, but employed another Bishop; which was the cause of great Disturbances in the Church.

In the 561st year of Diocletian, which is the 845th of our Lord, saith the same Historian, there was a Bishop in Ethiopia whose name was James, whom, the Queen, taking advantage of her Husband's absence in the Wars, banished Ethiopia, substituting another Bishop in his room, for which the Kingdom was plagued with a great Drought, and Pestilence; but the King returning home, and being much dissatisfied with the Queen for what she had done, sent to the Patriarch of Egypt, whither the deposed Prelate was retired, to command him back to his Province; which the Patriarch did, and the Bishop, when he returned, was received with the general joy of the whole People.

In the Eighth year of Chalisatus Mutamidi, or as others will have it, in his Seventh year, which was the 265th year of the Hegira, one Michael being Patriarch of the Alexandrian Jacobites, he had a Tribute of 20000 Crowns laid upon him; for the advancing of which Sum, he was obliged to sell to the Jews the fourth part of all the Churches in Alexandria, and the Lands belonging to him in Habassia, as also the Church in the Neighborhood of Malaca in Cosvoim, in the City of Misra, and to tax every Christian at a Kirati yearly; all which amounted to but half the Sum of the Tribute.

In the 807th year of the Martyrs, which is the 1165th of Christ, the Nile being extremely low in Egypt, the King thereof, whose name was Mustausirus, sent the Patriarch Michael with rich Presents to the King of Ethiopia, who having received the Patriarch with great respect, did, at his request, order the Nile to be turned into its old Channel again, out of which he had diverted it; whereupon the Nile rose in one night to its usual height in Egypt, to the great joy of the King and the whole Country, who, when the Patriarch returned home, did him great honors.

Paulus Venetus reports, that in the year 1258, an Habassin King having been hindered by his Counsellors from going in person to Jerusalem, did send a Bishop thither, with rich Offerings, who, was not only robbed of all he had as he passed through the Kingdom of Aden, but upon his refusal to turn Mahometan, was sent home with a mark of infamy upon his Body; at which barbarous Treatment the Habassin was so much incensed, that having got together a great Army, he marched against that Sarazen Tyrant; and having beat him in a pitched Battle, and made great Desolations in his Country for some Weeks, he returned home laden with Spoils and Honors.

Haiton Armenus in his Directions to the Christians, how to recover the Holy Land, adviseth them to write to the King of the Nubians, meaning the Habassins, to invade Egypt with a numerous Army, which would divert the Sarazens from coming with their whole force against them into Syria.

When, or wheresoever the Arabic Canons, falsely attributed to the first Council of Nice, were made, the 36th of them relates wholly to the Bishop of Ethiopia, and runs as follows,

THE Ethiopians have no power to create or choose a Patriarch, whose Prelate must be rather under the Jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria; or in case they should come at any time to have one among them in the place of Patriarch, and who should be styled Catholicus, he shall not,

notwithstanding that, have a right to ordain Archbishops, as other Patriarchs have, having neither the Honor nor Authority of a Patriarch: And if it should so happen that a Council should be assembled in Greece, and this Prelate should be present at it, he shall have the seventh Place therein, next after the Bishop of Seleucia; and in case he should have at any time power given him to ordain Archbishops in his Province, it shall not be lawful for him to advance any of the Natives to that Dignity; whosoever does not yield obedience to this, is excommunicated by the Synod.

If there were nothing else to prove these Arabic Canons to be spurious, this Canon alone would do it abundantly; it being plain from Ecclesiastical History, that the Title of Patriarch was not known in the Church for some time after the Celebration of the First

Nicene Council; neither was there any Bishop or Christian in Ethiopia at that time: Frumentius, who was the Apostle, or first Bishop thereof, having been consecrated a Bishop by Athanasius, when he was Primate of Alexandria, which he was not till after the Nicene Council.

In the Year 1177, Pope Alexander the III<sup>d</sup>, while he was at Venice, whither the Emperor Frederick had driven him, either received, or pretended to receive, a Message from the Great Christian Emperor Prester John, desiring to submit himself to his obedience, and to have a College at Rome, and an Altar at Jerusalem for the use of his Subjects.

The Pope having made a noise with his Message, pretended to send Philip a Physician, who was said to have brought it, back again with a Letter to Prester John; I shall not trouble the Reader with that Letter; for besides that it contains little else than Hyperboles of St. Peter and the Pope's Supremacy, it is probable that the whole Affair was a mere Fiction, invented on purpose to make the Roman Emperor ashamed of persecuting the Pope, at the same time, when so remote a Christian Emperor was ready to throw himself at his feet. For had this Message of Philip's, whom some call Peter, been a real thing, it would certainly have taught the Court of Rome in what part of the World Prester John's Empire lay, whether in Asia, near Tartary; or in Africa, beyond Egypt: Whereas, long after this, that Empire, though called Ethiopia, was still supposed to lie somewhere in the North of Asia; for which reason it was still joined in the same Missions with the Tartars and Ruthens, and committed to the Charge of the Dominical Provincial of Poland, as being its next Neighbor.

In the Year 1308, Prester John was brought upon the stage again; Pope Clement the Vth being said to have received a most splendid Embassy from him, consisting of 30 Ambassadors, by whom he was assured, that their Master had no less than 74 Kings under him, and who, excepting five of the smallest that were Mahometans, were all Christians; and that he had likewise within his Dominions an 127 Archbishops, every one of which had 20 Bishops under his Jurisdiction: Which pious Fraud was spread about at that time on purpose to encourage the Latins to undertake a new Expedition to the Holy Land, being assured of the Assistance of this mighty Christian Emperor, whose Dominions were still reported to lie convenient enough for the carrying on of a Holy War in Syria; insomuch, that I am apt to think, that the whole Story of this Enchanted Asiatic Christian Empire was invented and kept up by the Trumpeters of the Holy War for that very purpose; no such Empire having ever to this day been discovered in Asia; what is reported by the Portuguese Missionaries of the Kingdom of Thybot, amounting to no more at most, than that those People were formerly Christians, but without the least Evidence of any Prester John, or Great Christian Empire having ever been in those Parts. But how they come to call a Country which they supposed to lie towards Scythia, Ethiopia, is one of the unaccountable Blunders of those Ignorant, though Fraudulent Ages; unless we will say, That they having heard something of a Christian Empire in Ethiopia, did either, for the foresaid Ends, industriously translate it into Asia, or were so ignorant in Geography, as not to know what part of the World Ethiopia lay in.

In the Council of Florence (for so low we must come before we meet with any thing more of the Ethiopic Church) Eugenius the IVth, after he had dismissed the Greeks, finding it necessary for his Affairs to have the name of a council still sitting, so long as that of Basil, which had deposed him, and chosen the Duke of Savoy Pope, was on foot against him; but being withal desirous to have it at Rome, for want of a better, gave this for the reason of his translating it from Florence thither: that it was convenient that the splendid Embassy from Zerah Jacob the High and Mighty Emperor of Ethiopia, which was on its way to that Council, with the submission of that Church and Empire to the Pope, should not find the Council sitting in such a paltry Town as Florence, but in the Metropolis of Christendom, which would add something of Authority to it, and accordingly it was translated.

But as it is certain that no such splendid Ethiopic Embassy ever came to Rome, so it is as certain, that it was never so much as thought of in

Habassia; on the contrary, Zera Jacob, when he was solicited by some Jerusalem Monks on this Occasion, did absolutely refuse to submit his Church to that of Rome; for which denial, the Jesuits above 200 years after his death, made Sultan Saged, his Great Grandson, and their Convert, to curse his Soul to the Pit of Hell, saying, A curse on King Zera Jacob, who was the cause of our not being at this time in the Portuguese or Roman Faith, for which he is now tormented in Hell.

Now though this Convert had been never so certain of Zera Jacob's being in Hell for having denied to submit himself to the Pope; yet considering he was his Great Grandfather, he might very well have spared his Curses; such impious Expressions of Zeal, for I can call them no other, being much fitter for the Mouths of Profligate Algerine Renegadoes, with whom they are said to be common, than for a Prince to turn from one Sect of Christianity to another. Besides, Zera Jacob, abating him that one thing of his having refused to submit the Ethiopic Church to the Roman, was no such Miscreant as to deserve to be thus cursed by his Posterity: as appears by a Letter written by him to the Habassin Monks at Jerusalem, to whom he sent the Collection of Canons which is now at Rome, giving them likewise several Lands for uses which the Church of Rome allows to be pious; this Monastery of Habassins stands on Mount Gabor.

### **ZERA JACOB'S LETTER TO THE HABASSIN MONKS AT JERUSALEM**

In the name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, one God, whom I adore with all my heart, and on whom I rely with all my strength, and with all my mind, to whom I am bound with the tie of sacred Worship, which is not to be broken.

THIS Letter is written in this Book of Canons by us Zera Jacob, whose Name, since we took the Government upon us, is Constantine, in the 8th year after the God of Israel in the multitude of his mercies was pleased to place us on the Throne of the Kingdom of Ethiopia, being in Seava, which is called Teglet.

Let this come to the hands of my beloved, the College of Saints who reside at Jerusalem the Holy City.

In the peace of the Lord. Amen.

I do proclaim you very happy, for having in the first place obeyed the word of the Gospel, which saith, He that forsaketh not his father and mother, wife and children, &c. for which reason you have left the world, and have taken upon you the Yoke of Monkery; the word of the Prophet hath likewise bound you, which saith, I will not go into the tabernacle of mine house, nor climb up to my bed; neither will I give sleep to mine eyes, nor slumber to mine eyelids, until I find the house of the Lord, the habitation of the God of Jacob. Whereupon you determined to repair to Jerusalem, the City of the Great King, not being discouraged from going thither, either by the Incommodities of the Journey, or the heat by day, or the cold by night, nor by the dangers of Robbers; where when you arrived, what was said by the Prophet was fulfilled in you: Let us therefore go into his house, and worship in the place where the face of our Lord stood; for to you it is given to kiss the place which his Presence hath hallowed, from his Nativity to his Ascension: For which cause I do very much rely on your Prayers, and on the Afflictions you have suffered for God's sake.

I do salute you from the bottom of my heart, saying, Health to you the Sons of Ethiopia, whom the earthly Jerusalem hath tied to her self, that she may convey you to the Heavenly.

Health be to your Faith which is perfect in the Trinity; and to your course of life, which is like to that of Angels.

Health be to your Feet which walk, to your Hands which touch, to your Lips which kiss, to your Eyes which do freely behold Galilee where God was Incarnate, and Bethlehem where he was born, taking our Nature upon him, and the Cave where he lay, and Nazareth where he was educated, and Jordan where he was baptized, that he might cleanse us, and Corontum where he fasted for our sake, and Calvary where he was crucified for our Redemption, and Golgotha where he was buried and rose again, that he might quicken us, and the Mount of Olives where he ascended to his Father and our God, that he might introduce us into the Inner Vail of the highest Heavens, into which he himself entered, and introduced the Apostles who were before us, and the Oratory of Sion where the Comforter descended on our Fathers the Apostles.

Health be likewise to your Eyes, which behold the Light that cometh out of the Sepulchre of our Lord on the Old Sabbath, to wit, on the Eve of our Passover.

*May your Peace, and Love, and Prayers,  
and Benedictions be with me for ever, Amen.*

Behold I have sent you this Book of Synods, that you may receive Consolation from it on the Old Sabbath, and on the Lord's Day, and that they may be a Memorial of me through all Ages. Amen.

I Zera Jacob, whose Name, since God was pleased to place me on the Throne of the Empire, is Constantine, in the Eighth Year of my Reign, do Bequeath unto you the Land of Zebila, and Half of all the Tributes arising from it, for Two Years, which amounts to an Hundred Ounces of Gold, toward your Food and Raiment; and do give it to the Monastery of Jerusalem, that it may be a Memorial of my self and of our Lady Mary, and for the Celebration of Her Feasts, to wit, That of her Nativity on the 1st of May, that of her Death on the 22d of January, and that of her Translation on the 15th of August; as also of the Feasts of her Son, our Lord Jesus, on the 29th of December, when he was Born, to be celebrated by you at Bethlehem, together with the Festivities of his Passion, and lively Resurrection from Death. You shall likewise celebrate all the Festivities of our Lady Mary, which in the Book of her Miracles are Thirty two in number. And shall furthermore keep a Lamp burning for me in the Sepulchre of our Lord; and another in the Entry thereof; and on the right side one, and on the left another; as also at the place of his Burial three; three at the Monument of our Lady Mary in Gethsemane; and at the place where Mary Magdalen saw him one; and in our Chapel three; one also at Bethlehem where our Lord was born; and another at the place in the Mount of Olives where our Lord ascended. Let them be all maintained at my Charge, and take care not to suffer them to go out at any time, nor to give way to any Person contributing towards them. And since I do rely on the Bond of your Love, let your Prayers and Benedictions be with me through all Ages. Amen.

My Beloved, Don't you offer to say, Light descendeth only upon us, that your glorying in your selves be not in vain; since you know that evil attends glorying, and blessing humility. Peace be with you, the Peace of our Lord be with you, Amen.

The Jesuit Guerrira, speaking of the forementioned Ethiopic Embassy, saith, That the whole Story of it was either a mere Fiction, not knowing its like, of its having been made use of for so great a purpose by a Pope, or that it had no manner of effect.

But it is no matter whether it was a Fiction or a Reality, so long as it furnished a good pretense, for a present turn, and tended to the Disparagement of the Council of Basil, which, together with the ground it stood upon, was blown up purely by Tricks of this nature; the Yoke the Council of Constance had laid on the Neck of the Papacy, being broke by Pretenses, of the Greek and all other Churches and Patriarchs having submitted themselves to it.

This is all that I have been able to meet with in Greek or Latin History concerning the Church of Ethiopia before the Year 1490, when it was first discovered by the Portugueses. And as for Histories of their own, I do not find they have any, besides some Fabulous Legends of the Lives of the Monks; of which I shall only give the Reader a Taste.

In the Life of Tecla Haymanot, the most famous of all their Monks both for Piety and Miracles, the following Account of the Succession of their Grand Abbots is given.

The Angel St. Michael gave the Cowl to St. Anthony; St. Anthony gave it to St. Macarius; Macarius gave it to Pachomius; Pachomius to Abbot Araguni, or Michael, who was one of the Nine Monks that came into Ethiopia; Araguni gave it to Bazana; Bazana to Mazralmoa; Mazralmoa to Abbot John; John to Abbot Jesus; Jesus to Tecla Haymanot, to whom Christ appeared, and promised, that whosoever should kill a Serpent upon a Friday, should be pardoned all the Sins he had committed in Forty Years.

But notwithstanding the Lives of the Habassin Monks are all of a piece with the Lives of all other Monks that are extant, that is, extremely fabulous; yet this must be said for them, that Monkery continues to this day much the same among them, as it was in the beginning, from which in the Church of Rome it is so strangely degenerated.

For in Habassia, any one that has a mind to be a Monk, retires thereupon to the Desert, where he puts on what Habit he pleaseth, or judgeth to be most suitable to his pretensions. Their Obligation so long as they profess themselves Monks, which they are always at their liberty to give over, is to fast every day in the Year till three a Clock in the Afternoon, and to Assemble together at Midnight, and at other certain Hours to perform their Devotions; they do generally exercise great Austerities upon themselves, being very strict in their Fasts, many of them eating but once in two days, and some never but upon Sundays; some of them are said to have made



Holes in the Trunks of Trees, and to have lodged in them till the Trees have grown to shut them in.

Their Monasteries are more like Villages than Roman Convents, every Monk having his distinct dwelling House with as much Land laid to it, as a Man is able to cultivate, and when they come to die they dispose of their Goods as they please, only the Land remains still to the Monasteries. Now this course falls in exactly with that of the Primitive Monks, who always lived in Deserts, where they worked hard, and were under no Vows; whereas the Roman Monks have their Monasteries in or near Princes Courts, and in all Populous Cities; and though generally hurried into that Profession, either by their Parents, or by some sudden fit of Melancholy, are fettered in it by Vows for their Lives, and are so far from putting their Hand to any work, that they are every where become proverbial for Laziness; and as for their Buildings, they are much more like Palaces than the Dwellings of People that have renounced the World, and taken a Vow of Poverty upon them.

The most famous of all their Monasteries, is that of Alelujah, wherein formerly there are said to have been 40000 Monks together, all the Country about having been given to the Monks thereof to cultivate.

I do not find that any sort of Learning did ever flourish among the Habassins, so that they have but few Books besides the Bible, the Canons of the first Councils, the Homilies of the Greek Fathers, and the Lives of their Saints.

The Habassins do hold the Scriptures to be the perfect Rule of the Christian Faith, insomuch, that they deny it to be in the Power of a General Council to oblige People to believe any thing as an Article of Faith, without an express warrant from thence.

Their Canon of Scripture consists of 85 Books; the Old Testament consisting of 46, and the New of 39.

As to the Doctrine of our Saviour's Incarnation, they are all Eutychians, holding that there is but one Nature in Christ, which is the Divine, by which they will have the Human to have been swallowed up; they were led into this Heresy by Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, who was condemned with Eutyches for it, by the General Council of Calcedon, whose Authority they for that reason reject, pretending that its Decrees were imposed on the

Church by Marcian the Emperor; on which account they call all those who have yielded obedience to it, Melkites or Royalists, as they themselves are called Jacobites from one James, a Syrian, who was a great Stickler for the Eutychian Heresy.

They allow the Bishop of Rome to be the first Patriarch, but condemn his pretending to a Supremacy over the whole Church as Antichristian; and do detest Popery to that degree, as to declare, That of the two, they would sooner turn Mahometans than Roman Catholics.

The Supreme Authority in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, is in the Emperor. They have but one Bishop at a time, who is styled the Abuna, that is, our Father; he is always an Alexandrian Monk, and upon notice of a Vacancy, is consecrated and sent into Ethiopia by the Alexandrian Patriarch, to whom this Church hath always been subject; he has the seventh place in a General Council; he Ordains only by Imposition of Hands; he hath Lands both in the Kingdom of Dembea and Tigre, from which, besides several Perquisites, he receives a considerable Revenue. Their Priests may Marry after they are in Orders, and as often as they are Widowers.

They are said to have divers Forms of Baptism, viz. I baptize thee in the Holy Spirit; I baptize thee in the Water of Jordan; Let God Baptize thee; Come thou to Baptism. They Circumcise both Males and Females, and are all Baptized every Year on the Feast of Epiphany; they hold that Men derive their Souls, no less than their Bodies, from their Parents; and that the Children of Christian Parents, and especially of a Christian Mother, are saved notwithstanding they die without Baptism.

They celebrate the Eucharist but once a day in a Church, at which none must be present without communicating; the Laity as well as the Clergy receive the Cup; they do not elevate, nor Worship the consecrated Elements, neither are they kept after the Communion; they consecrate unleavened Bread, which they break after it is consecrated; they reckon the receiving of the Sacrament breaks their Fast, for which reason they never receive it on Fasting-days till after Three a Clock in the Afternoon. They do not believe Transubstantiation, as is plain from their Liturgy, in which the Words of Institution are thus set down, This Bread is my Body, this Cup is my Blood, which Propositions the Romanists themselves acknowledge cannot be understood otherwise than figuratively.

Ludolphus farther tells us, That when he asked Gregory the Habassin, Whether he did not think that the Substance of the Bread and Wine was changed and converted into the Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ? That he made answer, That no such sort of Transubstantiation was known or understood by his Countrymen, who were not so scrupulous, neither did they use to start such thorny Questions. Nevertheless it seemed to him probable and likely, That the Common Bread and Wine was changed into the mysterious Representation of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and so was altered from Profane to Sacred, to represent the true Body and Blood of Christ to the Communicants. Than which Declaration, nothing can be more agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church of England concerning the Eucharist. Finally, Paul de Roo, Secretary to the Dutch East-India Company, was in the Year 1691, told by the Habassin Ambassador, who was sent to the Governor of Batavia, That Transubstantiation and the Adoration of the Consecrated Bread in the Sacrament, were what the Habassins abhorred.

They confess their Sins only in general, saying, Habassea, Habassea, I have sinned, I have sinned, without descending to particulars.

They deny Purgatory, and know nothing of Confirmation and Extreme Unction; they condemn Graven Images; they keep both Saturday and Sunday; and do never fast on either of them, no, not in Lent, nor upon any day betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide; their Church Offices are all in the Vulgar Tongue; and are performed with extraordinary Devotion, but especially their Litanies; they go all betimes in the morning to Church to pay their Devotions, which they do with great fervor, and for the most part leave something of an offering behind them.

Whenever they come to any place that has a Church, let their Business be never so urgent, they repair to it immediately; they never go into any Church with their Shoes on, nor sit down in it, unless it be upon the ground; on all occasions they express a deep sense of Religion, but chiefly when they visit the Sick, which they are very forward to do: They are charitable to the Poor, and to all Strangers, if they are satisfied of their not being of the Roman Church; for all whose Members, the Cruel Persecutions which were raised and carried on for some years by the Jesuits, while the Emperor was at their Devotion, have created a perfect detestation in them. The whole of their Divine Service consists in reading the Scriptures, and some Homilies of the Fathers, and the Administration

of the Sacrament, preaching being a rare Exercise among them; at which when Mr. Ludolphus seemed to wonder, he was asked by Gregory the Habassin, Whether we of the Western Church thought our Preacher could say any thing better than what was written in the Sacred

Scriptures, and the Homilies of the Fathers? or whether we thought their Sayings more efficacious than the Word of God? and whether we did not fear lest those Preachers should utter something which might be repugnant to our Faith and Salvation, and which might prove of dangerous consequence to the Peace of the Church?

### **AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF ETHIOPIA BY THE PORTUGUESES.**

DON ENRIQUE the Fifth, Son of Don Joan the first King of Portugal by his Queen the Lady Philipa, the Daughter of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, being a Prince much addicted to the study of Mathematics, was the first that ever entertained any thought of making Discoveries on the Western Coast of Africa, to which he is said to have been encouraged by some Information he received from the Moors in Barbary, when he was a Soldier there under his Father; he was Master of the Military Order of Christ, which together with his other Ecclesiastical Pensions, brought him in a great Revenue; all which, together with his whole time, he resolved to dedicate entirely to the gratification of his Curiosity after new Discoveries.

And in order to the better carrying on of this his great Design, he retired from Court to a place in the Algarves, called at that time Terranable, but since, from him, Villa de Infante; a few Months after his retirement, he fitted out two Ships, which having passed the Pillars of Hercules, at that time the non ultra of Navigation, they sailed to the Promontory of Ganaria, but were discouraged from proceeding any further, partly by strong Currents, and partly by that Promontory, running so far into the Sea, that they could not discover its Cape.

This first Voyage was made in the Year 1410, after which it was 10 years before the Infante could prevail with any body to make a second Attempt; the first Adventurers having to excuse their Cowardice, reported terrible things of the Dangers they had escaped.

Neither did the Infante, during all that time, escape the discouragement that new and great Enterprises do commonly meet withal; his Designs, for some

years, having been not only the Jest of the Lazy Buffoon, but were also censured as Chimera's, or Idle Projects, by Men of Speculation and Gravity, who said, The Countries the Infante was in quest of, were neither better, nor worse, than the Sandy Deserts of Arabia; that God having allotted those Countries to the Wild Beasts for their habitation, if men should offer to intrude into them, they would either die, or turn wild like the Natives; and that the very sight of them would turn Whites, Negroes; that there had never wanted younger Brothers among Princes, who had sought to remedy the misfortune of their Birth, by new Discoveries, but which had always miscarried: That the Infante's Father, who was a wise Prince, finding Portugal wanted People, had invited Strangers from all parts into it, and had given them Lands to cultivate; whereas, if his Project should take effect, it would tend to the depopulating of it; with a great many other such idle Reflections.

But the Infante, who had too great a Soul to be discouraged either by Railery, or grave Nonsense, having with much ado wrought some Mariners up to an Opinion of the feasibleness of the Undertaking, in the Year 1420 he equipped several Vessels, which after having met with violent Storms, discovered the Island of Madera; after which he went on discovering more and more yearly, until they made the Mountains of Leaena, which lie 360 Leagues to the Southward of Ganaria.

The Infante, to encourage the Portugueses to go on with the Discoveries he had so happily begun, obtained a Bull from Pope Martin the Vth, and which was afterwards confirmed by divers other Popes, whereby he gave to the Crown of Portugal a Title to all the Countries that should be discovered by its Subjects from the Promontory of Ganaria, to the farthest Indies.

But notwithstanding this grant, after the Infante's Death, these Discoveries were for some years at a stand, until they were renewed again by Alphonso the Vth, whose Captains sailed first beyond the Mountain of Leaena, as far as Caboverde, and afterwards advanced as far as the Promontory of St. Catherin, which is two degrees and a half to the South of the Equator.

John II. who succeeded Alphonso, set his heart extremely on carrying on those Discoveries; and having got some Eminent Mathematicians about him, he commanded them to consult together to see whether they could invent any thing that might be of use in long Voyages; the most eminent of

them, were Rodrigo and Josephe, his two Physicians, and one Martin Bohemo, who had been scholar to Johannes Monterejus. These Learned Men, after divers Conferences, invented the Astrolabe, and the Tables of Declination.

With the help of this Instrument, one Canus, a famous Sea-Commander, carried on the Discoveries as far as the River Saires in the Kingdom of Congo. This River is said to rise in the same Mountains with the Nile, and in the Winter to run into the Sea with that violence, as to make the Water fresh for 80 miles: Here it was the Portugueses first heard of the Habassins, and of their being Christians; of whom, when King John came to be informed, he resolved to send some by the way of Egypt, to try to get into that Country; the first that were sent being ignorant of the Arabic tongue, were quickly discouraged, who having visited Jerusalem, returned home without doing any thing.

Only to excuse themselves, they raised Stories that were enough to have daunted others from attempting that Voyage a second time.

But the King understanding what it was that had made his first Attempt miscarry, and having found two men who were both great Masters of the Arabic tongue, whose names were Petro Cavillam, and Alphonso Payo; he sent them on the same Errand, with a strict charge not to come back without an Account of the Situation and State of the Habassin Empire and Religion, promising them great Rewards if they did it effectually.

They went first to Alexandria, and from thence to Memphis, and from thence to Medena, where being informed of the Indies being on the left hand, and Habassia on the right, they agreed to part there; and having cast lots, it fell to Payo's share to go to Habassia, and to Cavilham to go to the Indies, having appointed to meet at Memphis, after they had made all the Discoveries they were able in their several Provinces. Payo, whose Province was Habassia, died by the way before he got thither; but Cavilham had better luck, and arrived safe in the Indies, where having observed all the Chief Ports and Commodities of those Countries, he made Maps of the one, and set down an exact Account of the other, which were afterwards of great use to the Portugueses, as well as an encouragement to them to go on in their Discoveries. After having finished what he had to do in the Indies, he sailed to the Coast of Africa, where having touched at Oramata, and the Promontory of Prusus, and at Rapti which stands on the

Mouth of the River Sengi, as also at Melinde, Quiloa, and Cephalia, he was there certainly informed by the Merchants and Mariners, that there was a passage to the Indies, in the Latitude where the Cape of Good Hope was since discovered to be.

Cavilham being overjoyed at this Intelligence, made all the haste he could to Memphis, where being arrived, he met with the bad news of Payo's Death; and though he was willing to have returned to Portugal with the Intelligence he had got, yet remembering how much the King's heart was set on the discovery of Habassia, of which he was able to give him little or no Account, he resolved to take a Journey thither, which he did, having first sent the King in writing an exact Information of all the Discoveries he had made in the Indies, and on the Coast of Africa, by some Merchants that traded from Memphis to Lisbon.

In the Year 1490, Cavilham first entered into Habassia, of which at that time one Escander or Alexander was Emperor, who being satisfied of the truth of what Cavilham had told him, of his having been sent to him by the King of Portugal, and of the Greatness of that King; he entertained him civilly, and was preparing to have sent an Ambassador along with him to Portugal, but was prevented from doing it by Death.

But Nahod, who succeeded Alexander, was so far from executing what his Father had designed, that he would neither send himself, nor suffer Cavilham to return home, whom he looked upon and treated as a Spy.

Cavilham finding that there was no hopes of his ever getting out of Ethiopia, persuaded an Habassin Monk, who was going to Jerusalem, to take a Journey to Lisbon, by whom he sent the King a full Information of the State of the Habassin Church and Empire, which coming safe to the King's hand, gave him abundant Satisfaction.

Nahod having reigned 13 Years, was succeeded by his Son Lebna Danguil, or David, who being a Child at his Father's Death, the Empire during his minority was managed by his Grandmother Helena, who had been Wife to the Emperor Beda Mariam, and who for her admirable Wisdom and Learning, was highly esteemed by all sorts of People. She had a great Dowry in the Kingdom of Gojam, where she built the most stately church that had ever been seen in Ethiopia.

This King had three Names; his Baptismal Name was Lebna Danguil; his second Name, which he took when he assumed the Government, was David; his third was Onay Segued; he was a Prince of great Courage; but as we shall see hereafter, was ruined by the vast hopes he had conceived of the Advantages that would accrue to him by his new Alliance with the Portuguese.

Emanuel succeeding John, both in the Kingdom of Portugal, and in his heat for carrying on the Discovery of the Indies; after the Great Gamas having got thither, and entered into Alliances with the several Princes, did reckon that there was no security to his Trade in those Parts, without getting some of the best and strongest of its Ports into his own Hand; he thereupon sent Francisco de Almeida with the greatest Fleet that ever was sent before or since to the Indies, to take Adenum, Ormus, Malaca, &c. to which and all that he was able to Conquer in those Parts, the Popes, who pretend to a right to dispose of all Infidel, as well as Heretical Kingdoms, had given him in a Title.

Almeida sailed from Lisbon with his great Fleet on the 26th of March in the Year 1502, and after a troublesome Voyage arrived at Quiola, where he deposed the King, and bestowed the Crown upon the most popular Man he could hear of; and having found a convenient Situation for a Castle, he run one up in twenty Days, and left a good Garrison in it, which commanded both the Port and the Town; from Quiola he sailed to Mombacca, which having taken by Assault, after having plundered the Town, he burnt it to the ground; after that he sailed to Cranganor, where he likewise built a Castle which commanded both the Port and the Town.

In the Year 1507, Alphonso Albuquerque having plundered most of the Towns upon the coast of Melinde, sailed to the Island of Cocatora, the Inhabitants whereof are Christians of the Jacobite Sect, as the Habassins are, where having taken the Fort of Benninum by Storm, he entered into the Persian Gulf; and after having destroyed the Ports of Curiate and Mascat, and taken Zaor, Orfazana, and Ormus, he sent two Envoys, whose Names were Joan Barmudes, and Joan Gomez, to the Emperor of Habassia, who was well-known in those Parts, to desire some Troops of him.

The Empress Helena, who was still Governess of that Empire, having heard of the great things that had been done by the Portuguese Captains



every where in the Indies, received those Envoys with great Ceremony, and expecting to reap great Advantages from an Alliance with a Nation that was so powerful at Sea, she dispatched one Matthew an Armenian, Ambassador in her Grand-Son's Name to the King of Portugal, joining an Habassin of some Quality in Commission with him; their Business was to conclude a League offensive and defensive betwixt the Crowns of Ethiopia and Portugal, and that in order to drive the Turks out of all the Ports they were possessed of on the Coast of the Red-Sea.

The Ambassadors having got to Goa, were there very kindly received by Albuquerque, who had taken that City but a little before, and were carried to Lisbon by the Fleet that went thither in the Year 1513, where they were splendidly received by the King: Matthew, besides his Letters of Credence, carried a piece of the true Cross from that Empress to the King, which had been sent her, for Names sake, it is like, by the Habassin Monks at Jerusalem.

**THE LETTERS OF HELENA, GRAND-MOTHER OF DAVID, THE  
PRECIOUS JOHN, TO EMANUEL, KING OF PORTUGAL,  
WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1509.**

*In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one only God in Three Persons: The Health, Grace, and Benedictions of our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, the Son of the Virgin Mary, Born in the House of Bethlehem, be upon our beloved Brother, the most Christian King Emanuel, Lord of the Sea, and Conqueror of the cruel Infidels, the Mahometans.*

THE Lord Prosper you, and give you Victory over all your Enemies, and may your Kingdoms and Dominions be spread far and wide by the devout Prayers of the Messengers of Christ, our Redeemer, the Four Evangelists, St. John, St. Luke, St. Mark, and St. Matthew, whose Holiness and Prayers preserve you.

We do certify you, most beloved Brother, That your two Envoys are arrived at our Court, the one is named John, who saith he is a Priest; the other is named John Gomez, upon whose having desired Succor and Provisions of us, we sent our Ambassador Matthew, a Brother of our Service, with the good leave of our Patriarch, Mark, who gives us Blessing, and sends Presbyters to Jerusalem, and who is our Father, and the Father of our Kingdoms, and the Pillar of the Faith of Christ, and of the

Holy Trinity, to your great Captain, who fighteth for the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ in India, to let him know how ready we are to supply him with what Soldiers and Provisions he stands in need of.

We are informed that the Prince of Cair is bringing together a great Fleet to go against yours, to be revenged on you for the damages he has sustained by your Captains in the Indies, whom may God so prosper daily, that all Infidels may be brought under the Yoke; we have determined to send Forces to your assistance against the said Prince; they shall be ordered to the Straits of Mecha, namely to Babel, or Mendel, unless it should be more convenient for your Service that they should be sent to the Ports of Jidda, or Thur, that so we may drive the Mahometans and Infidels out of the World, and that the Gifts and Oblations which are sent to the holy Sepulchre may no longer be devoured by Dogs.

The promised time, which was foretold by Christ to his Mother, is now come, who said, That in the last days a King should rise among the Franks that would destroy the whole Race of Mahometans, and Barbarians; now this must undoubtedly be that very time.

Whatever our Ambassador Matthew shall say to you, you may give credit to, as if it were spoken by us in person; he is one of our chief Ministers, for which reason we sent him to your Court.

We had committed this Message to the Envoys you sent us, had we not been afraid lest by that means our Affairs might not have come so perfectly to your knowledge, as we desire they should.

We send you by this our Ambassador Matthew, a Cross that is undoubtedly made out of the Cross whereon our Saviour Christ was crucified at Jerusalem: We made two Crosses out of a piece thereof that was sent to us; one whereof we keep to our selves, and the other we have sent to you by our Ambassador; the Wood is of a black color, and it hangs by a small Silver Ring.

Furthermore, If you shall think fit to marry, either your Daughters to our Sons, or your Sons with our Daughters, it will be extremely acceptable to us, and will be much for both our Advantages, by Laying a foundation of a Brotherly Alliance betwixt us. Which Marriages we are and shall always be ready to enter into with you: What remains is, That the Health and Grace of our Redeemer Christ Jesus, and of our Holy Lady the Virgin Mary, may

extend themselves to you, your Sons and Daughters, and your whole Family. Amen.

We do furthermore certify you, That in case you and we join our Forces, we shall, with God's assistance, be strong enough to destroy the Enemies of our Holy Faith; for at Sea, where by reason of our Empire's lying so much within Land, we are not able to do any thing, You, praised be God, are the most powerful of all, Jesus Christ being your Helper; for in truth, the things done by you in the Indies are miraculous, and more than human: If you will set out a Fleet of 1000 Ships, we will take care to furnish them with all Necessaries.

Upon the Emperor of Habassin's having made this glorious Proposition to him, King Emanuel resolved to send a splendid Embassy to his Court, named Don Edward Galvam, who had been Secretary of State to two Kings, and Ambassador at the Courts of Vienna, France, and Rome, and one Rodriguez de Lima, and Francis

Alvarez, one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, to go Ambassadors, sending rich Presents by them, both to the Emperor, and his Grandmother.

These Ambassadors, with Matthew in their Company, went to Goa, on the Fleet that carried the Viceroy Lopez Suares; by whom they were sent in the Year 1520 with a strong Convoy to Arkiko, a Port in the Red-Sea, belonging at that time to the Habassins. Galvam, who was the first in Commission, dying by the way, in the Island of Camara, was succeeded by Lima; who having made but a short stay at Arkiko, begun his Journey towards the Habassin Court, where when he arrived, he was received by the Emperor with extraordinary joy and kindness; Matthew, who died in the way betwixt Arkiko and the Court, having been splendidly interred by the Ambassadors in the Monastery of Bisoym.

The Ambassadors who were to have returned to the Indies by the same Fleet they came upon, having brought their Negotiation to a speedy issue, made what haste they could back to Arkiko, where, to their great mortification, they found the Fleet they were to have embarked upon, gone, the Monsoons or Trade-Winds, which in those Seas blow six Months from one Point, and six months from the opposite, not permitting them to wait any longer for them: And to increase the mortification of this Disappointment, they met with Letters which had been left for them by the

Admiral, that advised them of the death of King Emanuel, the greatest and most fortunate Prince that ever wore the Crown of Portugal.

The Ambassadors not knowing how long it might be before they should have a Fleet to carry them to Goa; and being certain, that by reason of the Monsoon it must be at least six months before one could possibly come to them, they returned to the Court again, where they remained four years before any opportunity for Goa offered itself. But at the end of four years they embarked upon a Fleet at Arkiko, sent on purpose to fetch them, carrying an Habassin Ambassador home with them with Letters to the King of Portugal and the Pope.

The Ambassadors did not arrive at Lisbon before the Year 1527, where the Habassin Ambassador, whose name was Zaga Zabo, was received with all the marks of friendship and kindness; but whatever was the cause of it, he was, to his great sorrow, detained above 10 years in that Court. He hath given the World a large Account of the Faith and Customs of the Habassins, which, though false in abundance of Particulars, I shall set down at length, having first translated the Habassin Emperor's Letters to the Pope, and the King of Portugal.

**THE LETTERS OF THE MOST SERENE DAVID, EMPEROR OF  
ETHIOPIA, TO EMANUEL KING OF PORTUGAL;  
WRIT IN THE YEAR 1521.**

In the name of God the Father, as it was always, and who has no beginning; In the name of God the only Son, who was like unto him before the light of the Stars was seen, and before he laid the foundations of the Sea; but who in time was conceived in the Womb of a Virgin without Human Seed, and without Marriage, for after this manner was the knowledge of his Office: In the name of the Comforter, the Spirit of Holiness, who knoweth all Secrets, that are, or ever were, and all the height of Heaven, which is sustained and upheld without Pillars, and who enlarged the Earth, which before was not known, nor created, from the East to the West, and from the South to the North, neither are they First and Second, but a Trinity joined in One Eternal Creator, and One Council, and One Word through all Ages. Amen.

THESE Letters are sent by Mani Tinghil, that is, the Frankincense of the Virgin, which was the name that was given me at my Baptism; but the name I assumed when I took the Government upon me, is David, the

Beloved of God, the Pillar of the Faith, of the Race of Judah, the Son of David, the Son of Solomon, the Son of the Pillar of Sion, the Son of the Seed of Jacob, the Son of the Hand of Mary, the Son of Nau, by the Flesh, Emperor of the Great and High Ethiopia, and of Mighty Kingdoms and Provinces, King of Xoa and Affate, and of Fatigar, and of Angote and Bara, and of Baaligaura, and of Adea, and of Vangue, and of Goiam, where the Nile riseth; and of Damarua, and of Vaquem Edri, Ambea, Vagni, Tigri, Mahon, and Sabaym, where Queen Saba lived, and of Barnagaes, and Lord of all the Countries as far as Nubia on the Confines of Egypt.

These Letters are addressed to the most Potent and Excellent King Emanuel, who liveth in the love of God, and who continues steadfast in the Catholic Faith, the Son of the Apostles Peter and Paul, King of Portugal and Algarves, the Friend of Christians, the Enemy, Judge and Conqueror of the Mahometans, and Heathens of Africa and Guinea, from the Promontory and Island of the Moon, to the Red-Sea of Arabia, Persia and Ormus, and of the whole Indies, and of all the Provinces, Islands and Lands belonging to them, the Destroyer of the Mahometans, and of all the mighty Heathens; the Lord of Towers, and of High Castles and Walls, the Propagator of the Faith of Jesus Christ.

Peace be with you, King Emanuel, who relying upon God's Assistance, do slaughter the Mahometans, and with your Fleet and Armies every where drive the Infidels out as Dogs: Peace be with the Queen your Wife, the Friend of Jesus Christ, and the Servant of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of the Saviour of the World: Peace be with your Sons, who are as flourishing Lilies in a Spring Garden, and are as a Table furnished with Meat: Peace be with your Daughters, whose Attire adorns them, as Tapestry does a Palace: Peace be with all your Kindred, who are procreated out of the Seed of the Saints, as the holy Scripture saith, The Sons of the Holy are blessed, and are great both at home and abroad: Peace be with your Councillors, Officers, Magistrates and Judges: Peace be with the Governors of your Castles, and Frontiers, and of all your strong Places: Peace be with all Nations, People, and Cities, and all their Inhabitants, excepting Mahometans and Jews; Peace be with all Parishes and with all that are faithful to Christ and you. Amen.

O, Lord King, and my Father, I am informed, That when the fame of my Name first reached your ears, by the Voice of my Ambassador Matthew,

that you forthwith assembled all your Archbishops, Bishops and Prelates, to return thanks to God for so good News, and that you did also receive Matthew with great kindness and respect: When I came to hear of this, I was overjoyed likewise, and did return thanks to God for it, as did also all my People. I was much troubled at Matthew's Death, who died in the Monastery of Basayn, within my Dominions, as he was returning home; he was not sent by me, for I was then but a Boy of 11 years of Age, and had not taken the Government upon me after my Father's death, but by Queen Helena, whom I revered as my Mother, and who at that time administered the Affairs of the Empire. Matthew was by Profession a Merchant, and his true name was Abraham, which he changed, that he might travel through the Turkish Dominions with the more security.

But having, notwithstanding his Disguise, been discovered to be a Christian, at Dabul he was cast into Prison, where he lay till he was taken out by some of your stout Soldiers, upon his having acquainted them with his Confinement, and his being our Ambassador. The General of your Army, after he had rescued him out of the hands of the Enemy, took care to convey him to your Court; at which, as Matthew was punctual in acquainting you with all that he had in Commission to say, so he was the same in sending me word how honorably he was entertained by you, and how you had loaded him with Gifts; all which was confirmed by your Ambassadors, who were conveyed hither by Didacus Lopez de Segueiea, the Admiral of your Fleet; and by the Letters which were to have been delivered to me by Edward Golvam, who died in the Island of Camera, and were delivered by the surviving Ambassadors. I rejoiced exceedingly at the sight of your Letters, and did return thanks to God for them. I was overjoyed likewise to see your Ambassadors have Crosses on their breasts, and did inquire of them concerning the Rites of the Christian Faith; being desirous to know which are the True. But the thing that affected me with the most devotion, was the Story your Ambassadors told me, of Ethiopia having been first discovered to your Fleet by a Miracle: Which after it had given over all hopes of finding it, was conducted to one of our Ports by a Red Cross that appeared one morning in the Heavens; as this appears to me to have been a Miracle, so undoubtedly the Admiral of your Fleet, who had such an extraordinary honor done to him, must be exceedingly beloved of God.

This mutual Embassy of ours was foretold by the Prophet in the Book of Life, and in the Passion of St. Victor, and in the Writings of the Holy

Fathers, which do all testify, That a great Christian King should conclude a Peace with the Emperor of Ethiopia: But little did I expect that this prophecy would have been fulfilled in my days. But God knew it certainly, praised be his Name, who first brought Ambassadors from you to me, that I might likewise send Ambassadors to you.

My Father in Christ, and Friend, it is my desire that we should be of the same Religion; I never had an Embassy sent to me before by any Christian King, neither was I certain that there was a Christian King any where besides my self, having been always encompassed with Moors, the Sons of Mahomet, and with Heathens and Slaves, who do not acknowledge God, and with some who worship Wood and Fire, and with others that worship Serpents as Gods; with whom I have never lived well, because, though the Faith has been preached to them, they refuse to come to the Truth. I am now at ease, God having given me rest from all your and my own Enemies; against whom when I march with my Armies, they turn their backs toward us; my Captains are also every-where victorious over them: So that God is not angry with me, but as the Psalmist has it, He hath fulfilled the desire of Kings, who desire nothing but what is righteous: For which, no praise is due us, but all thanks ought to be returned to God, for it is he that hath given us the World, and the Land of the Gentiles for ever, and all the Countries from your own Borders to those of Ethiopia: For which I do give great thanks to God, and do proclaim his mighty Power, hoping the Sons of the Gentiles will be brought under the Yoke, and to the knowledge of the true Faith; for I do not in the least doubt, but that your Sons, and you, and I, shall abundantly rejoice in our Victories; and you must never give over praying to God until he has put you in Possession of the Holy Temple of Jerusalem, which at present is in the hands of the Enemies of Christ, that is, of Mahometans, Heathens, and Heretics; which work if you could perform, your hand will be full of praise.

Of the Ambassadors you sent unto me with Matthew, Three died by the way; the Admiral of your Fleet, after having had a Conference at Matrua with the King of Bernagays, who is our Vassal, dispatched the surviving Ambassadors with great Gifts to our Court: Your Gifts were acceptable to me, but your Name is more precious to me than all Jewels and Treasures.

But let us pass over these things, and begin to Treat how we may Invade and Conquer the Countries of the Infidels; I for my part will Contribute a Hundred thousand Drachms of Gold, and as many Thousand Armed Men,

and moreover Timber, and Iron, and Copper, towards the Building and Equipping of a Fleet, with abundance of Provisions of all sorts; let us therefore join together. And whereas it is not our custom, nor agreeable to our Dignity, to send Ambassadors to any Prince to sue for Peace, you did therefore first send Ambassadors to desire a Peace with me, wherein you verified the Words of Christ, for it is written, Blessed are the feet which bring peace; for which I am also prepared after the manner of the Apostles, who were unanimous and of one Heart.

O King, and my Father Emanuel; the Only God, who is the God of Heaven, and is always the same, growing neither older no younger, preserve and protect you.

The Envoy, of those that arrived, who was first in Commission, was named Rodrigo Lima, with whom was joined one Francis Alvarez, who for the singular Piety and Probity of his Life, was very dear to me; he did also return very proper answers to all the questions I put to him concerning Religion; you ought therefore to prefer him, and to call him Master, and to employ him in the Conversion of the people of Matrúa and Zeila, and of all the other Islands of the Red-Sea, all which are on the Coast of our Empire; I have bestowed a Cross and a Staff upon him, as Badges of Authority, and would have you to do the same, and to make him Bishop of those Countries, for he well deserves it, and is very fit for that office. God be propitious to you, that so you may always be Valiant against your Enemies, and may bring them all under your Feet.

God grant you a long life, and make you partaker of as good Places in the Kingdom of Heaven as I wish for my self; for I have heard many good things of you, and have seen with my eyes what I never expected to have seen: May God make things succeed from good to better, and may your place be over the Tree of Life, which is the place of the Saints.

I as your little Son, have done what you Commanded me; and if you will send Ambassadors to me, I will always obey you, that so we may help one another; and whenever your Ambassadors shall arrive, as these did at Matrúa, or at Dalacam, I will be sure to take that care of them that you desire I should, there being nothing I am so ambitious of, as that we should be united in Councils and Actions; and whensoever your Fleet shall come upon my Coast, I shall join them immediately with an Army: And whereas on my Borders there are no Christians, nor Christian Churches, I am



willing to give all those Provinces, which Border upon the Mahometans, to your Subjects to Inhabit; make haste therefore to execute what you have begun.

In the mean time I would have you send me some of your Learned Men, as also some Gravers of Images of God and Silver, and some Lead, Copper and Iron Smiths, as also some Printers, that understand our Letters, to Print Books for our Churches, and some that know how to make Bracelets, and how to Gild Metals, they shall be all well entertained in my Palace, and whenever they shall have a mind to return home, they shall be well Rewarded for their Pains; and I do Swear by Christ Jesus, who is God, and the Son of God, that they shall have free leave to depart.

This I do desire and expect from your known Virtue and Goodness, being sensible that you have a great kindness for me, by your having treated Matthew so Honorably and Liberally, and by having sent him back as you did.

I do most earnestly desire to have all the forementioned Artificers sent hither, and do promise that you shall never have any cause to repent of your having sent them; for I will take care that they shall all be well rewarded; wherefore since a Father ought not to deny what his Son desires of him, and you are my Father, and I am your Son, let us be joined together as two Bricks are in a Wall, that so we may be two with one Heart, and may agree in the Love of Christ Jesus, who is the Head of the World, all that are in him being as Bricks joined together in a Wall. Amen.

**THE LETTERS OF THE SAME DAVID EMPEROR OF  
ETHIOPIA, TO KING JOHN THE IIID. OF PORTUGAL,  
WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1524.**

In the Name of God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things that are made, visible and invisible: In the Name of God the son, the Council and Prophet of the Father; and in the Name of the Holy Ghost, the Comforter and living God: Who is equal to the Father and the Son, and who spoke by the mouth of the Prophets, and inspired the Apostles, that they might Thank and Praise the Perfect Trinity in Heaven and on Earth, and in the Depths always. Amen.

I The Frankincense of the Virgin, for that was my Baptismal Name, but who with the Scepter of my Kingdom have taken the Name of David. The

Beloved of God, the Pillar of the Faith, the Offspring of Judah, the Son of David, the Son of Solomon, Kings of Israel, the Son of the Pillar of Sion, of the seed of Jacob, the Son of the hand of Mary, the Son of Nau by the Flesh; do send these Letters and this Ambassador, to the Greatest, most Powerful, and High, John Emanuel: Peace be with you, the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you always. Amen.

When I heard of the Power of the King your Father, by whom the Moors, the Sons of the filthy Mahomet, were subdued, I gave great Thanks to God for the Increase and the Greatness of the Crown of Conservation in the House of Christianity. I did likewise take great pleasure in the arrival of the Ambassadors who brought that King's words to us, because by that means a singular Love, Friendship, and Correspondence, was established betwixt us, in order to the Extirpating of all the Wicked Mahometans and the Unbelieving Heathens that lie betwixt our two Kingdoms. But while I was full of this Joy, before I had sent any Ambassador to him, I received the News of your and my Father's Death, which turned my Joy suddenly into Sorrow, whereof our Court, Prelates, and Monks, and, in a word, all our Faithful Subjects, did deeply partake: Our Sorrow upon this News becoming equal to our former Joy.

Sir, From the beginning of my Reign there was no Ambassador nor Envoy sent to me by the King or Kingdom of Portugal, but by your Father, who sent some of his Captains hither, and with them some of his Nobles, and Clerks, and Deacons, who brought with them all the Utensils of a Solemn Mass.

I must tell you, I was overjoyed at their arrival, and did receive them with great Affection, dismissing them after they had done their Business, that so they might return home in Peace and with Honor: But being come to the Port of the Red-Sea that is on my Borders, they found the Admiral of their Fleet gone; who, as he certified me himself, could wait no longer for them, by reason of a Custom that you have, of changing your Admiral every Third Year, which, together with no other Fleets having touched at any of my Ports for some Years after, was the cause of your Ambassador's having staid so long at my Court.

I do now send, what I desire of you, by Brother Christopher Licanot, whose Baptismal Name is Zaga Zabo, that is to say, The Grace of the Father, who will lay my Demands before you. I do likewise send Francis

Alvarez to the Pope, to yield obedience to him in my Name, as it is just I should.

O Lord my Brother King, attend and apply your self to the Friendship that was begun betwixt us by your Father, and do not neglect to send Letters and Ambassadors to us frequently; for I am extremely desirous to receive them from you, as from my Brother: And since we are both Christians, and the Mahometans, though Wicked, are still in Peace with all of their own Sect, it is fit it should be the same betwixt us. And I do declare, That for the future, I will receive no Embassy from the King of Egypt, nor from any of those Kingdoms, which have formerly sent Ambassadors to us, nor from no other King but only from your Highness, from whom I do earnestly desire to have them come; for the Mahometan Kings, by reason of the difference that is betwixt us in Religion, do never look upon me as their Friend, and do only pretend to have a Kindness for me, that they may Trade with the more conveniency and security within my Dominions, from whence they draw great Profit, exporting Yearly great Quantities of Gold, whereof they are extremely Covetous, while at the same time they have no real Friendship for me, for which reason I take no pleasure in their Gain; but this having been a Custom of my Ancestors, was to be endured; though after all, the only thing that hinders me from making War upon them, and Confounding them, is the fear of provoking them thereby to violate and destroy the Temple of Jerusalem, where the Sepulchre of Christ is, which God hath been pleased to leave in the hands of those filthy Mohametans, and to demolish the Churches that are in Egypt and Syria; this is the only cause why I do not Invade and Conquer them, which I am sorry I am not at liberty to do.

O King, I can by no means rejoice in the Christian Kings of Europe, who, as I am informed, do not agree in one heart, but are at War one with another; be you all Unanimous, and in Friendship one with another; for my own part, had I a Christian King in my Neighborhood, I would never be absent from him. I do not know what to say of these matters, nor what to do, since God seems to have ordained things to be as they are.

My Lord, let me have Ambassadors from you frequently; for when I see your Letters I think I behold your face; there being a greater Friendship betwixt those that live far asunder, than betwixt Neighbors, by reason of the stronger desire they have one for another; for he that has hid his Treasure thinks the oftener of it, and loves it the more for not seeing it,

according to what Christ saith in his Gospel, Where your treasure is there will your hearts be also; my heart is therefore with you, because you are my Treasure, and you ought also to make me your Treasure, so as sincerely to join your Heart with ours.

O Lord and Brother, observe this word, for I am told you are very Wise, and in Wisdom like your Father, of which, when I was informed, I returned Thanks to God for it, and throwing away Sorrow, did put on Joy, and said, Blessed be the Son that is Wise, and who has a great Head; the Son of King Emanuel who sits upon the Throne of his Kingdoms.

Sir, Have a care you do not grow weary, since you are no less Valiant than your Father, and do not discover your self to be Weak against the Mahometans and Gentiles, whom, with God's Assistance, you may easily Conquer; and have a care how you say, The Forces left me by my Father are small; for they are abundantly sufficient, and God will always help you: I have Men, Gold, and Provisions, like the Sand of the Sea, and the Stars of Heaven; so that we two being United, may with ease destroy the whole Barbarous Race of Mahometans; I desire nothing of you, but Experienced Officers to Discipline and Command my Soldiers.

O King, thou art of a just Age, whereas Solomon took the government upon himself when he was but 12 years old, and notwithstanding that had great Power, and was wiser than his Father. I also when Nau my Father died, was but 11 years of Age, and have, notwithstanding that, with God's assistance, acquired more Power and Riches since I sat on the Throne of my Father, than ever he had; having conquered all the Neighboring Nations and Kingdoms; we have both cause therefore to thank God for so singular a benefit. Hearken to me, Brother, and Lord; for there is one thing I must request of you, which is, That you would send me some of your learned Men, as also some Artificers, that understand how to make Images, and how to Print Books, and to make Swords, and all sorts of Military Weapons, with some Masons, Carpenters, and Physicians and Surgeons, and some

who skill to beat Gold, and gild, and how to work in Mines: I would also have some that know how to cover Houses with Lead, and to make Tile; in a word, all sorts of Artificers shall be welcome to me, namely, such as make Pistols. Help me, I beseech you, to all these things, as one Brother ought to help another, and then God will help you out of your Troubles.

The Lord hear your Prayers, and Petitions, as he has received holy Sacrifices at all times, namely, the Sacrifices of Abel, and of Noah when he was in the Ark, and that of Abraham when he was in the Land of Madiam, and of Isaac when he went from the Trench of the Oak, and of Jacob in the House of Bethlehem, and that of Moses in Egypt, and of Aaron in the Mount, and of Joshua the Son of Nun in Galgala, and of Gideon on the Rock, of Sampson when he was in a dry and thirsty Land, and of Samuel in Rama of the Prophets, and of David in Naceea, and of Solomon in the city of Gabeono, and of Elias in Mount Carmel, when he raised the Daughter of the Widow over the Pit to life; and of Jehosaphet in Battle, and of Manasses when he turned to God after having sinned, and of Daniel in the Den of Lions, and of the three Companions, Sidrach, Mesack and Abednego, in the fiery Furnace, and of Hannah before the Altar, and of Nehemiah, who together with Zerobabel built the Wall; and of Matathias with his Sons, on the fourth part of the Earth; and of Esau upon the Blessed: In the same manner may God receive your Sacrifices, and Supplications; and assist you, and be on your side against all wickedness, at all times.

Peace be with you; I do embrace you with the Arms of Holiness; as I do also your whole Council, and all your Archbishops, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and all Men and Women; the Grace of God, and the Blessing of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, be with you, and with all People. Amen.

### **THE LETTER OF DAVID, EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA, TO THE ROMAN PONTIFF, IN THE YEAR 1524.**

In the name of God, the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible; in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of God, who was the same with him from the beginning of the World, and who is Light of Light, and very God of very God; and in the name of God the Holy Ghost, who is true God, and proceedeth from the Father.

I The King, at whose Name the Lions do tremble, who am by the Grace of God called Achami Tinghil, that is the Frankincense of the Virgin; the Son of King David, the Son of Solomon, the Son of the Hands of Mary, the Son of Nau by the Flesh, and by Grace the Son of St. Peter and St. Paul; do send these Letters.

Peace be with you.

O Just Lord, and holy, powerful, pure and sacred Father, who art the head of all Bishops, and fearest no-body, because there is none that hath power to curse thee, who art the most watchful Curate of all Souls, and the Friend of Pilgrims, and the sacred Master and Preacher of the Faith, and the Enemy of every thing that offends the Conscience, and the lover of all good Manners, and a holy Person, whom all do bless and praise.

O happy and holy Father, I do obey you with reverence, because you are the peace of all, and do deserve whatever is good; so that it is but just, that according to the divine Commands of the Apostles, all should yield obedience to you : This belongs to you; but they have likewise commanded us to reverence all Bishops, Archbishops and Prelates, and to love you as a Father, and to reverence you as a King, and to believe in you as a God.

For which cause I do humbly with bended knees, and with a sincere heart, tell you, holy Father, That you are my Father, and I am your Son.

Holy and most mighty Father, Why have you never sent any Nuncio's to us, to be informed of our health; for since you are our Pastor, and we are your Sheep, you ought not to have been unmindful of me, nor ought you to have reckoned us to have been too remote from your Territories, for your Nuncio's to have visited us; seeing from the most remote Kingdom of the Earth, that is Portugal, your Son, King Emanuel, has commodiously sent his Ambassadors to us; so that if God had deferred calling him to Heaven, the things he and I were treating about, had undoubtedly had a happy Issue before this time.

I should be glad to hear healthful things from you by certain Nuncio's, having never had a word from your Holiness, nor heard of you by any other way, but by some of our vowed Pilgrims, who neither carried Letters from us to you, nor brought any from you to us; and who therefore, when we enquired of them, could only tell us, That going from Jerusalem, after they had performed their Vows there, to visit the Thresholds of the Apostles at Rome, they had seen you, giving us a general Account of your Affairs. I took great pleasure in their Relations, beholding in them the Image of your holy Countenance, which appeared to me to be like that of an Angel; and I must own, that I do love and reverence you: Nevertheless, it would be much more grateful to me, devoutly to contemplate your Words and Letters: I must therefore beg it of you, that you would send a Nuncio to me, to exhilarate my heart with your Blessing; for since we

agree in Faith and Religion, that is the thing of the World that I desire most, and that my Friendship may be as the Ring you wear on your Finger, or as the Gold Chain that is about your Neck, that so I may be always in your heart and memory: Friendship being much increased by grateful Words and Letters, when holy Peace, from which all human Joy doth flow naturally, embraceth them: For as one that is very thirsty is extremely desirous of cold water, as the Scripture has it; so Nuncio's from your Holiness, or any Christian King, will fill my heart with extraordinary Pleasures; such as theirs are filled which, who after a Victory, come to gather rich Spoils: All this may be done with great ease, now the King of Portugal has opened a way to it; who some times since sent Ambassadors, with other Persons of Quality, to us, which was a thing had never been done by any Christian King, or Pope, before to any of our Ancestors: Only in the Archives of our Great Grandfather Zera Jacob, who was King of all the Kings of Ethiopia, and a most Formidable Prince, the Copies of some Letters to him from Eugenius the Roman Pontiff are still preserved, the purport whereof is as followeth.

“Eugenius the Roman Pontiff, to our beloved Son King Zara Jacob, the King of all the Kings of Ethiopia, and who is mightily dreaded: He goes on, and tells him, That his Son John Paleologus, who had been dead two years, the King of the Kings of the Romans, had been called by him to celebrate a holy Synod, to which he came accompanied by Joseph the Patriarch of Constantinople, and a great many other Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates, as also with the Procurators of the Patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, who had all united themselves to him, in the love of the holy Faith, and Religion: So that now the Unity of the Church was reestablished, and all the old Controversies, through God's assistance, were ended; and whatever was erroneous, and contrary to Religion, dissipated, and right Order restored, which had filled all People with joy.”

We do here send you that letter of Eugenius, which has been preserved entire, and would likewise have sent you the whole Order and Power of the Pontifical Benediction; had it not been so large a Volume, it being bigger than the Book of Paul to the Gentiles; the Nuncio's that brought these Papers from the Pope hither, were Theodore, Peter, Didimus, and George, the Servants of Jesus Christ: You would do well, Holy Father, to command your Papers to be looked over, among which, it is like, you will meet with

some Records of these Matters. You may see by this, holy Father, that if you should be pleased to write any thing to us, the memory thereof will be preserved in our Archives through all Ages: And happy is the Man whose Memory is preserved in the Records of the holy City of Rome, the Chair of St. Peter, and St. Paul, who are the Lords of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Judges of the World; and my believing them to be so, was the cause of my writing these Letters to your Holiness, that I may obtain your Favor, and that of your holy Conclave, and therewithal all sorts of Blessings, and the increase of all good things.

I do furthermore supplicate your Holiness, to send us the Images of some Saints, namely, that of the blessed Virgin Mary, that by that means your Holiness may be frequent in our Mouths, and Memories, and that I may be always delighting my self in your Gifts: For the same reason I do earnestly entreat you, to send me some Learned Men, and Artificers, namely, Carvers of Images, Sword-Cutlers, and Gunsmiths, and Gilders, and Carpenters, but especially Artificers who know how to Build Houses with Stone, and to cover them with Lead and Copper; I should be glad likewise, to have some that understand how to make Glass, and Musical Instruments, and how to play well upon them, with some Pipers and Trumpeters: These Artificers I desire chiefly from your Holiness; but in case you should have none to spare, I must entreat you to order some of the Christian Kings, your Sons, who are all at your Commands, to send them unto me: Which Artificers, when they arrive here, shall be treated honorably, and rewarded according to their deserts; they shall also have good Wages, and whenever they shall desire it, they shall have free leave to return home, and be well rewarded for their pains; for I will detain no body against his will, how beneficial soever his stay should be to me: But to pass to other things.

I must expostulate with you, holy Father: Why do you not exhort the Christian Kings, your Sons, to lay down their Arms, as becomes Brethren, and to agree among themselves; seeing they are all your Sheep, and you are their Pastor? Your Holiness is not ignorant of the Gospel-Commands, and of its having said, A kingdom divided against it self cannot stand, but will become desolate. For if those Kings would but all join together, they would quickly destroy all the Mahometans, and with ease demolish the Sepulchre of their False Prophet: Apply your self therefore to this, holy Father, that so there may be a firm Peace and Confederacy established among them, and exhort them to assist us, who are besieged on all sides by



Wicked Mahometans, and Moors: The Turks and Moors can assist one another, and their Kings and Rulers do all agree together: I have a Mahometan for my Neighbor, who is constantly supplied with Arms, Horses, and all Military Weapons, by Princes of his own Sect, namely, the Kings of India, Persia and Egypt; this is a great mortification to me, to see the Enemies of the Christian Religion enjoy Pease, and live together like Brethren; and at the same time, to see Christian Kings, my Brethren, not in the least concerned at the Injuries I endure; not one of them offering to succor me as becomes a Christian, notwithstanding the filthy sons of Mahomet are always ready to succor one another; not that I desire any Soldiers of them, for I have enough of my own, and to spare; but all that I desire of them, is, only their Prayers and Supplications, and your Holiness, and my Brethren's Favor: The reason why I want your Friendship, is, that I may be furnished by you with such things as are necessary to terrify the Mahometans, the Enemies of the Name of Christ: And that my Neighbors may be made sensible of my being favored by the Christian Kings, my Brethren, and of their being ready to assist me whenever there shall be occasion; which would be much for the honor of all of us that are of the same Faith and Religion, and do intend to persist therein.

God fulfil your Desires to the praise of Jesus Christ, and of God our Father, who is praised by all through all Ages; and you, my Lord, and holy Father, with all the Saints of Christ at Rome, embrace me; and let all my Subjects, and all that dwell in Ethiopia, be received with the same Embraces; and let thanks be returned to Christ with your Spirit.

These Letters your Holiness will receive from my Brother, John, King of Portugal, the most Powerful Son of King Emanuel, who will send them to you by our Ambassador Francisco Alvarez.

### **A SECOND LETTER OF DAVID, EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA, TO THE ROMAN PONTIFF, WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1524.**

Happy and holy Father, who art made by God the Conservator of the Nations, and who dost sit in the Chair of St. Peter; To thee are given the keys of the kingdom of heaven; so that whatsoever thou binded or loosed on earth, is bound and loose in heaven, according to what Christ hath said in St. Matthew's Gospel.

I the King, at whose Name the Lions tremble, who at my Baptism was called Atami Tinghil, that is the Frankincense of the Virgin, but who, when

I took the Administration of my Empire upon me, assumed the Names of David the Beloved of God, the Pillar of Faith, the Prince of Judah, the Son of Solomon, the Son of the Pillar of Sion, the Son of Zara Jacob, the Son of the Hand of Mary, the Son of Nau by the Flesh, Emperor of the Great and High Ethiopia, and of vast Kingdoms and Dominions; King of Xoa, and Caffate, and Fatigar, Angot, Baru, Baaltinganze, Adea, Vanga, and Mahon, and Saba, from whence the Queen of Saba went, and Barnagays; the Lord of all Nubia, to the Confines of Egypt: All which Countries, and a great many more not here mentioned, are under our Dominion; neither have I mentioned the fore-named out of Pride, or Vainglory, or for any other reason, but that the Great God may be the more praised, who of his singular bounty has been pleased to bestow the foresaid Christian Empires upon my Ancestors; and who hath likewise been gracious to me, after a special manner, that I might constantly do service to his Religion; making me Lord of Adel, and the Scourge of the Mahometans, and Gentiles, who do worship Idols: I do after the manner of other Christian Kings, my Brethren, to whom I am no-ways inferior, either in Power or Religion, send to kiss your Holiness's Feet: Within my own Territories, I am the Pillar of Faith, neither am I assisted with any Foreign Succors, but I do place my whole trust and confidence in God, as my Ancestors did before me, who have all been sustained and governed by him, ever since his Angel spoke to Philip, who instructed the Eunuch of the powerful Queen Candace, Empress of Ethiopia, in the Faith, as he was coming from Jerusalem to Gaza; Philip then baptized the Eunuch, and the Eunuch afterwards baptized the Queen, with the greatest part of the Court, and People, who from that day to this, have continued Christians, and strong in the Faith; My ancestors, without any other than Divine Assistance, have propagated the Faith through vast Regions, which I likewise labor daily to do; being fixed between the large Borders of my Kingdoms, as a Lion encompassed within a Wood; and strongly fortified against the Mahometans, and other Nations, that are Enemies to the Christian Faith, and who will not give ear to the Word of God, and my Exhortation: For which reason, I with my Sword girt about me, do persecute them, and will by degrees expel them, relying on the Divine Assistance, which is never wanting to me, which is more than all Christian Kings can say, who, if they would but agree together, might with the help of your Blessing, easily enlarge the Bounds of their Empires; of which Blessing I do partake. Among our Books there being Letters which were sent by Pope Eugenius with his Blessing to Zera Jacob; which

Blessing having descended to me, I do now enjoy it, and rejoice in it mainly.

The Holy Temple of Jerusalem is a place I have great Veneration for, and do frequently send Oblations to it by our Pilgrims; and I would send both more and greater, were I not Besieged on all sides by Mahometans and Infidels; who besides that they Rifle our Messengers, will not allow them a free passage; whereas if the ways were but once opened, I should then be able to Correspond with the Roman Church, as well as other Christians, to whom, as to the Christian Religion, I am nothing inferior; for as they believe One Right Faith, and One Church, so I do profess the same, and do most sincerely believe in the Holy Trinity, and in One God, and in the Virginity of our Lady the Virgin Mary; I do also hold all the Articles of the Christian Faith, and do keep them as they were writ by the Apostles.

And now that our good God has been pleased, by the hand of the most Potent and Christian King Emanuel, to open a way by which we may Correspond by Ambassadors; since we are joined in the Faith, let us likewise with all other Christians join together in the service of God. During the time the Ambassadors of that King were at our Court, we received the News of his Death, and of his Son, and my Brother John, having Succeeded to the Crown; and as I was extremely afflicted at the News of the Death of the Father, so I did very much rejoice to hear of his Son's having succeeded him; for I do hope that by joining our forces, we shall be able to open a passage both by Sea and Land, through the Regions of the Wicked Mahometans, and to terrify them to that degree, as to drive them quite out of those Countries, so that Christians may go to, and return from Jerusalem without any molestation; and I do most vehemently desire to partake of the Divine Love in the Temple of the Apostles Peter and Paul: I do likewise desire to receive the most Holy Blessing of Christ's Vicar, which your Holiness is undoubtedly. And as the things I hear of your Holiness by our Pilgrims, which go from hence to Jerusalem, and from thence to Rome, and that not without a Miracle, do fill me with incredible Joy and Pleasure; so there is nothing I would rejoice in so much, as to have a shorter way found out for my Ambassadors, that so I might hear from you before I die, which I trust in God I shall do by some means or other. I beseech God to preserve you in Health and Holiness.

I Kiss your holy Feet, and do humbly beg your Blessing. Your Holiness will receive these Letters from our Brother, John King of

Portugal, who will send them to you by our Ambassador Francis Alvarez.

We may judge what mean thoughts King John had of these Letters and Ambassadors to the Pope, by their lying unregarded Five Years at Lisbon before they were sent to Rome; and by his sending them at last, only to do Honor to his Nephew Don Martin de Portugal, when he sent him Ambassador to that Court with the following Letter.

To the most Holy Father in Christ, and the most Blessed Lord, Pope Clement the III<sup>d</sup>. by Divine Providence presiding over the whole Church. To the most Holy Father in Christ, and the most Blessed Lord, the most devout Son of the same Holiness, John, by the Grace of God, King of Portugal and Algarves on this side and the other side of the Sea of Africk, Lord of Guinea, and of the Conquests, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India: After having most humbly kissed your Holy feet.

MOST Holy Father in Christ, and most Blessed Lord: The King, my Lord and Father, being sensible how acceptable it would be to God, that the most remote Regions of Ethiopia and India, which in these parts had been only heard of by a doubtful fame, should be Sailed to by the industrious Navigation of Christians, did at the beginning of his Reign, send divers of his Captains and Subjects with great Fleets, to discover the Coasts of those Countries; which he did to that end, that the Mahometans and Heathens of those Climates might be brought to acknowledge the Truth of the Christian Faith, not knowing but that some Nations which were Christians already, (for such there were reported to be) might be found out in the Course of such Discoveries; thus through the Divine Direction, the whole Country of Guinea was travelled over, in which the King of Manicongo, with vast numbers of his Subjects, was Baptized; as were several other Nations in India, Persia, and Arabia, by the Industry and Piety of our Subjects; and even those Provinces which were not forward at first to embrace Christianity, do now begin to follow the Example of their Neighbors; who notwithstanding the great Losses be sustained in his Ships, Captains, Nobles, and other Subjects, was not, as becomes a Pious Christian, discouraged thereby, so as to give over those Voyages, in the Progress whereof our Fleets have penetrated into the Red-Sea, in which no Christian Ship had ever been before, that Sea being wholly in the hands of the Turks; and did after a long and sharp War discover the Coasts of the most Potent

King of Ethiopia, who is commonly called Pretegya, and who with all his Subjects is a Worshipper of Christ; to which King our Father immediately dispatched an Ambassador, with an intention to reduce him to the Obedience of the Holy Apostolical See; by certifying him, That your Holiness sits in the Chair of St. Peter, and are the only Vicar of Christ upon Earth, to whom all Christian Kings do with great Veneration use to yield Obedience. And not long after, the said King of Ethiopia sent two Ambassadors, in Company with ours when they returned home; one of which was his Natural-born Subject, and the other a Stranger; during which time, God was pleased to take our Father's Soul to himself; and we having succeeded him in the Throne, did without delay endeavor by our Captains that were in India, to certify the said King of Ethiopia of our Father's Death, and of our Resolution to carry on and finish what he had so gloriously begun for the Service of Christianity: This our Declaration having been highly extolled by the said King, he thereupon dispatched an Ambassador to us, who is still Resident at our Court, and with him our Chaplain Francis Alvarez, who was one of the Ambassadors sent into Ethiopia by our Father. This Francis Alvarez is now sent by the said King to Rome, to yield Obedience to your Holiness in that King's Name, and in the Name of all his Subjects: We have detained him here for some time, being willing for divers Reasons, that he should accompany our dear Nephew, Martin de Portugal, our Counsellor and Ambassador, whom we have ordered to present the said Francis Alvarez, Ambassador of the said King of Ethiopia, to your Holiness, to yield Obedience to you; as also to acquaint you with what the Ambassador of the said King that was sent to us has laid before us, together with the Copies of that King's Letters to us; wherefore your Holiness will do a thing that will be very acceptable unto God, if in all this Affair you do give entire Credit to the said Martin, our Ambassador; for certainly great thanks ought to be returned to God, for having in the time of your Pontificate done so great a favor to your Holiness, that a Portion of Christians, who as to the largeness of their Country, are nothing inferior to this of ours, should consent to the Catholic Faith, and to the Roman Church, by yielding obedience to it. We for our parts are very thankful to God, for having made use of our Ministry in the Reduction of this King: There being nothing more for the praise of true Piety, than to behold Ethiopia joined with Europe in the Unity of the Christian Profession. May our Lord God be pleased to increase and preserve the Felicity of your Holiness according to your own desire.

Dated at Settuval the 28<sup>th</sup>  
of May, 1532.

King John having made the Habassin Emperor's Complements, in his Letters to the Pope, to amount to a formal submission of himself, his Church and Empire, to him, must make his having detained an Embassy of that Moment, and which he himself Magnifies so much, so long at Lisbon, to be the more wonderful: But what it should be, that after having slighted this Embassy for five long Years, induced him to trump it up thus, if it were not to do his Nephew Honor, is a Mystery I shall leave to the Reader to unriddle; having only observed, that there were two Creations of Cardinals soon after it came to Rome.

The Portuguese and Habassin Ambassadors, being arrived at Bononia [Bologna], where the Pope and the Emperor Charles the Fifth were together at that time, they had the 29<sup>th</sup> of January given them for the Day of their public Audience. When being introduced into a public Consistory, at which the Emperor was present; the Portuguese presented his Master's Letters to the Pope, together with the Copies of those which had been sent to him and his Father by the King of Ethiopia. When the Portuguese had done, the Habassin presented his Master's Letters to the Pope, and with them a Gold Cross that weighed about a Pound. And having made the submission of the Emperor of Ethiopia, and of his whole Church and Empire, to his Holiness, he was afterwards admitted to kiss his Foot, and after that his Hand, and at last his Mouth; and having delivered the following Speech in Portuguese, it was spoke aloud in Latin by the Secretary of the Portuguese Embassy.

MOST Holy and Blessed Father, the most Serene and Potent Lord David, King of the Great and High Ethiopia, who is commonly called Pretegya, and who is no less glorious for the veneration he has for the True Religion, than for his Empire, Wealth, and Kingdoms, has sent this Ambassador to your Holiness with the Letters he has delivered to you, commanding him to yield obedience and subjection to your Holiness, in his Name, and in that of his Kingdoms, as Christ's Vicar, and St. Peter's Successor, and the Chief Pontiff of the whole Church, and to present you with a Gold Cross, which he hopes your Holiness, not regarding the value thereof, which is but small, but the veneration which is due to it, for Christ's having suffered thereon for our sakes, will be pleased to accept of; beseeching your Holiness, in the

name of the said Prince, to accept of all that he has offered, with a pious affection of a Father, for your most devout Son.

To which Harangue the Pope's Secretary returned the following Answer.

OUR most holy Lord doth receive you, my Lord Francis Alvarez, the Ambassador of the most serene David, King of Ethiopia, together with his Obedience, Gift and Letters, with a good Will, and Paternal Affection, and doth return Thanks to God that such Letters, and such an Ambassador should come in the time of his Pontificate, from so great and remote a Christian Emperor; he hath heard what you have said, with Attention and great Joy, and has with his Venerable Brethren, the Cardinals, graciously accepted of your Master's obedience, as also of his Gift, both for the Honor that is due to the Holy Cross, and the good Affection of the Donor. And he doth furthermore highly extol, in the Lord, the most serene King of Portugal, who besides the other great Services done by himself and Progenitors, to the Commonwealth and Christian Faith, has likewise deserved well of King David, by having entered into an Alliance with him, and having procured your being sent with these Letters to the Pope. What remains is, his Holiness will endeavor to the utmost of his Power, so far as the great distance that is betwixt their Countries will permit, so to satisfy the desires of the said King, as to make him sensible of his being in the Place of a most dear Son in Christ, and in the Affection and Esteem of his Holiness, and the Holy Apostolical See, no less than other Christian Princes. And his Holiness will treat with the Ambassador of Portugal and you concerning these Affairs, and will by his Letters and Nuncio's Return an Answer to all that your King as desired.

Zaga Zaba having nothing else to do at Lisbon, and being willing to ingratiate himself with that Court, by representing the Habassin Church as agreeing with the Roman in the Chief Doctrines wherein the Reformers contradict her; did put Pen to Paper, and drew up the following Account of the Religion, Customs, and Rites of his Country.

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE HABASSIN RELIGION, AND CUSTOMS,  
COMPOSED BY ZAGA ZABA, THE KING OF ETHIOPIA'S  
AMBASSADOR; AND WRITTEN WITH HIS OWN HAND AT LISBON.**

In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

WE believe in the Name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who are one Lord, and Three Names; One Divinity, and Three Faces, though but One Similitude; and are an equal conjunction of Persons; equal, I say, in Divinity; One Kingdom, One Throne, One Word, One Spirit; the Word of the Father, and the Son, and the Word of the Holy Spirit; and the Son is the same Word, the Word with God, the Word with the Holy Spirit, and with Himself, without any defect, or division; the Son of the Father, the Son of the very Father, without any beginning, and at first the Son of the Father without a Mother; the Secret and Mystery of whose Nativity is known to none but the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. This Son in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was the Word with God, and God was the Word: The Spirit of the Father, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of the Son the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit its own Spirit; without any diminution or augmentation: That Holy Spirit is the Comforter of the living God, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, and who spake by the mouth of the Prophets, and descended in a flame of fire on the Apostles in the gate of Sion, and who preached the word of the Father, which Word the very Son was all over the World; wherefore as the Father is not first, notwithstanding he is the Son; so likewise the Holy Spirit is neither first nor last, but they are Three Persons in One God, who seeth, and is seen by no-body; and who by his only Council created all things. The Son did of his own accord, the Father being willing, and the Holy Ghost consenting, descend from his highest Habitation, and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit in the Womb of the Virgin Mary; who was adorned with a double Virginitie, the one Spiritual, the other Carnal; he was born without any Corruption, his Mother, Mary, remaining a Virgin after her delivery; and by a Miracle, and a secret Flame of the Divinity brought forth her Son Jesus, without blood, and without pain; who was perfectly Innocent, and without Sin; being perfect God, and perfect Man; and having only one Aspect, he grew by degrees as an Infant, sucking the Milk of the Virgin Mary, his Mother; and coming to Thirty Years of Age, he was baptized in Jordan, and did walk, and was weary, and did hunger and thirst, as other men do; all these things he suffered voluntarily, and of his own accord, and wrought many Miracles; restoring, by the power of his Divinity, sight to the Blind, curing the Lame, cleansing the Lepers, raising the Dead; after all which, he himself was apprehended, and whipped, and scourged, and crucified: He languished and died for our Sins, and by his Death overcame Death, and the Devil; and by his lively Agony dissolved our Sins, and bore our Infirmities: By the Baptism of his Blood, that is, his Death, he baptized the



Patriarchs, and Prophets, and descended into Hell, where the Souls of Adam and his Sons were, as also his own Soul, which was from Adam, which Soul Christ received from the Virgin Mary, who by the power and splendor of his Divinity, and the strength of his Cross, broke the brazen fiery Gates of Hell, binding Satan with Iron Chains, and rescuing Adam and his Sons. All these things Christ did, because he was full of the Divinity; and the Divinity it self was with his Soul, as it was also with his most holy Body, which Divinity gave virtue to the Cross, and was what he always had, and will have for ever, in Trinity and Unity in common with the Father: Neither did Christ, during the time he was in the Flesh, ever want the Divinity and Dignity thereof for one moment. He was buried, and on the third day Jesus Christ himself, the Prince of the Resurrection, the most sweet Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ the Prince of the Priests, Jesus Christ the King of Israel, did with great power and strength rise, and after having finished all things which were foretold by the holy Prophets, he ascended with glory into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and will come with glory, carrying a Cross before him, and in his hand a Sword of Justice, to judge the quick and the dead, of whose Kingdom there shall be no end. I believe one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; I believe one Baptism, which is the Remission of Sins; and I do hope for the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Life of the Age to come. Amen.

I believe the holy Lady Mary to be a Virgin both in Spirit and Flesh, and do reverence her as the Mother of God, the Charity of all Nations, the Holy of Holies, and the Virgin of Virgins. I believe in the holy Wood of the Cross, the Bed of the Agony of our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, who is our Salvation, for through him we are saved; which, notwithstanding it is an offence to the Jews, and to the Gentiles foolishness, we do preach, believing it to be the power of the Cross of our Lord Christ, as our Doctor St. Paul hath commanded. I do believe St. Peter to be the Rock of the Law, which Law is built upon the holy Prophets, and the Foundation and Head of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East and West, where the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ is; the Power of which Church is in St. Peter, as is also the Kingdom of Heaven, with which he can open and shut, bind and loose, and who shall sit with the other Apostles, his Companions, upon Twelve Seats with honor and praise, together with our Lord Jesus Christ; who upon the Day of Judgment is to pass Sentence upon us, which will be a day of joy to the Saints, and of sorrow and gnashing of teeth to Sinners, when they shall be thrown into the flames of Hell, with their

Father the Devil. I do believe the holy Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, and Confessors, to have been true Imitators of Christ, whom, together with the most holy Angels of God, I do venerate, and honor, and do in the same manner embrace and reverence all their Followers.

I believe there ought to be an Oral Confession of all Sins made to a Priest, by whose Prayers, through Our Lord Jesus Christ, I do hope to obtain the salvation of my Soul: I do furthermore acknowledge the Roman Pontiff to be the first Bishop and Pastor of all the Sheep of Christ. I do likewise observe and obey all Patriarchs, Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, of whom he is the Head of the Ministers of Christ.

This is my Faith, and Law, and the Faith and Law of the People of Ethiopia, who are under the Empire of Precious John; which Faith and Love of Christ are so established among us, that neither Death, nor Fire, nor Sword, relying on Christ's assistance, shall ever be able to oblige me to deny it, this being the Faith we are all to carry on the Day of Judgment before the Face of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

I come now to explain the Discipline, Doctrine, and Law, which the Apostles, assembled together at Jerusalem, did lay down in the holy Books of Synods and Canons, called by us Manda Abethlis, those Books of the Law of holy Church are Eight in number; concerning which, having had some discourse with several Learned Men here in Portugal, I never met with one that had ever heard of them before. The observances prescribed in those Books are as followeth. (1.) That we are to fast upon all Wednesdays, in memory of its having been decreed by the Jewish Council upon that day, That Christ should be put to death: We are commanded likewise to fast upon all Fridays, because Christ was crucified and died for our Sins on that day; upon which two days we are commanded to eat nothing till Sun-set. During the 40 days of Lent we are commanded to fast with Bread and Water, and to be employed seven hours in the day in Divine Service; by the same Edicts we are commanded to Administer the Sacraments in the Evenings of Wednesdays and Fridays, because our Saviour expired at that time on the Cross: We are furthermore commanded to assemble together unanimously on the Lord's Day in the Church three hours after Sun-rising, to read and hear the books of the Prophets, and afterwards to preach the Gospel, and Administer the Sacrament; they have furthermore appointed Nine days to be observed as Festivities in honor of Christ, to wit, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Circumcision, the

Purification, or Day of Candles, of Baptism, of Transfiguration, Palm-Sunday, until the Octaves of Good-Friday, which are twelve days, of the Ascension and Pentecost, with their Festivities according to those Books: We are without exception to eat Flesh every day from Easter to Pentecost, neither are we bound to fast till after the Octaves of Pentecost, which is observed for the greater honor and veneration of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ; they command us likewise to celebrate the Days of the Death and Assumption of the Virgin Mary with great honor: But besides the Precepts of the Apostles, a certain Precious John, whose name was Zara Jacob, ordained 33 days in every year to be kept in honor of the said Blessed Virgin; and a day in every Month in honor of Christ's Nativity, which is always the 25th of the Month; and a day likewise in every Month to be observed in honor of St. Michael.

Furthermore, in obedience to the said Synod of the Apostles, we do celebrate the day of St. Stephen, and other Martyrs, and are bound by the Institution of the Apostles to observe two days, to wit, the Sabbath, and Lord's-Day, on which it is not lawful for us to do any work, no not the least, on the Sabbath-Day, because God, after he had finished the Creation of the World, rested thereon: Which Day, as God would have it called the Holy of Holies, so the not celebrating thereof with great honor and devotion, seems to be plainly contrary to God's Will and Precept, who will suffer Heaven and Earth to pass away sooner than his Word; and that especially, since Christ came not to dissolve the Law, but to fulfil it. It is not therefore in imitation of the Jews, but in obedience to Christ, and his holy Apostles, that we observe that Day, the favor that was showed herein to the Jews being transferred to us Christians; so that, excepting Lent, we eat Flesh every Saturday in the Year; but in the Kingdoms of Barnagus, Tigre, and Mahon, the Christians, according to ancient custom, do eat Flesh on all Saturdays and Sundays, even in Lent. We do observe the Lord's-Day after the manner of all other Christians, in memory of Christ's Resurrection: But as we are sensible that we have the observation of the Sabbath-Day from the Books of the Law, and not from those of the Gospel, so we are not ignorant that the Gospel is the end of the Law and the Prophets: On those forementioned Days, we believe the Souls of the Just departed this Life, not to be tormented in Purgatory, which ease will be granted by God to them upon those two most holy Days, until the term of their suffering for their Sins is expired, and they are entirely delivered; to the shortening and mitigating of which Torments, we believe the Alms that

are given for the relief of the Souls in Purgatory do contribute much; towards the remission of which Souls, the Patriarch grants no Indulgences, which we believe belongs to God only, and that he only constitutes the time of their punishment; neither does the Patriarch grant indulgences on any occasion. The Gospel obligeth us to observe only the Six Precepts, which Christ with his own mouth has explained, as follows, I was hungry, and you gave me meat; I was thirsty, and you gave me drink; I was a stranger, and you entertained me; naked, and you covered me; sick, and you visited me; in prison, and you came unto me; which are all words that will be spoke by Christ at the Day of Judgment; For the Law, as St. Paul says, showeth us our sins, which Law, without Christ, none is able to keep: Paul witnesseth likewise, that we are all born in sin, by reason of the Transgression and Curse of our Mother Eve; Paul saith furthermore, that we died through Adam, and do live through Christ, who of his infinite mercy gave us these Six Precepts, that when he comes in Majesty to judge the Quick and Dead, we may be saved: With which Words and Precepts he will on the Tremendous Day of Judgment allot everlasting Glory to the Righteous, and to the Wicked Fire and Everlasting Damnation. We do reckon only five mortal Sins, as they call them, which are gathered out of the last Chapter of the Revelations, where it is said, Without are dogs, and witches, and unclean persons, and murderers, and idolaters, and every one who loveth and maketh a lie.

It is constituted by the holy Apostles, in the Book of Synods, that it is lawful for Clerks to marry, and that even after they have some knowledge of Divine Matters; who after they are married, are received into the Order of Presbyter, to which none are admitted before they are 30 years of Age; neither are Bastards ever admitted to it. Holy Orders are conferred by none but the Patriarch; and after the death of their first Wives, neither Bishops nor Presbyters are permitted to marry a second time, unless the Patriarch shall think fit to dispense with them, which he does sometimes, to eminent Persons, and when it is for the Public good: Neither are they suffered to keep Concubines, unless they do voluntarily give over officiating, after which they must no more meddle with holy things; and this is so strictly observed, that the Presbyters, who marry a second time, must not presume so much as to take a consecrated Candle in their hands; and if any Bishop or Clerk is found to have had a Bastard, he is deprived of his Orders, and all his Ecclesiastical Benefices; and his Goods, if he dies without Children lawfully begotten, do all go to Precious John, and not to the Patriarch:

That it is lawful for Presbyters to have Wives, we have received from St. Paul, who would rather have both Clergy and Laity to marry, than to burn; who saith likewise, that a Bishop must be the Husband of one Wife, that is unblameable and sober, and in the same manner the Deacons; and all Ecclesiastics as well as Secular ought to have their own lawful Wives. Our Monks, notwithstanding this, do not marry, and neither Laics nor Clerks among us can have above one Wife at a time.

With us Marriages are not celebrated at the Door of the Church, but in private Houses; we are taught likewise by the Constitution of the Apostles, That if a Priest is convicted of Adultery, Murder, Theft, or of having given false Testimony, that he ought to be deprived of his Orders, and punished as other Malefactors in the same kind; and that an Ecclesiastic, or Layman, after having known his Wife, or having been polluted in his sleep, ought not in 24 hours after that to enter into the Church, which Women are not to enter into, till the 7th day after their menstrua's are over, and until they have washed all the Clothes they had on at that time: Furthermore, a Woman that is delivered of a Man-child, is not suffered to enter into the Church till after 40 days, which Custom of the Old Law is commanded likewise by the Apostles, whose Laws, Constitutions and Precepts, we do, so far as we are able, observe in all Cases.

It is likewise forbidden among us to suffer Heathens, or Dogs, or any other such Creatures, to come within our Churches; neither is it lawful for us to go into them otherwise than barefoot; or to laugh, walk, or spit, or speak of secular things, in them: for the Churches of Ethiopia are not like the Land wherein the People of Israel did eat the Paschal Lamb, as they were going out of Egypt, where God commanded them to eat with their shoes on, and with their loins girt, because of the pollution of the land: But they are like the Mount Sinai, where the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, Moses, Moses, put off thy shoes, for the ground whereon thou treadest, is holy: Now this Mount Sinai was the Mother of our Churches, from which they derive their original, as the Apostles did from the Prophets, and the New Testament from the Old.

Furthermore it is not lawful for a Priest, or Layman, or any other Person of what condition soever, after the receiving of the Venerable Sacrament, to Spit from Morning till Sunset, and whoever does it, is severely Punished. In Memory of Christ we are also Baptized every Year on the day of Epiphany; which is not done by us as a thing necessary to Salvation, but

only for the Praise and Glory of our Lord; Neither is there any Feast that we Celebrate with so great Solemnities as this, because it was on this day that the Most Holy Trinity first appeared manifestly, when our Lord Jesus Christ was Baptized in the River of Jordan, on whose Head the Holy Spirit Descended at that time, in the Figure of a Dove, and a Voice from Heaven said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: Which Holy Spirit being in the Shape of a White Dove, did appear with the Face and Figure of the Father and Son in One Divinity: After the same manner Christ was seen by the Prophets under various Forms and Similitudes; first in the Figure of a White Ram, for the preservation of Isaac the Son of Abraham; after the same manner he called Jacob Israel; and Jacob called Judah, to whom he gave power over his Brethren, A lions whelp, saying, My son thou wentest up to the prey, and resting didst lie down as a lion, and as a lioness, who shall rouse thee? He manifested himself likewise to Moses in the Figure of a flame of fire on mount Sinai; and in the likeness of a Rock to the Holy Prophet Daniel; and to Ezekiel as the Son of man; and to Isaiahs in the Form of an Infant; he appeared to king David and Gideon in dew upon a fleece; and besides the forementioned, was seen under divers other Similitudes by the Holy Prophets; under all which various Figures, he still bore the Similitude of the Father and the Holy Ghost; and since God, when he Created the World, said, let us make man after our own image and similitude, and he did make Adam after his own Similitude and Image; we do for that reason say, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are Three Faces in one Similitude and Divinity.

We have also retained Circumcision from the time of Queen Saba till this day; this Queen's true name was Maqueda, who had Worshipped Idols after the manner of her Ancestors, until having heard much of the Wisdom of Solomon, she sent a Prudent Person to Jerusalem to certify her whether that King's Wisdom was so great as it was reported; and after being satisfied that it was so, she took a Journey to Jerusalem her self, where among other things, she was Instructed by Solomon in the Law and the Prophets, and had the Books thereof bestowed upon her: As she was on her Journey home, she was Delivered of a Son begot by Solomon, whom she Named Meilech, and carried with her into Ethiopia; where having remained till he was Twenty Years Old, he went up to Jerusalem to Visit his Father, and to learn Knowledge and Wisdom by him; the Queen by Letters entreated Solomon to Consecrate his Son Meilech King of Ethiopia, before the Ark of the Covenant and the Testament of the Lord,

and that after such a manner, as to make it Unlawful, for the future, for a Woman to Reign in Ethiopia, as was then the Custom, and that the Males only in a direct Line should Inherit the Crown; Meilech when he came to Jerusalem, did with ease obtain all his Mother had desired, and instead of Meilech, was Named David by Solomon; who having sufficiently Instructed him in the Law and other Sciences, sent him home to his Mother, in much greater State and Splendor than he came with, sending several of the Nobles, and of their Sons, in his Train to serve him, and together with them Azarias a Prince among the Priests, the Son of Sadock, who was likewise a Sacerdotal Prince; whereupon Azarias put David upon asking leave of his Father for him to offer Sacrifice before the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord for a prosperous Journey, which he obtained; Azarias having with great speed and secrecy got Tables made in imitation of the Tables of the Covenant of the Lord, did whilst he was offering Sacrifice, with great dexterity steal the true Tables of the Ark of the Covenant, and put his new ones in the place of them, none but God and himself being conscious to what he had done; this among us in Ethiopia is declared to be a most certain and sacred Truth, being delivered to us in the History of the said King David, which is a Book about the bigness of St. Paul's Epistles, and very pleasant to read: When David was come to the Borders of Ethiopia, Azarias going one day into his Tent, discovered to him what he had so industriously concealed, telling him he had brought the Tables of the Covenant of the Lord along with him; whereupon David went straightways with him to the place where those Tables were kept, and after the example of his Grandfather David, danced before them with great exultation, as did also the whole Company: when he returned home, his Mother resigned the Empire to him immediately, from which time, which is now near 2600 Years to this day, the Empire of Ethiopia has descended from Male to Male in a Right Line. We have also ever since retained the Law of God and Circumcision, and the Ministries prescribed by Solomon to his Son for the Government of the Court; all which do to this day continue in the same Families, and in the same Order; neither is it lawful for the Emperor to put People of another Race into any of those Offices. Furthermore, at the Command of the said Queen Maqueda, Women are Circumcised also among us: Men and Women are Circumcised on the Eighth day, but Male-children are not Baptized till the Fortieth, nor Female till the Eightieth day after their Birth, without it be in case of Sickness, and when that happens the Children are not allowed to Suck their Mothers until after they are purified; the Water wherein Children are Baptized is

Consecrated by Exorcisms; and on the same day they are Christened, they Receive the Venerable Body of Christ under the Element of Bread.

We were among the first Christians that received Baptism, that Sacrament having been brought among us by the Eunuch of Candace Queen of Ethiopia, who is spoke of in the Acts of the Apostles; his Name, according to our Tradition, was Indick, from which time to this day, both Baptism and Circumcision have been in use among us, and most Religiously and Christianly observed, and through God's Grace will be so for ever. We do observe nothing but what we find in the Law and the Prophets, and in the books of the Synods of the Apostles; or if any thing else is observed by us, it is done only for the sake of Order, and for the Peace of the Church, so as not to reckon it to be a Sin not to observe it; wherefore our Circumcision is not Uncleaness, but it is the Law and Grace, which was given to our Father Abraham, and which he received from God as a Sign, not that he or his Sons should be Saved by Circumcision, but that his Posterity might be distinguished thereby from all other Nations; and as for what is signified by Circumcision, we do observe it exactly by having our Hearts Circumcised; neither do we Glory upon the account of Circumcision, or prefer our selves to other Christians thereupon, or reckon ourselves for it the more acceptable to God, with whom there is no acceptance of Persons, as Paul testifies; who tells us likewise, that we cannot be Saved by Circumcision, but by Faith; for in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature; now by this, Paul did not intend to destroy the Law, but to establish it, for he himself was Circumcised, being of the Seed of Benjamin; he Circumcised Timothy likewise after he was made a Christian, his Mother being a Jewess, notwithstanding his Father was a Gentile, knowing that God approves both of Circumcision that is in Faith, and of Uncircumcision which is by Faith, for as he himself tells us, he was made all things to all men, that he might save all; to the Jews he became a Jew, that he might gain the Jews; and to those that were under the law, as if he had been under the law, which he was not, that he might gain those who were under the law; and to those who were without the law, as if he had been without the law, whereas he was not without the Law of God, but was in the Law of Christ, that he might gain them who were without the law; he also became weak, that he might show that it was not by Circumcision, but by Faith that we must be Saved; and so when he Preached to the Hebrews, he spoke to them as Hebrews, saying, God hath at sundry times, and on divers manners, spoke to our forefathers by the



Prophets; and from thence proved to them that Christ was of the Seed of David according to the Flesh; he Preached likewise to them, That christ was with our Fathers in their Tents in the Desert, and did lead them by the hand of Joshua into the Land of promise; he furthermore testified, That Christ was the Prince of the Priests, and had entered into the Holy of Holies, which is the New Tabernacle; and had by the Sacrifice of his Body and Blood, abolished the blood of Goats and Bulls, by which none that came, could be justified; and that he had spoke to the Jews in divers manners, and did suffer himself to be Worshiped by his People with divers rites, and an holy and uncorrupt Faith.

Furthermore, Those Children are looked upon by us as Half-Christians; who, as I am told, are reckoned to be Heathens by the Roman Church, upon account of their dying without Baptism; whereas being the Children of the holy Blood of Parents, who have been Sanctified by Baptism and the Holy Spirit, and the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, upon which Three Testimonies, all that are Christians are reputed to be such, they ought to be esteemed Half-Christians; for there are Three who bear Witness on Earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, as St. John testifieth in his first Canonical Epistle; the Gospel saith likewise, That a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit; wherefore the Children of Christians ar not as the Children of the Gentiles, Jews, and Mahometans, who are dry Trees without Fruit, but are chosen in the Womb of their Mothers, as the Prophet Jeremy and John the Baptist were.

The Children of Christian Women are furthermore Chosen and Sanctified by the Communication of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, received by their Mothers, from whom they derive their Nourishment, during the time they are in their Wombs; for as an Infant in the Womb rejoiceth or is sorrowful, according as its Mother is affected, so it is nourished likewise by its Mother's nutriment; for as our Lord saith in his Holy Gospel, Whosoever shall eat my body and drink my blood, shall never taste death; and again; He that eateth my body, and drinketh my blood, shall be with me: Paul likewise speaketh to the same purpose, when he saith, the unbelieving husband is justified by the believing wife, and the unbelieving wife by the believing husband, otherwise your children would be unclean, whereas now they are holy. Now if the Children of an Unbelieving Mother are notwithstanding that, Sanctified by the Faith of their Father, how much more holy must they be, whose Father and Mother

are both Believers? For which reason it is much more pious to call such Infants before they are Baptized, Half-Christians, than Pagans.

The Apostles in their Book of Synods do likewise affirm, That all who had Faith, though they were not Baptized, may be called Half-Christians; in which Books it is said, that if a Jew, or Gentile, or Mahometan, do embrace the Faith, he shall not be received presently, but must first come to the door of the Church, there to hear Sermons, and the words of our Saviour Christ, and that being disposed to Believe, he may understand what Christ's yoke is, after which he may be called an Half-Christian, even before he is admitted to Baptism; which is also according to the Gospel, which saith, He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be condemned.

It is also the custom among us, for Women when they are with Child to Confess their Sins and receive the Lord's Body before they are Delivered; and they who neglect to do this, are looked upon as Wicked and Impious Christians, as are also their Husbands for not having obliged them to it.

Confirmation and Extreme Unction are not reckoned Sacraments among us, neither are they in use in our Church, as I see they are in the Roman.

We do furthermore reckon it contrary to the Law of Moses, and the Institutions of the Apostles, to eat unclean Meats, from all which we do abstain merely in Obedience to the Law and the Scriptures; which with us consists of Eighty one Books; that is to say, the Old Testament consists of Forty one Books, and the New of Thirty five; which Canon, or Number of Books, we have expressly delivered to us by the Apostles themselves, and to which it is not lawful for us to Add or Diminish any thing, no not though an Angel from Heaven should persuade us to it; and we do look upon him as Accursed, that shall offer to do any such thing; so that neither our Patriarch nor our Bishop do reckon that they can either by themselves, or in a Council, make any Laws, That People are under an Obligation of a Mortal Sin to observe.

In the Books of our Synods it is ordained by the Holy Apostles, That we must confess our selves before we can receive Penance from a Confessor, according to the greatness of our Sin: They teach us likewise how we ought to Pray, and Fast, and how to exercise Charity. Confession is much in use among us; for we have no sooner committed a Sin, than we run and throw our selves at the feet of a Confessor; this is the constant practice of

all Men and Women of whatsoever Quality or Condition; and whenever we Confess, we do receive the Body of our Lord under both Species, and in Wheaten and Unleavened Bread; so that if we confess our selves daily, we do daily receive the Sacrament, as well Laics as Ecclesiastics. The Sacrament of the Eucharist is not kept in our Churches, as it is here in Europe; neither is it at any time Administered to the Sick, until after they are recovered. All among us Laics, as well as Clerks, do receive the Sacrament at least Three times a Week; which is never received any where but in the Church, no not by the Patriarch, or Precious John himself.

We do always make use of the same Confessor, and do never go to any other, but when our own is absent, to whom when he returns we are bound to repair. The Confessors do in the Name of the Church, absolve from all Sins, there being no cases, no not the most heinous, reserved to the Bishop or Patriarch; Presbyters are not allowed to Confess themselves to those that they Confess; and among us all Presbyters and Monks, and all Officers of the Church, do live by their own Labor; for the Church hath no Tithes, it has Lands which are Cultivated by the Priests and Monks, either in Person, or by their servants; and as for Alms, they receive none but those that are offered in the Church for the Burial of the dead, and other Holy Offices; it not being lawful for any of them to beg about the streets, or to extort Alms from the common people.

Furthermore, in our Churches there is never but one Mass a day, which we do reckon to be a Sacrifice; neither is it lawful for us, according to ancient Custom, to Celebrate more; for which Mass we never receive any Money; the sacrament of the Eucharist is not showed to the People among us, as I observe it is here; and all Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, and all people whatsoever that are present at the Celebration, are obliged to Communicate. We say no Masses for the remission of Souls, but our Dead are Buried in a Consecrated Place with Prayers and Crosses, over whom, among other things, we recite the beginning of St. John's Gospel, and do offer Alms for them the day after they are Buried, and at certain other times, when we have Funeral Feasts.

This is what I have to say of our Faith and Religion.

But whereas since my coming to Portugal, I have had several Debates with some Doctors, namely with Didacus Ortis Bishop of the Island of St. Thomas, and Dean of the King's Chapel, and Pedro Magalho, concerning

the distinction of Meats, it will not be improper for me to say something of it in this place.

It is to be observed, that it is in obedience to the Old Testament that we observe a distinction of meats, which distinction is ordained by the Word of God, who was afterwards born of the Virgin Mary, and walked and conversed with his Apostles; which Living Word of God had always an entire and irrevocable Speech or Word, and who did no where in his Gospel say, that such things might be eat, as were before prohibited as unclean. For as to those words in the gospel, That whatsoever entereth into the mouth doth not defile the man, but that which cometh forth of the mouth; Christ's intent therein, was not to dissolve the Law he had formerly enacted, but only to confute the Superstition of the Jews, who blamed the Apostles for having eat Bread with unwashen hands; neither did the Apostles, while they conversed with Christ, make use of unclean Meats, or so much as taste any thing that was prohibited by the Law, which was what none of them offered to transgress, no not after the time of our Lord's Passion, when they began to preach the Gospel; there being nothing in their Writings from whence it can be gathered, that they did ever kill or eat any thing that is unclean. It is true, Paul saith, Eat all that is sold in the shambles, asking nothing for conscience sake; and again, If any that are infidels invite you to a feast, and you are disposed to go, eat whatsoever is set before you, asking no questions for conscience sake: And again, If any one shall say, This is offered to idols, do not eat for his sake that told you so, and for conscience sake, &c. All which Paul spoke in compliance with those who are weak in the Faith, betwixt whom and the Jews there were frequent Debates; and in order to the putting a stop to those disputes, the Apostle complied much with the weaker Christians, which he did not do that he would have the Law broke, but that by gratifying such People in the relaxation of Rites, he might allure them to the Faith.

The same Apostle saith likewise, Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; for he that eateth, eateth unto the Lord; and he that eateth not, eateth not unto the Lord. It is therefore an unworthy thing to reprove Christians, who are Strangers, with so much bitterness, as I have been reprov'd here, concerning this very matter, and other little things, which do no ways belong to Faith: It would certainly be much wiser for Christians, whether Greeks, Armenians, Ethiopians, or of any of the Seven Christian Churches, to bear with one another in Charity, and in the Bowels of Christ, in all such matters, and to suffer one another to live and converse

with their Christian Brethren, being all Sons of Baptism, and unanimous in the true Faith; neither is there any cause why they should debate so sharply about Ceremonies; or why every one should not be suffered to observe his own, and that without hating and persecuting others for theirs; neither ought any one in a strange Country to be debarred the Communion of the Church for observing his own Church-Ceremonies.

As to that we meet with in the Acts, of Peter's seeing a Cloth let down from Heaven by the corners, wherein were all Four-footed Beasts, and all creeping Creatures, and Birds of the Air; and of his having heard a Voice that commanded him, to rise, and kill, and eat; to which Peter replied, Far be it from me, Lord, for I have never eat any thing that is common and unclean; to whom the Voice answered, What God has purified, that do not thou call unclean; which having been done three several times, the Vessel was then immediately taken up into Heaven; whereupon the Spirit sent him straightways to Caesarea to Cornelius, a holy Man, fearing God: After which Peter baptized Cornelius and his whole Family: Now when the Apostles and Brethren, who were in Judea, came to hear of what Peter had done, they were angry, and asked him, How he came to go to men who were uncircumcised, and to eat with them? but after Peter had declared to them the whole Vision, they were satisfied, and returned thanks to God, saying, He hath given repentance unto life to the Gentiles; and they remembered the word of the Lord, which he spoke when he ascended into Heaven, Go over all nations, and preach the Gospel to all creatures, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; and he that believeth not, shall be condemned: then the Apostles begun to preach the Gospel over the whole World to every Creature, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, insomuch that their sound went through the whole Earth: Now this Vision, wherein things clean and unclean appeared, we of Ethiopia interpret thus: The clean living Creatures were the People of Israel, the unclean were the Gentiles; who were therefore said to be unclean, because they worshiped Idols, and did the Works of the Devil, which are unclean. So that the Voice saying, Peter kill, was the same as if it had said, Teach and preach the Faith, and the Law of Christ, both to the People of Israel, and the Gentiles; besides, it is most certain, that we read no where in the Scriptures of Peter, or of any other of the Apostles, killing or eating any thing that was unclean after this vision: We are to observe likewise, That when the Scriptures speak of

Bread, it is not to be understood of a Corporal Food, but of the Doctrine of the Gospel.

It is therefore advisable for all Doctors and Preachers to teach high and sublime things of this Linen Cloth which was showed to Pete, and not low things, which do no way appertain to Salvation; and least of all to draw Arguments from thence, to prove it to be lawful for us to eat things that are unclean, seeing no such matter can be gathered from the Scripture; but that is not all, for the Apostles themselves, in their Book of Synods, have forbid us to eat any thing that is strangled or tore, or half eaten by Beast, or Blood, because the Lord loveth cleanness and sobriety, and hateth gluttony and pollution; and loveth those much who abstain from Flesh, and those more who fast with Bread, and Water, and Herbs, as John the Baptist did, who eat nothing else: As also Paul the Hermit, who lived in the Desert, and fasted 80 years; as St. Anthony, and St. Macarius, and a great number of their Spiritual Sons, who never so much as tasted Flesh.

Wherefore, Brethren, we ought not to contemn and persecute our Neighbors; for St. James saith, He that speaketh evil of his brother, or judgeth his brother, speaketh evil of the law: Paul teacheth likewise, That it is much better for people to rest satisfied with their own traditions, than to contend with their Christian brethren about the law; and that in such matters they ought not to be wiser than is necessary, but to be wise to sobriety, according as God hath dealt to every man a measure of faith. Wherefore it is a very undecent thing to contend with our brethren about the law and distinction of meats, since meat cannot commend us to God; and especially since St. Paul hath said, Whether ye eat plentifully, or do not eat, ye are never the worse: Let us therefore look after higher things, and the food that is heavenly, and forbear such low and empty disputations. What I have writ concerning Traditions, I have not writ out of a spirit of contention, but to defend my Countrymen against the violent reproofs of those who paid so little respect to the most Potent Precious John and his Subjects, as to load them with Reproaches, calling us Jews and Mahometans, because we circumcise, and sanctify the Sabbath, after the manner of the Jews, and do continue our Fasts till Sunset, as the Mahometans do: They do likewise object to us with great bitterness, That our Priests do marry, after the manner of the Lay-men; and that mistrusting our first Baptism, we are baptized yearly; and that we circumcise not only Males but Females also, which the Jews never did; lastly, that we observe a distinction of Meats with great strictness; and that we call Children Half-

Christians before they are baptized: To which things I was obliged to return an Answer, to vindicate our people from the Calumnies that are cast upon them, and to render the Roman Doctors more affable to us, who, how piously I will not say, have ever since I came into Portugal, which is now Seven Years, denied me the Sacrament; so that, I cannot speak it but with extreme Grief and Tears, I am treated by my Christian Brethren as a Heathen and an Anathema: He that enliveneth all things, to whom I commit it, does take notice of these matters.

I was not sent by the most Potent Lord the Emperor of Ethiopia, to the Roman Pontiff, and to the most Serene John King of Portugal, to brangle and dispute, but to contract a Friendship and Alliance betwixt them; not to increase or diminish Human Traditions, but to enquire diligently into the Errors of Arius the Prince of Heretics; and to learn whether the European Christians do agree with us in confuting his Opinions; upon account of whose Errors a Council of Three hundred and eighteen Bishops were assembled at Nice under Pope Julius: And that I might learn likewise whether what the Apostles have commanded in their Book of Synods, was observed among the European Christians; to wit, That Two Councils be celebrated every Year in the Christian Church, to treat concerning Matters of Faith; the first whereof they ordered to be assembled at the Feast of Pentecost, and the second on the 10th of October: And to learn also how it stood betwixt us as to the Errors of Macedonius; upon whose account a Council of a Hundred and Fifty Bishops was assembled at Constantinople under Pope Damasus: And also the Errors of Nestorius, against whom a Council of Two hundred were assembled at Ephesus under Pope Celestine: And lastly, That I might be informed of the Fourth and Great Council of Chalcedon, assembled on account of the errors of Eutyches, at the time when St. Leo was Bishop of Rome; from which Council, after having had hot Disputes, the Bishops returned, without having concluded any thing for the Peace of the Church; both Parties maintaining their own Opinions.

The Books of which Synods, and of divers others that were afterwards celebrated, my Lord the Emperor of Ethiopia hath by him, who is very much troubled, as are also all his Christian Subjects, at the Tares which the Devil, the Enemy of Truth, has sown among Christians.

Our people from the beginning have acknowledged the Roman Pontiff to be the first Bishop, to whom, as the Vicar of Christ, we do at this time submit our selves; and in whose Court we would be frequently, were it not

for the great distance we are at from it, and our being denied a free passage through the Mahometan Kingdoms which lie betwixt us; insomuch that many times after having exposed our Persons to great dangers, we are not able to get thither.

The most Prudent and Invincible King Emanuel, of happy memory, was the first that by Divine Direction opened a Passage by his Navigation to the East-Indies; which for the future gives us great hopes of a commodious Correspondence: Emanuel made himself Master of the Red Sea with his Fleets; not being discouraged from doing it by the greatness of the Charge, that so he might augment the Faith of Christ, and open a Passage for us to correspond with him, and to make use of each other's assistance; by which means we do hope, with our united Forces, to drive all the Mahometans and Heathens not only from the Coasts of the Red-Sea, but also out of Arabia, Persia, and India. And as we do not in the least doubt but that we shall be able to do this, so we do wish that all European Christians were in Peace with one another, that so they might join together, in order to expel the Enemies of the Cross of Christ out of the Mediterranean Countries, of Pontus, and other Provinces; that according to the Word of christ, there may be but one Law, one Shepherd, and one Pastor, upon the face of the whole earth; of which we have two Prophecies, one in the Prophecies of S. Ficator, and another of St. Synoda a Hermit, born among the Rocks in the extremities of Egypt; both which Prophecies do agree in this matter: For which reason we have reckoned the Events of those Prophecies to be drawing near, ever since my most Potent Lord had Ambassadors sent to him by the Serene and Wise King Emanuel. And it is certain, that ever since that time my Prince hath thought of nothing so much, as of destroying the Mahometans from off the Face of the earth; for the advancing of which design, and of some other matters which I have laid before the most Serene King John, the Son of Emanuel, I was sent hither by my most Potent Lord, and not to engage in frivolous and empty Disputations. I do wish the great God may bring the Intentions and Endeavors of my Prince, which I was sent hither to promote, to an happy Issue, so as to be for his Glory. Amen.



**HAVING GIVEN SOME ACCOUNT OF THESE THINGS, I WILL  
NOW WITH GREAT BREVITY SAY SOMETHING OF THE  
STATE OF OUR PATRIARCH, AND EMPIRE.**

When our Patriarch dies, Precious John our Emperor immediately dispatcheth a Messenger to the Monks that live at Jerusalem; who having received notice, and the Presents that are sent to the Holy Sepulchre by the Emperor, do straightways choose a Patriarch by a Majority of Voices, who must always be an Alexandrian Monk, of an unblameable life.

When they have chosen a Patriarch, they seal up their Votes, and transmit them by the Emperor's Messenger, to the Patriarch of Alexandria, residing at Grand Cairo, who immediately consecrates the Monk that is chosen to that great Dignity, and sends him with the Messenger into Ethiopia. The Person elected, according to ancient custom, must be a Monk of the Order of St. Anthony the Hermit; and who when he arrives in Ethiopia, is there received with great Joy and Honor. This Affair is not sometimes finished under a Year or two; during which Vacancy, all the Rents of the Patriarch are paid to Precious John. The chief business of the Patriarch is to confer Holy Orders, which none besides him can either give or take away. He collates to no Bishoprics, nor any other Ecclesiastical Benefices; which are all in the Gift of Precious John, who bestows them as he thinks good. When the Patriarch, whose Revenues are very great, dieth, the Emperor is his sole Heir. It is furthermore the business of the Patriarch to excommunicate all such as are obstinate; to which Censures there is so great a Respect paid, that all who slight them are condemned for their whole life to a strict and perpetual Fast. He grants no Indulgences, neither are the Sacraments of the Church denied to any Sinners, but Murderers.

The Patriarch in our Tongue is called Abuna; only he who at present is in possession of that Dignity, is called by his Baptismal Name, which is Mark; he is an Hundred Years of Age and upward.

With us the Year begins on the First day of September, which falls always on the vigil of John the Baptist; the other Holidays, as the Nativity, Easter, &c. are observed at the same time as they are in the Roman Church.

The Gospel and Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ was first preached among us by Philip the Apostle. If you would know the name of our Emperor, it is always Precious John, and not Presbyter John, as it is here falsely reported to be in our Language: It is John Belul, and in the Chaldee, John Encoo, or

Precious or High John: Neither is he ever called, as Matthew falsely reported, Emperor of the Habassins, but of the Ethiopians; for he being an Armenian did not thoroughly understand our Affairs, and least of all those relating to our Faith; which made him report several things to the wise King Emanuel of happy Memory, that were false; which was not done by him with an intention to deceive; for he was an honest Man, but because he was not well Instructed in the Matters of our Religion.

The Empire does not of right descend to the Eldest Son, but to him on whom the Emperor is pleased to bestow it. So the present Emperor was the third Brother, and got the Crown by a Pious piece of Reverence: For the last Emperor having when he was upon his Death-Bed commanded all his Sons to sit down by him on Royal Thrones, they all did so, except my Master, who said, Far be it from me to sit in the Chair of my Lord; for which act of Piety, his Father bestowed the Empire upon him. His Name is David, and his Dominions of Christians and Heathens are very large, in which there are divers Kings, Princes, Earls, Barons and Nobles, who are all extremely submissive to his commands. He hath no other than Foreign Coin within his Territories, Gold and Silver being paid, and received among us by Weight: We have a great many Cities and Towns, though not built as they are here in Portugal. Precious John keeps his Court perpetually in the Camp, which he does on purpose to accustom the Nobility to the Hardships and Exercises of War: Neither is it to be omitted, that we are Besieged on all Sides, by the Enemies of our Faith, with whom we have frequent Battles, but are always Victorious; which Victories we Attribute to the Divine Assistance.

A Written Law is not in use among us, neither are the Complaints of Litigants Transacted by Papers, but by word of Mouth; which makes, that Law-Suits are not Protracted by the Avarice of the Judges and Advocates to any great length.

I am to tell you likewise, that Matthew was not sent by our Emperor David, to the Invincible and Powerful King Emanuel of happy Memory, but by Queen Helena, who was Dowager to the Emperor; The Hand of Mary, who was Grandfather [sic] to David, and who, David being under Age, at that time was Regent of Ethiopia: She was undoubtedly a most Wise and Religious Princess, and was Mistress of so much Learning, that she Composed two Books in the Chaldee Tongue: The Title of the first was Euzara Clebaa, that is to say, Praise the Lord with Organs; in which she

discoursed Learnedly concerning the Trinity, and the Virginity of the Blessed Virgin; The Second is called Chedale Caay, that is, the Beam of the Sun, in which she has divers accurate Discourses concerning the Law of God.

All these things relating to the Faith, Religion, and State of our Country, I, Zaga Zabo, that is, the Grace of the Father; a Bishop Presbyter, and Bagama Raz, that is to say, a Soldier and Viceroy of the Province of Bagana, could not deny to Thee Damianus my dearest Son in Christ, nor indeed to any one that should have desired it of me: And that for two Reasons.

1. Because I was commanded by the Most Potent Lord, Precious John, Emperor of Ethiopia, not to conceal any thing relating to our Faith and Country, from such as should desire to have an account thereof, but to Communicate the whole truth of all such matters to them, both by Writing and word of Mouth.
2. Because I judged it convenient to acquaint this part of the World with our Manners, Rites and Institutions; and that the rather because I had neither said, nor writ any thing thereof before; not that I grudged my labor, but because no Christian Soul since I came into Portugal, had ever desired me to do it, which is a thing I cannot wonder at enough.

I do therefore, knowing you to be extremely curious to be acquainted with our Affairs, beseech you by the Wounds and Cross of Christ, to Translate this Confession of Faith and Religion into the Latin Tongue, that so the Integrity of our Manners and Rites may be known to all European Christians; and if you should at any time happen to go to Rome, I must entreat you to Salute the Pope, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops and all the other Worshipers of Christ in my Name with the Kiss of Peace: And to desire the Pope to send Francis Alvarez back to me with an Answer to the Letters of my Most Potent Lord the Emperor of Ethiopia, that so I may at last return to my own Country, and once more see my own House, having been detained here too long already; and that before I am arrested by Death, which by reason of my great Age I must be in a short time, I may carry back an Answer to my Master; and having finished my Days to God, and Divine Matters: And in case this Treatise should not be so accurately Composed as it ought to be, I must beseech you to Correct it, and Adapt it to the Latin Phrase, but so as not to alter the sense.

Finally I must entreat you, in the Translation thereof to consult the Old and New Testaments, that you may the better understand out of what Books I have taken my Quotations, and may be able to translate them the more faithfully. And in case matters should not be so curiously handled therein, as to satisfy Critical Readers, the fault thereof must be imputed to my want of Chaldee Books, of which I have not one by me; those I brought from home with me, having been unhappily lost in the voyage. So that what I set down, was what occurred to my Memory; which I have done with great Fidelity. Farewell my most beloved Son in Christ. Lisbon, the 24th. of April, in the year of our salvation 1534.

After having writ this, I called to mind the passage wherein I had affirmed, That Christ had descended into the lower parts, for the sake of Adam's Soul, and his own which he received from his Mother, the holy Virgin Mary: Of the truth whereof we have a certain Testimony in the Books of Government, as we call them; which Books were delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ to his Apostles, and they are likewise the Mystery of Doctrines; insomuch that their Testimony is admitted as infallible among us. The Portuguese Divines are of Opinions that are contrary to those Writings; but that does not hinder that from being true which these Books affirm, viz. That the Souls of men are derived from Adam; that is to say, As our Flesh is derived from the Flesh of Adam, so our Soul, as a burning Light, is derived likewise from the Soul of Adam, which makes us to be all of the Seed of Adam, both as to Body and Soul.

In this large Confession of Faith, albeit Zaga Zaba discovers himself to have been piqued, by the Portuguese Clergy having teased him as they did about his Religion, and to have disputed himself into some warmth upon several Ceremonial Points; yet as to the doctrines wherein the Roman Church was at that time contradicted by the Reformers, namely, the Three great ones, of the Pope's Supremacy, Transubstantiation, and Purgatory, it is visible that to ingratiate himself with the Pope and the King of Portugal, and to make his Court the better, he did both stretch his Conscience, and sacrifice his Resentments to the Public Character he bore: Those doctrines having never been at any time the Doctrines of the Habassin Church: Which Charge of Infidelity is justified both by the Jesuits, and his Countryman Gregory, who never spoke of him but with detestation, calling him commonly a Beast of the Field. And as to his saying, that his Emperor's Name was Precious, and not Prester John, it was a plain Trick in him, designing by such a slight correction of that word, to establish the

opinion of his Master being the Prince was meant by Prester John in Europe: for whereas the present Emperor's Name was David, so I do not find that there was one of the Name of John in the whole Line of those Princes. Neither is there any color for its having been a constant Title among them.

But while David's Ambassador was thus detained at Lisbon, disputing, Whether it was lawful to eat Black-Puddings, he himself continued involved in a rude and cruel War, brought upon him by his new Correspondence with the Portugueses, whose Name at that time was become very formidable all over the East.

For whereas the Habassin, as is plain from his own Letters, did expect nothing less from his new Alliance, than the utter extirpation of all his Infidel Neighbors, Heathens and Mahometans; so natural it is for people to overvalue any new and untried advantage, and to expect much more from it than it is capable of yielding; so his Infidel Neighbors, and particularly the Mahometans, apprehending that an Alliance betwixt the Habassins and Portugueses, might prove a thing of dangerous consequence to them, did all conspire to interrupt it, by disabling the Habassin, before any Portuguese Troops could come to his assistance.

In prosecution of which Design, one Ahamed, whose Nick-name was Granhe, or Left Hand, a Mahometan Prince, having joined his Forces with those of the King of Adel, upon whom the Habassin had begun a War, he marched against David, resolving to give him Battle before he was reinforced by the Portuguese Troops; which though they did not come in several years after, were expected by every Monsoon. David being flushed by some former Victories, and having an Army superior in number to that of Granhe and Adel joined together, was so far from declining to fight, that he marched directly towards the Infidels: The two Armies no sooner met than they came to blows, and after a long and bloody Fight the Habassins were totally routed, most of them being either killed or taken Prisoners.

David having narrowly escaped, retired to the Mountains, where he skulked about for Two Years with a small flying Body: During which time Granhe made himself Master of all the best Provinces of that Empire, burning down the Churches, or profaning them by converting them into Mosques wherever he came.

David seeing his Empire in imminent danger of being totally conquered, dispatched one John Bermudes, a Portuguese, who had been in Ethiopia ever since the Empress Helena her Government, to Rome and Lisbon, to acquaint those Courts with the Ill Circumstances he was in, and to conjure them, as they had any regard to the Preservation of a great Christian Empire, to send him some considerable Succors with all possible Expedition; for otherwise the Habassin Church and Empire would be speedily lost beyond recovery. And in order to make his court the better with the Pope and that King, he obliged the Abuna Mark not only to consecrate the said Bermudes, who till then was a pure Layman, a Bishop, but to declare him also his Successor in the See of Ethiopia.

Bermudes being thus consecrated a Bishop and declared Successor to the Abuna, began his Journey for Rome, over land; and being arrived at that Court in the year 1538, was graciously received by Paul the III<sup>d</sup>. who did not only allow his Habassin Orders to be valid, but did furthermore confirm his Nomination to the Patriarchate of Ethiopia.

So that whatever it is that hinders the Popes from allowing the Orders of the Church of England to be good, unless their Infallibilities will contradict one another, it cannot be what they pretend, to wit, either the Heresy of her first reformed Bishops, or their not having been three to consecrate; since in this case, the Consecration of a Bishop by a single Heretical Bishop was allowed by the Pope to be valid. But England is England, and Ethiopia is Ethiopia, and Policy may not allow that they should be both treated alike.

Bermudes having dispatched his own Business at Rome, which was all that was to be done at that Court, which seldom or never takes the expense of any Missions, or holy Wars upon itself, further than its Blessings will go. He began his Journey for Lisbon, and being arrived there, he was kindly entertained by the King, to whom the Pope had left the honor of the whole expense and trouble of succoring Ethiopia, and was acknowledged by him, and the whole Court, as Habassin patriarch in Possession, and not in Reversion; and as such, though I cannot learn for what Misdemeanor, he threw the Ambassador Zaga Zaba into Prison, loading him with Chains, in which he intended to carry him home, had not the King interceded for his Liberty.

The Patriarch Bermudes having, as it is said, obtained an Order from the King to the Viceroy of the Indies, for four or five hundred Portuguese Musketeers, embarked upon the Fleet that was bound for Goa, where he arrived in the Year 1539. But however the King's Orders were, if there were ever any, it was two years after his landing at Goa, before any Portuguese Succors set their Feet in Ethiopia.

During this time, David by some means or other, is said to have got so considerable an Army together, as to have ventured with it out of his Fastnesses, and to have beat Granhe in a pitched Battle; but however this were, in the progress of the War, which lasted from Year 1528 until the Year 1540, in which David died, it is certain he was driven by Granhe out of the greatest part of his Empire, he having no other Countries left him at his death, but such as defended themselves purely by their barrenness and inaccessibleness, such Countries being the common Receptacles of all conquered Nations, that have the conveniency of them.

David died in the 47th year of his Age, and the 36th of his Reign, leaving his Son Claudius a broken and distressed Empire, and all Princes, an Example of the folly of depending upon remote Foreign Succors, and of being encouraged by the hopes of them, to provoke their Neighbors, or to make them jealous of them.

Upon Claudius' coming to the Crown, the Empire, as if its Ill Genius had departed with David, began to revive a little; For he having got a small Army together, marched from among the Mountains, and having surprised a Mahometan Prince, whose name was Amirizmon, and defeated him in a pitched Battle, he recovered from the Province that Infidel had in the late Scramble made himself master of.

But the Joy of this Success lasted not long, for Amirizmon having recruited his Army with Mahometan Auxiliaries, obliged Claudius to come to a Battle, wherein he beat him to that degree, that he forced him to retire to a remote mountainous Country called Zaa, only with 70 men in his Company; Cabelo Oanguel the Queen-Mother, taking sanctuary at the same time in an impregnable Mountain that was at no great distance from the Red-Sea; where she had not been long, before she received advice of a great Portuguese Fleet being come into those Seas, whereupon she dispatched two Envoys, who were Bahurnagays, and the Grandee Robel, to the Portuguese Admiral to beseech him, if they met with him, to spare

her Son some Troops, and a Train of Artillery, to drive the Mahometans out of Ethiopia, of which they were in a manner become absolute Masters.

The Envoys not knowing any place where they were so like to meet with the Portuguese Fleet, as at Matzua, repaired thither to wait for it; and the Fleet not having been able to execute the Design that had brought it into those Seas, which was to have burnt the Turkish Galleys in the Port of Suez, happened, for it does not appear that it was by Order, to touch as they were returning home, at Matzua, to the great joy of the Habassin Envoys; who having waited on the Admiral, and delivered the Empress's Letters to him, told him plainly, That if he did not spare them a good Body of Troops, and a Train of Artillery, Ethiopia was for ever a lost Empire; adding, That the Fortune of a great Christian Empire was now entirely in his hands; and as it would be for his immortal honor to save it, and the rather, because it was nothing so much as its new correspondence with the Portuguese that had brought this dreadful Storm upon it from all Quarters, so they were certain his Master would not thank him, for suffering it to be utterly lost, when it was so much in his power for to have saved it.

Upon these Passionate Remonstrances of the Empress, and her Envoys, the Admiral called a general Council of War, to consult what was best to be done in so important an Affair; and after some Debates, it was unanimously agreed, That something must be done to preserve a sinking Empire; and the rather, because it was visible its new Alliance with Portugal had brought this great storm upon it.

The Council of War having come to this Resolution, several Persons of Quality offered themselves voluntarily to command the Troops that were to be employed in the Expedition; as, to give the Portuguese Gentlemen their due, they are seldom or never backward to go whither their honor calls them. The Person that was named to command in Chief, was Don Christopher da Gama, Brother to the then Viceroy Don Stephen da Gama, and Son to the Famous Don Vasco da Gama, the Discoverer of the Indies.

The Portugueses say, The Council of War agreed to send 1000 Men under Gama, but the Envoy would not hear of so great a number, Bahurnagays having generously declared, That he would never be guilty of carrying Brave Men into a Country to starve them; that for 400, sufficient Provisions would be found, but not for more; but whether this was so or not, the Portuguese Historians have made the 400 that were sent, to have



done the work of 4000 Stout men; the common fault both of the Portuguese and Spanish Writers; who by their Romantic way of magnifying the Feats of their Countrymen, do render the truth of the whole of them suspicious.

On the 9th of July 1541 Gama with his 400 Select Men, and a small Train of Artillery, were put ashore at Arkiko, having the Habassin Envoys, and the Patriarch Bermudes in their Company; they had a tiresome March over Rocks and Mountains for the first six days, being many times forced for want of Mules and Horses, to draw their Artillery with them by strength of Arm; at which work Gama is said to have been still one of the foremost: After a continued fatigue of six days they arrived at Deboroa, a Province belonging to Bahurnagays, where the Monks and Christians, who were retired into the Mountains for fear of the Mahometans, having heard of their arrival, flocked in to them from all parts, Praising God, and giving Gama and his Men a thousand blessings for having come to deliver them out of the grievous bondage they were brought under by the Mahometans: Gama seeing them all in tears, endeavored to comfort them, by telling them, That as it was nothing but the strong desire he had to restore their Prince and them to their former free and happy state, that had brought him into Ethiopia, so he did not doubt but with God's Assistance, to do it both speedily and effectually for them, and to make the Infidels repent of their having invaded a Brother and Ally of the King of Portugal, and of the Ravage they had made in a Christian Empire. The People, being much comforted by these assurances, waited upon Gama to a Church that was not far off, where having all performed their Devotions, Gama with his men, repaired to the Tents that were provided for them by Bahurnagays, where they were entertained with all the dainties the Country did afford.

The day following Gama divided his men into Six companies, putting 50 in a Company, and ordered the other 100 to be a Guard to the Royal Standard, and to be immediately under his own Command; the Captains were John O Assonso, Manuel de Curnha, Humphrey da Abreu, and Francis Velha; Curnha and Velha were dispatched immediately with their Companies to wait upon the Empress with Gama's Compliment to her, and to guard her to the Camp: The Empress when she heard of their being at the foot of her Precipice, for such it was, rather than a Mountain, ordered the Baskets to be let down, and when she saw them, she weeped for joy, and thanked God, and the King of Portugal for so seasonable a succor; and having enquired after the state of Gama's health, and some other

particulars, she ordered them to be conducted to the Lodgings that were provided for them, where they were entertained as handsomely as the place and the Empress's Circumstances would afford. The next Morning the Empress, who was quite sick of her Confinement, was let down from the Rock and having mounted a Mule richly equipped, she marched with her Portuguese Guard towards Gama, who when he had notice of her being near, rode out to meet her, having first ordered his men to stand to their Arms, and upon a signal given, to salute her with three Volleys: The Empress to do Gama the greater honor, Unveiled her head when he came up to her, receiving him with extraordinary respects.

Gama after having done the Obeisances that were due to her Character, told her, That as he and all the Men she saw, were sent by the King of Portugal to her and her Son's Assistance, so they were all to a man resolved to sacrifice their Lives for the Faith of Christ, and in defence of that Christian Empire. The Empress thanked him very cordially, and told him God would certainly reward him for such a service, though her Son and she should happen never to be in a condition to do it, not but that she hoped, that his Valor and Conduct would raise hem to a capacity of being bountiful to their Benefactors.

After the Compliments were over, the Empress with the Ladies that attended her, went to the Tent that was provided for them, being waited upon to it by Gama, and most of his Officers. On the second day after her arrival in the Camp, Gama drew all his Men up in a body before her Tent, and exercised them before her; she was extremely pleased with their Persons and Discipline, and promised her self great things from so well Disciplined a body.

In a Council of War, at which the Empress and Bahurnagays were present, it was agreed, that their Camp should remain where it was till the end of October, and that in the mean time they should send to the Emperor to acquaint him with the arrival of the Portuguese Troops. The Emperor, so soon as he received advice thereof, writ immediately to Gama, desiring him to March towards him with all the haste he could make, to prevent the Enemies putting himself betwixt them to hinder their conjunction.

But whatever was the cause of it, it was the 5th of December before Gama decamped from Debora; when taking the Empress along with him, and being joined by 2000 Habassins, he Marched toward the Emperor in as

good order as the nature of the Country would permit him; the Mahometans, who were employed by Granhe to raise Money, flying before him as he Marched; and the Habassins, so soon as their Lord Dans were gone, running in to him from all parts for Protection, supplying him with all Necessaries. On the 1st of February 1542, they came before a strong Mountain which Granhe had got into his hands by Treachery, into which by reason of its Commanding all the Country about, he had put a Garrison of 1500 men; this Mountain is not above Three days March in a right line from Debora; but what made them to be near Two Months in getting to it, was their having fetched a great Compass in order to the reducing of several of the best Provinces to the Emperor's Obedience, which they did only by Marching through them.

Gama finding all they had done, if they did not make themselves Masters of this Mountain, would signify nothing, did resolve, whatever it cost him, to attempt it; the Empress was much against his doing it, and gave this for her Reason, That should the Portuguese be baffled in that attempt, as considering the Strength of the Place and the Garrison, it was too likely they might, the Mahometans to whom at present their Name was become terrible, would recover their courage again: But Gama offered such strong reasons for their not leaving such a Garrison behind them, that the Empress was overcome by them, and gave her consent to its being Attacked.

The Mountain was both High and Steep, and on the top of it was a Plain of near a League in compass, in which was water sufficient for the Garrison: It had Three Entries which were all strongly fortified both by Art and Nature; The Chief of them was called Amba Canet, which is the Name of the Mountain it self: The Second is called Amba Xambut: The Third Amba Gadalet. They had all of them Governors, with a Guard of Five Hundred Men well Armed, with Bows and Scimitars to defend them.

Gama after having strictly Surveyed it, judged it the best way to make an Assault upon all the Entries at once; and according charged Francis Velho, and Manoel de Cunha with the First, and John de Fanseca, and Francis d'Abrew, with the Second; who had each of them Three Field Pieces, taking the Third, which was by much the strongest, to himself. In the Night he ordered several false Attacks to be made, on purpose to make the Enemy spend their Arrows, which they did in great showers, without Killing or Wounding one of the Portugueses; who having performed their Devotions, and received the Patriarch's Blessing, advanced so soon as it

was Day with their Artillery; with which having played some time upon the Entry, they afterwards fell pallmall upon those that Guarded them, by whom they were warmly received and repulsed twice: Gama who little expected to have met with such a stout Resistance, was much concerned to see his Men beat off so; nevertheless resolving since he had begun it, either to carry his Point, or to lose his Life in the Enterprize; he made a Third Attack, in which after a long struggle, he obliged the Enemy to leave the Pass, and Retreat with a great loss of Men to the top of the Mountain; The other two Passes were likewise opened by his Men much about the same time; but the Garrison after this was so far from offering to Capitulate, that they disputed every Inch of the top of the Mountain with the Portugueses, fighting it out to the last man: Of the Portugueses there were but 7 Killed, and 40 wounded in all this Action.

Gama so soon as he was absolute Master of the Place, sent down one to wish the Empress Joy of it; and to desire her, to do her Mountain Amba Camet the honor to visit it, assuring her that she might now safely do it; there being not one Mahometan left alive upon it; the Empress was overjoyed at the News, and having magnified the Portuguese Valor and Conduct beyond measure, she returned her Thanks to Gama for the great Service he had done her Son in reducing such a strong Place, but desired to be excused from visiting of it: For besides that it was very steep, she had not courage enough to behold the Carcasses it must be covered withal. He sent likewise to the Patriarch to come up and Consecrate the Mosque, which he did, Dedicating it to our Lady of Victory, in which after he heard Mass, and Buried his Dead, he went down to wait upon the Empress, who received him with the greatest Joy and Respect imaginable, extolling his Courage and Conduct to the Skies. She gave the Government of the Mountain to a Captain that was in her train, whose Ancestors had formerly been Governors of it.

The Camp continued near this Mountain all the Month of February, for the sake of the wounded men; during which time, Gama received a Message brought by two Portugueses from Manuel de Vasconcelho, who had been sent by the Viceroy with Five Ships, to learn where the Turkish Gallies were, and with a fresh Supply of Arms and Ammunition. Upon this advice Gama sent Francisco Velho with a Guard of 40 Portugueses well armed and mounted, to Matzua, where Vasconselho was with his Fleet, with an Order to receive the Arms and Ammunition that was sent to him by his Brother; to whom he gave a full account by Letter, of the State of Affairs

in Ethiopia, and of all that he had done in it. Having dispatched this business, and their wounded men being all either dead or cured, the Empress and Gama marched into a fertile Country, whose Prince was a Christian, by whom they were joyfully entertained, wanting for nothing that was necessary for their Camp. But they had not been many days in these good Quarters, before Gama received Letters from the Emperor, desiring him to march towards him with all the haste he could, he being informed that Granhe had resolved to get betwixt them with an Army, which neither of them alone could be able to deal with.

Upon this advice Gama made long Marches to have got to the Emperor, but was notwithstanding that intercepted by Granhe; from whom, upon Palm-Sunday, he received a Message, telling him, That he wondered at his having the Impudence to come as he did into his Kingdom with a Handful of men, for which, though he well deserved to be chastised, to discourage others from making such mad Adventures; yet considering he was but a Boy, and had been wheedled into it by the Empress, who was certainly the falsest Woman in the world; he was ready not only to pardon him, but to convey him and his men safe back to their Ships; desiring him withal to accept of the Present he had sent him, which was a Monk's Cowl, and a Rosary of Beads, as much more proper for him than a Sword and Armor. Gama treated the Messenger civilly, presenting him with a Silk Vest and a Medal, bidding him tell his Master

That he should have an Answer from him in a day or two.

A Council of War having been called thereupon, it was agreed that Gama should return the following Answer to Granhe, That he was sent into Ethiopia by the great Lion of the Sea, and the most powerful Lord of the Earth, whose custom it was to succor all that are in distress; and who having been informed that the most Christian Emperor of Ethiopia, his Brother in Arms, was conquered, and in a manner driven out of his Empire by Infidels, and the Enemies of the holy Catholic Faith, had sent him with some Troops to restore him to his Empire, which though they were but few in number, yet he did not doubt but that they were enough to fight the greatest Armies of one who had been so wicked, as without any reason or color of Justice, to dispossess a Prince of his Empire, and that not with his own strength, but because the true God was pleased to permit it to be so for the chastisement of the Sins of the Habassins, whose Wrath he hoped was now abundantly satisfied with what they had already suffered, so that

he would now in his great mercy restore them again to their Ancient Liberties, and give them the Lands of their Forefathers, of which he had so unjustly robbed them. With this Answer he sent him a large Looking-glass with a pair of Pinchers, such as Women use. Granhe though desperate mad at this Answer and Present, yet could not forbear saying, That Captains who had the courage to fight Armies with handfuls of men, deserved to have great honors done them by all Princes: But perceiving the Portugueses were not to be persuaded to lay down their Arms, he thought the best way to deal with such desperate people, would be to starve them; which he reckoned would be easy for him to do, they being at that time but 350 fighting Men, whereas his Army consisted of 15000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, besides 200 Turks with Fire-Arms.

But the Mahometans, after having besieged Gama at a distance for some days, being ashamed of taking such a course with a Body of men, which they reckoned would not be a Breakfast to them, did oblige Granhe to change his Measures, and to lead them up to the Enemy, whom when they came near, they found strongly encamped. Granhe finding the Enemy thus posted, and being neither willing to discourage his Men by marching back again, nor to hazard them by making an Assault, ordered a Breastwork to be run up within Musket-shot of them, from behind which he for some days mauled the Portugueses with his Fire-Arms; Gama, whose number could not long endure this sport, resolved whatever it cost him, next night to dislodge the Infidels, which with the help of his Artillery he did in a few hours, obliging them to keep their former distance, which was without Cannon Shot of his Camp, in which Action he had several wounded, but not one killed.

After this Gama was more at ease for the present; yet being sensible that this would not do his business, the Enemy, as they lay, keeping him from supplies of Provisions, he was forced to decamp, which he did before day, and in very good order, bringing up the Rear himself.

The Infidels perceiving so soon as it was light, that the Portugueses had left their Camp, pursued them with great fury, reckoning now they had got them upon plain ground, to have made short work with them.

But Gama, when they were come near him, plied them so with his Artillery, that he made them retreat in disorder, leaving several of their best men dead, or wounded, behind them, Granhe himself having his Horse shot

under him, and receiving a wound in his Thigh with a Musket-bullet; there were 11 Portugueses, one of whom was an Ensign, killed in this Action, and several wounded; Gama himself having received a slight wound in the Leg; who having lain still 12 days to cure his wounded men, observed that the Enemy had resumed his first method of starving them, he determined to fall upon them in their Quarters, which he did with good success, driving them from their Posts, and making a great slaughter among them; in this Attack Gama lost 14 more of his Portugueses, besides two that were blown up by a Barrel of Gunpowder, which took fire by accident; the noise of which was no small advantage to him, the Enemies Horses being put into such a disorder therewith, that the Officers were not able to bring them together again; he had likewise 70 wounded, two whereof died of their Wounds.

Granhe finding there was no breaking this Body of Portugueses by reason of their Discipline and Artillery, the noise whereof neither his Men nor Horse could bear, he retreated for eight days together into a Mountainous Country, leaving the Portugueses to the mercy of the heat, and barrenness of Ethiopia, which he hoped would make an end of them in a little time.

Gama having thus rid himself of the Enemy, removed his Camp to the Banks of a large and pleasant River, where he had been but two days, when the Portugueses he had sent to Matzua returned to him, but without bringing any thing of that they were sent for, the Ships that brought the Arms and Ammunition having been frightened away before they got to Matzua, by some Intelligence they had received of a Fleet of Turkish Gallies making towards them. Bahurnagays likewise came back to him at the same time with a Body of 500 Habassin Foot and 30 Horse.

Gama, though much troubled at this disappointment, yet that he might lose no time, resolved with this small Reinforcement to pursue Granhe, and if it were possible, to drive him out of the Fastnesses he was retired to: And so instead of marching towards the Emperor, as he had been desired, that he might engross the whole glory of overcoming Granhe to himself, he marched from the Emperor after him for eight days; but as we shall see by the sequel of the Story, was at all this pains to catch a Tartar. He had fallen upon Granhe as soon as he came up with him, had he not been hindered by the Empress, who protested against coming to a Battle before they had their whole Army together, and with much ado persuaded him to expect

the Emperor with his Troops, which were reported to be much greater than they were.

While Gama was in these quarters, a certain Jew, who was Governor of a strong Mountain called Oaty, in the Province of Cemen, came to wait on him, and to let him know, That in the neighboring Mountains there were great numbers of curious Horses which were but weakly guarded, offering if he would send any of his men to seize them, to be their Guide himself; he further told him, That it was absolutely necessary for him to make himself Master of all the Passes of that Country, for otherwise it would not be possible for the Emperor, who he knew was not strong enough to force his way to come at him; Gama was much concerned at the last part of the Jew's Intelligence, having imagined the Emperor to have been much stronger than he was; whereupon he asked the Empress what she thought of the Jew's report concerning her Son's Army? She told him frankly, That she thought it was but too true; hereupon he determined to go, and either make himself Master of those Horses and Passes, or die in the Attempt. In pursuance of which resolution, that he might not alarm Granhe, he marched secretly out of his Camp by night with a 100 of his Portugueses, and never halted till he came to the great River Tavaze, over which he was forced to waft his men upon Boracho's, or Hides full of Wind; but what was worst of all, when they came near the Mountain his design was upon, he found the Garrison much stronger than the Jew had represented it to have been, there being no fewer than 3000 Foot and 400 Horse in it; but Gama was gone too far to think of Retreating, and therefore Fight he must, and did; and after having killed the Governor Cid Ahamed with his own hand, the Infidels being but raw men, dispersed upon it, and were most of them knocked on the head by the Jews who are the natives of that Country; the Jew who was a Guide, is said to have been so struck with this Victory, and particularly with there not having been one Portuguese Killed or Wounded in the whole Action, that looking upon it as a Miracle, he immediately turned Christian, and thereupon had the Government of the Mountain conferred upon him by Gama, being ordered to send word to the Emperor of the Passes being opened for him and his Army: There were 300 Mules, and 800 good Horses taken, all which Gama ordered to be brought after him to the Camp, whither he with the greatest part of his Men Rode Post, fearing lest he might have been intercepted by Granhe.

Neither was Granhe Idle all this Winter, who having observed that his Army, besides that it would require time to bring them to endure the



Thunder of Cannon, were strangely cowed by their having been Beat so often by a handful of Portugueses, writ to the Bashaw of Zebid, a Province in Arabia, for some Turkish Troops, and a Train of Artillery, to enable him to deal with the Portugueses; representing the driving of them out of Ethiopia, as one of the best Services that could be done the Grand Seignior: The Bashaw having 3000 Turks, all Veteran Soldiers, for the Guard of the Red-Sea, sent him 600, some say 900 of them, with several Pieces of Ordnance; and besides these, he is said to have received considerable Supplies from some of his other Friends in Arabia.

These Foreign Troops came up to Granhe the very night that Gama returned to the Camp; with which Auxiliaries he instantly advanced towards the Portugueses, and Encamped so near them, as to make them both hear and feel that he had now got Cannon as well as they.

Upon this new scene of Affairs, Gama called a Council of War to consult what was fit to be done, and it being agreed on all hands, That there was now no possibility of Retreating, no, nor of waiting where they were till the Emperor came up with them, they had therefore nothing to think of but of Fighting it out, so as either to Conquer, or to sell their lives dear; only, that they should do all that they were able to avoid coming to Battle before the Mules and Horses that had been taken lately by Gama arrived in the Camp.

But Granhe having now got men that were not afraid to go upon the mouth of a Cannon, advanced next day within Musket-short of the Portugueses, resolving if they did not come out to Fight, to storm their Camp, which he reckoned himself strong enough to do: Gama perceiving their design, Sallied out to demolish a Mount Granhe was raising to plant his Cannon upon, and which would have commanded his whole Camp; in which Sally he made the Turks give ground, until overpowered by Number, he was forced to retreat; having lost some Officers, and several of his Soldiers in the Action; Gama made several other brisk Sallies, but was still repulsed with loss, and in one of them was himself Wounded: When night came on, the Empress and all the Officers were at Gama to retire to the Mountains, it not being possible for them to hold out another day against so great and well-disciplined an Army: Gama was put into such a rage by the motion, that he drew his Sword, and brandishing it, cried out, They that will steal away by night may do it, but for my own part I am resolved to stay and fight the Infidels; and if his Countrymen would be so base as to desert him and leave him alone to defend the Camp, he could not hinder them, but out

of it he was resolved not to stir unless it was to Fight the Enemy. The Officers finding there was no persuading of Gama to go with them, laid violent hands on him, and having set him upon a Mule, carried him with them as a Prisoner. They were not well got out of their Camp with Gama, (the Empress and Patriarch having departed some time before) when the Turks broke into it, where finding 40 Portugueses, who by reason of their Wounds had been left behind, they knocked them all on the head; and understanding that Gama could not be got far, a Body of Turks was ordered immediately to pursue him, who having before Sun-rising got between him and the Mountains, by noon they found them lying under a Tree quite spent with the loss of Blood, and the Fatigue of the Battle; and having mounted him on a Horse, they carried him to Granhe.

The Portuguese Historians, as if they reckoned that to have neither Fear nor Wit, were the true Character of a Hero, do according to their custom, on this occasion sacrifice Gama's discretion to the Reputation of his Courage: Who, they say, upon Granhe's asking him, How he would have treated him, had the Fortune of War made him his Prisoner? made answer, That he would have cut off his Head, and have sent it as a Present to the Emperor. The foolish Bravery of which Answer was so far from obliging Granhe to give him his Life, that he gave him *Lex talionis*; having, after he had treated him barbarously for a day or two, ordered his Head to be chopped off in his presence; at which the Turks, who designed to have made a Present of him to their Bassa, are said to have been very angry.

A Portuguese who was a Prisoner, and present when Gama was murdered, having afterwards made his escape, gave an ample account of all the Particulars of Gama's carriage at his death; and among other things, affirmed, that he saw a great fountain of most delicate water gush out of the earth Gama's Head fell upon, when it was chopped off. This Miracle was the easier swallowed, it being no more than what the Heads of all Legendary Saints have done, who have happened to be beheaded.

This is the substance of the so much celebrated Expedition of Don Christopher Da Gama, which as I have related it, is I doubt big enough for the belief of any indifferent person, but is much too great for that of the most credulous, if impartial, as it is magnified by his Countrymen; to whose Romantic way of writing their Lives, the Memory of their Heroes (of which Race few Kingdoms of its bigness have produced either more or greater than Portugal) is little beholden: Which common Fault in the

Spanish and Portuguese Writers, I do not in the least attribute to any defect of Natural Judgment in them, that being a talent that few Nations excel them in; but purely to their reading Romances so much when they are young, and especially Ecclesiastical ones, that is, the Lives and Legends of their Saints, the Writers whereof, instead of troubling themselves to collect informations, do shut themselves up in a Cell, and say every thing of their Hero that they think will make for his Honor.

After this Rout, the Empress and Patriarch retreated to the strong Mountain Gama had made himself Master of a little before; where they had not been Ten Days, before the Emperor came to them with a small Army; but having after some Months got a Body of 500 Horse and 8000 Foot together, he resolved to march and offer the Enemy Battle, being strongly urged to it by the Portugueses, who though but 90 in number, were mad to revenge the Death of their General.

Cunha, who after the Defeat had retreated with 40 of his Portugueses into Tigre, was sent to come and join the Gross; but that not being possible, by reason of the Enemy's being posted betwixt them, the Emperor advanced with the Forces he had with him; and being come within sight of the Enemy, encamped himself strongly for some days; during which time there were frequent Skirmishes; in all of which the Portugueses are said to have done Wonders, if not to have wrought Miracles. The Habassin General, in whose Conduct and Courage the Soldiers placed their chief confidence, happening to be slain in an Ambush the Turks had laid for him, the Emperor had much ado to keep the Army from dispersing upon that unlucky Accident; and to prevent it, was obliged to offer the Enemy Battle some days sooner than he had otherwise intended to have done, the Portugueses having desired it, had the Van given them, and were joined with 250 Habassin Horse, and 3500 Foot: The Rear, which was commanded by the Emperor in Person, consisted of the same Number of Horse and Foot.

The Enemies Van, which was made up of 200 Turks with Fire-Arms, 600 Moorish Horse, and 7000 Foot, was commanded by Granhe himself; and the Rear, consisting of 600 Horse, and 6000 Foot, by a great Turkish Captain.

The Two Armies were no sooner drawn into the Field, than they ran upon one another, with great Fury, making a great Slaughter on both sides; and

the Body of Turks happening to charge the Habassins that were in the Van, gave them such a shock as obliged them to retreat in great disorder; which having been timely observed by the Portugueses, who were hewing their way through the Battalions they were engaged withal, they wheeled about, and attacked the Victorious Turks with that vigor, that they quickly forced them to give ground, and with the loss of a great many of their best men to retire to their Gross; but the Portuguese not being content with that, followed their Blow, and with the Assistance of the Habassins who had rallied again, broke into the Main Body of the Enemy, so as to make it give ground apace; which being perceived by Granhe, he galloped up to them, and having put himself on their Head, did act the part both of a great Captain, and a stout Soldier, till he received a Mortal Wound with a Musket Bullet in his breast: His men when they saw him fall from his Horse, instead of seeking to avenge his Death, or to carry off his Body, threw down their Arms, and betook themselves to their heels; only a Turkish Captain who was near him when he received his Death's Wound, defended his Body with his Scimitar in his hand till he fell dead upon it, and sold his own life dear.

The Portugueses and Habassins pursued the Enemy so close, that few of them escaped; the Turks were all killed to 14, who keeping together in a Body, got before it was day to the place where Granhe had left his Queen, whom with a vast Treasure in Gold and Jewels, they conveyed to a place of safety, to the great loss and sorrow of the Habassins.

It is said there was not one Portuguese killed or wounded in this Fight, which they will have to have been a miracle, owing to the Standard they had bore ever since Gama's death, which was our Lady of mercy; whereas before, when they lost men, they had fought under the Banner of the five Wounds of Christ, which are the Arms of the King of Portugal.

Upon the news of this Victory all the Princes and Governors of Ethiopia, who had sided with Granhe, flocked to throw themselves at the Emperor's feet, who by pardoning them all to a man, was immediately restored to the full and quiet possession of his Empire.

The Emperor for some time after the Victory, caressed the Portugueses highly, acknowledging on all occasions that he owed his Crown purely to their Valor: but whether it was that the Emperor, after the fashion of too many Princes, looking upon the Services the Portugueses had done him, as

too great to be rewarded by him, did for that reason begin to hate them, as a reproach to him; or that the Portugueses overvaluing their Services, which is likewise a common fault on the other side, did grow troublesome and insolent thereupon, and demanded greater Rewards than were just, or than the Emperor could conveniently give them; or whether it was the Patriarch's teizing [teasing?] the Emperor instantly to declare himself a Roman-Catholic; it is certain they came in a short time to an open rupture, the Emperor accusing the Portugueses of Impertinence and Insolence, and the Portugueses the Emperor of Ingratitude, and breach of Faith, pretending he had promised the King of Portugal, that whensoever he should be restored to the peaceable possession of his Empire, he would immediately declare himself a Roman-Catholic, and give the third part of his Dominions to the Portugueses.

But the Emperor, as he absolutely denied his having ever made any such promise, so he conjured the Patriarch not to trouble him any more about his Religion, being resolved never to change it for that of Popery, which he called Nestorianism, and accused of worshipping Four Gods; adding, That he was the Pastor and Prelate of all the Franks that were in Ethiopia, but had nothing to do with his subjects, who had a Prelate of their own, to wit the Patriarch of Alexandria, in whose obedience, after the Example of his Ancestors, he was resolved to live and die.

The Patriarch finding he was not to be persuaded to embrace Popery, was for trying whether he could not terrify him into it, by obliging the Portugueses by his Censures, not to serve him any longer until he made profession of it.

The Emperor is said at first to have laughed at this Excommunication, as the effect of the impotent Passion of an angry old man, who would needs be exercising jurisdiction where he had none; and it is more than probable, considering his present Circumstances, and the small number the Portugueses were then reduced to, that he continued to do so to the last: Notwithstanding it is reported, That when he found the Portugueses would serve him no longer, unless he declared himself a Roman-Catholic, that he submitted, abjuring the Alexandrian Faith, and making profession of that of Rome in the hands of the Patriarch.

But however that were, it is certain, that the Emperor at this time did not only declare, That he would never submit himself and his Empire to the

Pope, who besides that he was a Nestorian Heretic, had nothing to do with a Church, which from its very first foundation had been all along subject to the Patriarch of Alexandria; but to show the World that he was in earnest, he writ to the Patriarch of Alexandria to send an Abuna into Ethiopia, according to the custom of his Predecessors.

The Patriarch and Portugueses, when they came to hear of this Message, did storm and threaten at such a rate, that the Emperor began to consider how he might rid his Country of Guests who would be satisfied with nothing less than the extirpation of its Ancient Religion, and the establishment of Popery; the toleration of their own Religion, which he reckoned a great favor, being what they despised, and reckoned to be no kindness at all: Whereupon the Emperor is said to have given secret Orders for 2000 Soldiers to be sent to disarm, if not massacre all the Portugueses that were in Ethiopia, as a People not to be endured any longer; but the Portugueses having had timely notice of this Plot against their Lives, did by keeping still together in a body, prevent the execution of it.

The Emperor having the news brought him of the Abuna he had sent for, being on his Journey to manifest his great Zeal for his Religion, went as far as Deboroa on purpose to meet him: Where, when the Abuna, whose name was Joseph, arrived, he was received by him with the greatest Festivities that had ever been seen before in Ethiopia on the like occasion.

The Patriarch Bermudes, who could not endure to think of any Abuna in Ethiopia besides himself, posted after the Emperor to try to prevent it; but the Emperor hearing he was coming after him, and not caring to be schooled by him any longer, ordered him to be apprehended, and carried Prisoner to one of his strong Mountains, from whence, after some Months confinement, he was rescued by his Countrymen, and carried by them into Tigre, where he lived under the protection of Bahurnagays, the great Patron of the Portugueses, until he was carried off to the Indies by the Jesuits to make room for a Successor of their own Order, as we shall see hereafter.

The Emperor, now he had rid himself of the Popish Patriarch, who would never let him be quiet day nor night with his Religion, began to express great kindness again to all the Portugueses that remained, employing several of them about his Person, and giving such Estates to the rest, that there was not one of them but what kept his Horse or Mule, and lived with

the Equipage of a Gentleman; insomuch that there was but one hard thing whereof they could accuse the Emperor, which was, That he would not suffer them, after he had told them above an hundred times that he would never change his Religion, to trouble him any more about it.

But while things stood thus as to Religion in Ethiopia, all the News in Portugal and Rome was, that the Portugueses had restored the Emperor to all his Dominions, and had thereby obliged him to that degree, that he was not contented with declaring that he would submit himself to the Roman church, but that he would make his whole Empire to do the same; which News, so slow was their Intelligence from thence, continued to be believed by most people in Europe as undoubtedly true, for at least three years after Claudius had made a solemn declaration to the contrary, and that nothing in the world should ever oblige him to change his Ancient Faith for that of Rome.

Ignatius Loyola being sensible that his new Order had every where a great many Enemies, and especially among the other Orders of Friars, who were all grown jealous of its over-topping them; was casting about to find some great work for them to do, whereby they might for ever establish their Reputation in the Roman Church; and believing all that was reported of the greatness of the Habassin Empire, and of the good disposition it was in to submit it self to the Pope, he labored day and night to obtain that Province for his Friars; and that he might interest himself therein with the better grace, he begged leave solemnly of the Pope to go into Ethiopia in person to promote the submission of that Church to him; which being denied him to his great grief, he begged that since he himself was not thought worthy of that honor, that a Mission of his Friars might be sent thither, and this he plied so close, as to carry it: For besides that he himself was indefatigable in the pursuit thereof, he commanded all the Jesuits that were at Lisbon, to wait upon the King at least once a Month about it, and one Lewis Goncalves da Camara, a Jesuit, who was of a Noble Family in Portugal, not to fail to speak to the Portuguese Ambassador at the Court of Rome once in three days concerning it; which that Father observed so punctually, and teized the Ambassador so much about it, that the Ambassador's Servants when they saw him coming, used to say of him, Here comes our Lord's Tertian Ague.

By these indefatigable diligences, Ignatius carried both his points, which were, That a splendid Mission should be sent into Ethiopia to take the

submission of that Church to the Roman, and that none but his Friars should be employed in it; and having the Nomination of them left to himself, he named one John Nunes Baretto a Portuguese to go Patriarch, and Andrew Oviedo a Spaniard, and Melchior Carneira a Portuguese, who were to be both made Bishops; the first of Hieropolis, and the second of Nice; and to be coadjutors to the Patriarch, and who in case they Survived him, were in their turns to succeed him in that Dignity; to which he added ten Jesuits more, having, as he told the Emperor in his Letter to him, pitched upon that number, that the Patriarch and his twelve Companions might represent Christ and his twelve Apostles: Upon Ignatius Nomination of the Missionaries, the Pope's Bulls for Authorizing them were dispatched to Lisbon; the Bull of the Patriarch Elect was as followeth:

*Julius Bishop, The Servant Of The Servants Of God, To My Beloved Son John Elect Of Ethiopia, And Of All The Kingdoms Subject To Precious John The Illustrious Emperor Of Ethiopia, Health And Apostolical Benediction.*

WHEREAS we have been lately solicited in your Name, which to us and our Brethren is very acceptable; we with the Council of our said Brethren have by our Apostolical Authority, promoted you to the Patriarchal Church of Ethiopia, and of all the Kingdoms belonging to our beloved Son in Christ, Precious John, the Illustrious Emperor of the said Ethiopia, which is at this time in a manner destitute of the Consolation of a Pastor; Making and Constituting you by the said Council and Authority, Patriarch and Pastor thereof during your Life; or for so long as you shall keep the Charge, Government, and Administration of all the Affairs Spiritual and Temporal of the said Church; as we do also Constitute our Beloved Son Andrew, Elect of Hieropolis, and Melchior Elect of Nice, your Coadjutors, with full, free, and entire faculty, power and authority, to make, treat, exercise, and procure all things in general, and every thing in particular, which do of right and custom belong to such Coadjutors, from this time forward in all matters of Jurisdiction, and after they are consecrated, in all matters of Order likewise; and in case of accidents, we have provide that the said Elects, Andrew and Melchior, shall after a certain form or manner be successively Pastors and Patriarchs of the said Church; and we have sent you by a certain Messenger your Pall, which is the Ensign of the perfect power of the Pontifical Office, taken from the body of the blessed St. Peter, which was desired of us in your behalf with that instance as is fitting, and as was signified by you, after the manner and form as was therein



declared, and as is more amply contained in our Letters. And we having considered the great distance the said Church from the Court of Rome, and how difficult a thing it is to come from thence hither, and how great and dangerous either by Sea or Land the Voyage is; and being for that reason desirous, so far as we are able with a good Conscience, to ease you and your Successors, the Patriarchs of Ethiopia, and of all the Kingdoms belonging thereunto, of such a Journey; we do grant to you, and the said Elects, Andrew and Melchior, upon their ceasing to be Coadjutors, and to all your other Successors of the said Patriarchal Church of Ethiopia, and the Kingdoms thereunto belonging for all times to come, the privilege of wearing the foresaid Pall, within the Church of Ethiopia, and all the Kingdoms thereof, upon the Festivities of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas; as also upon those of Circumcision, Epiphany, and Ascension of our Lord; as also upon the Feast of Corpus Christi, St. Stephen, St. John, Palm-Sunday, the Thursday and Saturday in the holy Week, and of the invention of the Cross, and of John the Baptist; and on all the days of the Apostles, and on the Three Festivities of the Blessed Virgin, and on All-Saints-day, and on the days of the Consecration of the Chief Churches under their jurisdiction, and on the days whereon you ordain Priests, or Consecrate Bishops; and if it should so happen, which God forbid, that the said Pall should either be left by the way, or be stolen, or should be any other way embezzled, you may in that case make and bless such another Pall, which you and your Successors, by us instituted, may use as is above prescribed; you shall likewise cause a Cross to be carried before you in all places of your Province.

When the Archbishops and Bishops of the said Province shall be Elected by our beloved Sons, the Chapters of Churches, or according to the custom of the place, but so, that it shall always be in your power to supply all defects if any should happen to be in the Forms of their Elections, and be approved of, and Confirmed, and Instituted by you, they shall then be obliged with all possible expedition to intimate their Election, Confirmation and Institution to the Apostolical See, taking an Oath of due fidelity to it, in the form hereafter prescribed; and having given the customary obedience, shall send the said Oath likewise to the said See.

And you being assisted by the said Andrew and Melchior, Elects, if they are present, or otherwise you, they not being to be had, or they being out of the Office of Coadjutor, may, being assisted by two lawful Priests ordained according to the custom of the Church of Rome, until such time

as you can have two Bishops lawfully Consecrated, in which case you must be assisted by two Bishops, and not by two Presbyters, Consecrate said Archbishops and Bishops so Elected, Confirmed and Instituted, they having first presented to you, or to others, their Letters, certifying their Election, Confirmation and Institution, as also the form of the Oath of obedience that they have taken: And the Archbishops thus Consecrated, after they have the Pall given them, may use all the insignia of Archbishops, as the Bishops so ordained may likewise all those of Bishops, and may likewise consecrate the holy Oil, and confirm and confer holy Orders, and perform all the other Offices appertaining to a Bishop, and may likewise respectively exercise the ordinary power, and whatsoever is proper and customary for Archbishops and Bishops to exercise; you may also give to Archbishops thus Consecrated, the Pall, which is the sign of Pontifical Perfection, which they shall use after the manner above prescribed; you may likewise divide and distinguish the Provinces and Dioceses of the said Archbishops and Bishops, which have not hitherto been divided; and may also grant Licenses to all such as you shall judge fit to Preach and Declare the word of God to the People; and if they are Priests, to administer all the Sacraments, excepting those of confirmation and holy Orders, and to Consecrate Altars, with all their Ornaments, together with the Sacerdotal Vestments, and all other things save Chalices and Patens; you may likewise absolve all persons whatsoever within your Province, or that are any other way your Subjects, by a Diocesan, as well as a Patriarchal right, from all manner of Sins, and Excommunications which they may have incurred, and from all Suspensions, Interdicts, and other Censures and Ecclesiastical Penalties how great soever, nay, though of that number which are reserved by the Bulla Caena Domini, enjoining them healthful penances in all such cases in proportion to the nature of their faults; you may likewise Communicate faculties to Bishops, to absolve in all such cases as you or the Patriarchs of Ethiopia for the time being shall judge convenient; and if it shall be thought fit, you may by your self dispense with all persons as to any irregularities they have contracted by Bigamy, provided it was not true; or Homicide, so it was not voluntary; which when they are so, must never be dispensed withal but on great occasions, and for the public good, and for want of Age also, and with any of the other impediments to holy Orders, or the exercise thereof; as also as to the Sacrament of Matrimony in whatsoever degree of Affinity or Consanguinity Spiritual or Carnal, those only excepted which are prohibited by the Divine Law; and Spiritual Affinity in Matrimony shall never be contracted betwixt the Godfather and

Godmother, and their Godchildren; you may also commute Vows into any pious work, provided they be not the solemn Vows of Religion and Chastity.

At three times in the Year, to wit, Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, you may grant plenary indulgences to all People of the said Province, who being contrite have voluntarily confessed their Sins, obliging them before you grant them, to Fast, and devoutly to beseech God in behalf of all the faithful of the Roman Church; and on any other days you may grant Temporary Indulgences and Remission of Sins, which must never exceed the term of Ten years; you may likewise give license to your Friars to read Heretical Books, and may at your pleasure unite, annex, and incorporate Ecclesiastical Benefices into Churches or other Pious and Religious places, for the Spiritual or Temporal advantage of the Neighbors; and may erect and found general Universities and Colleges, wherein People may take all Degrees of Master and Doctor; and likewise Hospitals for the Poor, the Sick, and Strangers, Male and Female; as also Monasteries and Colleges for Boys and Girls, and Orphans; in all which, works of Piety and Charity may be exercised: You may either in your Person, or by your Deputies, visit with a Plenary Jurisdiction all the said Universities, Colleges, Hospitals, Monasteries, and all other Religious Houses of what Order or Sex soever, and reform them as well in the Head as in the Members; and Chastise, Correct, and Punish all that shall be found faulty, and may remove them from one place to another. You may also, if you find it necessary, found Religious Houses of both Sexes, and approve, disprove, or extinguish such as are already founded, or may reduce divers Religions to one, and reform their Constitutions, by either adding to them, or taking from them, as you shall think fit in the Lord. You may give License to the poor, Religious, or not Religious, to beg and desire Alms in the name of any Saint. You shall furthermore in our Name, and in that of the Holy See, declare to the people of your Province, the Faith of the Roman Church, and which are the Canonical Scriptures that they ought to hold and follow in every thing: You must likewise condemn the writings which the Roman Church rejects and condemns; and must determine and declare to them which Ecclesiastical precepts do oblige them under the penalty of a mortal sin, and which do not. You may further by your Authority, so that nothing be changed that is decreed by the Divine and Natural Law, make Orders concerning all matters which are of positive right, even so far as Excommunications, Suspensions, Interdicts, and other Ecclesiastical

Sentences, Censures, Penalties, and Irregularities, which any may have incurred upon the account of such matters, declaring which are obligatory, and which are not, until such time as the Apostolical See shall otherwise order. You may also grant Dispensations concerning all such matters, and may Legitimate Bastards, and others that have any defect in their Birth. You must create a Notary, who by the Apostolical Authority may see all the matters executed, which can be done by any Legate de latere, or Nuncio of the said See. You may also make Compositions with any People for Ecclesiastical Fruits or Revenues that have been unjustly received, and employ the Money to some Pious use. Finally, you may lawfully and freely do and execute all things in general, and every thing in particular, that appertains to the Edification and Salvation of Souls, or that are seasonable, until such time as you shall receive an answer concerning them from the said See; and to you, our son John elect, in case the said Andres, and Melchior, or either of them should happen to die before you, we do by these Presents, and the said Apostolical Authority, grant a Faculty, and a Plenary and Free Power, freely and lawfully to Name and Elect one or more Coadjutors, who shall succeed one another in the said Church of Ethiopia, and the Kingdoms thereunto belonging, and to Institute and Consecrate them Bishops and Successors, obliging them to intimate their Election, Institution, and Consecration to the said See, in the manner aforesaid, and to take an Oath of Fidelity and Obedience thereunto, as is above prescribed, and by Letters to acquaint the said See therewith: All which must be done with the Approbation of the Council that is to be erected for the handling of all weighty Affairs, and which you shall hereafter Constitute. All Constitution and Apostolical Ordinances, and Reservatories, though of Catholic Churches, or of the Patriarchal Church, though confirmed by Oath, or Apostolical Confirmation, or by any confirmation, Statues, Customs, or any other way to the contrary notwithstanding.

*Given at St. Peters in Rome, on the 17th. day of February, in the year of our Lord 1554. in the 5th. year of our Pontificate.*

The Bulls of the three Elects being come to Lisbon, the King looking upon it as the greatest honor that had ever been done to Portugal to have a Patriarch consecrated in it; made great Preparations for that Ceremony; the Patriarch, and the Bishop of Hieropolis, were both consecrated in the Church of the Trinity Friars by Don Julian d'Abreu, Bishop of Portalegree, and Dom Gasper Bishop of the Island of St. Thomas, and Dom Peter

Bishop of Hippo; Melchior Elect of Nice, having Sailed from Lisbon for the Indies four days before the arrival of the Bulls.

But notwithstanding the King and the whole Court honored this Consecration with their presence, yet I do not find that any of the great Prelates of the Kingdom were present at it; which, together with its not having been performed in the See Church, but in the Chapel of a Convent, and that by two Titulars, and the Poorest Bishop in Portugal, makes me suspect that the great Prelates were not over-well pleased with this upstart Order leaping so soon into such high Dignities.

For about the time of this Promotion, and which it is like enough might contribute something towards it, there was a most terrible storm raised both in Spain and France against the whole Order of the Jesuits.

Don John, Archbishop of Toledo, who continued a mortal Enemy to it till his death, driving them out of the university of Completum in the year 1555, and prohibiting all his Priests, upon pain of Deprivation, to make use of any of their Exercises; and prohibiting all others, upon pain of Excommunication, to confess themselves to any of them. The Sorbonne likewise declared about the same time, That the Society of Jesus was dangerous to the Faith, a disturber of the Peace of the Church, pernicious to Monastical Religion, and, in a word, was for Destruction, and not for Edification.

There were two things, one would think, might have been some rubs in the way of this promotion, though we do not find they were in the least.

**The first was,** That there was a Patriarch, and one of the Pope's own Confirming, then living in Ethiopia, of whom we shall hear more hereafter.

**The second was,** the Vow that is taken by the Jesuits, never directly nor indirectly to seek after any Ecclesiastical Promotion, either within or without their Order; which they had violated with a witness, in seeking after a Mission of this nature, which was not to be performed without some high Prelates. Neither do we any where read, that Ignatius, when he labored so hard to get his Friars employed therein, did desire only the Ministry of it for them, leaving the Prelacy thereof to such as were under no Vows to the contrary.

But however the Clergy stood affected, the King was extremely pleased with this Promotion, and presented the Patriarch with extraordinary rich Vestments, and with a noble set of Plate for his own Altar; all which, upon this Mission miscarrying, was afterwards given by King Sebastian to the Jesuits College at Goa, where the Patriarch had lodged it.

The Patriarch, by reason of his Bulls not having come till some days after the India Fleet departed, was obliged to wait a year for the next Fleet; during which time he lived for the most part at St. Rocks, the House of the professed Jesuits at Lisbon, of whose Chapel he laid the first Stone.

But notwithstanding it was generally believed both at Rome and Lisbon, that the Habassin Church and Empire were as good as reconciled to the Pope; yet there did not want some sober Heads at Lisbon, who doubted whether all things were so well in Ethiopia as they were reported to be, and as it is plain the Pope and Ignatius thought they were; the former in his Bull, calling the Emperor his Beloved Son, and the latter calling him his Lord in Christ, in his long Letter that he writ to him, and in a style as if he had been a second Pope of Rome. This Letter of Ignatius is set down at length by Masseus, and all the other Writers of his Life, in which there are but two things that are remarkable; the one is, his quoting the First Council of Constantinople, and the Council of Chalcedon for the Authoritative Supremacy of the Pope; whereas those Councils do place the Pope's primacy of Order, which was all they allowed him, on a bottom that quite destroys the Florentine Supremacy, founding it purely upon the Secular consideration, of Old Rome being the first City in the Roman Empire. And the second is, his proving from Pope Marcellus's Decretal Epistle, which is acknowledged by all Learned Roman-Catholics to have been a Spurious Brat of the Eighth or Ninth Century, That God did expressly command St. Peter to fix his See at Rome.

But to return to the thread of my Story.

The King having been made jealous by some of his Ministers, that Ethiopia might not be altogether so well disposed to submit it self to the Pope, as was commonly believed, gave Orders to Don Peter Mascarenhas, who Commanded the Fleet that Sailed for the Indies four days before the coming of the Pope's Bulls to Lisbon, so soon as he arrived at Goa, to dispatch an Envoy thither to bring certain tidings of the present state of its Affairs; who accordingly so soon as he was arrived at Goa, sent one James

Dias Oprestes, joining Father Gancalro [sic] Rodriguez, a Jesuit, with him, into Ethiopia, to bring Intelligence how matters stood there; this Jesuits chief, if not only business in Ethiopia, as we shall see hereafter, was, if he found the Patriarch Bermudes alive, to fetch him off, to make a clear stage for his Successor; since it would not have looked well to have had two Popish Patriarchs together in Ethiopia.

These Envoys sailed from Goa in February 1555, and in 30 days landed safe at Arkiko, where having rested themselves for some time, they continued their Journey by Land till they came to the place where their old Friend Bahurnagays resided, who having received them with great kindness, sent them with a good Convoy to the Court. But [--]

The Jesuit Rodriguez, having given the World a very particular relation of all this Negotiation at the Habassin Court, I shall set it down word for word as he reports it.

On the 26th. of May we came to the King of Ethiopia's Court, which is nothing but a Camp full of Tents; the King was pleased to give us a public Audience the second day after our Arrival, into whose presence when we were introduced, we found him seated in a Chair hung round with Silk Curtains, as indeed the whole Tent was, the Floor of the Room being covered with a rich Carpet. James Dias having delivered our Letters to the King, he Commanded them to be Read in the hearing of all the Portugueses that belonged to the Court, who were all permitted to be present at the Ceremony. In which Letters our Lord the King having acquainted him with his intention of sending one of his courtiers, with a certain number of Friars of Good lives and sound Doctrine next year to him; the King when he heard that, was all of a sudden in a great disorder, and had his thoughts so taken up with it, that when we spoke to him, he never returned us any answer that was to the purpose, but dismissed us to return to our Tents. Within two or three days after this Audience, the King took a Progress to visit his Grandmother, who lived at a place that was Eight or Ten days Journey from the Camp, in which he left us, without having given any order about our Entertainment, and with out sending us so much as any thing of a Compliment: So that I do not know what would have become of us, had not an honorable Portuguese carried us to his House, which was Two or Three Leagues from the Camp, and Entertained us there till the King returned, which he did not in a Month.

During that time I composed a Treatise of the Errors of Ethiopia, and of the Truth of our Holy Faith, with an intention to have presented it to the King; who, as I was told by a Portuguese that was much in his Favor, had no kindness for the Roman Pontiff, and had said openly, That he stood in no need of the Friars the King of Portugal was so forward to send him, being fully resolved never to submit himself to the Roman Church.

I was informed likewise by all the Portugueses of the Court, That several of the Grandees had been heard to say, That they would sooner put themselves under the Mahometans, than turn Papists: This put me upon writing all that I could have Preached to them, if I could have spoke their Language, that so I might by the answer the King returned to it, clearly discover his thoughts which he had so long dissembled: when we heard of the King's being returned to the Camp, we went presently to wait upon him, and were told by several Portugueses that belonged to the Court, That the King had not so much as once mentioned our Names since our Audience.

Now the Treatise I had composed being in Portuguese, it was necessary if I would have the King to read it, to get it Translated into Chaldee; whereupon I writ a Letter to the King himself, to desire him to let me have a couple of Learned Monks to Translate the Truths of our Faith into Chaldee, I having put them together on purpose to show how little reason his people had to call us of the Roman Communion, Heretics; and to affirm that we were worse than Mahometans; and being informed that the Habassins had a Book among them, written by the Schismatics and Heretics of Alexandria, from whence they have their Abuna's, having paid a Tribute to the Turk for that privilege, Entitled, The Adultery of the Franks; wherein, among other things, the Council of Calcedon is condemned, pretending that it taught that there were Four Persons in the Holy Trinity; and we are likewise charged with divers Errors, I begged of the King that I might have a sight of that Book.

The King would not let me have the Book, and was very angry that I had been told of it; but as to the Monks I had desired, he ordered a couple to come to me, but they had not well begun the translation, before either out of fear that the King would be displeased with them if they went on with it, or because he had privately Commanded them not to do it, they gave it over; so that I was obliged to repair to a Portuguese Captain to speak to them to finish it; who with much ado prevailed with them to go on: The



Interpreter on my side was a worthy Portuguese, who understood both the Languages well.

Having at last got my Treatise Translated, the next thing I had to do, was to get it written out fair, and having desired an Amanuensis of the King to do it for me, after having granted me one, he repented presently, and sent me word, That if I would let him see my Treatise at it was, he would read it over, and that otherwise he would never trouble himself with it; so I was obliged to carry it to him as it was, having first dated it, and put my name to it; it bore the date the 20th. of August. When I delivered it to him, I was accompanied by a Portuguese Captain, and Seven or Eight more of the same Nation: and after having paid the customary Obeisances, I began a short speech concerning the occasion of my coming into Ethiopia; but the King interrupted me, and began to talk of other things, as one prepared to ward off the blows that I had designed to have given him; when I had put my Treatise into his hand, he begun to read in it, but had read but a little way, before he was put into such a passion by it, as made him vomit out the poison he had so long concealed, telling me, I had desired leave to set down the Truths of my own Faith, and to have some Monks to Translate them into Chaldee, but instead of that, I had charged those with Errors who had none; he told me further That that was a work no ways proper for a simple Priest, like me, but was the work of some Great Bishop, or Prelate, like the Pope. I made answer, It was true I was but a mean man, but the things I had set down were nevertheless the Truths of the Gospel, and of the Holy Councils, whom, and not me, I desired his Highness to hear. He told me, I had imposed several things upon them which they never held. I replied, I knew very well that his Highness was in no Error of Faith, but that his Subjects were; and that I had set down nothing but what was true, and what I was ready to demonstrate to him. He said, He was no friend to Disputations, but there was one thing he was certain of, which was that Ethiopia had always held the same Faith that it did now, or at least that it had for above a Thousand years; that Disputations were never to be used but with Heathens, and that his Faith being thus Ancient, there was no body before me had ever presumed to say it was Erroneous.

To this I answered, That God did sometimes for peoples Sins suffer such things, and that his Highness had reason to thank God, for having in his time visited Ethiopia with the truth of the Gospel: He said the Catholic Church was divided into four Chairs, and that they had from the beginning been subject to one of them: I replied, it was true, but so it was likewise,

that all Churches were Anciently subject to the Roman Bishop, who was above all the rest, as his Highness was above his Subjects; insomuch that the three other Chairs for having denied obedience to the Roman, were all become Schismatical, together with all those who were subject to them; That his Highness if he would be pleased to peruse my Treatise, would therein meet with full Answers to all his Objections, exhorting him to take care not to make himself of that number of People the Prophet speaks of, who would not understand, that they might do well. After a great deal of arguing, I told him that my design in writing that paper, was to discover how his mind stood disposed towards the Pope, and the Learned Friars which his Brother the King of Portugal was about to send to him; for that if he was not willing that they should come, it would be to no purpose for the King to send them so far; I did therefore beseech his Highness to declare whether he intended to submit himself to the Pope as he had promised; he said he had learned Friars enough in his Kingdom, and that it was needless for the King of Portugal to trouble himself to send him any more; and as for the Pope, That he had never yielded him any obedience; that Submission, that was carried to him, by Gasper de Magalhaens, being what he had never made, and was either a trick or mistake of the Monk who Translated his Letters to the King of Portugal; concluding, That he was resolved never to yield Obedience to any Patriarch, but the Patriarch of Alexandria, whom he would always obey, as all his Ancestors had done before him. When I found the King thus absolutely determined, I took my leave of him; who after I was gone, begun to extol me for a mighty Scholar, saying, He wondered how it was possible for so young a man to have attained to so great a stock of Learning: I was told likewise that he read my Treatise over, and that, after he had once read it, it was seldom out of his Hand, and that he was still showing it to his Mother, and Brother, and the Grandees of the Court; and that upon the Abuna's having denounced an Excommunication against all that should read it, the King had sent to him for leave to read it again, and was put into such a Passion, by the Abuna's having denied it to him, that he called him Mahometan, and Heretic, saying, He would read the Alcoran of Mahomet himself, and at the same time not give him leave to read a godly Book; commanding him thereupon since he was their Abuna, to answer a Book that was written by a poor Clerk who had no Dignity: To which the Abuna's answer was, that he did not come into Ethiopia to dispute, but to confer holy Orders.

The Court however being divided about this Affair, some seeming to favor the Roman, but most, and especially the Queen-Mother, and all her Creatures stickling for the Alexandrian Faith; the King resolved to call together some of the most Learned among his Monks, to have their Opinion in the matter; and in order thereunto he commanded my Treatise to be Translated into Habassin, leaving out those Passages he was displeased with when he first looked into it; namely, that where I spoke of the Pope St. Leo, and of Dioscorus Patriarch of Alexandria, whom they reckon a Saint, as they do Leo, to be Excommunicated and Accursed, and for whom they have such a detestation, that they cannot endure so much as to have him named, rejecting the Council of Calcedon and its Decrees, which they say erred in the Faith, in condemning St. Dioscorus as they unjustly Style him: Since which time they have always been separated from the Roman Church, having now for 1067 years been involved in the Heresy of Sergius, Paulus, and Pyrrhus, who were all condemned in the Sixth Council of Constantinople; and in that of Eutyches likewise, which holds that there is but one nature in Christ.

The time being come when I was to receive the King's Answer, I sent to know when I should wait upon him; he sent me back word, his Father's Ambassador waited Ten years in Portugal before he could be dispatched. I understood by this the King was for entertaining me with delays, on purpose to keep me from returning with the Fleet which waited for us, for fear lest we might discover the weakness of his Empire to them; and so when I went to have my Conge from him, in order to my returning to Debora, he commanded one to tell me, That so great a man as I was, and who had come so far, was not to be dismissed quickly: Besides, that I could go no where, where I could do so much good, as where I was, in confessing the Portugueses; nevertheless if I was resolved not to remain in Ethiopia, he would then desire me only to wait a month longer for his Answer; and if I did not receive it then, I might look upon my self as dismissed. Presently after this he removed his Camp to a place that was two days Journey from the place where it was; we followed the Camp; and being in the Field on Saturday and Sunday, we set up an Altar whereon we said Mass on both those days, where I was visited by three Monks, who desired to have some Discourse with me about Matters of Religion: One of them who was a Scholar, told me, That all that we did, appeared well to him, excepting that of our not observing Saturday, and that of our eating Hare and Swine's Flesh. Nevertheless after this he disgorged several Errors

in Faith, namely, That the Souls when they leave the body cannot presently behold the Divine Essence, but are placed in a Terrestrial Paradise. That the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, but from the Father only. That the Son as to his Humanity was equal to the Father. That none but Mahometans and Infidels were damned eternally in Hell. I returned answers to all these Errors, and declared the contrary Truths to him, both from Scripture and from Reason; with which he was so fully satisfied, that whispering me in the Ear, that the two other Monks who were illiterate might not hear him, he said, What I had told him was the truth, and that he believed it to be so in his heart.

The Month being expired, I went to wait upon the King for his Answer, and for leave to return home; he bid me go in a good hour; and as for the Fathers the King of Portugal designed to send to him, he said, He had appointed one to wait at Matrua to receive them when they landed, being desirous to hear what they had to say to him. With this I took my leave of him, and passing through the Countries where divers of the Portugueses lived, I confessed them and their Families, and Married several of them to their Concubines, having first reduced them to our holy Faith. There was one among them who was nearly related to the King. And whereas the Churches of that Country, besides that they belong to Schismatics, have no Altars accommodated to our Service, wherever we were, we carried an Altar with us to celebrate on.

While I was in one of these places, I received a Compliment from a Prelate of a great Monastery of Monks of the Order of St. Anthony, and one likewise from a Prelate of a Nunnery, which were two Leagues off. This Monastery of Monks is one of the biggest in Ethiopia, it is called Debra Libanus, and is of such Credit, that all the Faith of Ethiopia depends upon it in a manner; for which reason the Prelate thereof is in high Esteem; I went to give him a Visit, being attended by all the Portugueses of the place, but he happened to be from home; we nevertheless took a view of the Monastery, which is no ways like ours, neither as to Building, nor as to their way of living; every Monk having his distinct Dwelling-House and Land belonging to it, which he cultivates with his own Hands; so that the Habassin Monasteries look like Villages, the Monks having their Houses on one side of the Street, and the Nuns theirs on the other; but not being kept asunder, the Nuns are frequently troubled with Great Bellies.

These Monks are neither of the Order of St. Francis, nor St. Austin, but were founded by one Tecla Haymanot, that is, The Plant of the Faith, who was of the Order of St. Anthony. This Haymanot is a great Saint among them, and is said to have killed a prodigious Serpent that was worshipped by the Heathens as a God, whom he converted by that means to the Faith that is still taught in Ethiopia.

Thus much of Rodriguez's Relation the Jesuits have thought fit to make public; in which, notwithstanding there is not one word of the Patriarch Bermudes; yet that does not hinder it from having been Rodriguez's chief if not only business in Ethiopia, to fetch him from thence.

For in a Letter of that Patriarch's, printed at Lisbon in the year 1568, it is said, That Father Rodriguez was with him several days before he went to Court; and that when he returned from thence, he came to him again in a most desperate fright, pretending he had narrowly escaped having been murdered, for having asserted the Roman Doctrines; adding, That it was a madness for any one to think of reducing Ethiopia to the Roman Church, till the Heat they were in at present against it, was over.

Now what can be the meaning of the Jesuits having so industriously suppressed all this; Rodriguez's Relation, as they have printed it, beginning immediately after his having left the Patriarch, and breaking off abruptly just before he returned to him again; but that they were not willing that the world should know that the first Prelate of their Order was an Usurper, and that they were forced to make use of art, to vacate a Province for him; which, as it was no good beginning, so their Ethiopic Missions, as we shall see hereafter, succeeded accordingly. Besides, what other design could Rodriguez have in pretending to return to the Patriarch in such a mortal fright, as if he had narrowly escaped having been murdered for defending the Roman Church, which according to his own relation was false; and in representing the Reduction of Ethiopia to him as a thing not to be thought of? but only to fright him away, which it did. For by that means Rodriguez carried him with him to Goa, where he lodged him in the Jesuits College; a Civility, that Order seldom or never pays to any Foreigner that they have not some design upon; where after having kept him a Year, they embarked him for Lisbon, not taking any notice of his ever having seen or spoke with his Successor, notwithstanding they were for some Months together in the same College. But the poor old Patriarch, the Jesuits know best by what accident, was dropped in the Voyage, in the solitary Island of St. Helena;

where after having done Penance a Year, which was long enough, any one would have thought, to have sent such an old man into the next world, he met with an opportunity of proceeding on his Voyage, and in the year 1558, arrived safe at Lisbon, where he lived some years after, never resigning his Patriarchate, but with his last breath.

Tellez the Jesuit apprehending that this Blot of their first Prelate's having been an Usurper, might at some time or other come to be hit, has endeavored to cover it, by affirming that Bermudes was never Patriarch of Ethiopia, but of Alexandria; for which he quotes both a Treatise of his own, and his Tombstone in the Church of St. Sebastian Pedreiro in Lisbon, in both which, saith Tellez, he is styled Patriarch of Alexandria: But if this be not to cut a knot that he is not able to untie, nothing is so; for besides that all the Historians of his time speak of him still as Patriarch of Ethiopia, all of them, the Jesuits not excepted, agreeing that the Pope gave Bermudes no new Orders or Title, but only confirmed those that had been conferred on him by the Abuna and Emperor of Ethiopia; who it is certain did never pretend to make a Patriarch of Alexandria. It is a Jest for any one to think that the Pope would bestow the second Title in the Church upon an obscure Itinerant, and who was ordained per saltum by a single Ethiopian Bishop.

As to Tellez's two Authorities for Bermudes having been Patriarch of Alexandria, all that can be said to them is, That if there be any such things, they must have been foisted into those Monuments, by those who were concerned to have him pass for Patriarch of Alexandria, and not of Ethiopia: Though by the way, it is somewhat strange, that Tellez, who lived most of his time within a Mile of the Church of St. Sebastian Pedreira, should not quote that Tombstone upon his own knowledge, but upon the authority of a Book. Farthermore, supposing Bermudes to have had the Title of Alexandria given him by the Pope, that does not hinder but that he might have been Abuna of Ethiopia too; it being the Pope's common practice to confer the Oriental Patriarchates upon Prelates that are possessed of other great Bishoprics, So Cardinal Boniface was Bishop of Tusculum, and Patriarch of Constantinople; and Cardinal Cajetan was Archbishop of Capua, and Patriarch of Antioch: And I do not believe there is one Precedent for the Popes having ever conferred any of those high Titles upon any Prelate that had not another Bishopric.

Finally, Pius the IVth, during the time Bermudes was Patriarch, treated with Gabriel Patriarch of Alexandria, about his Submission to him as Patriarch of that See: The History of which Treaty, as not being foreign to my purpose, I shall here set down.

As the Popes when they are in any straits, which they do always reckon themselves to be in while there is any thing that looks like a General Council sitting, are, after the example of Eugenius the IVth. for making a noise with Eastern Submissions to them; which is done on purpose to make the Latin Prelates ashamed to go about to lessen a Power to which Foreign Churches and Patriarchs are for yielding Obedience: Accordingly, Pius the IVth, in the year 1561, finding a Session of the Council of Trent could not be put off much longer, dispatched a couple of Jesuits, whose names were Rodriguez and Elianus, with Bills for a considerable Sum of Money to Grand Cairo, there to treat with Gabriel Patriarch of Alexandria, about his submitting himself and his Church to the Roman See.

Gabriel till he had received all the Money of the Venetian Consul, entertained the Jesuits with promises; but after he had fingered all that he was to expect, he told them plainly, when they urged him to make his solemn Submission, and to deliver them an Instrument thereof to carry to the Pope, That he would never do it, nor in the least violate the Establishment of the Council of Chalcedon, which made all the Patriarchs Independent one of another, and the Heads of their respective Churches; and that the Patriarch of Rome if he should fall into any Errors was no less than the other Patriarchs to be judged by his Brethren. The Jesuits, upon the Patriarch having changed his Note thus, alleged, That he had already in a manner submitted himself to the Roman See, by having in his Letters both to the present Pope and to Paul the IVth. styled them the

Pastor of Pastors, and Father of Fathers, and Head of the whole Church: To which he replied, That he gave the Pope those Titles only in Civility, and that it was not fair to strain Compliments that pass betwixt friends, to such purposes: and if there was any thing in the Letters he sent to the Pope, that was not agreeable with the Doctrine of the Church, that it was not to be laid at his door, but at Abraham the bearer's, who to make his Court the better at Rome, had foisted several things into those Letters which he knew would be grateful to the Pope. Abraham, who was present when the Patriarch made this Declaration, did not deny his having done it, but smiling, told the Jesuits, That he believed it was lawful on several

occasions to dissemble as much as that came to, that being no more than what St. Paul himself had done, who declared, That he became all things to all men. He added further, That he had a Book wherein it was said, That St. Paul when he was among the Heathens did act as a Heathen; and to ingratiate himself with them the more, in order to their Conversion at last, did worship their Idols. But notwithstanding Pius was thus Defeated as to this Patriarchal Submission, he had a Sham-one of a Mock-Patriarch of Babylon ready for the Council of Trent against it Sate [if it should sit] next Year.

Rodriguez as he was returning to the Indies, had the following Account sent him by one Alfonso de Franca, a Portuguese Captain that belonged to the Court, of a Conference he had with the Emperor about Religion.

His Highness, saith Franca, intended to have caught me in the same trap he had set for your Reverence; and having drawn his water over great flats to his Mill, he charged me before all the Portugueses, and the whole Court, with having called him and Dioscorus, Heretics; I made answer, That our Sacred Writings of the holy Councils, and out other Histories of the Church for 1070 years, had still called them so, and that the Eastern Churches that were separated from the Roman did the same: To this he replied, That though our History might call them so, yet God knew what his own Scriptures said of them. I rejoined, I was sensible that the Habassins did look upon us as Nestorian Heretics, pretending that we hold, that there are Two Persons in Christ, which is what I am told to my face every day, and that the Treatise your Reverence Presented to his Highness, did not prove the Truth of our Faith, by affirming that it was not credible that so many Christian Kings being all united in one Faith and under one pastor, should be all in the Wrong, and the Emperor of Ethiopia only in the Right; He Answered, I have hitherto lived in Peace and Amity with all Christian Kings, and that it was I only that endeavored to bring him to be upon ill terms with them.

I told him, the Pope, and my Lord the King of Portugal, had sent me to reveal the secret of our Holy Faith to him, which was all that I endeavored; and for which if his Highness was displeased with me, I had a Religion and a King I would die for sooner than deny them: He told me further, That I had reported among his Subjects, that their Abuna's were sent to them from the Turks. I answered, that was a great truth, since none of them were ever consecrated at Rome, or sent from thence. He then asked me,



Why, since I was so great a Romanist, and a Bigot for my Faith, I had desired to be Baptized in Ethiopia, and to receive the Eucharist from them? As to Baptism, I said there was no such thing, I having been Baptized when I was but Eight days old; but as to the Eucharist, it was true, that being once dangerously sick, I had desired it, which was a thing I thought I might lawfully do, in the extreme necessity I was in at that time; and that I would do it again if there were the same occasion, and could not have the opportunity of a Roman Priest. He told me, he would order it not to be given to me; St. Paul having said, there is but one Faith and one Baptism: To that I replied, If St. Paul saith so, why is your Highness Baptized once a year? This put him into a great Passion; and having given me a great many hard words, he put his Hand to his Sword; which I having observed, I said to him, Sir, I would not have your Highness defer punishing me; for, for this Truth of the good Jesus, I do not fear all the Kings of the Earth, nor none but him, whom we desire not to chasten us in his wrath: but for you, I would have you to chasten me in your anger; for as three is nothing so excellent as the Soul, so I regard nothing that is not Infinite. I spoke all this to him with extraordinary courage; so that seeing me much more resolute than he had ever done at any time before, he went away and left me in the Field; so that by what I can perceive by him, he will sooner put himself under the Turks, and so will his whole people too, who are all Dioscoreans, as are the Alexandrians, than yield obedience to the Holy Pope.

I did not care to acquaint you with this sooner, for fear of having discouraged your Reverence from using your utmost diligence in your Office.

But while things were in this Posture in Ethiopia, at Rome and Lisbon they still continued to reckon it as good as reduced to the Roman Obedience; and that there was nothing wanting to perfect it but the new Patriarch's Presence among them; who on the 15th of March 1556 set Sail from Lisbon upon the Ship called the Braca, as Bishop Andrew did at the same time upon the St. Vincent, and after a Tempestuous Voyage they arrived at Goa on the 13th of September of the same Year.

It cannot be expressed how much the Patriarch was troubled at the News of the present Posture of Affairs in Ethiopia, which were brought by Rodriguez to Goa a few days before he landed, it being a terrible

disappointment to him, to find that a Work which he had thought would have done it self, was next to impossible.

The Patriarch and Bishop, with all their Companions, were lodged in the Jesuits College, where they found the old Patriarch, but not a word of what passed betwixt them, or of their having ever so much as seen one another, though undoubtedly they did, having been several Months together in the same House. The new Patriarch having consecrated Melchior Elect of Nice, they begun to consult with the Viceroy what course they were to take; the Patriarch notwithstanding Rodriguez melancholy Account of things, is said to have been extremely zealous to have gone to his Province, saying, He should either be able to effect there what he was sent to do, or should have the Honor of dying a Martyr. Nevertheless, after several Consultations had been held about it, it was at last resolved, That the Spaniard, Bishop Andrew, should be first sent thither with some of the Fathers of the Mission; but that the Patriarch, and the Portuguese Bishop, should remain at Goa till things were more promising in Ethiopia than at present they were, of which, if it ever happened, Bishop Andrew was to send them intelligence.

In pursuance of this Resolution, Bishop Andrew embarked in February, and towards the latter end of March landed at Arkiko, where having made no stay, he went on with a good Train of Portuguese to Deboraa, and was there received by Bahurnagays, the Prince of the Country, with great kindness.

The Bishop so soon as he came to Debora, writ the following Letter to the Emperor.

THE Heavenly Father, with his Son Consubstantial and Eternal, and the Spirit of the Comforter, one only God and Three Persons, be always with your Highness, with an abundance of his Divine Graces, that so you may in all things know and follow his most Holy Will, according to what our Lord Christ hath said in St. John's Gospel, My food is to do the will of him that sent me; teaching us likewise in St. Matthew's Gospel to pray, Thy will be done. The Catholic and Illustrious Don John, the third King of Portugal, after he had prevailed with his Holiness to send a Patriarch with some Associates into Ethiopia, being thereunto moved by no worldly Interest, but purely by a Zeal for God, and the Love he has for your Highness, has been at a vast Charge (the particulars whereof his Highness might be

acquainted with, if he pleased) to convey them to the Indies, where the Patriarch now remains, waiting your Highness's Pleasure, that when he comes, he may serve Christ here the more effectually. It was nevertheless thought expedient, that I and some of the Fathers of the Society should be sent before, the Patriarch having before I left Goa, invested me with full Authority, as his Coadjutor, which I was ordained to by his Holiness; and accordingly we are come as far as Deboraa, where we have been kindly entertained by Bahurnagays, and have met with very good Company, namely, Francis Jacome, and divers other Portugueses. Our business here is to serve God, and your Highness, whose Royal Person and Estate may God preserve for his greater Service and Honor. Amen.

*Deboraa the 26th of March, 1557.*

The Coadjutor after having staid three Weeks at Deboraa, intriguing with Bahurnagays about the Troops the Viceroy had promised to send after him, begun his Journey to Court, being waited upon all the way by that Prince, and being come within a days Journey of the Camp, he was commanded to stop till he received further Orders, where having waited two days, he received Orders to advance, and being come within Cannon-shot of the Camp, was commanded to pitch his Tent there, where having stayed a Day and a Night, about Noon a great Troop of the Princes of the Blood, and chief Nobility, all well-mounted and equipped, came to wait on him to his Audience, two of which having alighted, went into the Coadjutor's Tent, and having Complimented him in the Name of the Emperor, told him, His Highness was ready to give him a public Audience, and had sent the Splendid Body of Men he saw, to wait upon him to it. The Coadjutor having returned their Compliment, he robed himself in his Pontificalibus, and mounted a Horse that had been sent to him by the Emperor, and (besides the Habassins, who paid their Respects to him one by one) he advanced towards the Royal Tent, attended with a numerous Train of Portugese, who to do their Religion and their Country the greater Honor, had come from all parts of Ethiopia to be present at this Solemnity.

The Emperor having, contrary to Custom, ordered the Coadjutor, with his whole Train, to ride into the first Court of the Palace, had placed himself with his Mother in a Window behind Curtains, to see the Cavalcade; and after having waited a while in the first Court, they were all commanded to alight, and to advance to the second, where they were not kept long before they were conducted into the Tent, betwixt a Guard of Old Men of the first

Quality, who with Batoons in their Hands, stood all in good order, paying their Respects to the Coadjutor as he passed by them with a profound Reverence and Silence; from the Antechamber, where he did not wait long, he was introduced into the Emperor's Presence by two of the Principal Ministers, whereof his Friend Bahurnagays was one; and having paid the customary Obeisances, the Emperor received him with extraordinary Civility, asking him several Questions about the King of Portugal, and the present State of his Affairs; as also concerning himself, and his Voyages and Journeys: So soon as the Emperor gave over asking him Questions, the Coadjutor presented the Pope's, Ignatius', and the King's Letters to him, which the Emperor opened and looked into immediately; but he had not read far, before the change that was observed in his Countenance, did clearly discover that he was not at all satisfied with their Contents, and particularly with their supposing him to be a Member of the Roman Church; a thing, saith a Jesuit who was present at the Ceremony, as far from his thoughts, as Rome is from Ethiopia; nevertheless, being a Wise and Well-bred Prince, and if they would have let him alone with his Religion, a great Friend to the Portugueses, he so far dissembled his Resentments, as to dismiss the Coadjutor with great demonstrations of Kindness, granting him leave to come to him as often as he had any business with him.

The Coadjutor at all his following Audiencies, was at the Emperor continually to submit himself and his Kingdoms to the Pope, assuring him, though he would not be so civil as to believe him, That the Pope was Christ's Vicar, and St. Peter's Successor upon Earth, and that there was no Salvation for any one out of his Obedience.

The Answer the Emperor returned still to all the Coadjutor's passionate assurances was, That the Ethiopic Church had from the beginning been subject to the Chair of St. Mark at Alexandria, and that he was so fully satisfied of the Justice of that Obedience, that nothing in the world should ever be able to make him throw it off; and whereas he had been pleased to charge the Ethiopic Church with holding divers Errors in Faith, if he would be at the pains to read over a Confession of Faith which he had Published lately, he would see how unjust that Charge of Heresy was, there being nothing in that Confession that was not taught by Christ and his Apostles.

## THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS'S CONFESSION OF FAITH.

In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, One God.

THIS is my Faith, and the Faith of my Fathers the Kings of Israel, and the Faith of my Flock, which is within the bounds of my Empire.

We Believe in One God, and in his only Son Jesus Christ, who is his Word, Power, Council, Wisdom, and who was with him before the World was Created; and who in the last days visited us, and without leaving the Throne of his Divinity, was made Man by the Holy Ghost, in the womb of the Virgin Mary; and who, when he was Thirty years of Age, was Baptized in Jordan; and being a perfect Man, was in the days of Pontius Pilate Crucified, and was Dead and Buried, and Rose again the Third day; and on the Fortieth day after his Resurrection, did Ascend with Glory into the Heavens; where he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again in Glory to Judge both the Quick and the Dead, whose Kingdom shall have no End.

We Believe also in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father. We Believe one Baptism for the Remission of Sins, and do hope for the Resurrection of the Dead to the Life to come, Which is Everlasting. Amen.

We do walk in the plain and true way, declining neither to the right nor to the left from the Doctrine of our Fathers, the Twelve Apostles, and of Paul the fountain of Wisdom, and of the Seventy two Disciples, and of the Three hundred and eighteen Orthodox Assembled at Nice, and of the Hundred and fifty at Constantinople, and of the Hundred at Ephesus.

*Thus I Profess, and thus I Teach, I Claudius Emperor of Ethiopia, my Royal Name being Atznaf Saghed, the Son of Uuanag Saghed, the Son of Naod.*

As to our observing the day of the old Sabbath, we do not keep it after the manner of the Jews, who Crucified Christ, saying, His Blood be upon us and our Children: For whereas the Jews do neither draw water, nor light a fire, nor boil meat, nor bake bread, nor go from one house to another on that day: We do administer the holy Supper thereon; and, according to the Command of the Apostles in their Book of Doctrines, do keep the Love-Feasts. Neither do we observe it after the same manner as we do the Sabbath of the First day, which is a new day, and of which David said, This

is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad therein; For on this day our Lord Jesus Christ rose from the Dead, the Holy Ghost likewise descended this day upon the Apostles in the Parlor of Sion; on this day Christ was also conceived in the womb of the Holy and perpetual Virgin Mary, and will come thereon to Reward the Righteous, and to Punish Sinners.

Neither do we Circumcise after the manner of the Jews; Paul the fountain of Wisdom having told us, That to be circumcised profiteth nothing, nor to be uncircumcised, but a new creation, which is Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ: And who told the Corinthians, That he that had received circumcision was not to be uncircumcised; all the Books of St. Paul's Doctrine concerning Circumcision and Uncircumcision being in our hands: So that Circumcision is no otherwise in use among us, than as the Custom of a Country, as Incision in the Face is in some parts of Ethiopia and Nubia, and the Boring of the Ears in India; what we do therein being in compliance with a human Custom, and not in Obedience to the Mosaical Law.

And as to Swines' Flesh, we do not abstain from that neither after the manner of the Jews, nor in Obedience to the Law of Moses; neither do we abominate those, or reckon them to be unclean that do eat it, as we do not force those who eat it that have a mind to abstain from it; which is according to what our Father Paul writ to the Romans, saying, He that eateth, let him not despise him that eateth not, for the Lord accepts both; for the kingdom of God consists not in meat and drink: and in another place he saith, Every thing is clean to the clean, but it is evil for a man to eat with offence. It is said likewise in Matthew's Gospel, That nothing defileth a man but what comes out of his Mouth, all that goes into the Belly being thrown into the draught. This teaches us, That all Flesh is clean, and destroyeth the whole Fabric of the Jewish Errors.

Wherefore my Religion, and the Religion of my Priests and Doctors who teach by my Command within the bounds of my Empire, is such as declineth neither to the right nor to the left, from the paths of the Gospel, and the Doctrine of Paul.

In the Book called Tarick, it is written, That the Emperor Constantine commanded all the Jews to eat Swines' flesh on the day of our Lord's Resurrection; whereas with us people are at their liberty to abstain from it

or any other sort of flesh; there being some that love the flesh of Fish, others of Hens, and some abstain from Mutton, every one as to such things following his own appetite; there being no Law nor Canon of the New Testament concerning eating the flesh of Terrestrial Creatures; all things, according to St. Paul, being clean to the clean; and he that believeth may if he please eat all things. This is what I have writ, that you might know the Truth of my Religion.

*Written at Damot on the 23d. of  
in the Year 1555. [sic]*

The Emperor finding that no declarations he could make of his Resolution never to forsake the Religion of his Country, were able to make the Coadjutor give over teizing him, for quietness sake told him one day, That notwithstanding he was fully satisfied with the Religion of his Ancestors in every point, nevertheless since a Person of his Character and Authority had come so far to persuade him to submit himself to the Pope, he was willing to lay that whole matter before his Council, that he might have their Opinion about it.

The Coadjutor being sensible that this was only to put him off with delays, and at last to lay the blame of his not turning Roman-Catholic on his Counsellors, whom, and especially the Queen-Mother, and the Officers of her Court, he knew to be mortal Enemies to Popery, he endeavored to divert him from a course from which he expected no good, by the following Letter.

To the High and Powerful Emperor.

SUCH as are in Office have two ways of speaking, the one is as in their own Person, and the other as in the Post they are in. So that though as to be humble and patient when they are contradicted, as our Lord himself was when he was upon the earth both in his Life and Death; nevertheless as to what concerns their Office and Embassy, they must speak the truth, without respect of persons, as Christ did when he answered the President in a matter wherein his Father's Honor was concerned. What I have to tell your Highness as a Public Person, is to lay before you the business that brought me into Ethiopia; with which notwithstanding your Highness has been already acquainted both by Letter and by other ways, I do now tell you again, That I come from Rome, being sent by the Pope to be Coadjutor to the Patriarch who is now in the Indies, with whose Authority

I am invested; that, as our case is at present, being what his Holiness was pleased to bestow upon me, as appears from a Bull that I have brought with me, and which your Highness may see when you please; I do intend therefore at present to give an account of my having been sent hither by the Pope, and of what moved his Holiness to send a Patriarch, with two Episcopal Coadjutors, and several Jesuits of great Learning and Piety, into Ethiopia. When the Pope sends a Legate or Patriarch to any Kingdom, he does not pretend thereby to make it his own, neither can he sell such Dignities, for that would be Simony; but he is always moved thereunto merely by the prospect of doing good to their Souls, as Christ hath commanded him in the Gospel, bidding him Feed his Sheep: And it was thus in our present case, wherein the Pope, without having any temporal view, but purely for the service of Christ, and the spiritual good of these Kingdoms, has done your Highness this Favor, being thereunto moved, both by the great love he hath for your Highness, and for all Christian Kings, who are many in number, and are all much concerned for your Highness, and the Grandeur of your State, having a great affection for you, and by the good desires and disposition he was informed were in this Empire, and which he had a mind to improve. Now your Highness is to take notice, that these motives are things of great moment, and no slight matters betwixt such Eminent Persons. Your Father writ a Letter to the Pope, a Copy whereof I my self have seen at Rome, wherein he did acknowledge his Holiness to be Christ's Vicar, desiring him to send him some of his Learned Men: And besides, the King of Portugal, who is a Prince of great Truth, said in my hearing, That your Highness had writ to him, that your Father had commanded you never to suffer any Abuna or Patriarch to come into Ethiopia, but who should be sent from Rome; and that he was furthermore informed from hence, That your Highness had publicly yielded Obedience to the Pope, which, notwithstanding it was done during the War, yet after the War was over, Dom John Bermudes continued Patriarch here for three years, your Highness having bestowed all the Lands belonging to that Dignity upon him. For which reason, notwithstanding his Holiness should have demanded something of you, considering his good intentions, and what he hath done in order to the sending of this Mission, together with the Trouble and Dangers whereunto we have exposed our Persons, your Highness would have had not cause to have been displeased with him upon that account, how much less then ought you to be so, when he desired nothing from you, and hath without any thing of self-interest sent into your Empire the largest Powers of



Spiritual Graces, that, so far as I know, were ever sent before into any Christian Country; and has furthermore in his Bulls called your Highness, My Beloved Son; giving you also the Title of, The Illustrious Emperor of Ethiopia.

Your Highness must therefore let me have your Answer to what I have desired of you in his Holiness's Name, that I may take my measures according: And in case your Highness has any Scruples about Matters of Faith, you would then do well to call a Convocation of your Learned Men, whose Objections I shall endeavor to answer in the Name of Christ; for since the Faith of Christ is but one, as St. Paul saith in the 4th. Chapter to the Ephesians, one God, one Faith, one Baptism, why should there be any differences among Christians? And why should they not all agree in all Matters of Faith, so as to hold nothing that is contrary to the Gospel of Christ? And if there is any thing wherein you think we are mistaken, and will offer any reason for it either out of the Gospel, or the General Councils of the Church, we shall be ready to follow the Truth; as on the other side, if you should be made sensible of our being in no Error, you ought then together with us to follow the Truth of the Faith, according to what St. Paul saith in his first Chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, See that you all say the same things, that so there may be no Schisms, and not to follow the customs of your forefathers, when they are contrary to the Truth. So when the Doctrine of Truth was preached by our Lord Christ to the Gentiles and Pagans, which he converted, ought not they to have received his Doctrines, alleging they were contrary to the Customs of their Ancestors, and so have never believed in Christ, to their utter Perdition; neither is the known Truth to be forsaken for fear of shame of the World; for our Lord Christ hath said, He that is ashamed of me, and of my words, &c. David likewise in the 94th Psalm saith, To day, if you will hear his voice, &c. Your Highness would do well, therefore, to consider how much it imports you to take good Advice in an Affair of so high a nature, in which seeing all your People do depend upon you, our Lord will call you to a strict Account for their Souls. Consider how dangerous a thing evil Counsellors are, as appears from the Case of Rehoboam; and Jacob speaking of such, said of Simeon and Judah, they were Vessels of Iniquity, my Soul enter not into their councils; and David, They have taken evil Council against his People. And Isaiah saith, The wise counsellors of Pharaoh have given foolish counsel; for which reason, Solomon in the 6th. of Ecclesiasticus saith, Be in peace with many: nevertheless have but one

counsellor of a thousand. And in the first Psalm, David saith, Blessed is the man that entereth not into the counsel of the wicked: furthermore Parents and Relations are seldom good Counsellors in Spiritual Matters. As our Lord Christ told St. Peter in the 10th. of St. Matthew, Flesh and blood, saith he, hath not revealed this unto thee. And the Prophet Micah in the 9th. Chapter saith, A man's enemies are those of his own house. And in the 10th of St. Matthew, Christ saith, Think not that I came to bring peace on the earth: I tell you nay, but a sword; for I came to set a man at variance with his Father, and the Daughter with the Mother, and the Daughter-in-law with the Mother-in-law; and a man's enemies shall be those of his own house; for he that loveth Father or Mother more than me, is not worthy of me. And in the 12th. of St. Luke, he saith again, Think you that I came to bring peace upon the earth? And in the 14th. Chapter of the same Gospel, he saith, If any man come unto me, and hate not Father and Mother, &c. From all which we may learn, That Parents and Relations are commonly Spiritual Enemies. Christ himself having said, A man's enemies are those of his own house, and that he came to divide the one from the other, and that whosoever hateth not Father and Mother in such cases, cannot be his Disciple. And what he taught others as to this matter, he confirmed by his own Example, when without asking his Holy Mother's advice, who undoubtedly would never have counselled him to have done any thing that was amiss; he remained disputing in the Temple; and understanding his Mother had been in great Pains for him, and had been seeking after him, he made her answer, when she told him of it, Wist you not that I must be about my Father's business; intimating to us by this Carriage, That in Matters appertaining to God, we are not bound to advise with our Friends and Parents, and especially when they endeavor to hinder us from doing what is good; for in such cases he commands us to hate them. May our Lord give your Highness good and true Counsel in all things, and Grace always to do his Will, and hereafter to enjoy his Holy Glory. Amen.

*The 22d. of June, in the Year 1557.*

Now were ever a poor Empress, and Council of State libelled so out of Scripture, or pelted out of a Concordance before? Or was the folly of a Peoples being obliged to be of a Religion, because it was the Religion of their Ancestors for several Ages, ever more severely exposed? Besides, there is one thing remarkable in this Letter, which is the Bishop's affirming positively, That Bermudes was, and did act for some years as Patriarch of

Ethiopia, and as such had the Lands belonging to that Dignity settled upon him by the Emperor.

After this Letter, the Emperor and the Bishop had divers Conferences about Religion, but without any effect, the Emperor growing daily more zealous for his Ancient Faith, and averse to that of Rome. The Bishop being piqued with this ill success, challenged all the Learning of Ethiopia to a public Disputation; which being accepted, the Emperor himself bore a great part in it, defending the Habassin Faith with that Dexterity and Learning, that the Jesuits themselves confess he did sometimes put the Bishop hard to it to answer him. The Habassins were so encouraged by having such a Champion on their side, that the Bishop was never denied a public Disputation when he desired it; and though he is said by his

Brethren to have still come off victorious, the Habassins did always triumph, the Bishop being laughed at by them as the most baffled Man that ever pretended to wield an Argument.

The Bishop growing weary of disputing, betook himself to his Pen again; and having Composed a Treatise against all the Habassin Errors, he Presented it to the Emperor, conjuring him to read it without Prejudice. The Emperor promised to do so, but was so far from being converted by it, that if it were possible he was settled in his Ancient Faith thereby more than he was before; Writing a Book not only in Answer to that of the Bishop's, but one also in Defence of his own Church; declaring in them both, that he had seen nor heard nothing to convince him, that as a Christian he was bound to submit himself and his Empire to the Pope.

The Bishop finding his Writings were as Unsuccessful as his Conferences and Disputations, left the Court in Wrath, retiring to a place called Decome, where he had not been long before he thundered out the following Excommunication.

*Andrew d'Oriedo, by the Grace of God, and the Apostolical See, Bishop of Hieropolis, and Coadjutor to the most Reverend Father in Christ and Lord, John Nunes Baretto, Patriarch of Ethiopia.*

AS it is profitable to Publish and Praise such things as are Good, on purpose to engage People to follow them; so it is likewise necessary to Declare and Censure public Evils, that People may avoid them. Wherefore, since the People of Ethiopia, notwithstanding their having had all the

Articles of the Roman Faith preached to them in such a manner, that all that were disposed to learn it, cannot but be thoroughly acquainted therewith, do with great Obstinacy continue to deny Obedience thereunto, and not only so, but did on the Ogge of the last Year, cause a Proclamation to be made at the Market-Cross, prohibiting all Persons upon pain of Death to go into any of our Churches, adhering still to the Customs of their Forefathers, and that as appears to us not only out of Ignorance, for that cannot be, considering how many things they hold that are notoriously Evil, and contrary to the Service of our Lord.

We do therefore define, and by Sentence declare, That all the People of Ethiopia, Great and Small, Learned and Unlearned, do deny to yield that Obedience to the Holy Roman Church which they and all other Churches are in Duty bound to yield, the Roman Church being the Head of all Churches, and the Pope of Rome the Father, Pastor, and Superior of all Christians. They do likewise on divers Occasions repeat Baptism, which is contrary to the Faith. And do also publicly observe Saturday, which they did not formerly in Ethiopia. And do Circumcise themselves, and their Slaves, as also all the Converts they do make at any time to Christianity, forcing many of them to submit to it. They also hold it to be a Sin to eat Hare or Swines Flesh, or any of the Meats prohibited by the Mosaical Law, which Law was abolished by the Death of Christ, and is contrary to what he has commanded in his Gospel. Several among them holding it likewise to be a Sin to go into a Church on the day on which they have known their Wives, which is no where prohibited by Christ or his Church. Their Learned Men do also with great Zeal maintain, That there is but one Nature, and one Operation in Christ, and that Christ's Humanity is equal with his Divinity, which is contrary to the Faith of the Gospel; and the Synods which do teach, That Christ hath two Natures, and two Operations, and two Wills in one Person, and that he is equal to the Father as to his Divinity, but inferior to him as to his Humanity.

They do also keep a Festivity to Dioscorus, the Defender of the Heretic Eutyches, who together with Eutyches stands condemned by the Church; for which reason Dioscorus ought not to be esteemed a Saint in Ethiopia; holding divers other things that are contrary to the Roman Faith, which ought not to be, being there is but one Faith, which is that of the Roman Church, which by reason of Christ's promise to her can never err. We do therefore admonish all our Spiritual Sons to separate themselves from

these, and all other Errors of Ethiopia, &c. so as not to fall into any of them.

And as for the Ethiopians, we do remit them to the Judgment of the Church, and of the Prelates thereof, to Punish them in their Persons or Estates, publicly or privately, or to use mercy with them in whole or in part, as they shall think fit; and especially if they should be hereafter Converted; which God in his Mercy give them Grace to be.

*Made at Decome in Ethiopia, upon the 2d. of February, 1559.  
Gancalo Cardozo Notary Apostolic; Andrew Bishop of Hieropolis.*

This was published in our Church of Decome on the 2d. of February 1559. Whatever ease the publication of this Censure might give the Coadjutor's mind, which was strangely exulcerated== by the Triumphs of the Habassins, it is certain it had no more effect upon the Emperor, than his Conferences and Books had had; Who the more he knew of Popery and its ways, the worse he liked it.

But while Claudius his thoughts were wholly employed in Disputing with, and Writing against the Bishop, and Fathers, Nur the Son of Madi Ali Guasil, and the King of Adel, having observed the present weakness of the Habassin Empire, and how its Frontiers lay open, Invaded it with a great Army; and meeting with little or no opposition, were got into the bowels of it before Claudius ever so much as dreamed of an Invasion; nevertheless when the alarm of it came from all quarters, Claudius laying aside his Pen Books, called for his Sword, and having swept together a confused rabble of an Army, he took the field, and being come within sight of the enemy, was so ill advised as to give him Battle; in which Claudius was not so successful, as he was said to have been in his ergoteering Combats, his Army being totally Routed, and he himself Slain fighting Manfully against the Infidels.

The Portugueses, though angry with Claudius, do him the Justice to acknowledge that he was a Prince of admirable natural Parts, and for an Habassin, of very good Learning; and as he was every way much a Gentleman, that he would also have been extraordinary kind to the Portugueses that remained in Ethiopia for the great Service they had done, had it not been for two things; the one was, that they would never let him alone with his Religion, which he was extremely Zealous for; and the other was, that under a pretence of introducing the Roman Faith into Ethiopia,

they had a design either to make themselves Masters of its Sea-ports, or to have put them into the hands of a Creature of their own, as they had done in several parts of India, after they had by some plausible pretence or other got footing in them; and as the close Correspondence they maintained with Bahurnagays, the Hereditary Governor of the Provinces on the Sea-Coast; was sufficient to give Claudius some umbrage of this design, so if he ever happened to intercept any of the Bishop's or Father's Letters, he must have been abundantly satisfied of the truth of it; the sending of Missionary Troops into Ethiopia, without which the Ecclesiastical Missionaries would be able to do nothing there, being, as we shall see hereafter, the burden of all their Letters.

So feeble a thing is Popery to make way for it self into any Country, without the assistance of Apostolical Dragoons.

Nur, after having ravaged and plundered the greatest and richest Provinces in Ethiopia, returned home laden with Spoils and Honor; but when he came near his Metropolis, instead of making a Triumphant entry, as was expected, he mounted a sorry Mule wretchedly Equipped, and rid thereon through all the Acclamations of his People; and being asked the reason why he did so, his answer was, That since it was God alone that won the late Victory, it was but just that he alone should have the whole Glory of it.

Claudius having left no Sons, was Succeeded by his Brother Adam, who had been a Captive several years in Arabia, and who from the day he came to the Crown, declared himself an irreconcilable Enemy to the Church of Rome, and accordingly as his first act of Government, was the prohibiting of all Habassins whatsoever, under severe Punishments, to go into the Latin Church; so his first act of severity, was the ordering of a Habassin Woman for having turned Papist, to be whipped through the streets: and among other reasons that he gave for the greatness of this his Rage against Popery, one was, That the having Tolerated it in Ethiopia, had cost his Brother his Life, and his Empire a vast treasure both of Money and Blood: And in order to the extirpating so pernicious an Inmate, as he reckoned it to be, he first took all the Lands which had been given by his Brother to the Portugueses for their Service, from them; and afterwards their Children, committing them to the care of such as would be sure to Educate them in the Alexandrian Faith. After this, he Commanded the Coadjutor to be apprehended and thrown into Prison, threatening to Burn him and his Jesuits alive, if they did not give over corrupting his People with their false

Doctrines: And having one day ordered the Coadjutor to be brought before him, he fell upon him after a most barbarous manner, asking him, Whether it was not sufficient that he suffered him to live in his Empire to look after his Portugueses, but he must be corrupting his Monks and Subjects with his Heresies? adding, let me advise you, as you love your Life, not to tamper any more with my Subjects. The Coadjutor made answer, That he did nothing but what his Office obliged him to, and that he would do, whatever it cost him. This resolute Answer put Adam into such a fury, that after having called the Coadjutor a great many hard Names, and asked him, How he durst come into Ethiopia to Preach his Lies and Fopperies in it? He flew upon him, and tore his Robes, the Courtiers having much ado to take him off; and having sent for him another time, he told him after a great deal of foul Language, That if he would not promise to give over Corrupting his Subjects, his head should pay for it. The Coadjutor without answering a word, Crossed his Arms, and hung down his Head, making a tender of his Neck to him; this put Adam in such a rage, That he drew his Scimitar in great fury with an intention of gratifying the Coadjutor: But behold a Miracle, say the Jesuits, When Adam's Arm was lifted up to have given the fatal blow, his Scimitar dropped out of his hand, to the great mortification of the Coadjutor, who had flattered himself with the hopes of dying a Martyr presently: But though Adam was hindered by that Miracle from executing what he had designed, he was so far from being any ways softened by it, that he told the Coadjutor with great disdain, What I warrant you, you are ambitious of being made a Martyr by my hand; go get you gone out of my presence, and let me hear no more of you and your false Doctrines; for if I do, I shall find a baser hand somewhere that shall gratify you in making you a Martyr, since you have a mind to be one.

But the chief cause of Adam treating the Coadjutor and Portugueses thus, discovered it self in a sudden Rebellion that brake out against him at this time, of which their old friend Bahurnagays was one of the chief, who having retired from Court to his Government, kept upon the Sea-coast in expectation of the Portuguese Succors which the Viceroy had promised to send after the Coadjutor into Ethiopia; which not coming so soon as they were expected, the Coadjutor had sent one Andrew Galdamas, a Spanish Jesuit, to the Indies to hasten them over, by assuring the Viceroy, That there was no Conversion to be made in Ethiopia without the assistance of some Catholic Troops. But Father Andrew being discovered in Arkiko, as he was ready to have embarked on a Ship belonging to the Banians, was

hewed in pieces by the Mahometans. Father Teller [Tellez?] after having pronounced Father Andrew a Martyr, justifies the cause of his death, by affirming, Que esta sempre a pratica dosque tem experientia de Ethiopia, que sem as armas namam que, defendam & Authorizem a os pregadores Catholicos, nam poderam nunca ter o Successo deseiado entre aquelles Schismaticos; that is to say, It had always been the opinion of such as had any experience in the Affairs of Ethiopia, that unless the Catholic Preachers were defended and authorized by Dragoons, they would never have the success that was desired among those Schismatics.

Adam being sensible of this, and dreading nothing so much as the coming of Portuguese Troops into his Empire, notwithstanding the gross of the Rebellion was in an Inland Province, where they had Proclaimed one Tascaro, a Son of Adam's elder Brother, Emperor; He marched first against Bahurnagays, resolving if it were possible, to break his Army before it received a Portuguese Reinforcement. Adam had two Battles with Bahurnagays: In the first he is said to have been worsted by him; but to have routed Bahurnagays to that degree in the last, that he was forced to skulk about the Sea-coast with a handful of Portugueses, all of that Nation that were at liberty in Ethiopia, having run into him when he first took up Arms.

Adam having thus quelled Bahurnagays, and being informed, that now the Monsoons were over, there was no fear of Ethiopia being troubled with any Portuguese Troops for one six Months at least. He marched back to find out his Nephew, who had been Proclaimed Emperor, and being come up with him, he obliged him to come to a Battle; the Fight continued obstinate for some hours, but in the conclusion the Rebels were overthrown, and Tascaro being taken Prisoner, had his head chopped off immediately by his Uncle's order.

Adam after these Victories thought to have taken some rest; when intelligence was brought him, that Bahurnagays despairing of finding mercy at his hands, and of the coming of the Portuguese which had been promised him, had with the handful of Portugueses that stuck to him, taken Sanctuary among the Mahometans, and was encouraging them to invade Ethiopia.

The honest Author of the Asia Portuguese, saith, This trick of the Portugueses going over with Bahurnagays to the Turks, was so ill taken by



the Habassin Emperors, that they could never after that endure to hear of having any Soldiers of that Nation in their Country; but as we shall see hereafter, that did not hinder the Missionaries, who desired to see such Troops in Ethiopia above all things in the world, from making bold to send for them in their Names.

The Mahometans having at Nagay's instigation Marched into Ethiopia with a great Army, had Arkiko and Matzua the only Sea-Ports of that Empire delivered to them by Nagay's creatures; which places as they were of more importance to them than the whole Country besides, by making them Masters of the whole Coast of the Red-Sea; so having once got them into their hands, they have taken care to keep them, continuing Masters of them to this day.

Adam not being able to brook this loss, and the great devastations that were made by the Infidels in the best Provinces of his Empire, resolved to venture it all, or to recover what he had lost; and so though he was sensible of his Armies being in all respects inferior to that of the Enemy; yet being pushed on by his rage, he determined to bid them Battle; which the Infidels having accepted of, did maul the Habassins so with their Artillery, that they presently gave ground, Adam himself being overthrown upon heaps of his slain Men, most of the rest that fled being either made Prisoners, or put to the Sword. The whole Habassin Baggage having upon this total rout fallen into the hands of the Mahometans, among it the Coadjutor and his Jesuits, whom Adam had carried along with him as Hostages in all his Marches, were found, and were all stripped with the slain, before Bahurnagays and his Portuguese could come to their Relief.

So that notwithstanding the Bishop and his Fathers had their full revenge of Adam for having treated them so barbarously; yet I do not find that they much bettered their condition by it. One of the Fathers in a Letter that was writ after Adam was slain, telling his Brethren at Goa, that at the writing thereof, they were in as lamentable an estate as it is almost possible for men to be, in having neither Clothes, Bread, nor Credit; and that the poor Coadjutor was in such a Garb, that it was enough to make a Christians' heart bleed to see him in it.

Adam being slain, was succeeded by his Son Malac Saged, who was Crowned and Anointed at Axun, and who though he Reigned Thirty Years, was never one day out of War either with his Neighbors or Subjects, and as

to the main was Victorious still; and though he hated the Roman Church no less than his Father; nevertheless having his thoughts wholly taken up with War, he gave the Coadjutor and the Jesuits, after they returned to Fremona, no manner of Molestation, unless they were troubled at his taking no more notice of them than if there had been no such persons in his Country: Neither did the Coadjutor's declaring himself Patriarch, upon his having received advice of the Patriarch Baretto's death, who died at Goa on the Twentieth of December, 1562, engage the Emperor to have ere the more regard for him; and as the Emperor gave the Patriarch no trouble in his retirement, so neither did the Patriarch give him any, who despairing of being able to do any good in Ethiopia, without the assistance of Portuguese-Troops, made the soliciting of them his whole business. So in a Letter to the General of the Jesuits bearing date the 3d of June, 1566. he tells him, There was one thing he and the Fathers were all agreed in, which was, That nothing but a good body of Portuguese Soldiers would ever be able to reduce Ethiopia to the Obedience of the Roman Church; and in one of the same date to the Rector of the Jesuits' College at Goa, he tells him, There was one thing he might be certain of, which was, that there was no other remedy for Ethiopia, but a good body of Portuguese Troops, adding, that if they had but 5 or 600 stout Musketeers, he would undertake for the reducing of Ethiopia to the Roman Church in a short time: Concluding his Letter with a complaint, that more men were daily exposed to greater dangers for things of much less Importance, even to the State, and where the success was infinitely more doubtful. And Manuel Fernandes in a Letter to the Provincial and Jesuits of Goa, chimes exactly with his Patriarch, in this note. What shall I say, saith Fernandes, my dearest Fathers and Brethren! to blame your Reverences who are in India, for the great neglect of not having sent the Troops whereon the Reduction of this Empire depends entirely, I know would be unjust; being certain, that if it had been in your Reverence's power to have applied it, that we had had that remedy long before this time: Nevertheless there is one thing I must beg of you, and that is, That since your Reverences do heartily wish that we had those Soldiers, though it is not in your power to send them to us, that you would pray earnestly to Christ to put it into their hearts, in whose power it is to do it effectually. I am likewise certain, that if your Reverences did but see what is lost here in Ethiopia for want of a handful of men, who would also be able to protect those who have already embraced our Faith, that you would run howling and lamenting so great a loss through all the streets of the City: Your Reverences may think of this what you please, but I do say

and affirm, That the Order of Jesuits has no where so noble and glorious an enterprise upon their hands as this of Ethiopia, if they could but finish it: Neither ought it to seem strange to you, that we should say, That a body of Soldiers is necessary to the reduction of this Church, considering that there is nothing more certain, than that at the same time you lose the favor of the King, the work of conversion goes on but very dull; and no wonder, since even in Portugal, the Prelates, if they had not the assistance of the Secular Arm, would not be able to do their duties; and though it is true that we pretend to have no other business here but the service of God, and the promotion of the good of the peoples Souls; yet it is certain, that those Troops, if they were once here, would quickly clear this Empire of all its Foreign and Domestic Enemies, chiefly of the Turks and Galls, by whom it is at this time so miserably harassed, and against whom the unhappy Natives are not able to make head; who as they contradict our Lord, so our Lord contradicts them in chastising them with flies, for the Galls are no better: It being an unconceivable thing, how such a sorry naked People should be able to do the things that they do against the Habassins, who have both Arms and Horses, were it not that God makes, and will make War against them, until such time as they shall give over making War against his Divine Majesty: Wherefore since a good body of Soldiers would remedy all our wants, Spiritual and Temporal, let me again beg it of your Reverences, to beseech God to send us this necessary Succor.

I would have your Reverences likewise remember, with how great Zeal and Charity our holy Father Ignatius commanded our Superiors in Portugal, not to fail to speak to the King, who is now with God, once a Month, at least, concerning the Habassin Mission: But though my intent in putting you in mind of this, should not be to engage you to do the same with the Viceroy; yet this I will affirm, That since this is the Cause of God, and the Society, and so great a Cause too, that you ought never to give over soliciting both God and Princes about this affair: So that it may never be said of us, They begun to build, but could not finish. Finally, I do assure, you, That if we had but those Troops once, that not only Ethiopia, but another Europe would be brought quickly to the Knowledge of Christ, and the Obedience of the Roman Church.

The Jesuits of Goa, Lisbon, and Rome, were so inflamed by these passionate Letters, that the Cardinal Don Henry, who during the Minority of his Nephew Don Sebastian, governed Portugal, could not be quiet day nor night for them, his not ordering so small a body of Men to be sent

where they would infallibly do both the Church and Crown so great Service, being every where roared at by them, as both the most ungodly and impolitic thing that any Government had ever been guilty of.

The Cardinal and Council of State, who weighed things a little more soberly than the distressed Jesuits in Ethiopia, finding they could not well spare so many Soldiers at that time, from the more profitable Conquests they were going on with in the Indies, resolved, since they could not comply with the loud clamors of the Jesuits, to remove the cause of them, by writing to the Pope to recall the

Patriarch and his Friars, and to send them somewhere else, where they might do more good and make less noise; by representing the Conversion of the Habassins to him as a thing not feasible.

The Pope, who at that time was Pius the Vth. believing what the Cardinal had writ to him in the Name of the King of Portugal, dispatched the following Letters of Revocation to the Patriarch, which the Cardinal took care to forward with all possible expedition.

*To our Venerable Brother, Andrew Oviedo, Patriarch of Ethiopia.  
Venerable Brother, Health and Apostolical Benediction, &c.*

BY Letters from our Beloved Son Sebastian, the Illustrious King of Portugal, his Ambassador resident at our Court, and by other Persons of good Credit, we are informed, That you having been sent by this Apostolical See into Ethiopia to reduce the People thereof to the knowledge of the Orthodox Faith, have not, after having spent several years therein, been able, by reason of the hardness of their hearts, and their obstinacy in their ancient Errors, to reap that fruit which might justly have been expected of your pious Labors, whereas if you were employed in the Island of Japan, or the Province of China, Countries inhabited by Heathens, and who at this time seem well disposed to receive the Faith of Christ, it is to be hoped that with God's Assistance your Labors would be profitable in those parts where the Harvest is great, and the Laborers are few.

We having been thus informed, and being moved by brotherly Charity, suffering together with you, since there is no likelihood of your reaping that fruit where you are, which might justly be expected from your great Labors, and so long a Peregrination; and finding our selves placed, though without our Merits, in this holy See, and being sensible of our being

debtors to all, and by our Office bound to promote the Glory and Honor of Almighty God, and the Salvation of Souls, saluting you with the Charity of a Brother, and having received ample testimonies of your Zeal and Affection to promote the Catholic Religion, we do exhort you in the Lord, and in virtue of holy Obedience, and the remission of all your Sins, Command you, by the first opportunity you shall have of Sailing after the receipt of these our Letters, to depart forthwith to the Island of Japan, or China, there to Preach the word of God according to the Doctrine of the Holy Roman Church, who is the Mother and Mistress of all the Faithful, and there to administer all the sacraments which do properly belong to the Episcopal Function, so as trusting in the Divine Mercy, to endeavor to gain all the Souls you can to God; and in order to the enabling you thereunto, we do by our Apostolical Authority give you free leave and full power to exercise all Episcopal Offices in those parts, or any other, that have not a proper Bishop: So as to make use of all those Faculties and Indults which were granted to you by Pope Julius the III<sup>d</sup>. of happy Memory, or by any other Roman Bishop, our Predecessors, with relation to the Kingdom of Ethiopia: And we do likewise by the same Authority dispense with you so far, that you may without any scruple of Conscience, live and remain in the aforesaid parts, unless there should happen to be more hopes of reducing Ethiopia to the Union of the Catholic Faith, than there is at present.

*Dated at Rome in St. Peter's, and Signed with the Seal of the Fisherman, on the 1st. of February 1560.*

The Patriarch, though Sick of Ethiopia, yet seems to have had no great stomach for the China or Japan Mission, which, to speak the Truth, was a hard imposition upon one of his years: And so, though in his Answer which is here subjoined, he assures the Pope of his readiness to submit to all his Commands; yet he sufficiently intimates, that he was as willing to resign his Dignity, and serve him or the Jesuits in their Kitchens, as to keep it, and carry it to China or Japan; in which affair, it is to be feared that the Patriarch's being a Spaniard, was of no advantage to him, it being the custom of the Portugueses when they have got any Foreign Friars among them in the Indies, to put them upon the forlorn of all dangerous Missions, as they did Oviedo on this, and Father Peter, who was likewise a Spaniard, on that of the Second Habassin Mission; as we shall see hereafter.

## THE PATRIARCH'S ANSWER TO THE POPE.

*Andrew d'Oviedo to Pope Pius the Vth.*

Most Blessed Father,

IN this present year 1567, with some Letters from the College of St. Paul at Goa, a Copy of an Apostolical Brief from your Holiness to me, came to my hands; wherein among other pious, devout, and holy things, are these words; We do exhort you in the Lord, and in virtue of holy Obedience, and Remission of your Sins, do command you, by the first opportunity you shall have of sailing after the receipt of these our Letters, to depart for the Island of Japan, or the Kingdom of China. And a little lower there are these words, We do furthermore by the same Apostolical Authority, dispense with you so, that in case there is no hopes of reducing Ethiopia to the Church, you may go into these parts, and there remain without any scruple of Conscience.

To which Apostolical Letters, no less than if I had received their original, I prepared my self to yield obedience, as it is fit, just, and healthful, that we should at all times, and in whole and in part obey your Holiness; for in obeying you, Most Holy Father, we obey Christ the only begotten Son of God, in whose place you are upon the earth, our Head and Father, and the Master of all faithful Christians; all the Indulgence, Order, and Power of the Church of Christ being derived from you to all others: The holy Mother-Church of Rome, whose Faith never did nor never will fail, and who is the Mother and Mistress of all the Churches in the world, and of all faithful Christians, being continued in your Pontificate.

As to your having commanded me to go to the Island of Japan by the first convenience, I have had no opportunity since I received your Commands, and so am excused for not being gone; neither in truth can I embark here with any safety, there being a thousand Turkish Ships, and not one Christian in the Port of Matzua at this time. As to what is said of having any hopes of the reducing of Ethiopia, I should quickly have such hopes, could we have Five or Six hundred Portugueses sent hither from the Indies, according to what was agreed before I left Goa, upon the advice they had received there, of the obstinacy of the King of Ethiopia, and which we have been now long expecting. Were this once done, I should not only hope to see Ethiopia quickly reduced, but should be infallibly certain of it: With which Troops we should not only be able to convert all this Empire, but

innumerable multitudes of Heathens also, into whose Countries they might march from hence, without crossing any Sea: Which Heathens being a simple sort of people, and not much addicted to Idolatry, might be converted with great ease. We have been told that great numbers of them have petitioned the King of Ethiopia to be made Christians, but have been denied out of temporal respects, the Ethiopians reckoning that after they are Christians it is not lawful to make them Slaves, as they do now in vast numbers. The Heathens that desired this, were of Damut, a Country that abounds with Pure Gold, and is said to reach to the King of Portugal's Territories which are about Mozambique and Sefalia. There are Heathens likewise in another country called Sinaxi, which is also full of Fine Gold, and who about three years ago offered to a Prince who is nearly related to the King of Ethiopia, if he would but desist from the War he had begun upon them, both to turn Christians, and to pay him a Yearly Tribute. It is from among these Heathens, but chiefly those of Dambut; that the Mahometan Merchants, who are in great numbers in these parts, do daily buy vast numbers of Slaves, which they sell to the Moors and Turks: These Heathens would turn Christians with all their hearts, for they cry and take on lamentably when they are carried to the Ships; to which they are driven in such herds, that I am persuaded that the Turks have had at least an Hundred thousand of them, who make them all Mahometans, and who afterwards are known by experience to become stout Soldiers, and to do the Saracens great Service by both Sea and Land. All which mischiefs Five or Six hundred Portuguese Soldiers, if we had them here, would remedy, and would do extraordinary service to the State of India, and to all the Christians thereof; for if the Turks should once make themselves Masters of Ethiopia, it would be of fatal consequence to the Portuguese Interest in the Indies; there being divers things in this country, that would be serviceable to them in reference to their Gallies, as Slaves, Iron, and other Provisions.

The King that first began to persecute our Holy Faith, and all his Ministers, are now in their Graves; and his Son, who now reigns, is not Absolute, the Royal Authority having been much shaken and impaired of late, God in his Justice having so ordered things, that he that refused to obey him, and submit himself to the Roman Church, from which all that have separated themselves obstinately have been destroyed, and have fallen under the yoke of Infidels, should not be obeyed by his own Subjects. The people here are all in pieces, and are so cowed by the devastations the Turks have made

among them, that they think of nothing, but how to live and keep their Estates. But though the late King and his Ministers were possessed with a strange Rage against the Catholic Faith, and us Catholics, the common people and some others seemed to be well enough disposed towards it. For our part we have not been sparing of our pains to preach to them; and besides divers Conferences and Disputations both private and public that we have had with them, we have written divers Treatises against their Errors, and have got them translated into Habassin; so that all the doctrines of Faith have been sufficiently promulgated to them, if they could but be persuaded to embrace them; not but that there are great numbers of them who are satisfied of the truth of our Faith, but who either out of shame, or fear of punishment, are afraid to profess it: For which reason there are several that would be glad to see some Portuguese Troops here to defend them in the Faith after they have professed it; out of which, by reason of their being but weak therein, they are now easily terrified, as a great many have been; though there are some who notwithstanding all the contradiction they have met withal, do continue steadfast therein.

It is a common Tradition here, That the Portugueses are to come among them to make them of the same Faith with themselves; and they say further, and we believe it to be true, That this distracted Empire will never be in peace or any tolerable order, until they come; which though they should, and with an intention of offering Violence, would give no offence to any body; not to Catholics to be sure, there being no reason why they should be offended at it; no nor the Habassins neither, for I am persuaded that if such a number of Portuguese Troops were here, their name without striking a stroke would do the work, so that they would look more like Friends than Enemies; and I am certain, that if they had come when we expected them, this whole empire had been in the Obedience of the Roman Church before this time, and it will be the same thing if they should come now.

Wherefore, most holy Father, since all these things do belong to your Office, who are the Universal Pastor, feed these your sheep with wholesome food, and provide a necessary remedy for them, by writing to the most Serene King of Portugal for some Troops, and by acquainting his Ambassador at your Court, with the necessity there is of sending them hither; for to tell your Holiness my mind frankly, I am of opinion, That Ethiopia ought not to be deserted.



But after all, if there is no persuading the King of Portugal to send a body of Soldiers hither, for which for the good of Ethiopia, let me beg it of your Holiness a second time to write to him, he must then be desired to send a good Fleet hither to carry off the Catholics; for should it be such a one as is talked of, it would not be able to carry one of them to the Indies, the Turks being very strong at present in Matzua and all these Sea-ports; and whatever is done, let us not lose any of the Catholics that are here, by leaving them in the hands of Heretics and Infidels; who after the Heads of their Families and Priests, who are mortal as well as other men, are dead, will be in danger of being lost.

Finally, I desire to be advised of what your Holiness would have done; and as to what concerns my own Person, most holy Father, I am by God's Grace prepared to Obey your Will, by either continuing where I am, or by going to Japan, or to the Turks if your Holiness should Command me, or by laying down my Patriarchal Dignity, to serve my Fathers the Jesuits, or your Holiness, in your Kitchen, or in any other post. And if it shall seem good to your Holiness, I do beg some Indulgences of you for the remission of our Sins. Farewell great Father.

From Ethiopia the 15th.  
of June 1566.

*Andrew Patriarch of Ethiopia.*

This Letter of the Patriarch's gives the Reader a clear view of the true temper of the Roman Missionaries, and of the methods they are for making use of in the Conversion of Heretical Kingdoms to the Roman Church; it discloseth likewise the true secret of Bahurnagay's Rebellion, which was of such fatal consequence to Ethiopia; it being said in this Letter, That the Coadjutor before he left Goa, had a promise that a good Body of Portugueses should be sent after him; as it is also, that if these Troops had arrived when they were expected, which was when Bahurnagays was first in Arms, the Habassin Church had been reduced to the Obedience of the Roman before the writing of that Letter.

Now what should it be that hindered the Portuguese Government, which still pretended that the propagating of the Roman Faith, was its chief aim in all its remote Conquests, and whose title to them all, was founded solely on that pretence, from sending such a handful of Men, to do the Church so signal a service as the Converting of another Europe to it?

It was not that they were fearful that the Number of Soldiers that was desired, would not have been able to have done that great work, for that considering what was done by Gama with a smaller number, and that it is not common with the Portugueses to distrust their own strength in such cases; whatever was, this could not be the cause of it; and if this was not, one may venture to say, it was not that they reckoned it a scandalous thing to go about to Convert an Heretical Kingdom by Dragoon Missionaries, that being a thing, as the Patriarch truly observes in his Letter, That no true Roman Catholic could be offended at.

The true cause therefore of their denying so inconsiderable an aid to do so great a work, though so vehemently solicited to do it, was, that though at first they had promised themselves great matters from the reduction of Ethiopia to the Obedience of the Roman Church, they found afterwards that the doing of it would be of little or no advantage to them, by reason of its lying quite out of the way of their great Indian Trade, and its having no native Commodities to countervail the great Charge, its remoteness, and the neighborhood of the Turks, would necessarily put them to, to maintain an interest in it.

Neither were the Patriarch and Fathers such weak Men as not to know at what their business stuck, who therefore took care in all their Letters to assure the Government, that besides divers other Commodities, there was abundance of Fine Gold in some parts of Ethiopia; and that Damut, which might easily be Converted by 600 Soldiers, and which was likewise full of Gold, did reach to Mozambique and Sefala, the best Portuguese Plantation in the Indies; but the Government, it seems, either did not believe these reports, or thought they should Buy fine Gold there too dear to turn to any account.

So that the Spanish Minister had this among other Instances undoubtedly in his eye, who told Philip the IVth. That it was a vain conceit the World had entertained of the Zeal of the Portugueses upon the account of the Conversions which had been made by them in the Indies; for it was Covetousness and not Zeal that had engaged them to make all those Conquests; the Conversions that had been made in those parts having been performed by the Divine Power, and the Charity of a few particular Friars, the Crown and Government having had no other aim therein, but he Robbing of Kingdoms and Cities; and there were still the greatest Conversions where there was most to gratify their Covetousness; but

where there was nothing to be had, there the People were Obdurate and not to be wrought upon. And so we see their Zeal expired quickly where it was not animated by Covetousness; and how they who had nothing else to say, but Lord open unto us, were not thought fit to enter into Heaven.

The Cardinal-Regent having prevailed with the Pope to recall the Patriarch, did order Ruy Laurencio de Tavera, who went Viceroy to the Indies in the year 1567. so soon as he arrived at Goa, to send some Ships to Ethiopia to fetch off the Patriarch and the Fathers; but Tavera happening to die in the Voyage, those Orders, whatever was the reason, were never executed; though if they had, so soon as it was possible, the Ships would have come too late for the Patriarch, who died at Fremona on the 9th. of July in the year 1567.

Thus ended the First great Habassin Mission, from which Ignatius had promised so much Honor to himself and his Order: Which, as it was no happy thing for the Jesuits; so, excepting the Second Mission, it was the worst thing that ever befell Ethiopia.

## THE

## SECOND PART.

AT the time of the Patriarch's death, of the Five Jesuits that went with him into Ethiopia, there were but Three left alive; they were Manuel Fernandez, the most passionate Solicitor for Dragoons, who died at Fremona in the year 1583. Antony Fernandez, who died at the same place 10 years after, and Francis Lopez, who lived till the year 1597. after whose death there was not one Roman Priest left alive in Ethiopia.

For Nine years after the Patriarch's decease, the Jesuits seemed to have given the Habassin Mission quite over; none of that Order, that we read of, having, during that time, attempted to go thither: But upon Philip the II'd's. (who pretended to a much greater Zeal than any of his Ancestors for the service of the Roman Church) coming to the Crown of Portugal, they resumed the thoughts of it again; and not knowing but that all the Fathers who were in Ethiopia might be in the next world; that they might be found by Philip in possession of that Mission, they sent Two Fathers thither in the Habit of Armenian Merchants, hoping that under that disguise they might steal into it without being discovered by the Turks, who having got all the Habassin Ports into their hands, were extremely watchful to keep out Portugueses.

The Two Friars that were sent on this dangerous enterprise, were Antony de Monserrato, and Pater Pays, who were both Spaniards; It being the Custom of the Portuguese Superiors in the Indies, as has been observed before, when they have any Foreigners under them, to be so kind to them, as to give them still the most hazardous Posts: Which, by the way, is no great argument of the Friars being always the most fond of the Missions in which their Lives are exposed to the most danger, as in all their Histories they are still represented to be; for if it were so, it is very strange that the Portugueses having their Countrymen still the Superiors, should not have that Interest in them, as to carry the most desirable Employments from Foreigners, and especially Spaniards, of whose Honor they are naturally so jealous.

But however that were, in the year 1588. the Two Spaniards were sent from Goa to Dio, where they waited some Months before any opportunity

of a passage for Ethiopia did offer; during which time they went but little abroad, and when they did, it was always in a Turkish Habit; in which they had so disguised themselves, that Monserrate was pelted with stones in the street by the Boys for a Turk, and Father Peter had like to have been shot by a Sentinel for walking too near the Ordnance. But at last a Mahometan Pilot being spoke to by the Governor of Mascate, whither the Fathers went from Dio, did undertake to put them both ashore at the Port of Zeyla; whereupon they embarked on the 6th. of December, and after a few days Sail meeting with a violent storm, were driven ashore on the Coasts of Arabia, where being discovered to be Christian Priests, they were both sent by the Governor of Defar to his Master the King of Zeal, who keeps his Court in a City of Arabia Felix, called Tarim, wherein they were both kept Slaves Seven years.

The Superiors at Goa having received advice of this, named one Abraham de Georgys, a Maronite Jesuit, and James Gonsalves, to go into Ethiopia; but Father Abraham when he came to Goa from Malabar, instead of Father James, who was a Portuguese, had an Habassin Youth given him for his Companion.

The Maronite and Habassin being arrived at Dio, found a Ship belonging to the Baneans ready to set Sail for Matzua, whereon they embarked as Turks; and when they landed at Matzua, were kindly received as true Musselmen by the Governor, who himself was a Christian Renegado. These are the Inventions, as the Viceroy Albuquerque told Father Abraham at Goa when he first saw him in his Turkish Habit, wherewith the Jesuits seek to serve God, and to bring Souls to their Creator.

The Governor not having the least suspicion of Father Abraham being a Christian, and much less a Priest, gave him leave to go into Ethiopia at the first word; but being told by the Skipper that brought him, that he had some reason to think that he was a Portuguese Priest, he sent a hue and cry after him, which having overtook him before he was got to Arkiko, brought him back to Matzua; the Governor, when Abraham was brought before him, being in a great rage at him for his having imposed upon him as he had done; after he had given him a great many hard words, asked him, Whether he was a Musselman or a Christian? Abraham not thinking fit to dissemble any longer, told him boldly he was a Christian, Are you so, said the Governor, then by the Great God if you do not turn Mahometan immediately, you shall lose your head for having pretended to be one:

Abraham made answer, My Life, it is true, is in your Power, but to make me turn Mahometan is not, neither will I ever do it: Whereupon the Governor, with a Renegado fury, commanded him to be tortured; which being done, he ordered his head to be Chopped off; but without raising a spring of fresh water, for that would have been a great benefit for want of it; but instead thereof, a prodigious Fire was seen for Forty Nights together over the place where his Body was Buried.

Gregory the XIIIth. having been informed of the great want the Portugueses that were in Ethiopia were in of a Priest, did order one John Baptista, an Italian, to be Consecrated a Bishop, with an intention of sending him to them. This John Baptista had been sent by Gregory before, with Letters to Amba John, Patriarch of Alexandria, to persuade him to submit himself to the Roman Church, as he was afterwards by Sixtus the Vth. to Gabriel, Patriarch of said See, on the same errand; it is not said whether Bishop Baptista returned to Rome with Gabriel's answer to Sixtus, or having delivered his Letters at Cayr, and finding all the Avenues to Ethiopia by Land stopped by the Turks, did go to Goa for a Passage; but certain it is that he got thither, and that he had not been there long, before the Viceroy Don Edward de Menezes embarked him upon a small Portuguese Vessel, which had orders to put him ashore somewhere in Ethiopia; but the Ship he was upon happening to touch at the Island of Camera, and it being discovered there that Baptista was a Christian Bishop bound for Ethiopia, he was thereupon Murdered by the Turks. But though the Jesuits do not in any of their Histories that I have seen, so much as mention this Bishop's Name, not caring, it's like, that it should be known, that any that was not of their Order was employed in this Mission; yet, I hope, his not having been a Jesuit, nor sent by their Superiors, did no ways contribute to his end; his being sent to Habassia at that time, and after such a manner, being a thing that does not look very well.

In the year 1597. Dom Alexo de Menezes, the most politic Prelate that ever was in those parts, looking upon himself now there was no Patriarch of Ethiopia, as the ordinary Prelate thereof, as he was Primate of the Indies, did take the Habassin Affair into his own hands, and having cast about how to have Intelligence from thence, and to supply the Portugueses that were there with a Priest, he did at last fall upon the following expedient.

There was one Belchior de Sylva, a Converted Bramen, who was Vicar of the Church of St. Ann in Goa; whom the Archbishop after he had determined to send him into Ethiopia, ordered upon some Informations he pretended to have received against him, to be thrown into Prison, threatening him with severe Censures if what he was accused of should be proved; having at the same time so concerted the matter with Sylva, that he was to break Jail on a certain night, and come to him in a disguise at a place called Bardez, which he was then going to visit, being in the mean time to let his Hair and Beard grow, the better to disguise himself. When the night agreed upon was come, Sylva having broke Jail, went directly to Bardez, where the Archbishop kept him private, and to blind the matter the more, seemed to be very angry at his having made his escape, and to use extraordinary diligence to catch him again.

Sylva having received his Instructions, and being put into a Turkish Habit with Pendants in his Ears, was sent privately by the Archbishop to Dio; where he remained Incognito till a Ship offered for Ethiopia, on board which he listed himself a Sailor; and during the whole Voyage he behaved himself so among the Mariners as not to be in the least suspected by any of them of being a Christian. The Ship being arrived at her Port, Sylva the first time he went ashore, made the best of his way for Ethiopia, and having got to Deboraa, was entertained there with great joy by the Portugueses, who had been for some years without a Priest of their own Religion.

The Jesuits, that nothing might seem to have been done towards the reduction of Ethiopia without their having had some hand in it, will have the Archbishop to have sent Sylva thither at their request: But this was not all that Archbishop Menezes did in this matter; for having received advice of Sylva's being arrived in Ethiopia, he thereupon writ a Letter, not only to the Roman Catholics, but to the Abuna likewise, exhorting him to submit himself and his Church to the Pope; and among other Arguments he made use of to persuade him to such a submission, he sent him a rich present, together with the solemn submission of the Alexandrian patriarch of himself and his whole Church to Pope Clement the VIIIth. as it is pompously published by Baronius in an Appendix to the Sixth Tome of his Ecclesiastical Annals; Conjuring him to follow the example of that great Prelate whom his Church had so long owned for her Head.

But this Alexandrian submission, notwithstanding Baronius was in such haste to make a flourish with it, that he clapped the History thereof to the

end of the Fifth Century, was a mere imposture; for whereas it is said to have been made by Gabriel Patriarch of Alexandria, the Patriarch of Alexandria's Name at the time when that submission is reported to have been made, was not Gabriel, but Mark. So little pains are the hungry Eastern Monks, who come to Rome with their mock submissions, at, to make their Impostures look probable.

The Learned Father Simon speaking of Archbishop Menezes as having made use of this submission to persuade the Abuna of Ethiopia, after the example of his Patriarch, to submit himself to the Pope, saith, The Archbishop was not, it seems, sensible that the Church of Rome had been imposed on in that matter, and that Baronius was too credulous in publishing the acts of that submission under the Name of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and of the Catholic Church.

And Thomas a Jesu, a Carmelite Friar, speaking of the same in his Sixth Book de Conversione omnium Gentium procuranda, saith, In the time of Clement the VIIIth. a Fictitious Embassy of the Alexandrian Church, was brought to the Roman Pontiff: Wherein Mark the Patriarch, and with him all the Provinces of Egypt, and the parts adjoining to it, did acknowledge the Pope to be the Head and Universal Pastor of the Church, as Baronius writes at large at the end of his Sixth Tome; but the matter thereof coming afterwards to be more diligently look into, it was found to be a lie, and the fiction of one Barton an Imposter. And yet notwithstanding this discovery, the History of that submission continues to vapor still in all the Editions of Baronius' Annals that have come out since.

The Archbishop sent the Abuna likewise, a Confession of his own Faith, telling him withal, That in case he would submit himself to the Pope, as he was in duty bound, that affair would be managed much to his advantage by the Portugueses; he writ also to Clement the VIIIth. desiring him to lay his Commands on the Patriarch of Alexandria, who was now under his Obedience, to oblige the Habassin Abuna to follow his Example: He writ also to Belchior da Sylva, to send some Habassin Boys to Goa to be instructed in the Roman Faith and Rites. And last of all, he writ to Philip the IId. for a yearly Pension for the Portugueses that were in Ethiopia; of whom he obtained 1500 Cruzados, which were to be paid to them yearly out of the Royal Revenues of the Indies, to which he himself added 300 Pardaos, and prevailed with the Misericordia at Goa to give the same Sum: Of all which there is not one syllable to be met with in any of the Jesuit's



Histories; whereas had this Archbishop been of their Order, as he was of the Austin, the world would have had whole Volumes in Praise of his great Zeal and Industry in this Affair.

The Jesuits being desirous to recover the Habassin Mission, which both the Pope and the Archbishop seemed to have taken out of their hands, did in order thereunto, labor hard to have a College for their Friars at Dio; and having got some Benefactors to contribute towards the building and endowing thereof, they sent Father Gasper Suares from Goa to Dio to begin the Work. But the Baneans, of which Dio is full, knowing that the Jesuits, where-ever they settled, did turn Traders, did strongly oppose their having a College there; pretending, That it would certain ruin the Trade of the Port; by which Pretence, and great Bribes, they so far influenced the Viceroy, that he put a full stop to it; of which the Jesuits of Goa, Lisbon and Madrid, made such Tragical Exclamations, that the King wrote a very angry letter to the Viceroy about it, Commanding him to shut his hands against the Bribes of the Baneans, and not to be frighted from pious Works, by suggestions that they would tend to the ruin of Trade, since the reason why he sent Viceroy into India, was not to increase his Revenue, but to advance Christianity: The Viceroy and Baneans were so mortified by this severe Letter, that they did not only give way to, but did contribute largely towards the building of the said College, which by that means was finished in a short time.

The King had writ likewise to the Viceroy, To furnish the Jesuits with six Ships, to convey their Missionaries into Ethiopia; but they having but three Friars to send thither, who were Father Peter, who had been ransomed a year or two before; and Father Anthony de Angelis, a Neopolitan, and Father Anthony Fernandes, a Portuguese; the Viceroy reckoning that two Ships were sufficient to carry three Friars, and that six would not be big enough to fight the Turks, if they happened to meet with them, sent but two to them in Dio, where they were now settled in their new College, one of which was forced back by a Storm to Damon, the other getting to Dio, but much damaged both in her Hulk and Rigging.

Father Peter having, during his seven years Captivity in Arabia, made himself a perfect Master of the Arabic Tongue, did converse much at Dio, where he passed for an Armenian Christian with the Mahometans that came to trade there, but chiefly with a Servant of the Bashaws of Suaqhem, whose name was Recuam Aga, with whom he contracted an intimate

familiarity. This Aga happening one day in discourse to ask the Father, Why, after seven years captivity, he did not think of returning home to his own Country, meaning Armenia; the Father told him, That there was nothing that he was so desirous of as to see Armenia, but that he was afraid to venture himself again in Turkish Territories: Aga thereupon did frankly undertake to put him in a way to get home with safety, offering to carry him along with him to Matzua and Suaqhem, and from thence to Cayr, from whence he promised to send him with a Pass to Jerusalem, from which place he might return home without any danger. The Father having thanked Aga for his kind offer, told him he would accept of it, provided he would give him leave, when he was at Matzua, to make a step into Ethiopia, to negotiate a little business he had to do there; desiring him withal not to let the governor of Dio know any thing of his design of returning home, for that he would certainly stop him, if he came to hear of it. Aga, who did not know but that he might have occasion to return to Dio again, and for that reason, being unwilling to do any thing whereby he might disoblige the Governor, told the Father, That though he should be very glad to serve him in taking him along with him, yet unless he could obtain leave of the Governor to go, he must pardon him for not doing it: The Father being well pleased with this scruple of Aga's, did promise since he would not carry him without it, to try to obtain leave of the Governor to go with him. And with such Engano's or Tricks, saith a Jesuit, Father Peter cheated the Devil.

The Father having communicated the whole Farce to the Governor, he was so well pleased with it, that he helped to carry it on, by showing Aga extraordinary Civilities for the kindness he intended to do to the good Armenian.

On the 22d of March 1603. Aga and his Armenian set sail from Dio, and on the 26th of April they arrived safe at Matzua; where the Bashaw being in the Country, the Father, upon Aga's recommendation, was treated very kindly by Mustadem, the Lieutenant-Governor, who at the first word granted him leave to go for some time into Ethiopia to negotiate the business he pretended to have there. Father Peter, notwithstanding his civil treatment, was in pain till he was got from Matzua, and having notice of six Christians that were bound for Ethiopia, he took the opportunity of their company, and having fixed his Journey on the 5th of May, he went to take his leave of his Patron Aga, who promised to wait two months for him at

Matzua, by which time the Armenian assured him that he would be with him again.

In seven days the Father and his company got to Deboraa, where he was waited on by John Gabriel, with several other Portugueses, who did all accompany him to Fremona, where Father Sylva resided, and the Patriarch and most of his Companions had been buried.

The first thing he did after his coming to Fremona, was to acquaint the Emperor, whose name was Jacob, with his arrival, and to offer him his service; the Emperor returned him a kind Answer, telling him, That after the Winter was over, he should be glad to see him at his Court.

This Jacob was a Natural Son of the last Emperor Malac Saged, who having left no Male-Children by his Empress Mariam Cima, had named this Jacob at his Death his Successor, in wrong to his Nephew Za Danguil, the Son of his Brother Lepena Christo: For notwithstanding it is in the power of the Habassin Emperor to name his Successor, he is by the Laws of the land tied to nominate a Male of the Royal Blood born in Wedlock.

Jacob was but an Infant when his Father died; which was perhaps the chief reason why the Empress and Grandees of the Court were so zealous for his nomination, hoping during his long Minority, to have the Government wholly in their own hands. And so the first thing they did after the old Emperor's breath was out of his body, was to secure Za Danguil, that he might give them no molestation; which they reckoned they had done sufficiently, by making him a close Prisoner in the Island of Deck, in the Lake of Dembea.

For Seven Years the Government was entirely in the hands of the Empress and her Two Sons-in-law, Ras Athanateus, and Calfunde the Viceroy of Tigre, who had been the chief promoters of Jacob's Nomination to the Crown; and who having tasted of the sweet of Sovereign Authority, were very unwilling to part with it to Jacob, now he was of Age, according to the Custom of the Empire, to take it upon himself; and to prevent that, they had given him an Education which they reckoned would have rendered him both unfit to govern, and have disposed him to have been satisfied with the easy and gaudy Title of Emperor, without troubling himself with the exercise of its Authority. But they found themselves mistaken; Jacob so soon as he was Fifteen, declaring, He was now of Age to govern both Himself and the Empire; and that he would be no longer under Pupilage,

nor be kept a Minor all his days, out of gratitude to those who had helped him to the Title of Emperor, but with a design of keeping the Sovereign Authority in themselves.

The Empress and her two Sons resented this Treatment from a Creature of their own making, so highly, that they resolved to try to unmake him again; and that they might do it with the better grace, they pretended to be troubled in Conscience for the Injury they had done to Za Danguil, in having persuaded the late Emperor his Uncle to lay him aside, who was his true Heir: And having with this and some other Popular Pretenses brought most of the Grandees of the Court into a Conspiracy to depose Jacob, and advance Za Danguil to the Crown, they so ordered the matter, that Za Danguil appeared in the Camp, and was proclaimed Emperor by them, before Jacob ever so much as dreamt of their having any such design: Nevertheless being advertised thereof by the Acclamations of the Camp, he put himself on Horseback, not to fight, but to make his escape, which he did only with eight of his Servants: But as he was posting towards the Mountains, the Country rose upon him, and brought him back a Prisoner: The new Emperor, though advised by several of his Councillors to cut off his Ears and Nose, would not consent to it; the Habassins, as we shall see hereafter, until their Princes came to be influenced by the Jesuits, being very merciful in their punishments; so he contented himself with sending him into the remote Province of Narea, ordering the Governor thereof to keep him a close Prisoner.

This Revolution happening in the Winter after Father Peter came to Fremona, he continued there till the New Government was thoroughly settled; during which time he employed himself in translating a Book of the Christian Doctrine, composed by one Mark Jorge, a Jesuit; which is said to have been a Piece much admired in Ethiopia.

The Emperor being naturally curious, and hearing great things of Father Peter's Wisdom and Learning, from some of the Grandees, who had a great mind to have him at Court, to cabal with him about Portuguese Troops, he writ the following Letter to him, to invite him to come to him.

THE Letter of the Emperor Asnaf Saged cometh to the Honorable Father and Master of the Portugueses: How do you? Hear the good things God hath done for us: We were seven years a Prisoner, and did suffer innumerable Troubles; but God taking compassion of our Misery, has

delivered us out of Prison, and made us the Head of All; according to that of David, The Stone which the Builders rejected, is made the Head of the Corner. May the same God that hath begun this Work, bring it to a good Issue: Hear more; We are very desirous to see you here, and would have you bring the Books of the Laws of the King of Portugal, if you have them, along with you, for we should be glad to see them.

As the Father was preparing, upon the receipt of this Letter, to have gone to the Court with the Viceroy of Tigre, he was stopped by the News of the Gauls having invaded Ethiopia with Three Armies at once; having been encouraged to do it by the unsettled Posture they expected to find the Affairs of that Empire in, after so sudden a Revolution. But they quickly found themselves deceived; for notwithstanding they defeated the Viceroy of Tigre, who had contrary to the King's Order come to blows with them, their Two other Armies were both totally routed by the Emperor.

The Emperor being returned victorious to his Camps, the Viceroy of Tigre sent to Father Peter to come to him, that they might go to Court together; who before he left Fremona, took care to pack the Secular Priest Belchior de Sylva to the Indies; which was somewhat strange, considering that when he was gone, there was not a Roman Priest left at Fremona, to officiate to the Portugueses, the Father himself being on the wing for the Court. But the truth of the matter is, the Jesuits knowing that with the assistance of 4 or 400 Portuguese Soldiers, they should be able at any time to reduce Ethiopia to the Roman Church, and not despairing such a Succor, they studied nothing so much as the engrossing the whole Honor of so great a reduction to their own Order; and for that reason they did all they could to hinder Foreigners from intruding themselves into it, which made Father Peter choose to leave the Portugueses at Fremona without any Roman Priest, rather than with one who was no Jesuit.

But however it were in those early days, Luis Sotelo, a Spanish Franciscan, in his Letter written from Omura in Japan, where he was a Prisoner, to Pope Urban the VIIIth. and James Collado, a Dominican of the same Nation, in a Memorial presented by him in the year 1631. to the King of Spain, have proved beyond contradiction, That the Souls of the Jesuits are wrapped up so entirely in their own Order, that they will sacrifice all other Interests, that of Converting Heretical and Infidel Kingdoms not excepted, to its Interest and Honor. Which Letter and Memorial, though extremely

well worth the reading, being too long to be here inserted, I shall only set down so much of them as is sufficient to justify this Charge.

Sotelo about the middle of his Letter, delivers what follows:

IF a Friar of any other Order, do either out of a Zeal of Charity, or being called by the Faithful, come into these Parts, to give Spiritual Consolation, or to administer the Sacraments of the Church, after he has heard the Confessions of great numbers of persons, who have not seen a Priest in Twenty years, to Confess themselves to, and Confirmed such as were wavering in the Faith, and restored such as had Apostatized from it; the Provincial of the Jesuits shall no sooner hear thereof, let the Province be at never so great a distance from him, and notwithstanding he had never set his foot in it before, than he shall immediately fly thither to oppress so good a Minister: To whom he will represent, That that Country being a Parish under his Jurisdiction, he ought not to have administered the Sacraments therein; and upon pretence of the Peoples being his Sheep, will hinder him from performing any more Religious Offices to them. And if the Priest should happen to have the courage to ask him, Why, if those People are under his care, he had abandoned them for so long a time? And whether he thought that one who had so deserted his Flock, ought any longer to be esteemed its Pastor? The Jesuit will answer him with, What Authority have you to ask me any such question? Or to meddle with things that do not belong to you? And having affirmed that he has a right to what he pretends to, he will produce the Council of Trent, and read the Constitution to him, Which prohibits Priests upon pain of Excommunication to administer the Sacraments in any Parish without the Curate's leave: Neither will he content himself with that, but will render that Constitution into Japan, and publish it to all the People. And in case the said Father should reply, That the words of the Council have no relation to the Countries of Infidels, or to places which are newly Converted, or to Christians who are Novices in the Faith, but are to be understood only of Countries which have been under Christian Princes for divers Ages, and of ancient Parishes where People have been long Christians; The Jesuit shall, notwithstanding that, treat him publicly as a Transgressor of the Council, and do all that is in his power to drive him away, forbidding the People to take any notice of him, or to have any communication with him; and if after that, any Christian should, either out of Compassion or Devotion, receive him into his House, he should enter himself into the Brotherhood of the Rosary, or the Cord of St. Francis, he

shall be reprimanded for it as boisterously, and be treated by the Jesuits with as much contempt, as if he had entirely renounced the Christian Faith.

And as to the places where the Jesuits are ordinarily resident, the Faithful dare not so much as offer to entertain a Friar that is not of their Order, nor have the least communication with such a one, unless it be privately; and if the Jesuits come to hear of it, they will Chastise them severely for it; which point they carry so far, as not to suffer any to be of their Congregations that are of a Fraternity of any other Order. A few lines after Sotelo adds, If Friars who are not of their Society do at any time address themselves to the Governor, or Vicar-General, to demand judicial Informations concerning the Martyrdom of any of their Brethren, who have lost their lives for the Catholic Faith, he will not so much as give them the hearing; whereas in the case of any of their own Brethren, or of any that have been Baptized by them, extravagant relations are presently exhibited, on purpose to set all the world a talking of them.

If any thing that is great and illustrious is done by any other Friars, the Jesuits do all that they can either totally to stifle it, or by artifices to eclipse the glory and merit thereof; opposing all the undertakings of all other Friars, and representing them as things of little or no benefit; either accusing what they write of falsehood, or attributing it to envy, or some other evil passion. And when they themselves have at any time been the cause of any disasters, let it be never so notorious, they will throw the blame thereof off their own Society, and attribute it to the indiscretion, imprudence, or bad conduct of some other Friars.

Neither can they endure that any thing should be begun by People that are not of their Society; and let it be never so visible, that their Order is not able alone to support the burden of Converting a Country, yet there is no bringing them to admit of others to help them to bear it. Finally he tells us, That at the same time when the Jesuits did all they could to hinder all other Priests and Friars from looking into Japan, that there were but Thirty of their Order in it, which was a very small number for an Island consisting of Sixty six Kingdoms, and more than Two hundred Princes.

I know, saith Father Collado in the Preface of his Memorial, That the Jesuits have in all these Kingdoms set themselves against all other Ecclesiastics, having published things to the prejudice of all other Orders, and the Friars thereof, that are notoriously false; and have unjustly

endeavored to discredit them, by charging them with things they were no ways guilty of, and for which the Jesuits themselves only were to be blamed. And in the Body of the Memorial he affirms, That at the same time when there were a Million of Christians dispersed over Japan, and but 23 Jesuits who were Priests in it; that notwithstanding that small number, they labored day and night both at Rome and Madrid, to hinder any other Friars from being sent thither; and having advised the settling of a free Trade betwixt Macao and the Philipins, as a thing of great advantage to the Crown of Spain, he saith, none but the Jesuits had ever opposed it, and that they had done it for no other reason, but because there are Friars of other Orders in the Philipins, among whom they would be afraid to exercise Trade, and all the liberties thereof, as they did in China and Japan, where there were no strange Friars to observe what they did.

Father Peter having Packed the Secular Priest away, went to wait on the viceroy, taking two Boys of Portuguese extraction along with him; who having got a Roman Catechism, that had been translated into Habassin, perfectly by heart, the Viceroy was so much delighted with their repeating it, that hearing them do it one day, he said to those that stood next to him, Are you not amazed to see in how short a time the Holy Father hath taught these Children so many Godly things? adding, but these wretched Monks of ours are just good for nothing. The Father whenever they made any halt, went presently to visit the Viceroy, who received him always with great Ceremony, obliging his own Monks whenever the Father waited upon him, to withdraw. The Monks complained aloud of this treatment of the Viceroy's, but they had their complaints, saith a Jesuit, and the Father his Honors; but without telling us what it was that made this Ambitious Viceroy court the Father at such a high rate, unless we will believe that it was only for his having taught two Boys to say their Catechism well.

The Emperor's Camp, or Court, for they are the same in Ethiopia, was at that time in a place called Oudegere, upon the shore of the lake of Dembea, where the Father was no sooner arrived, than the Viceroy procured him an audience; and had possessed the Emperor with such a high conceit of his extraordinary Abilities, that when the Father, after having kissed his hand, offered to have retired, he commanded him to sit down by him, asking him several Questions concerning the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Affairs of Europe, and the Indies. To all which Questions, the Father returned such answers as he knew would please the Emperor.



The Viceroy upon the Emperor's doing the Father such extraordinary Honors, asked a Portuguese Captain that stood by him, what he thought the Monks, who were so angry at the Civilities he had showed him on his Journey, would say now of the greater honors done him by the Emperor himself?

The Emperor, after they had discoursed a considerable space of time together, made a sign to the Father to withdraw, having first commanded his Officers to entertain him splendidly, and according to his deserts; and having sent for him betimes, the next morning, he entered into a long and serious dispute with him concerning the Habassin and Roman Faith; which being ended, the Two Boys, upon the Viceroy's having told the Emperor what an astonishing thing it was to hear them, were called in to say their Catechism, which they did so much to the satisfaction of the Emperor, that he asked the Father after they had done, Whether he had not the Questions and Answers they had repeated to admiration, in Writing: The Father having imagined, that the Emperor might be desirous to see the Catechism, was provided with one, which he presented to him immediately; and the Emperor having read it over before he stirred, extolled it to the Skies as the Master-Piece of Ethiopia.

The Viceroy's Brother-in-Law, and Companion in the Government during Jacob's Minority, Rays Athanateus, entered likewise into a close Friendship with the Father, making his Court to him, by sending every day almost for his Two Boys to come and say their Catechism before him, and extolling their Performance and their Master's dexterity beyond either the Emperor or the Viceroy: Now if Two Boys having been taught to say their Catechism well, was the Foundation of the great favor the Father was in at Court; it is the only instance in History perhaps of the favor of a whole Court's having been obtained by so slight a business.

The Emperor having read the Catechism several times over, was so charmed with it, that nothing would satisfy him, but the Father's Celebrating the Roman Mass in his hearing; which he did, with all the Solemnity that a single Priest in his circumstances could do it; and after Mass, gave him a Sermon of an hour long; but happening as he was drawing to a conclusion, to say that he had a great deal more to add, were it not that he was afraid of being tedious to his Majesty; the Emperor sent him a Message to go on, for that he should take great pleasure in hearing more from him: Whereon the Father gave him half an hour more. The

Emperor was so well satisfied both with the Mass and the Sermon, that he sent the Father his Dinner from his own Table; and having called him to him in the Evening, he enquired of him, concerning the signification of every particular Ceremony and Vestment that he had made use of in the Mass, appearing to be extremely well pleased with all the Father's Answers: A little time after the Empress Dowager, Mariam Zima, coming to Court, desired to hear the Father say Mass and Preach; and having heard him, commended both the Mass and Sermon extremely, declaring, That she could be content to live in a desert all her days with so Godly a man as Father Peter: So that the Father had now got all the Three late Governors at his Devotion; who, as is probable from the sequel of the Story, had a great mind to be governing again, which they knew a few Portuguese Troops would help them to with ease at any time.

As for the Emperor, he was either not sensible of this Plot, or else he endeavored to countermine them, by caressing the Father as much as they could do for their Lives: And so one day when the Father was to preach before him, the Chair he used to sit in when he preached, happening to be out of the way, the Emperor ordered his own Chair of State to be carried to him; and having seated himself on the Ground, said, That it was not reasonable for the Preacher and Master to stand, and the Hearer and Scholar to sit; and after having thanked the Father for his good Discourse, he told him, That now his name was high in Ethiopia, he would advise him as a friend, to be careful how he did any thing whereby he might forfeit the opinion the world had of his Wisdom and Holiness; For, said he, the flesh is always fighting against us, and overcomes us many times before we are aware: for which good admonition the Father kissed his hand, and having returned him many thanks, promised him always to remember it.

The Emperor having sent for the Father one day, after having shut himself up with him, and his Favorite Habitucum Laca Mariam, in his Closet, required him to swear upon the Cross not to divulge the secret he was about to impart to him; which the Father having done, he told him, That being now fully convinced that the Pope was the Head and Universal Pastor of the Church, he was resolved to submit to him, and to desire him to send a Patriarch with a competent number of Friars into Ethiopia to instruct his People in the true Faith.

The Father, who was overjoyed to hear these words from the Emperor, threw himself at his feet, wishing him a long life, that he might be able to

accomplish a design that would be so much to the benefit of his own Soul, and the Souls of his People. In pursuance of which Resolution, the Emperor is said to have prepared an Edict, prohibiting the observation of Saturday, and of divers other Habassin Rites, and to have been for running on so furiously, to introduce Popery into his Empire, that Father Peter found himself obliged in policy to give a check to his Zeal, by telling him, That it would be safer and better to proceed more slowly, for fear of ruining his great design by Precipitation. The Emperor asked him with heat, Why he was against his making haste to introduce the true Faith into his Kingdom? What, did he think his Subjects would murder him for attempting to do it? Adding, What if they should, do you think I can lose my life for a better Cause? The Father made answer, That though to lose his life on such an account, would be a great Mercy and Honor to his Majesty; yet it would not be so, but an irreparable loss to his Subjects in such a Juncture. Here Luca Mariam interposed, and told the Emperor the Father loved him, and had given him good advice; but the Emperor interrupting him, said, Come, come, we must lose no time, here are Letters I have writ to the Pope and the King of Portugal concerning this Affair; and having put them into the Father's hands, he desired him to translate them into the Languages of those Courts; which Letters, though they were never sent, the Emperor having been slain in the Field before any opportunity offered, I shall here set down.

THE Letters sent by Asnaf Segued, Emperor of Ethiopia, do come to the much Honored Father and Humble Pastor the Godly and Holy Clement, Pope of the Noble City of Rome. Peace be with your Holiness, the Peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who did partake of Poverty with the Poor, and of Honor with the Honorable; Preserve your Holiness's Life and Person as the apples of Eyes, Amen. How is your Holiness? Hear, Sir, what we write.

After we had ascended the Throne, a certain Friar whose name is Peter Pays, of the Society of Jesus, and who hath the Yoke of the Law of Christ upon his neck, did visit us; and has given us a very particular account how your Holiness labors even to the shedding of your blood to destroy Sin; may the Eternal God, who has begun this work, bring it to an happy Issue: We being informed that your Holiness does never walk out of the Paths of truth, we rejoiced much at it; Praise be to God who hath given us a good Pastor, who guards the folds with his Holiness, and judgeth the poor with truth. He hath likewise told us, that you are always ready to assist Christians that are in necessity; and to afford them Strength and Comfort,

having learnt the Lesson of Saint Paul, who in his Epistle to the Galatians, saith, While we have time, let us do good unto all, but chiefly to those of the Household of Faith; for which reason your Holiness assists Christian Kings chiefly. Wherefore since God hath been pleased to bestow on us the Empire of our Fathers, we are desirous of entering into a strict Friendship with you, and with our Brother Philip king of Spain: And in order to make it the closer and more lasting, we do wish that he would send his Daughter hither to be married to our Son, and with her some Soldiers to help us: For we have Infidel Enemies called Gauls, who when we go against them, flee before us; but so soon as our back is turned, are making inroads upon us again. For the destruction of this Enemy it is that we desire to have some troops from you, with Artificers of all Trades, and Fathers to instruct us, that we may be of one heart and one body; and that the faith of Christ which is destroyed by the hands of Infidels, may be established, and that there may be peace and love among us.

This was formerly desired by our Ancestors, but it did not please God it should be accomplished in their times; but the Turks, who then hindered it, may now with ease be driven out of the Island of Matzua; for which reason we entreat your Holiness to recommend this our request to our Brother, desiring him to comply therewith, and to execute it speedily. We do not trouble your Holiness with many words, being well assured of your readiness to grant what we shall desire. See that the Fathers you send hither be learned and holy, that so they may be able to instruct us in whatsoever is necessary to our

Souls; I shall add no more, a few words being enough to the wise.

### **THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA'S LETTER TO THE KING OF SPAIN.**

THE Letter writ by the Emperor Asnaf Segued, cometh to our Brother Don Philip King of the Kings of Spain. Peace be with your Majesty: The Peace and Love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Sign of the Holy Cross, be always with your Majesty. How is it with you? As I returned from the War to the place where I was to reside all the Winter, a certain Father, whose Name is Peter Pays, of whose Learning and Piety I had heard before, came to visit me; I was very glad to hear the account he gave of the state of your Majesty's Health, and the welfare of your Kingdoms, and did return Thanks to God for having given you such Prosperity, that none of

your Enemies are able to disturb it: May our Lord increase the number of your Majesty's years, and bring what he hath begun to an happy issue.

Hear, Sir, your Majesty is not ignorant, that in the days of the Emperor Asnaf Segued, when a certain Mahometan, called Granhe, invaded Ethiopia, and destroyed all our Churches, a Confederacy was concluded and confirmed by an Oath betwixt our two Crowns; and that when my Ancestors sent to John King of Portugal for some Succors, he sent us some which were Commanded by Don Christopher de Gama, and which in conjunction with our Army, Conquered that Mahometan. The High and Mighty God, who exalteth the humble, and throws down the proud, being our helper: After which there was Peace and Quietness, the force of the Mahometan, who had not the fear of God before his Eyes, being broken in pieces.

The Portugueses remained among us in great Honor, wanting for nothing till the day of their Death, as their Posterity do not to this day.

Wherefore we being Christians no less than our Ancestors, and under the obligation of the same Oath, we ought to have the same Enemies, that is, the Gauls, who destroy our Lands, and who when we go against them with our Armies, do run away from us; but so soon as our back is turned, do, as Banditti, make inroads into our Empire; for which reason we do desire your Majesty to send us some Soldiers, and with them your Daughter to be Married to our Son, by which means our alliance will be firmer, and we shall be one Body, and of one Heart: Our Son is Seven years Old, and your Daughter, as we are informed, is but Three; so they shall be bred together with the milk of Wisdom, and shall be taught the Holy Scriptures. I do also wish that your Majesty would with your Troops send me Artificers of all Professions, and that you would do it speedily; that so being united in the Faith of Christ, there may be Peace and Love betwixt us; and that this Empire, which is the Land of our Lady, and of Christ our Redeemer, may not be lost. The Mahometans are extremely Zealous for their Sect, and do whenever there is occasion help one another; and ought not your Majesty to do the same for your Faith, which is above all?

As to what we write to you concerning your sending your Daughter hither, you are not to think that we desire her for any other end, than to establish an Alliance between us, and that she may be a pledge of Peace for the future. May God, who can do all things, fulfil our wishes.

Hear farther, Brother, in order to the establishment of our Affairs; Do you send a Viceroy to the Island of Matzua, and my General shall be at the same time at Arkiko on the Continent; by which means we shall bridle the Power of the Turks; and being Masters of those parts, we will send our Merchants with all sorts of Goods and Provisions into your Conquests, and will divide the Customs between us; our country is very Rich, and wants for nothing; and the reason why we have not hitherto sent any Merchants to those parts with Provisions of Honey, Gold, and Slaves, is because we have a mind to pinch the Turks, for whom we have no kindness; but when your Viceroy is once come with his Portugueses, we shall quickly send Merchants to them with all sorts of Commodities. May our Lord God bring what we desire, and what is grateful to your Majesty, to a happy issue, that so the Power of the Turk, which is a great Stone of Scandal, may be utterly broke.

It does not appear by these Letters that the Emperor was in such a violent fit of Zeal, when he wrote them, for a Roman Patriarch, and for submitting his Church to the Pope immediately, as he is reported to have been in when he delivered them to Father Peter; for though in both of them he writes very earnestly to have the Infanta, and some Troops sent with all possible expedition, he does not say one word of his Church's submission, or of a Roman Patriarch: And in case Father Peter, when he acquainted the Emperor with the Infanta's Age, did, to make his Court the better, feed him with hopes of obtaining her for his black Prince, it was no more than what his Countryman Gundamore did here in England, either with the same Infanta, or her Sister, and the restitution of the Palatinate.

It might have been expected, that Father Peter, now he had brought the Emperor to be a Bigot for Popery, beyond what he desired, should have stuck close to him till he had done the work, and that no small matter should have made him to have left the Court, where his presence was so necessary; but whatever was the true cause of it, the Father all of a sudden desires leave of the Emperor to go to Nanina, a place two days journey from the Court, pretending to be called thither by extraordinary business; and when the Emperor, who was very unwilling to part with him, would needs know what this extraordinary business was, he told him, There was a Portuguese or two Sick at that place, and that he must needs go and hear their Confession before they died: The Emperor finding the Father was not to be persuaded out of his Journey, allowed him two Months, which he reckoned was time long enough for the hearing of two Confessions, to be

absent from Court. But the Father, who had left the main body of the Portugueses not a year before without any Confessor, to go to Court with the Viceroy of Tigre, had not left the Court above a Month, when the true cause of his retiring broke out in a Rebellion, that was Headed by his good Friend Raz Athanateus, the Habassin Earl of Warwick, who having upon a disgust, taken the Crown off Jacob's Head and placed it on Za Danguil's, was now for taking it from Za Danguil again, being displeas'd with him for preferring Luca Mariam to him. So hard a matter it is for Princes to please People, who either have, or think they have been instrumental in helping them to their Crowns.

But whatever it was that had disposed the People for a new Revolution, whether the Emperor's Male-administration [maladministration?] of Affairs, or only an itch for the Festivity of a new Acclamation, or a false compassion for the deposed Emperor; it is certain Za Danguil was deserted by the main body both of the Grandees and People; neither would they be satisfied unless they had Jacob restored to his Throne again.

But Za Danguil being a Prince of great Courage, resolv'd they should not have the Crown but with his Head; and having made up a small Army, march'd directly towards the Rebels, who, as he was inform'd, were encamp'd on the banks of the Nile.

Nanina, where Father Peter continued still, confessing his two Portugueses, happening to be in the Emperor's way as he march'd, he sent for the Father to come and speak with him; and when he saw him, he cried out, Alas! your Reverence sees what they are doing to me for endeavoring to show them the way of Truth, and because I will not suffer the great to Oppress the small; What would you advise me to do in this case? The Father is said to have been sorry to see him with so small an Army; and having comforted him as well as he could, to have advis'd him to put his trust in God, and to avoid coming to a Battle. It is said farther, that he offer'd to have gone along with him; but having told him at the same time, That his Spiritual Patients were not yet recover'd, and that he was busy, repairing the Chapel the Portugueses had in that Village; the Emperor bid him stay, and go on with his good Works, but be sure to recommend him to God in his Prayers; and after two Months were expir'd, not to fail, where-ever he should be, to come to him.

The Emperor hearing that Athanateus, who must have left the Court much about the same time with Father Peter, had not as yet joined his Troops with those of Za Selasse; whose pretence for Rebelling was Religion being in danger; endeavored to have got between them, so as to have hindered their conjunction; but Athanateus having had notice of this design, defeated it, by passing the River Nile sooner than otherwise he intended to have done: Upon this design miscarrying, for want of having been kept secret, or by having been communicated to some of Athanateus Friends that were about the Emperor; John Gabriel, who commanded all the Portugueses that were in the Imperial Army, advised the Emperor to delay coming to a Battle, and the rather because the Heads of the Rebels were men of such different designs, that it was not likely that they could hold together; but the Emperor pushed on by his own natural Courage, and provoked by the Insolency of the Rebels, was deaf to this advice, and so did not only March directly towards them, but did offer them Battle so soon as he came up with them; and notwithstanding Seventy of his best Troopers, who, I doubt, were Portugueses, before a stroke was struck, went over to the Enemy, that did not hinder the Emperor from engaging with them; the fight was bloody for some time, the Victory continuing doubtful, till the Emperor, as he was fighting in Person more like a Hero than a General, was Slain; upon whose fall, his Men reckoning that they had then nothing to Fight for, threw down their Arms, and cried out for Quarter. Those of the Portuguese Blood on both sides, are said to have done Miracles on this occasion; but we have had so many of those Miracles in Gama's Expedition, that it would make the Reader sick to trouble him with any more.

There are said to have been Two hundred of the Roman Catholic Profession in the Two Armies; which if it was so, it ought to have obliged Father Peter to have gone with the Emperor, to have Confessed those that were in his Army before they were engaged, rather than to have staid behind to do it to Two of that Profession, and whom he had then been Confessing for above Six Weeks.

But as we know little of what the Jesuits did in Ethiopia, but from their own reports; so if any thing be brought to light in the managing of these Missions that does not make much for the honor of their Order, the discovery thereof must be owing purely to the irresistible power of truth, which, though never so artificially disguised, will still give some glimpses of it self.



The Emperor, though not actually reconciled to the Church of Rome when he was slain, is said for his good inclinations to it, to have had a Miracle wrought on his Body; it was not to bring him to life again; which the Emperor who took it out of the Earth to give it a more honorable Interment, would have been very sorry should have been the effect of his Piety; but the Miracle was, That his Body when taken out of the Ground Ten years after it had been lodged in it, was found entire: A plain evidence, saith a Jesuit, of the integrity of his Faith, Death not being strong enough to exercise its tyranny on a body which had been so incorrupt in all matters of Justice.

As to Father Peter's lamenting the Emperor's Death so much as he does in a Letter, I do not take that to be any argument at all of his not having been privy to the Conspiracy, but of the Conspirators having either carried things farther than he would have had them, or perhaps than they themselves at first intended, or of his having been too far engaged therein by his first Patron, the Viceroy of Tigre, before he saw the Court, to go back with honor or safety.

Athanateus amidst the triumphs of his Victory, was not unmindful of his Friend Father Peter, but writ to him to repair immediately to his Camp, promising to grant him every thing that he should desire of him: The Father, his two Spiritual Patients being either Dead or quite Recovered by this time, accepted readily of the invitation, and being come to Athanateus's Camp, was received by him with extraordinary Kindness and Respect.

But the Father after he had been some time among the Rebels, finding their Heads strangely divided how they should dispose of the Crown now they had it in their hands, some of hem being for restoring it to Jacob, and others for giving it to Suseneus, a Bastard Son of Faciladas, the Third Son of the Emperor David; he judged it his safest course to retire to Fremona, there to wait till he saw where the Crown would fix; and having received advice of the arrival of some Jesuits at Fremona, that furnished him with a fair pretence for leaving Athanateus to go thither, to learn what news they brought from the Indies: And having got Athanateus's promise, that the Portugueses who were in the Emperor's Service should not be punished with the loss of their Estates, which they were reckoned to have forfeited, he took his leave of him for some time.

The Father when he came to Fremona, found the Two Jesuits there, who were to have come along with him from Dio; and within a few days after, Two Fathers more came to him, who were Father Lawrence an Italian, and Father Luis a Portuguese; so that the Jesuits were now as strong as ever in Ethiopia, only they wanted a Patriarch.

Father Peter, during this his retirement, is said to have taken a great deal of pains to little purpose, with an Habassin Monk to convert him to the Roman Church; but what the Father could not do, was done one Night by a dream the Monk had; which was, That he should certainly be damned if he did not go presently and confess himself to the Father: Whom we shall leave confessing his dreaming Convert, and return to see what the Rebels are doing.

The Grandees, though they all agreed to pull down the late Emperor, yet when they came to fill the Throne again, fell all in pieces, some being for restoring Jacob, and others for proclaiming Suseneus, without so much as once mentioning the Son of the late Emperor, being afraid, it is like, to put the Son in the Throne they had dragged the Father out of.

This Suseneus, as has been observed, was a natural Son of Faciladas, the Viceroy of Gojam, the Third Son of the Emperor David. He had been most of his time in Arms, not against the Emperors, but their Ministers, who he pretended had unjustly deprived him of the Lands that were left him by his Father; by which course of life he was become the best Captain, and had got a small body of the best Disciplined men in Ethiopia under his Command.

Upon the present Vacancy of the Throne, Suseneus, looking upon his own title to it to be the same with that of Jacob's, who was a bastard no less than he, sends his Confidant Bella Christos, to Ras Athanateus, to acquaint him with his intention of pretending to the Crown, and to try if he could persuade him to declare for him, making vast promises of what he would do for him if he would help him to it.

Athanateus, who upon some heats which had happened between them, had left Za Selasse, who was altogether for restoring Jacob, received Suseneus's Message but coldly, which makes it probable that he was for setting up himself, being encouraged to do it by some promises that had been made him of Portuguese Succors; but Suseneus apprehending that it would be so, followed the Messenger he sent to Athanateus, in Person with

his Army; and being come within a days March of him, sent him word, that if he did not declare for him presently, he would visit him next day, and did not doubt but to give him cause to repent of his Irresolution. Athanateus being sensible that he could neither avoid coming to blows with Suseneus, nor was strong enough to deal with him, submitted and joined with him in proclaiming him Emperor: Upon which reinforcement, Suseneus dispatched a Courier to Za Selasse, and his Confederates, to acquaint them with his being now proclaimed Emperor of Ethiopia, commanding them upon their Allegiance, and as they loved themselves and their Country, to lay down their Arms, and submit themselves peaceably unto him.

Za Selasse, who was a turbulent man, and cared for no Emperor that was not of his own making, nor for them long neither, was much surprised at this brisk Message; and having called a Council of War, to consider what was best to be done in this juncture, it was unanimously agreed that they should send Suseneus back word, that they had sent for the Emperor Jacob, and were every day expecting him, to resume the Crown he had been so unjustly deprived of. Suseneus, though much troubled at this answer, sent them a Second Message immediately, to acquaint them, That since God had been pleased to bestow the Crown upon him, he was resolved never to part with it, but with his life, neither to Jacob, nor to his Father Malac Saged, if he should rise from the Dead and pretend to it.

Za Selasse, detaining this Second Messenger Prisoner, went himself with his Army to return an answer to Suseneus; who having received advice of his advancing towards him, and knowing himself not to be strong enough to give him Battle, retreated to the Mountains of Amara, leaving Athanateus to shift for himself; and to make the best terms he could with the Confederates; who upon his having pleaded, that he was constrained much against his will to give his consent to Suseneus being proclaimed Emperor, was not only pardoned by them, but was restored to his former Post in their Army; which having waited some Months, and no Jacob appearing among them, the Soldiers began to Mutiny, telling their Officers plainly, That they would wait no longer for a Milksop, who had neither the wit to keep a Crown when he had it, nor the courage to come to have it restored to him again. Za Selasse, not knowing what to say for Jacob's not having come all that time, and fearing lest the Soldiers and Officers might declare Suseneus Emperor without him, resolved to be before-hand with them, and to have the thanks of doing it himself: And accordingly he dispatched a Courier immediately to Suseneus, to invite him to come and

take the Empire upon him, promising to maintain him in the possession thereof with the last drop of his blood. Suseneus, though overjoyed at the News, did not care to trust his person with the Army, without some farther assurance of their good intentions, than Za Selsasse's word; And for his farther satisfaction in that matter, he sent an eminent Monk to the Army, with a Commission to administer an Oath of Allegiance to them; and according to the custom of Ethiopia, to Excommunicate all that should hereafter withdraw themselves from his Obedience.

The whole Army having taken the Oath, the Monk after having pronounced an Excommunication upon it, returned to Suseneus with the good news of his being unanimously Sworn Emperor with all the usual Solemnities; and with the Monk there went Ten of the chief Officers from the Army, to invite the Emperor to make all the haste he could to come to them. The Ten Commissioners from the Army found Suseneus advanced to a place called Begameder, where they delivered their Message to him, with this assurance, That the Army now it had placed the Crown on his head, would maintain it there, against all pretenders whatsoever, particularly Jacob.

But while the Commissioners were giving Suseneus these assurances of the good Affection and Fidelity of the Army, Za Selsasse received a Letter from Jacob, acquainting him with his being come as far as Dembea, and desiring him to March the Army that way to meet him; Za Selsasse was put into a great plunge by this Letter, not knowing what he had best to do, whether to continue firm to Suseneus, to whom he had so lately taken an Oath of Allegiance, or to follow his inclinations in declaring for Jacob; and having called all his Confidants together, and laid the whole matter before them, they came to a resolution to declare themselves for Jacob, and did so, commanding him to be proclaimed Emperor through the Army, and the Army to march to meet him: The Officers and Soldiers, who had scarce done Swearing to Suseneus, were no less than Selsasse for laying him aside, and adhering to Jacob, now they heard he was coming to them, as their rightful and undoubted emperor. Za Selsasse having commanded the Army to March, sent a Courier in great haste to the Commissioners that were with Suseneus, to acquaint them with the Army's having declared for Jacob: Upon which notice, Eight of them stole from Begameder; but the other two being stopped, paid for all, being put to Death publicly as Traitors.

Suseneus not finding himself strong enough to fight Selasse, retreated upon this News to his former Fastness, not despairing but that ere long he might be in a capacity of chastising those that had betrayed him thus.

Jacob was met by the Army near the Lake of Dembea, which together with the whole Country strived to atone for their former ill usage of him by the extravagancy of their Joy, and Acclamations upon his resuming the Crown. But among all the Grandees, Raz Athanateus, his old Governor, was the most graciously received by him, being put immediately into places of the greatest Trust and Honor about him; Who, as he was one day discoursing with the Emperor, took occasion to recommend Father Peter to him, as a Person of extraordinary Abilities; and who, if he would employ him, was capable of doing him great Service; acquainting him likewise with Za Danguil's having a little before his Death writ Letters to the Pope and King of Spain for some Portugueses succors.

The Emperor upon Athanateus having recommended Father Peter to him so highly, sent a Courier to Fremona, to invite him to Court. The Father taking two Jesuits more with him, repaired thither immediately, and was very graciously received by the Empress Mariam Cima, who was now likewise in great power again; as he was by the Emperor also when he returned to the Camp, which he had been absent from for some weeks.

The Emperor is said to have had several Conferences with the Fathers about Religion; and to have been persuaded by them into the belief of the Roman Church being the Head and Mistress of all other Churches; promising when he returned from an Expedition he was then going upon, to submit himself to her; and as an earnest of his Affections for the Portugueses, he bestowed better Lands upon them than those they had before.

Jacob, being sensible of the fickleness of the Affections of his people, and of the greatness of Suseneus's Spirit, who still continued to look upon himself, and act as Emperor, made him very honorable Propositions, upon condition that he would give over pretending to the Crown; and would promise to live quietly as became a good Subject; offering him by the Mediation of his Mother, the Viceroyship of the Kingdoms of Amara, Olear, and Xoa; together with all the Lands that his Father had died possessed of, which was all that he had pretended to in the former Reigns.

But Suseneus having wore the Crown, found such charms in it, that nothing under it could now satisfy him; so his answer to Jacob's Proposition was, That since it was God and not men that had bestowed the Crown upon him; being resolved, so long as he had a head to wear it, to keep it on it. Jacob finding by this bold answer, that his Controversy with Suseneus must be decided by the Sword, and not by Treaty, Marched against him with a great Army; but Suseneus hearing of his advancing towards him with a power much Superior to his, both in Number and Strength, retired again into the Mountains, where he knew there was no attacking him, but upon such disadvantages, as would make their Forces to be equal.

Jacob being informed thereof, divided his Army, in order to cut Suseneus off from all Communication with the low Countries from whence he was to be supplied with all necessary Provisions; hoping by that means either to starve him, or bring down his stomach. But Suseneus finding that there was no remedy, but that he must either venture out, and fight, or starve among the Mountains (to treat of submitting being a thing he would never once suffer to enter his thoughts) he resolved on the former; and being advised of Za Selasse being posted with half of the Army near Montadefer, like another Scanderbeg, cut most of his troops in pieces, as they lay dispersed in their Quarters; Za Selasse himself having narrowly escaped falling into his hands; who having carried the bad News of his own defeat to the Emperor, was so coldly entertained by him, that he resolved to desert him, and go over to Suseneus, as a person on whom he thought Providence would one day or other certainly devolve the Crown. And in pursuance of this resolution, he dispatched a Courier privately to Suseneus, with the terms whereon he was ready to declare for him, and assist him in his pretensions to the Empire to the utmost of his power. Suseneus was too sensible of how great advantage it would be to him, to gain such a popular man as Selasse to his party, to deny him any thing that he desired; and so notwithstanding his terms were extravagantly high, he granted them all without making any words about them, knowing that whenever he should come to be possessed of the Empire, Selasse's turbulent Spirit would undoubtedly furnish him with pretences to justify his not making good his promises to him, in any particular that should not be for his honor or safety to grant him.

Za Selasse's courier being returned to him with a full grant of all that he had desired of Suseneus, and that not only under his own hand, but

confirmed with the solemnity of an Oath, he withdrew himself privately from the Emperor's Camp, and having got into the Kingdom of Gojam, of which he had been made Viceroy a little before by Jacob, he there in a short time got together a considerable body of Men, with which he Marched and joined Suseneus, who received him with all possible demonstrations of joy and affection, as one sent from Heaven to help him to the Empire, which he had set his heart so much upon, that he did not care to outlive the hopes of attaining it.

Suseneus judging himself, with this Reinforcement, strong enough to fight Jacob, Marched out of the Mountains to meet him, intending to decide their Quarrel by a pitched Battle; but when he came near Jacob's Camp, finding him much stronger than he thought he had been, he changed his measures, resolving to act only upon the defence.

But Jacob having now got his Enemy out of his Fastnesses, and knowing himself to be much superior to him in number, for he is said to have had Thirty to One, determined to fall upon him in his Camp, and having got between him and the Mountains, he commanded the Signal for a general Assault to be given; which being observed by Suseneus, he called all his Officers together, and told them, That since it was not now possible for them to avoid a Battle, they must either resolve to make themselves Lords and Princes by fighting manfully, or be content to be Slaves so long as they lived; That for his part he was resolved either to Conquer, or not to survive the Battle, desiring them to Fight no longer than they saw him facing the Enemy: That if they would Sally out of their Trenches and fall upon the Enemy, which he took to be the best course, it being what the Enemy did not expect, he would lead them on in Person. The Officers and Soldiers being strangely animated by this brisk Speech, gave a shout, and said, They were ready to follow him wherever he should lead them, or to go wheresoever he would Command them. Suseneus glad to see his men in such a heat, did not give them time to cool, but marched, or rather rushed like a torrent upon the Enemy, disordering them so by the violence of the first shock he gave them, that they dispersed immediately, so that it was much more like a Slaughter than a Fight, the Conqueror having lost but Three Men in the Action; for where-ever Suseneus appeared, the Enemy, according to his Historian Timo reports, fell before him as so many dry leaves off a fig-tree before the wind, or like a swarm of Locusts when they fall into the Sea.

Jacob not caring, it's like, to live to be Deposed a second time, was killed fighting, as was also the Abuna, whom Jacob had carried with him to fulminate his Excommunications against his Enemies.

Raz Athanateus, who had stuck to Jacob to the last, having made his escape, shut himself into the Monastery of Dina, where he continued till he had obtained his Pardon, which was procured by the New Emperor's Brother, Raz Sela Christos, the Hero, as we shall see hereafter, of the Jesuits' Histories.

Suseneus, whom hereafter we are to call Seltem Saged, having Pardoned all that were in Arms against him, excepting the Mahometan, Mahurdin, who had killed the Emperor Za Danguil with his own hand, had all the Grandees instantly at his feet, and the acclamations of the common People as loud as his Predecessor.

The Fathers, during all the time of this broil, kept close at Fremona, expecting to see to whom the Crown would fall at last; and having received certain advice of Seltem Saged's great Success, and of his being proclaimed Emperor every where, they sent two of their number to wait upon him, and Congratulate him upon his late Victory; Father Peter, who had been so very intimate with Jacob, not being looked upon as so fit a Person for to carry this Compliment.

The Two Fathers, whose Names were Lawrence Romano, and Antony Fernandez, were graciously received by the Emperor, who to do them the greater Honor commanded his Purveyor to send their Supper to them; and was afterwards so mindful of them, as to ask him whether he had sent them any Wine; and being told, that by reason of the Wines being distributed among the Nobles before he was ordered to send them any thing, he had not; the Emperor was very angry, asking him, How he durst be guilty of such an Error? commanding him to go presently and carry his own portion of Wine to them, saying, I will drink Water rather than they shall. When the Fathers judged it proper, they went to wait upon the Emperor a second time; who after some Compliments, asked them, Where they resided? And being told by them, That they had no certain Habitation in Habassia; He thereupon appointed them a Residence in a place near the Lake of Dembea: The Fathers having thanked him for his kind offer, told him, That they would be better satisfied if he would be pleased to order their former Residence at Gorgora, which had been taken from them after they had built



a Church there, to be restored to them again; which he ordered to be done presently, commanding them to write to Father Peter, of whom he said he had heard great things, to come to him; but not being satisfied with having bid them do it, he sent an express to him himself, to come to Court immediately: The Father when he came was most graciously received by the Emperor; who every time the Father waited upon him, which he did daily, entered into a discourse with him about Religion.

Father Tellez, though he would not take upon him to decide who had the best Title to the Crown, Jacob or Suseneus, sets down what was to be said on both sides: Jacob, saith he, was undoubtedly highest to the Crown in the Royal Line, in being the Son of Malac Saged, who was Emperor; he had besides been Emperor himself Seven years, and that with the Approbation of the People, who had also restored him after he had been Deposed for some time; neither was his being a Bastard any bar to him, since according to the Natural and Civil Law, a Bastard may succeed his Father, as John the First of Portugal did his Father Don Peter; besides, Suseneus was a Bastard no less than Jacob. On the other side, saith Tellez, it may be alleged, That Jacob having been deposed to make room for Za Danguil, who was both the true Heir, and was chosen by the Grandees and People, upon Danguil's death the Throne became void, and the Election of an Emperor out of the Royal Family, devolved to the Commonwealth; whereupon Suseneus, who was the Grandson of an Infante, was chosen Emperor by the Army, upon Jacob's having delayed coming to them: Concluding, That whatever Princes Titles or Pretences in such cases may be in Speculation, according to the Practice of the World, he has the best Title that has the longest Sword. But to return to the Fathers, who having staid at Court till Winter, obtained leave to go to Gorgora to fix a Residence there; but they had not been gone a Month, before the Emperor writ to them to come to Court again, declaring that he could not be without their Company any longer: The Fathers obeyed the summons, and repaired to Coga, a place near the Lake of Dembea, where the Emperor at that time had his Camp. They were no sooner arrived, but the Emperor gave them an Audience, and after that was over, ordered them to Dine with him, that is, in the same Room, though not at the same Table.

The Portugueses give a tedious account of the particulars of this Entertainment; the main of which are, That the Emperor does not feed himself, but has his Meat put into his Mouth by his Pages; that his Diet was plain, and without any thing of Cookery; and that he had neither Knife,

Spoon, Table-Cloth, nor Napkin, and had Bread for his Trencher; and never Drank till he had done Eating.

Father Peter and his Companions never missed the Emperor's Levee, The Emperor taking great delight to discourse with them about Religion, and the difference that is between the Habassin and Roman Churches; which Conferences having continued for some time, the Emperor sent one day to Father Peter to come to him alone; and being come he told him, That notwithstanding he was convinced that he ought to submit himself and his Empire to the Pope, yet it would not be safe for him to attempt it, before he had some assurance that the King of Portugal would assist him against those who would oppose him in doing of it; That he intended therefore to write a Letter to the Pope, and another to the King about it. The Father having extolled his good intentions, encouraged him to write those Letters, assuring him of as good an Answer to them as he could desire.

### **THE EMPEROR SALTEM SAGED'S LETTER TO THE POPE.**

THE Letter of the Emperor of Ethiopia, Malac Eguet, cometh to the holy Pope of Rome, with the Peace of our Lord Christ, who loved us, and washed us from our Sins in his blood, and hath made us a Kingdom and a Priesthood to God the Father: May this Peace be always with your Holiness, and the Catholic Church of Christ. Amen.

We have for a long time had a great affections for the Christians of your parts, upon the account of the benefits this Empire received from them when it was formerly rescued by the Portugueses out of the hands of Mahometans, and restored by them to its ancient estate and quiet; most of whose Race died in our Father's Reign, who was willing they should enjoy what his Ancestors had given them; whereupon so soon as, through God's Grace, I took the Government of the Empire upon me, I determined to renew our Alliance with the Faithful People of Christ, in order to remedy the manifest distractions our Empire of late years has been put into by the Mahometans; for notwithstanding we have subdued most of our Domestic Enemies, we have Enemies still that are much more Powerful, that is, the Infidel Gauls, who have Conquered a great part of our Empire, and destroyed many of our Churches, and which is worst of all, are daily Invading us, and exercising unheard-of Cruelties on Old Men, Widows, and Children, whom we are not able to protect, without being assisted by our Brother the Emperor of Portugal; We do therefore implore his aid, as

our Ancestors did that of his Predecessors formerly; and that there may be no failure, we resolved to entreat your Holiness, who is the Father and Pastor of all faithful Christians, to write to our Brother, to grant us what we desire of him, before the Gauls grow stronger upon us.

As to the landing of the Succors he shall send, it will be done without any danger, they that are the Masters of our Coast, being at this time very weak at Sea; so being assured that your Holiness will assist us according to our necessities, we will trouble you with no more words, but shall refer the relation of the state of our Empire, and of the kindness wherewith we Treat those of the Portuguese race, and of the care we take of the Fathers and their Churches, to Father Peter Pays, to whom I have recommended the doing of it; and to whose account I desire you to give the same credit as you do to this Letter. We conclude, praying that our Lord Christ would preserve your Holiness for many Years for the good of the Catholic Church.

*Written in Ethiopia on the  
14th of October, 1607.*

### **THE EMPEROR'S LETTER TO THE KING OF SPAIN.**

THE Letter sent by the Emperor Malac Eguet, cometh to the Emperor of Spain, the Holy Land of St. Peter, the Prince of the Doctors and of the Catholic Church of our Lord, of which to the Apostle St. Paul said, I have betrothed thee to one man, to present thee a chaste Virgin to Christ, To whom be glory; and in imitation of the most pure Messenger St. Gabriel, who saluting our Lady the Virgin, said, the Lord save thee; and of Christ our Lord, who on the Evening of the Lord's-day, after his Resurrection, said to his Apostles, being assembled together, Peace be among you; and as St. Paul writes in all his Epistles, The Peace of our Lord be with your Majesty, our Brother in the Faith, that was preached by St. Peter, at the time when our Lord Christ commanded his Apostles to go all over the world, and preach the Gospel to all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. How is your Majesty, and how is your Empire? we are in health through the Intercession of St. Peter, your and our Master. May Christ our Lord, who is the beginning and end of all things, carry on that Amity and Friendship which he hath begun between us.

The principal cause of my writing to your Majesty at this time, is to renew the Familiarity and Correspondence which was between our Ancestors; which Friendship, together with the Adoption of the Holy Spirit, has much ennobled us. Wherefore we desire your Majesty, to send us some strong and stout Soldiers, to help us to beat the Enemy out of our Ports; your Troops when they arrive will find us provided with Arms, and all other necessary Provisions of War, and in a readiness to assist them to the utmost: It being much fitter that those Ports should be in your Majesty's hands, than in the hands of the greatest Enemies of our holy Faith; your Majesty's Ancestors sent an Army of Gallant men into Ethiopia at a time when the Enemy was ready to have destroyed our Faith, and Empire. We might destroy all our Enemies with great ease, if we were assisted by the powerful Kings that profess the Gospel; and who do comfort our hearts with the Memory of heavenly things, we being all Sons of Heaven, as St. John witnesseth, saying, What is born of the flesh is flesh, and what is born of the Spirit is Spirit. Furthermore we are at war with another Enemy, who are called Gauls, and who do give us much trouble: Wherefore we beseech your Majesty to send us some stout Troops, and such as are Zealous for our holy Apostolical Faith, and that with all possible Expedition: We on our part have for some time been ready to receive them; and if they were once come, it will quickly appear, that all that we design is feasible. For why, since Christ our Lord is our Common Head, and we are all his Members, and the Heavenly Father hath begot us all in one Womb of Baptism, and that not with corruptible seed, should we not be all tied in one chain of love with one Soul and one Body.

If these Letters were writ by the Habassin Emperor, which I do very much doubt, they plainly discover that the Fathers chief Argument to persuade him to submit himself to the Pope, was the promise of Portuguese Troops; but the reason why I suspect these Letters not to have been writ by the Emperor, but by some Missionary in the Indies, and who had never so much as been in Ethiopia, are,

- 1.) That Seltem Saged, or Suseneus's Father, was never Emperor, as he is said in these Letters to have been.
- 2.) Guerreiro, in his relation of Ethiopia, printed at Lisbon in the Year 1611, sets them down under the name of the Emperor Jacob, or Malasequet.

3.) Their Phraseology, excepting an affected sprinkling here and there of uncouth Phrases, as also their Compliments are so much Spanish, that an Habassin has not less of the air of a Spaniard, than they have of the Letters that were certainly known to have been writ by some of those Emperors.

**Lastly**, Pereira tells us, That the Habassin Emperors from the time that the remains of Gama's Troops went over to the Turks, and assisted them against Ademas, dreaded nothing so much, as the coming of Portuguese Soldiers from the Indies; but whatever the Emperors did, there being nothing that the Jesuits desired so earnestly, it is to be feared, that they made bold with the Emperor's name in the soliciting of them.

But there are more Letters behind, which whether genuine or supposititious, I shall set down; leaving them to the censure of the judicious Reader.

### **THE LETTER OF RAZ ATHANATEUS TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL.**

THE Letter of Peace and Love, sent by Athanateus, cometh to the High and Powerful Emperor of Portugal, with the Peace of our Lord Christ, who was Crucified on the holy Cross for the Redemption of the World; May this Peace be always with your Majesty. The cause of my writing this Letter to you, is the earnest desire that the Emperor and I both have to see some Portuguese Troops in this Country; We do therefore most earnestly beseech your Majesty, to send us a Body of stout well-disciplined men, in order to there covering of our Ports, which are at this time in the hand of the Enemies of our Faith. When your Soldiers arrive, we will take care that they shall be supplied with Arms, and all other Necessaries. Your Majesty's Ancestors assisted us; and we do to this day remember what great things Christ wrought for us by their means; I must therefore a second time entreat your Majesty, to send us a Body of stout Soldiers, whom when they arrive, I shall be ready to receive with open Arms; and my mind gives me they will come at some time or other; concerning which affair, Father Peter Pays will write more at large to your Majesty.

*Written in Ethiopia the 13th of  
December, 1607.*

**THE LETTER OF RAZ ATHANATEUS TO THE  
VICEROY OF THE INDIES**

THE Letter of Peace and Love, sent by Athanateus, cometh to the great Viceroy of the Indies, with the peace of our Lord Christ, who died on the holy Cross for our Redemption; may that Peace be always with your Excellency, and your whole State. Amen.

Hear, Sir, My Father was always a great friend to the Portugueses that came into these parts, having continually favored them in all things, as I have done ever since his death, having on all occasions assisted them both with my Interest and my Purse; and saved several of them when condemned to die, being willing to preserve the remains of the first Portugueses that came among us, until more should come to them for the good of this Empire.

I have had it for some years in my thoughts to write to you, but have still been hindered by the Wars we have of late been so much embroiled in, out of which God has been pleased to deliver us at last, and to give us an Emperor of a Sound Judgment; and who governs all things with great prudence, who upon my acquainting him with the great need we stand in of Portuguese Succors, was pleased to write himself to the King of Portugal for some, commanding me to do the same, and to acquaint him, how much we desire them, and how much their coming will be for God's Service. I must therefore entreat your Excellency, to lend us your helping-hand in this affair, that so it may be brought to a speedy Issue; Let there be at least a Thousand Soldiers sent, and let it be done with all possible Expedition, for which Service you will have honor in the sight of God, who will undoubtedly reward you for it; and were there but once a way opened for it, your Excellency shall want nothing that this Empire affords. I shall say no more, since Father Peter Pays, who is acquainted with all my secrets, can disclose my whole heart to you. May our Lord God bring all to an happy Issue, and grant your Excellency many years of Life. Amen.

Had the Jesuits been so kind as to have published those Letters of Father Peter, that these refer to, we might then probably have known the true cause of that Father's having left Za Danguil's Court so abruptly as he did; but however that were, it is plain from what Athanateus writes of the Father's being acquainted with all his Secrets, so as to be able to disclose his whole heart to the Viceroy, that they two had been plotting together; so

that had the Thousand Portugueses Athanateus wrote for so earnestly, come, it is more than probable that he would have made use of them for his own Service; the getting the Ports of Matzua and Arkiko into the hands of the Portugueses, and the erecting of Tigre by their Assistance into a Kingdom Independent of that of Ethiopia, being a thing the Fathers even when most in favor with the Emperors, were continually laboring to bring about: For Athanateus was not only never in favor with the Emperor, whose name he made use of in these Letters, but on the contrary, as the Jesuits themselves confess, he was reduced by him to the Miserable condition of a pobre escudero, or poor Waiting-man: Neither is it unlikely that it was Athanateus having ruined himself and his Family, by intriguing with the Fathers, that made him when he was upon his Death-bed reject their Assistance when they offered themselves to him; and that with indignation; not caring, it is like, to have any thing more to do with people that had deceived him so often. Though to do the Fathers Justice, it was none of their fault that the Soldiers did not come by the first fair wind after they had promised them.

But the Habassin Empire, notwithstanding all its late great bleedings, was too full of bad humors to continue long quiet: For Seltem Saged was not well warm in his Throne, when a Fellow of base extraction was set up for the Emperor Jacob; and though he is said not to have resembled him in the least, either in Face or Person, yet he acted him so well, that he was followed by vast Multitudes. This Perkin, after having cost Ethiopia a vast quantity of blood, was killed at last by some of the Grandees of his own Party, being grown weary of maintaining a Mock Prince at so great a charge.

Father Peter is said to have made himself very Popular on this occasion, by having persuaded the Emperor to pardon all the Common People, and most of the Nobles that had been engaged in this Rebellion; as likewise to Pardon a great herd of Peasants, who had provoked him more by their Rudeness and Insolence, than by their having taken up Arms against him.

The Emperor having thus rid his hands of his Sham-Rival, removed his Camp from Coja, to a place called Deqbana, on the North-Side of the Lake of Dembea, which was not far from Gorgora, the new Residence of the Jesuits; by which means the Fathers had daily opportunities of waiting on him, and of Discoursing with him about Matters of Religion. The argument of all others that persuaded the Emperor the most effectually of the truth of

Christ's having two Natures, was the Fathers showing him a place in his own Hamanot Abea, a Book of the same nature with the Bibliotheca Patrum, wherein it was affirmed, That the Doctrine was believed by all the Ancient Doctors of the Church; and that Dioscorus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, was the first Bishop that had ever denied it.

Raz Cella Christos, a Prince of great heat, and who was made Viceroy of Gojam by his Brother the Emperor at this time, was likewise convinced of the truth of that Doctrine by the same argument; and being once convinced of it, nothing would serve him but he would publicly declare himself a Roman Catholic upon it, reckoning that the Alexandrians who had so grossly imposed upon him in one particular, had Misled him in every point wherein they differed from the Roman Church. He would gladly have made this Abjuration and first Confession at the feet of Father Peter; but the Father not happening to be in the way when he was called to go against the Gauls, who had made a great inroad into his Provinces, he would defer the doing of it no longer; and so made them at the feet of Father Francis, whom for that reason he ever after called his Master. Nevertheless after the Expedition was over, he made a general Confession of his whole Life to Father Peter, and with it a Solemn and Public Declaration of his resolution to Live and Die in the Roman Faith: His Example is said to have been followed by most of his Officers, and by several of the Grandees of the Court.

In the year 1607. Father Peter having writ a Letter to the K. of Spain, to acquaint him with Seltem Saged being Established in the Throne of Ethiopia, and to desire him to send to Congratulate his accession to it; and to thank him for his kindness to the Fathers; that King complied so far with the Father's request, as in the Year 1609 to write the following Letter to the Emperor.

MOST Powerful Emperor of Ethiopia, I Don Philip, by the Grace of God King of Portugal and Algarves, Lord of Guinea, and of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India, &c. Do send you much Health, as my Brother whom I love and prize much: Now since there has always been a good Correspondence and Amity between the Emperors your Ancestors, and the King of Portugal, to me it seemed just and fitting to write this to you, to let you know how much I rejoice at the News of



your accession to the Empire, and shall always rejoice to hear of your Prosperity, being ready as occasions shall offer to satisfy you in all things; and accordingly I have recommended your affairs to these my Kingdoms, and to my State of India, and the Viceroy thereof, that they knowing how acceptable it will be to me, may be sure to comply with all your desires; and that this our Amity may continue, I do most passionately desire you, to write all your News to me, as I shall do mine to you. I do earnestly recommend the Friars that are in your Kingdom to you, which is my chief Obligation, namely, Father Peter Pays, desiring that they no less than the Portugueses may be Treated as it is reasonable. Most Powerful Emperor, whom I love and prize as my Brother, May our Lord have your Royal Person and State in his holy Protection.

*Written at Madrid the 15th of  
March, 1609.*

The Emperor is said to have been very proud of this Letter, and the more because it was writ before the King had received the Letter he is said to have sent to him in the year 1607. In the year 1611 the Emperor received the following Letter from the Pope, in answer to that he is said to have writ to him in the year 1607.

### **PAUL THE VTH'S LETTER TO THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA.**

To our most dear Son in Christ, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

WE give thanks to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for having been so merciful to you, as to restore you to your Royal Throne, as you write he has done; We do Congratulate your success, and do commend you mightily for your Zeal in Defence of the Christian Faith, for which as we understand by your first and second Letters, you are very fervent: We have, according, to your desires, recommended the necessity of your Kingdoms to our most dear Son in Christ, Philip, the Catholic and Powerful King of Spain, who we hope will be induced by his Magnanimity and Zeal for the Christian Faith, to assist you powerfully; having ordered our Apostolical Nuncio that is with his Catholic Majesty, to solicit what you have desired with great diligence. What remains, dear Son, is to exhort you to persevere constantly and immovably in the fear of God, and Stoutly and Zealously to defend the Christian name; and to continue always devoted to the holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, your most loving Mother, as we in our Prayers which we make to God, before the

Most holy Bodies of the Apostles, for our Sons the Christian Kings and Catholic Princes, shall always be sure to remember you, and to beg of him from whom all good things do proceed, that he would so

enlighten your Understanding with the Light of his holy Spirit, that you may do his will; and from the inward Bowels of our Charity we do most tenderly give our Blessing to your Majesty.

*Written at Rome at St. Peter's, under the Ring of the Fisherman, on the 4th of January, in the Year 1611, and in Sixth year of our Pontificate.*

It is plain from this Letter, that the Popes do not stand so much upon their Punctilio's with remote Heretic Princes, as they do with those in Europe they reckon to be Heretics. Paul in this Letter calling a Prince who was a Professed Eutychian Heretic, his most dear Son in Christ; a Title neither Urban would bestow upon King James, nor Gregory the Fifteenth upon the Prince of Wales, in their answers to the unhappy Letters, wherein those Princes had been so civil as to give them the title of The most blessed Father.

The Emperor was growing every day more and more inclinable to the Roman Church, for which his Brother Cella Christos had declared himself openly a Champion, suffering none to be about him, that were not either actually of her Communion, or that appeared not to be well disposed for it; did upon the Receipt of this kind Letter from the Pope, begin to think of Professing himself a Roman Catholic too; but being sensible that that could not be done without raising such a storm in his Empire, as it would not be possible for him to weather without Portuguese Troops, He is said to have resolved to send an Embassy to the King of Spain, to Solicit that Affair by the ways of Melinde and Goa. The persons named for this Employment were Father Anthony Fernandes, and one Tecur Egzy, an Habassin of Quality, by whom the following Letters were sent to the Pope.

### **THE EMPEROR'S LETTER TO THE POPE.**

*The Letter of the Emperor Seltem Saged, cometh with the Peace of the Good Pastor Jesus to the Holy Roman Pope, Paul the Vth. the Head and Pastor of the Universal Church. Holy and Loving Father,*

WE have received your Letter of January 1611, which is full of that love wherewith a tender Father is inflamed when he receives a penitent Prodigal Son; and not having been able by reason of the sudden departure of the India Ships to return you an answer so soon as we desired, we have now determined to do it by another way, which we hope God will open to us; and to that end we have sent Father Antonio Fernandes, of the Society of Jesus, who has for some time resided at our Court, and with him our Ambassador Tecur Egzy, desiring that your Holiness may have speedy notice of our being brought by the preaching of the Fathers of the Society who are resident in our Empire, to the Knowledge of the truth of the faith of the Chair of the Blessed St. Peter, and of our being resolved to embrace the same, and to yield obedience to your Holiness as the Head of the Universal Church, so as for the future to be governed by a Patriarch of your sending; and that we may be put into a condition of yielding this obedience publicly, it will be necessary for us to have some Troops from Don Philip the Powerful King of Portugal, without which we shall never be able to do it openly. We do therefore most humbly beseech your Holiness, that since as you have writ to us, you have been pleased to order your Apostolic Nuncio residing at his Catholic Majesty's court, to solicit this Affair with great diligence, that you will renew your Orders to him, that so they may be both effectually and speedily executed, and so good an occasion may not be lost; and that in our days, and during his happy years, our Empire may find this necessary remedy. And since you are the Father of all Catholic Kings, hold us in the number of such; and as you offer Prayers to God for them, before the most holy Bodies of the Apostles, do the same for us your humble Son.

*Written at our Court of Dembea  
on the 13th of January, 1613.*

But as the Emperor's Brother, Ras Cella Christos, was the chief promoter of this Embassy, so he likewise writ a Letter to the Pope by it, which was as followeth:

*The Letter of Cella Christos Viceroy of Gojam, cometh with the Peace of the Eternal Father, to the Holy Father Paul the Vth. the chief Pontiff, the Successor of St. Peter, and Head of the Church. Most Beloved Father,*

IF according to the Holy Scriptures, they who were far off are come near; I who was at a vast distance, am now brought near by the Preaching of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus that reside in this Empire; for I having been commanded by my Brother Seltem Saged, my Lord the Emperor, to be present at several Conferences between the Fathers and our Learned men, I came at last to the Knowledge of the Truth of the Chair of St. Peter, and of that Chair's being the Head of the Universal Church; which faith I thereupon embraced, and obliged my Brother the Emperor to do the same, and to yield obedience to your Holiness: But whereas it is not possible for the Emperor to yield that obedience openly, until such time as he shall have a Thousand Portugueses sent by Don Philip the most Powerful King of Spain to be his Guards; and being informed that in the Letter your Holiness did my Brother the honor to write him, you signified that you had ordered your Apostolic Nuncio residing at the Court of his Catholic Majesty, to solicit that Affair with extraordinary diligence; I took the confidence humbly to entreat your Holiness, to bring it speedily to a conclusion, that so that good work may be done during my Brother the Emperor's Life, and so glorious an occasion of saving a lost flock, and of restoring it to its true Pastor, may not be lost.

Whenever the Soldiers come, they will find me prepared to die in my Saddle with them for the faith, if there should be occasion. I shall also with all my force labor to constrain others to embrace it, and to yield obedience publicly to your Holiness; and in the mean time, I will do all I can to dispose and incline our people to the faith which I am endeavoring at this time by translating, with the assistance of the Fathers, the Commentaries of John Maldonat upon the Gospels; with an intention of translating several other Books after that is finished. Wherefore most blessed Father, let your Holiness look upon me as your Servant, who am resolved to defend your Apostolic See with my Sword, as well as with all the Learning I am Master of; to the doing whereof I shall be much enabled, by the Prayers which your Holiness shall command to be offered for me, your Humble Servant, before the most holy Bodies of the Apostles.

*Written at Dembea the 2d of  
February, 1613.*

The way the Ambassadors were to take being settled, they begun their Journey in the beginning of March 1613, going first to Gojam, where they were kindly entertained for some time by the Viceroy; besides their

Habassin Retinue, they were attended by Ten Portugueses; Six whereof were to accompany them only to the Kingdom of Narea, but the other Four were to go with them to the Indies. On the Fifth of March they departed from Ombrana with a strong Guard; and having Travelled Westward two days, they arrived at Sinasse, the chief Town of Gongas; where having in the Viceroy's name, demanded a Guard to conduct them to the Nile, it was denied them by the Infidels, the Natives of that Country being all such: Whereupon they dispatched a Courier presently to the Viceroy to acquaint them therewith, who immediately ordered three Companies of Soldiers to March to Sinasse; and after having Conveyed the Ambassadors safe to Nile, in their return to chastise the Gongazians for their Insolence; but the Infidels having had Intelligence how much the Viceroy resented their disobedience, in order to pacify him, gave the Ambassadors a Guard, which waited upon them to Minascet, a Town that stands upon the winding which the Nile makes toward Egypt.

The Ambassadors passed that River which was very high at that time, upon Borachoes or hides full of Wind: After which they Travelled directly South until they came to the Kingdom of Narea, whose Borders are about Fifty Leagues distant from that River. The Cafres, who are the Natives, though subject to the Habassin, disturbed them so much in their Journey, that they were forced to purchase a passage through the Country with trifling Presents.

Being arrived at Gondas, they were kindly entertained by the Governor, to whom the Viceroy had recommended them as his particular friends. Narea is the most Southern Country of Ethiopia, and is about Thirty or Forty Leagues in compass; its Inhabitants are reckoned to be the best and honestest sort of people in the whole Habassin Empire; they are well Shaped, and not very Black, and have thin Lips and long Noses; the Country is Fertile and Populous, and its chief Trade is in Slaves, in the Buying and Selling of whom its Merchants are said to be wonderfully honest. They were first Converted to Christianity by Malac Saged, to which they had always been well disposed.

From Gonda the Ambassadors went in Six days to the place where the Xuma or Viceroy of the Kingdom of Narea has his residence, by whom they were received very coldly, upon his being jealous that their business was to bring a Portuguese Army into Ethiopia, to force them to turn Roman-Catholics; and having called together all his Officers to consult

how to Defeat this pernicious design, it was agreed among them, that the best way to divert this storm, was to persuade the Embassadors to change their course, and to go to the Indies by the way of Baly, and the Cape of Darfuy, which they represented to be both the shorter and safer way than the Court had Chalked out for them; knowing at the same time, that it would be impossible for them to Travel through the Countries which are in the road to Daffuy, several of them being subject to Mahometan Princes, who would not suffer any private Christian, and much less Christian Embassadors, to Travel through their Countries. Baly is a Kingdom that belonged formerly to the Habassin, but was then in the Possession of the Mahometans and Gauls; it borders upon Adel, lying to the East of Narea so that the Embassadors in going that way, went back again in a manner; neither was the way that the Court had ordered them to take, much better, by reason of the vast Deserts, and the unknown Nations they were to have passed through before they got to Melinde.

The Viceroy having persuaded them to go his way, was very officious to furnish them with a Guard to conduct them out of his Kingdom; and to blind his design the more, sent an Envoy to the King of Gingiro, through whose territories they were to pass to obtain a free and safe passage for them. Being arrived at the Banks of Zebee, which is a much bigger River than the Nile, and which running like a torrent amongst steep Rocks, makes a most hideous noise, they met with a Bridge which was only a single Plank reaching from one Rock to another, and which besides that it was at a prodigious height from the water; it was so weak as to bend with the weight of one man; but there being no other Bridge, they were constrained to make use of this, and in a days time they all passed over it without losing a man.

Being now in the Kingdom of Gingiro, they halted at a Village not far from the Bridge, sending the Viceroy's Envoy before, to acquaint the King of the Country with their arrival; but the King, who was a Heathen, was at that time so much employed in some extraordinary Conjurations, that it was a Week before the Envoy was permitted to speak with him; but so soon as the Solemnity was over, he gave him an audience, and sent word by him to the Embassadors to come immediately to Court, promising to show them all the kindness he was able.

The Embassadors being come to Court, found the King sitting on the top of a Building not unlike a Watch-Tower, it was Twenty five Palms in

height, and about Thirty in breadth, the Courtiers stand all on the ground about it.

When the Embassadors offered to present the Emperor's Letters to the King, he came down from his Throne, and having received them with great Ceremony, he Skipped to the top of it again: For he is said in all his postures, features, and motions, to have resembled a Baboon much more than a Man. After he had read the Letters, he talked with the Embassadors a considerable time by an Interpreter, who repeated both the King's Questions, and the Embassador's Answers with a most profound reverence, and at last dismissed them with assurances of his being ready to do them all good Offices.

The Embassadors having made the King a Present, obtained their Conge; and departing next day, they came at night to a River, which they crossed on Borachoes, that were pushed to the other side by men Swimming behind them, and directed by one that Swom [sic] before; when they had passed this River, they were in the Province of Combute, the Prince whereof is Tributary to the Habassin. They were kindly entertained by this Prince, till one Manquer came to his Court, who though he pretended to have no other business there, but to receive the tribute that Prince paid, yet he was really sent by the Grandees of the Court; who having smelt out the secret of that Embassy, ordered him to follow it, and to stop it if he could possibly. In pursuance whereof Manquer, so soon as he had an opportunity whispered the King in the ear, That the Embassadors were not sent by the Emperor, who knew nothing of them, but by another that was to be nameless; meaning no doubt Raz Cella, the Emperor's Brother, and that he ought not therefore to give any Credit to their Letters of Credence, which were all forged in the Emperor's name; That the business they were going to the Indies and Portugal about, was to bring an Army from thence into Ethiopia, to compel the people thereof to turn Papists, which Army was to be brought upon them through his Kingdom; so that he must expect to have the storm they were going to raise, to fall first upon him. Amelinel, for that was the King's name, believing all that Manquer had told him, sent presently to the Embassadors to come and speak with him; and having admitted them to his Presence, he told them roundly, that having been credibly informed, That they had no Commission from the Emperor, he could not do less than stop them, till he had an answer from him whether they were his Embassadors or not; and though the Embassadors endeavored to satisfy him presently, by showing him their Credentials; yet

that would not do, but wait they must until Amelinel had the Emperor's Answer by a Courier he intended to send to him. The Embassadors finding there was no persuading of Amelinel to let them go, desired they might have leave to send a Courier of their own, with his, to the Court, which was granted them, but at the end of the third days Journey, the Couriers were both stopped; and after having been detained there Six Months, were sent back without having ever been near the Court.

But the Emperor, or his Brother, who I doubt was chiefly concerned in this Embassy, happening to hear of the Embassadors being stopped, an angry Letter was writ thereupon to Amelinel in the Emperor's Name, Commanding him not only to permit the Ambassadors to proceed on their Journey, but to furnish them also with such things as would be proper Presents for the Princes through whose Countries they were to pass. Whereupon Amelinel having begged their Excellencies pardon for having detained them so long, and treated them so rudely, upon a misinformation; and having furnished them with some fine Horses for Presents, he dismissed them with a good guard, which he commanded not to leave them, till they saw them safe in the Kingdom of Alaba, whose Prince was a Mahometan, and had no dependence on the Habassin.

The Ambassadors had not been Three days at that King's Court, whose Name was Alico, before their old friend Manquer was up with them again, who having told Alico the same story he had told Amelinel, the Mahometan not troubling himself to examine whose Ambassadors they were, ordered their Persons and Papers to be seized on presently; but the Ambassadors having had notice that there was such an Order preparing, had burnt all their Papers before the Officers came to arrest them; and it was well for them that they had; for had Alico had any other Evidence besides Manquer's word, That their business in the Indies was to bring an Army from thence through his Kingdom into Ethiopia, it would certainly have cost them their lives; which though Alico spared for want of such Evidence as their Papers would have furnished him withall, yet he stripped them of their Equipage, and sent them back the way they came, in a very tattered condition. Were but the true secret of this Embassy known, we might know, its like too what it was that made the Emperor not long after this so jealous of his Brother, as to turn him out of all his Offices.

But notwithstanding the Emperor did not as yet profess himself a Roman Catholic, as his Brother did openly; yet it being observed by the Ambitious



Courtiers, That none were favored by him, or could pretend to any high post, but such as had either turned, or appeared to be prepared to do it, whenever he should give the word; they begun to Caress the Fathers extremely, making their court to them, by undervaluing their own Clergy as a pack of Hypocrites and Dunces, and by magnifying the Church of Rome as a Body, that it was an honor for any one to be a Member of.

Upon Popery's growing thus fashionable at Court, the Country, which is seldom fond of Court-fashions, was so alarmed by it, that it began to roar against the Emperor and his Brother at a most terrible rate, as bigoted Papists, that were resolved to destroy the established Religion by calling a Foreign Army in upon them; and the Fathers, as if the Habassins had not roared loud enough, to provoke them to roar louder, gave out a public Challenge at this time to all the Learned of the Alexandrian Faith, if it had any such, to defend their Religion, if they were able, before the Emperor. Which bold challenge being accepted, there were divers public Conferences about Religion held thereupon before the Emperor; In all which the Fathers, but by their own Brethren, are said to have been Victorious, and by their great skill in School-Divinity, to whose subtleties the Habassins were utter strangers, to have baffled them shamefully at every turn, to the admiration of the whole Court.

When the Monks and Fathers had done Disputing, the Emperor, with the advice of his Cabinet Council, put forth a Proclamation prohibiting all his Subjects upon severe Penalties, to affirm that there is but one Nature in Christ.

The Abuna, Simon, hearing of the Disputations that had been held at Court, and of the Proclamation they had ended in, and being come to Court, he threatened the Emperor with an Excommunication for having held public Disputations about Religion without his leave. The Emperor endeavored to pacify the angry Old Man, by telling him, That it was true that he had permitted some Conferences, but for no other end, but to remove a Schism that was in the Church; but now that he was come, he might, if he be pleased, have Conferences renewed again.

The Abuna, though his talent is said not to have lain much that way, gave his Consent to have the Disputations renewed; and Learned Men having been appointed on both sides to manage the Debate, the Fathers in the Conferences did demonstrate the Truth of Christ's having two Natures so

evidently, from the Scriptures, Councils, and right Reason, that the Habassins had nothing that was material to say against it, the Abuna himself not having offered one word in defence of his Faith, when he saw his Monks most miserably baffled.

It is remarkable, That it was the policy of the Jesuits to make the Doctrine of Christ's having two Natures, and not that of the Pope's Supremacy, against which, by what the Emperor Claudius did, we know the Habassins had enough to say, the point that was debated in all their public Conferences, which was not so proper, considering that the Habassins might have believed that Doctrine, as the Reformed and Greek Churches do, without being the nearer to the Church of Rome for it; for it does not at all follow, That because Christ had two Natures, that the Pope must therefore be his Vicar upon Earth; and that all Christian Churches must submit themselves to him: The very Fathers that established that Doctrine in the Council of Calcedon, having denied that the Pope had any Supremacy, but what he owed to Rome's being the first City in the Roman Empire; as I have observed elsewhere.

Upon the Habassins being thus baffled upon a point the Church of Rome was no more concerned in than the Church of England, the Fathers in the heat of their triumph, did drive on the Emperor at a most furious rate, persuading him to set forth another Proclamation, making it death for any one to deny that there are two Natures in Christ: But the Abuna, though he had little to say for his Religion at the Conferences, endeavored after he had left the Court, to make amends for his silence there, by roaring the louder through the Country as he went home; and being sensible that besides the whole body of the People, he had the Emperor's Mother, and his half-brother Emana Christos, with several other Grandees on his side; he was no sooner got home, than he thundered out an Excommunication against all, not excepting the Emperor, that had, or should submit themselves to the Pope.

The Emperor was at first troubled at this Censure; but being afterwards satisfied by the Fathers of its Nullity, he was provoked by it to set forth a Proclamation, desiring all his Subjects to embrace the Roman Faith, Commanding that Proclamation to be published by the Judges throughout the whole Empire; which most of them did, notwithstanding it was contrary to their private Judgments. This Proclamation having put the whole Empire into a flame, and provoked the Agau's to take up Arms; the

Abuna, who waited only for such an opportunity, so soon as he found the Emperor engaged in that War, writ Circular Letters to all his Confidants, exhorting them and all the Nobles and people, that were not weary of the Faith of their Forefathers, to enter into an Association in Defence of it, against the Emperor and his Brother, who had now both declared themselves open Enemies to it.

Julius, the Viceroy of Tigre, who had Married a Daughter of the Emperor's so soon as he had received the Abuna's Letter, did not only begin to Persecute the Fathers that resided at Fremona, but seized likewise upon the Estates of all the Habassins within his Province that had turned Roman Catholics, declaring he would Defend his Religion against all the world, with the last drop of his blood. The Emperor hearing of the Circular Letter, and the Association that was going on, was very angry with the Abuna, wishing he had him in his hands to put a stop to his inflaming his Subjects against him; but knowing that if he discovered himself to be displeased with him, that he would either not come if he sent for him, or come with such a Guard, that it would not be safe for him to offer him any violence, he thought fit to dissemble his passion so far, as to write a kind Letter to him, desiring him to repair to him with all possible speed, to satisfy some scruples which gave him great disturbance; writing at the same time to Father Peter to come likewise; which the Father did immediately, bringing with him the news of the Persecution that was set on foot in Tigre against the Fathers and their Converts.

The Queen and several Grandees of the Court seeing what a storm the Emperor was like to raise by endeavoring to introduce Popery into his Empire, waited upon him in a body, beseeching him as he loved his Crown and his people, to give over that design, as a thing not feasible, since not only the Monks, but the whole body of the Nation did openly declare, That they would Defend their Religion against him and all the world with their Lives and Fortunes, and would die a thousand Deaths sooner than turn Papists. All which passionate Remonstrances were so far from shaking the Emperor's Zeal for the introducing of Popery, that they inflamed it to that Degree, that he one day told Father Peter, That notwithstanding he was sensible he had so far lost the hearts of his Subjects by the favor he showed to the Roman Religion, that they were all ready to rebel against him; nevertheless he was resolved either to lose his Crown, or to establish that Faith in Ethiopia. And as for his Brother, whenever he was spoke to to renounce Popery, and return to his former Faith; his answer was still, While

I have breath in my body I will defend the Roman Faith with my Sword, my Tongue, and my Pen.

The Abuna, that he might not seem to be wanting to his duty in such a critical juncture, resolved to go and wait on the Emperor, but with such a Train, that it should not be safe for him, if he had a mind to it, to meddle with him, the very Monks that attended him being more in number than the Royal Army. The Abuna and his Monks when they came within hearing of the Emperor's Tent, gave a general shout, That they came all prepared to die for the faith of their Forefathers, being resolved to hear no more arguments against it; making the whole Camp to ring with their Ajentent, Ajentent, that is to say, The Ancient, the Ancient, meaning their Faith.

The Emperor being willing to put a stop to this fury, sent to the Abuna to come to him; which the Abuna did; and having spoke their minds very freely to one another, they agreed to summon a Convocation of the Clergy to meet on Michaelmas-day, at which the Fathers were to be present, and to be heard.

The Convocation being met at the time appointed, it was so far from allaying the heat of the Habassins, which was the end for which the Emperor had called it, that it put them in a greater flame than they were in before; for the Father knowing they had not one voice on their side in that whole body, were not for having things put to the Vote, but for having them disputed, as if it had not been a Convocation, but only a public Conference; but though the Fathers offered several Arguments in defence of their Doctrines, which the Habassins did not so much as pretend to Answer: Nevertheless the Habassin still kept their Ground, declaring, That no Sophistry should ever persuade them out of the faith of their Forefathers. The Convocation having wrangled, for that was all the Jesuits would suffer to be done in it for five days; it broke up in a great heat, leaving matters a great deal worse than it found them.

The Abuna and his Monks finding there was no good to be done upon the Emperor, who seemed to be bewitched by the Jesuits, were for leaving the Camp immediately without taking any farther notice of him; but having considered on it a little better, they agreed to wait upon him in a body, to conjure him by all that was sacred, and as he loved himself, his Posterity and People, not to endeavor to bring a new Religion in among them; and which, he could not but be sensible, was the Religion in the world that they

the most hated; and so without sending to him for an audience, which they had reason to believe would have been denied them, they went and threw themselves at his feet, and instead of speaking, raised a most lamentable howl, as if they had been so many Idiots, say the Fathers; which howl, having continued a good space, they at last recovered their speech, crying with one Voice, That his Highness must not think that he was able to destroy a Religion which had been maintained in Ethiopia by so many Emperors through so many Ages. The Emperor not appearing to be in the least moved either by their Complaints or Threats, they all rose and went away in a great Rage, some of them being said, by their Enemies, to have been so far provoked by the Emperor's carriage toward them, as to have conspired to Murder him and his Brother, as they went out of the Camp, for Recreation; but not having met with an opportunity of executing that black design, they all returned home with their Abuna; but with their Spirits so exasperated, that it was but visible to every body that they would not suffer the Emperor and his Jesuits to be long quiet.

Father Peter to divert the Emperor from thinking of the troubles that he was like to bring upon himself and his Empire by his Zeal for Popery, put him upon building a standing Palace on a Peninsula in the Lake of Dembea. And there being no such thing as a Mason in all Ethiopia, the Father undertook the work himself, and in a short time run up a House which the Jesuits say would have been a convenient Hunting Palace, for the best King in Europe; The Emperor was extremely pleased with it; and the Habassins having never seen a House with Stories before, called it Habet, Labet, that is, a House upon a House. While Father Peter was employed in Building, the other Fathers were busy Translating some Commentaries on the Scriptures out of Latin into Habassin; namely, Maldonate on the Gospel, Ribera on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Tolet on St. Paul's Epistles, and Viegas on the Revelation, who were all Spanish Jesuits, the Habassins not being to know that any in Europe that were not of that Nation and Order could write Books.

While the Emperor was solacing himself in his new Palace, his Brother Amana Christos, Julius the Viceroy of Tigre, and one Calfe his Chamberlain, and chief Eunuch, conspired to Murder him in it; and had done it, had it not been for a Spring-Lock which shut a door behind him as he fled from the Conspirators; of which Lock it is reported, that the Emperor when he first saw it on the door, would have had it taken off, as troublesome to open every time he went into his Closet, had not Father

Peter persuaded him to let it alone, by telling him, That it might at some time or other do his Highness some Service. The Conspirators having made their Escape, had no remedy after such a black attempt, but to take the Field; and Julius being got into Tigre, he immediately set forth a Proclamation, commanding all within that Kingdom who were of the Roman Faith, to go to the Emperor and his Brother, who would make them welcome; and all that were of the same faith with their Fathers to repair to him, he being resolved to defend it with the last drop of his blood.

This Proclamation brought the whole Country in to Julius, out of which having formed a numerous Croisade, he marched directly towards the Nile with an intention to have fallen first upon Raz Cella, the great Champion of Popery; but happening in his March to come near the place where the Abuna resided, he went to wait on him to have his Blessing; the Abuna, who was glad to see him, was not satisfied with giving him a Thousand Blessings for being so valiant for the truth; but though he was above a Hundred Years of Age he would go in person in the Croisade, telling Julius, That as he should partake of the benefits of that holy War, if it had success; so he was resolved likewise to partake of its dangers. And whereas Julius was for beginning with Raz Cella, the Abuna diverted him from it, by telling him, That since he was at the head of so great and zealous an Army, he ought not to spend its first heats, which were always the strongest, in lopping off Branches, but in striking at the Root, which being once destroyed, the Branches would wither of themselves. He likewise encouraged the Soldiers, by telling them, That they fought for the best Cause in the world, that is, the true Religion, which the Emperor and his Brother, if let alone, would certainly destroy; assuring them, That whosoever was slain in this holy War, would die a Martyr and go straight to Heaven; thundering out his Excommunications at the same time against the Emperor and his Brother, and all that adhered to them, as Apostates from the Faith.

The Emperor hearing that Julius was Marching towards him with a numerous and Zealous Croisade, went to his Brother to make all the haste he could to come and join him with his Army; but fearing lest Julius, who made long Marches, might be up with him before his Brother could join him; He encamped his Army so, that the Enemy's Horse, in which their main strength consisted, if they should attack him in his Camp, would be of little use to them.

When the Armies were within sight of one another, the Emperor sent his Daughter, who was Wife to Julius, to try if she could persuade her Husband to lay down his Arms, promising him not only a pardon for what he had done, but every thing that a subject could reasonably desire of his Prince: And in case she should not be able to bring him to submit, she was then to try if she could obtain a Cessation of Arms of him for a few days; but Julius either reckoning himself secure of a Victory, that would have the Crown for its reward; or being fearful to take the Emperor's word after he had provoked him so much, would hear of nothing but Fighting; saying, He would either die a Martyr for his Religion, or by Conquering its Enemies secure it from being ever destroyed: And that he might lose no time, he attacked the Emperor's Camp before his Princess was well got back to her Father; and having put himself at the head of a brisk body of men, he advanced towards his out-guards, who though they did not come in to him, would not strike a stroke, telling their officers flatly, That they would never draw their Swords against a man, who was fighting in Defence of their Religion. Julius observing this, asked aloud all the way he went, where the Emperor was, that was resolved to destroy the Religion of their Forefathers, which he was there with his Sword in his hand ready to defend against him and all Mankind; with which, as if it had been the word of the Imperialists, he advanced within sight of the Royal Tent without having met with the least opposition, until a body of Tigrians, who were posted not far from it, put a full stop to his Career, through whom as he was hacking his way, he was knocked off his Horse with the blow of a stone under the left Eye; and as he lay on the ground, had his head presently chopped off, which was carried to the Emperor by a private Sentinel. The Body that advanced with Julius, having as it were lost their Soul in their Commander, was presently hewed all in pieces; and the Tigrians following their blow, and the other Imperialists who would not strike a stroke before, joining with them, now that Julius was slain, they put the whole Croisade immediately to the rout; every man of them so soon as they heard of their General's being killed, throwing down their Arms, and crying out for Quarter. The old Abuna was stunned so with this sudden turn of things, that he was not able to stir from the place where he had posted himself; but though several of the Imperialists knowing him to be the Abuna, had out of Reverence to his character and great Age passed by him without offering him any violence; yet a true Roman Catholic, say the Jesuits, whose name was Za Michael, having found him out, gave him such a blow in the neck with his Lance, that he laid his head at his foot; with whose, and Julius's

death, this great Croisade vanished, having no other effect, than to enrage the Emperor more than he was before against the Alexandrians, and their Religion, who immediately upon this Victory set forth a Proclamation, prohibiting all his Subjects upon severe penalties to observe Saturday any longer.

This Impious Proclamation, as the Habassins reckoned it, produced a bitter Libel, directed by way of a Letter to the Emperor, wherein he was told, That his Subjects were all amazed at his wickedness in commanding the violation of that Sacred day; advising him not to be rid by the Jesuits, who were an Ignorant little sort of people; and who being of the race of Pontius Pilate, and Uncircumcised, did teach, that there are Two Natures in Christ: Adding, That they were men swallowed up in the Gulf of their own Fopperies, and did run headlong like an unbridled Horse, without looking before them; and did well deserve to have a Millstone tied about their Necks, and to be thrown into the Sea, and to be made partakers of the Curse that befell Pope Leo for having denied the Unity of Christ's Nature; and after a great huddle of Texts of Scripture in favor of their Doctrines, it at last admonisheth the Emperor that in case he was not weary of his Crown, and the high Dignity he had received from the Popes of Egypt, who wore the holy and new Ephod, and bore the badge of the Cross, to give over trying such new Experiments: concluding thus; Ah! We do here send this precious stone which enlightens the eyes of the blind; May it be for an offering, but may the Swine never see it, that so they may not trample it under their unclean feet; for it is written, You shall not throw Jewels before Swine.

This Libel galled the Emperor so terribly, that to be revenged on its Authors, he published a Second Proclamation, by which he commanded all his Subjects to work on Saturdays, being to pay a Crown for the first fault, and to forfeit their whole Estate for the second; to which penalty the Offenders were to continue liable Seven Years after the fault was committed, by which time the Fathers hoped that Popery might have got strength enough in Ethiopia to execute this Law as they should see occasion, being sensible that there would be few or none of any Estate that would not be under its lash. This rigorous Proclamation being sent to Joanel the viceroy of Begameder, who waited for such an opportunity to raise the people against the Emperor, to publish, he commanded it to be done presently with great Solemnity, taking care at the same time, to declare to all the World, that it was what he abominated from his Soul:



Neither was Joanel deceived in his thoughts of the effects of this Proclamation; for the people no sooner heard of the Emperor's having commanded them under severe Penalties for to work upon Saturdays, than they began to rail at him, as one who had no Religion; and who, for that and other reasons was become so intolerable to his Subjects, that they must be Beasts of Burden to endure him any longer; and hearing that Joanel had declared himself openly in all Companies against what the Emperor had commanded; they flocked to him from all Quarters, beseeching him as he had any love for God and his Country, not to suffer their Religion to be thus trampled on; promising to die by his side in the defence of it. Joanel having foreseen what the Emperor by his Zeal for Popery would quickly bring things to, had obtained a promise of considerable Succors from the Gauls whenever he should take the Field; upon the strength of which, and the fury the Emperor's late Proclamation had put the whole Empire into, he formed a great Army out of the people that flocked in to him; assuring them, now he had taken up Arms, that he would never lay them down until he had secured their Religion to them. When the news of this second Croisade came to Court, great numbers of the first Quality of both Sexes set upon the Emperor again, beseeching him as he loved himself and his Empire, to give over all thoughts of introducing Popery into a Country, that of all things in the world could not endure it.

The Emperor, though much troubled to find that Joanel and his cause had so many friends at Court; yet not being willing to do any thing that might intimidate his Converts, he told the Grandees that had addressed to him, with an angry countenance, That it was his Subjects duty to obey, and not to dispute his Commands; and that he would teach them better manners than to fly thus in their Prince's face, when he did any thing that displeased them; and hoping to have terrified the Grandees from troubling him with any more Addresses, he commanded one of the most forward Addressers to be put to death, banishing another of them for his life to the Kingdom of Narea; which cruelty was so far from having the effect that was expected from it, that it did but Exasperate peoples spirits, and put them into a greater rage against Popery than they were in before.

The Emperor, though he could not but see the storm thicken upon him on all sides, yet was so far from seeking to divert it by any Compliances, that having called a full Assembly of the Grandees, Monks, and Military Officers together in the great Hall of the Palace, he made the following Speech to them.

YOU Rose against the Emperor Jacob, and having Deposed him for several Misdemeanors, you advanced my Cousin Za Danguil to the Throne, whom for having forsaken your Religion, and embraced that of the Portugueses, you afterwards Murdered; and after having conferred the Crown upon me, you made Jacob King a Second time; but though you intended to have Deposed me, God was pleased to give me Victory; from that day to this I have done wrong to no body, but on the contrary, have pardoned great numbers, having been prodigal of my favors to a fault; but all this has not been sufficient to keep you from Rebelling, upon a pretence that I am endeavoring to destroy your Religion, when, in truth, I do only seek to reform it; for as I do profess with you, That our Lord Christ is true God and true Man; so I do moreover affirm, That as he cannot be perfect God without having the Nature of God, so neither can he be perfect Man without a Human Nature; now since it is evident by the light of reason, That the Divine and Human Nature are really distinguished, it must follow therefore, that there are two Natures in Christ; and since there can be no Confusion in the Godhead, those two Natures must necessarily be united in one and the same Person of the Eternal Word; so that what I am doing, is not to forsake the Faith, but to profess it in truth. And I do further affirm, That the Divine Nature is Superior to the Human. It is true, I have forbid you to observe Saturday any longer; and it is an amazing thing that you who value your selves upon being Christians, should be for keeping the Sabbath of the Jews; what is this, but, as the Prophet Elias said, to go halting, &c.? As this is my Faith, so I do not follow it because it is the Faith of the Portugueses, or of the Roman Church, but because it is the Faith that was established by Six hundred Fathers in the council of Calcedon, which Condemned Dioscorus and Eutyches; and for being a truth founded on the Scriptures, and derived from the Apostles, who were Teachers of the World. Undeceive your selves therefore; for for this Faith I am ready to lay down my life if there should be occasion, though I must tell you at the same time, it shall cost them their Lives first that shall dare to contradict me therein.

How seasonable a Speech of this strain, was, in which Father Peter, who was now become the first Minister, had a hand undoubtedly, for one in the Emperor's Circumstances, let the world judge.

The Emperor having received an insolent Letter from Joanel, wherein he insisted upon having the Jesuits all turned out of Ethiopia, and his being declared Viceroy of Begameder for his Life, was so incensed, that he

marched against him in Person, but Joanel having advice thereof, and knowing himself not to be strong enough to deal with him, he Retreated to the Mountains, where his Army's Zeal being allayed by the want of Provisions, it moldered to nothing in a short time; so that he was obliged with a small Party to take sanctuary among the Gauls, who having been hired to it by the Emperor, put him to death.

The Emperor being returned to Doncaz, where he intended to spend the Winter, was invited by the Fathers to come and visit the new Church they had built at Gorgora, which he did with great Devotion, putting his Shoes off when he entered into it; but the late Proclamation had bred too much ill blood in Ethiopia for to let it be long quiet. The Damotes, a People inhabiting the banks of the Nile, being thrown into such a rage by Raz Cella, their Viceroy's rigorous Execution thereof, that they all flew to their Arms as one Man, being likewise instigated so to do by great droves of Hermits, who being alarmed by the late Proclamation, flocked to them from all parts of the Deserts, railing all the way they came at the Emperor and his Brother, as Apostates, and at the Jesuits as the Authors of all their troubles; several of them running over the Country as men distracted, and roaring as they went, That all People were bound in Conscience to take up Arms against the Emperor and his Brother, in defence of their Religion, which they seemed to be resolved to destroy.

The Viceroy hearing of the mad work the Hermits were making amongst the Damotes, writ to some of his Friends in those parts, not to suffer themselves and the People to be any longer abused by such a pack of Ignorant and Hypocritical Rascals, who taught them nothing but Lies; but he could have no other answer from them than, That unless he would burn all his Popish Books, and deliver up all his Jesuits to them, that they might hang them all upon one great Tree, for the mischiefs they had done in Ethiopia, they would have nothing more to do with him, being all to a man resolved to live and die in the Alexandrian Faith. The Viceroy not caring to part with his Books and Jesuits so easily, advanced towards them with an Army of Seven Thousand well-disciplined Men; the Damotes were near double the Number, having Four hundred Hermits who had devoted their Lives to Religion, well Armed with Targets and Lances; this great inequality in numbers did not hinder the Viceroy from offering them Battle so soon as he came up with them, which they having accepted of, the two Armies quickly came to blows, but the Damotes being raw men, and not well Armed, were at the first onset put to the rout, and besides a great

slaughter that was made among the Soldiers as they fled towards the Mountains, there were One hundred and eighteen of the Monks, with their famous Captain Batare, found slain upon the spot where the Fight was; the Viceroy is said to have lost but One Man in the Action, and he too, which made the loss the less, was a Heathen. A Miraculous Evidence, say the Jesuits, of the Truth of the Roman, and of the falsehood of the Alexandrian Faith.

The Emperor, when Father Peter Congratulated him upon this Victory, told him, He had great reason to thank God for it, for that had the Damotes gained the least advantage, he should have had the whole Empire presently in Arms against him, whose Spirits he believed were now pretty well subdued, and that after such a blow, it would not be so easy for the Monks or Hermits to Roar them into any more Rebellions; and whereas he had hitherto been with-held by his fears, and his Wife's, which he was very unwilling to have parted withal, from Reconciling himself formally to the Church of Rome, he told the Father, he would delay to do it no longer; the Father overjoyed to hear this, upon his first having Abjured all the Alexandrian Errors, and made a Confession of his whole Life to him, gave him Absolution, and Reconciled him to the Pope.

But the Father, overcome it is like by the Joy of this Conversion, outlived it but a few days; his Death was much Lamented by the Emperor and his Brother, to whom the Father was become a perfect Oracle, in all State, no less than Church-matters.

Presently after Father Peter's death, there were Three Letters writ from Ethiopia to the Provincial and Visitor of the Jesuits in the Indies, to send them a Patriarch, with as many Fathers as they could spare: The first was writ by the Emperor to the Provincial, the second and third to the Visitor, by Father Luis de Azevedo, and Father Antony Fernandez. The Contents of which Letters being much the same, I shall set down that of Father Antony's only, which is the shortest of them.

### **FATHER ANTONY FERNANDEZ LETTER TO THE FATHER VISITOR OF THE INDIES.**

I Write this with the good News of this Kingdom, to your Reverence, to engage you to order Processions to be made, and to have Masses said, and the Te Deum sung, to return Thanks to God for the favor he has showed us in the Conversion of this Empire, the doing whereof will very much

refresh the Fathers and Brethren who labor here with me, and will sweeten the great hardships they undergo.

The Emperor with his whole Court, and all the Grandees, and Princes Ecclesiastical and Secular of this Empire, have abjured their Errors, and made a public Profession of their Obedience to the holy See of Rome.

The general Administration of all Churches and Parishes being put into my hands, I have Established Curates in them all, having made such new Laws as were necessary; and abolished all the old ones that were contrary to the Roman Church. I have had some thoughts of coming to you, and have been ready to begin my Journey, but have been still hindered by the Glory of God, which obligeth me to keep close to the Emperor.

The thing we stand most in need of here at present, is a Patriarch, with a good number of Fathers, to help us to carry on these good beginnings. Your Reverence cannot but be sensible of this our want, without my enlarging upon it. Our Fathers and Brethren ought to run through fire and water, Pikes and Swords for to assist this Country; lest having the promised Land showed us, we may be excluded it through our own fault. They ought to flock hither with all possible speed; for notwithstanding the Heirs apparent of the Empire, and all the Princes and Nobles thereof are at present true Catholics; Nevertheless should we happen to be deprived of the Emperor and his Brother Zela Christos by death, it is to be feared, that the Monks and Habassins might raise seditions to the pulling down of all that we have built; and may persuade the people, who are more changeable than the wind, to abandon what they have so lately embraced.

Wherefore your Reverence would do well to send us all the Fathers you can spare; let them be at least Twenty, whom we shall endeavor to accommodate the best we can, until it shall please God to raise up a Cardinal or Prince to have compassion upon these poor people, and to succor those who labor in their Conversion. No day passeth wherein the Emperor does not speak to us to send for Two hundred Fathers, saying, God will provide for them when they come. I am sensible the Society cannot furnish us with so many, though if it could, the Corn here is so ripe for the Harvest, that they would all find work enough. We did at first accommodate our selves to the customs of the Country, that we might with the more ease gain them to the Lord; having besides the Fasts that are commanded, kept Wednesdays, and observed Lent, and Easter, and the

other principal Feasts, according to their style; according to which, Easter falls sometimes a Month sooner than with us; reciting our Offices likewise after their custom on the Evening of Fasting-days; but so soon as we found them disposed for it, we proposed to them the Rites, Customs, and Ceremonies of the Latin-Church, and the decrees of the Pope, which they have now universally agreed to; so that of late we have without any contradiction, kept Easter, and the other Feasts, according to the Roman style. For the settlement whereof, they have earnestly demanded the Tables of our Moveable Feasts, and the Ecclesiastical Epact, to prevent their being mistaken. I have by Letter desired our Provincial to send us such Tables, that any one of a common capacity may accommodate the names that are in them, to the names of this Country. To which end I have sent him a Table that was made here by a Catholic, who is very expert in Arithmetic, that he may examine it, and alter it as he shall think convenient. And I do earnestly beseech your Reverence, to get this affair dispatched as soon as it is possible, and to order continual Prayers to be made to God in our behalf, and in behalf of this Country: We have lost two good Fathers here; God take us under his Protection; for this Mission has sustained a great loss by their deaths; this Empire, which wants I do not know how many Priests, at present has only, Father James Matos, and Father Anthony Bruno, who have the sole charge of Gojam; and Father Lewis d' Azevedo, who is gone lately to Ambra; and my self, who am fixed at Court. Praised be God we are all in health at present; but Father Lewis's ordinary distempers are such as demand a writ of ease for him; but Charity and a Zeal for Souls overcomes all difficulties; I do recommend my self to your Reverence's Prayers, and holy Sacrifices.

***March 3d. 1623.***

How far Popery was from having got such footing in Ethiopia as this Letter represents it to have had, will appear from the sequel of the Story.

Such Reports as these of the Conversion of Ethiopia, being transmitted to Rome.

Mutio Vitelesci, the General of the Jesuits, to secure the honor of that Conversion to his own Order, waited upon the Pope; and without any Commission or Order from the Emperor to do it, made a submission to the Pope in his name with all the usual Solemnities; and not being able to obtain leave no more than Ignatius, though he begged it of the Pope with

the same earnestness as his Patriarch had done, to go in person to Ethiopia, to finish that great work, he contented himself with sending a Nuncio to do it; the Jesuit he employed in this Embassy, was one Manuel d' Almeyda, who at that time resided at Bacaim in the Indies; who with Three other Fathers arrived at Fremona in Ethiopia, in the Year 1624. where having stayed a Month with his Brethren, to inform himself of the true state of Affairs, he begun his Journey to Court; where when he arrived, he was received with great Ceremony by the Emperor; who when the Nuncio at his first audience offered to have kissed his hand, would not suffer him to do it; but having commanded him to sit down by him, he asked him several Questions concerning the Pope, and the King of Portugal, and the state of Affairs in Europe; the Nuncio perceiving that he took no notice of his Master Vitellesci, stood up, and told him, That his Reverend General Mutio Vitellesci, not having to his great sorrow been able to obtain leave of the Pope to come in person to wait upon his Highness, had sent him to kiss his hand in his name, and to return his Highness his thanks for the favors he had showed to the Friars of his Order; and to acquaint him furthermore, with his having made his Highness submission to the Pope, who is the head of the Church, and Christ's Vicar on Earth, by having kissed his Holiness' feet in his name. The Emperor, though surprised, did not seem to be displeas'd with the General for having been so officious; but having commanded his Letters to be read presently by Father Anthony, he was so well satisfied with them, that he ordered his Historiographer, who was present at the reading of them, not to forget to insert them into his life.

The Emperor reckoning that he had so far subdued the Spirits of his Subjects, that he might now do what he pleas'd with them; begun to make bolder steps towards the introducing of popery, than he had ventured to make before; and in order to make the Alexandrian Faith odious to his People, he set forth the following Manifesto, on purpose to blacken the Memories of their former Abuna's.

### **THE MANIFESTO OF THE EMPEROR SALTEM**

Saged cometh to the whole world of his Empire.

HEAR what we say and write in favor of the holy Faith (which is true, and has no crookedness in it) of the great City of Rome, the Chair of St. Peter, whom our Lord Jesus Christ Constituted the Prince of the faithful; telling

him from his own holy mouth, from whence no error could flow, Thou art Peter, &c. as he did also when he was ready to be crucified for the Redemption of the world. Simon, behold Satan hath designed to winnow thee as Wheat, but I have prayed that thy faith may not fail; commanding him likewise after his Resurrection, and before his Ascension in the flesh to Heaven, to feed his Rams, his Sheep and his Lambs, meaning by Rams, men, by Ewes women, and by Lambs children; and thus St. Peter had Authority given him over all Christians. This venerable Prince of the Apostles, when he was about to leave the world, that he might go to his Creator to receive his reward, bequeathed this privilege and primacy to his Successors in the Chair of Rome, where it has continued and will continue to the end of the world; so that it shall neither be in the power of the Moors nor Turks nor of any other Creature to destroy it; those words of our Lord Jesus, the Gates of all shall not prevail against it being its sure defence.

So when a Controversy arose in the Church, the first Council of Nice, which consisted of Three hundred and eighteen Bishops, threw Arius out of the Church, for affirming the Son of God to be a Creature; as the second Council, consisting of One hundred and fifteen Patriarchs and Bishops, assembled in the City of constantinople, did Macedonius, for asserting the Holy Ghost to be a Creature; and the third Council, did Nestorius, for dividing Christ into Two Persons, the Divine and the Human; and the fourth, consisting of Six hundred and thirty Patriarchs and Bishops, assembled in the City of Calcedon, Excommunicated the Rebellious Dioscorus, for joining in Infidelity with Eutyches, in mixing the Humanity with the Divinity, so as to make One only Nature; whereas it is most certain, That there are Two Natures in Christ, the Divine and Human; on the account of which Divine Nature it was, that the said Three hundred and eighteen Fathers did put the following words into the Creed, We believe in our Lord Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of the Father, and who was with him before the World was Created; as on the account of his Human Nature, the following words were added, And was conceived by the Holy Ghost, in the Womb of the Virgin Mary, with the Consent of the Father, and the Son, and of the said Holy Ghost, Three Persons and One only God; the Father and the Son not being named on that occasion, being no argument of those Father not believing they did not Co-operate therein with the Holy Spirit, but it was done on purpose to teach us, That in the Most Blessed Trinity, besides the operations ad Intra, there are operations



ad Extra; according to the holy Fathers; of those ad Extra, the Works of Power are attributed to the Father; those of Wisdom to the Son, and those of Love to the Holy Ghost: Wherefore since the Incarnation of the Son of God was for the sake of the Sons of Men, and for that reason was a Work of Love: The Three hundred and eighteen Fathers did attribute it to the Holy Spirit: Though in virtue and Power, and the Creation of things, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are One only True God: The Virgin Mary was mentioned by them upon account of the Human Nature, which in an instant united it self to the Eternal Person of the Son, who is equal in Divinity to the Father; and that in our Lord Jesus Christ, being only One Person, there are Two Natures, is written in divers Books of the Holy Spirit, St. Matthew in the beginning of it, calleth his Gospel, The book of the Generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham; which was said on the account of his Divine Nature that St. John saith, In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word; the Divine Nature having neither Beginning nor End; whereas the Human Nature had a Beginning. All which Writings notwithstanding, Eutyches, the Master of Mischief, did affirm, That there was only One Nature in Christ, and so mixed the Humanity with the Divinity; now this Rebel was followed by Dioscorus, who assisted him both in word and deed, and having procured the Murder of Flavianius, Patriarch of Constantinople, for having Excommunicated Eutyches, and some other obstinate Heretics that were before him, namely, Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius, and Sabellius; all which matters having been submitted to the Holy Roman Church, the Head of all other Churches, on the account of the Empire and Primacy that it hath by inheriting the Power of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles.

It is certain the Patriarchs who succeeded Dioscorus in the See of Alexandria, have not Preached the true Faith, in having taught that there is only One Nature in Christ; and so being destitute of the true Faith, they have wandered out of the paths of Patriarchs, Bishops, and Priests, in having had Wives and Children, and Grand-Children, and have been entangled in divers things not fit to be named; they have also taken Money for Holy Orders; and having Consecrated Salt Stones for Altar Stones, have afterwards sold them; having likewise tyrannized cruelly over those they Ordained, obliging several of them to serve them a Year, or Six Months at least, in sawing Wood or Stone for their Palaces, before they would Ordain them; for which Practice they were Excommunicated by the

Apostle, who said, He that buyeth or selleth Orders, is excommunicated; and has his portion with Simon Magus and Judas.

The Abuna Mark, was Convicted by the Emperor Malec Saged, of several carnal Crimes which are not fit to be heard or Uttered, they being of that kind for which God rained down fire from Heaven; and being Deposed for having been guilty of them, he was Banished into the island of Dek; where he died a strange death, his Belly swelling as hard as a Drum. The Abuna Christos Dula kept several Concubines, contrary to the custom of Patriarchs, as was well known by all his Contemporaries, and by some that are still alive. His Successor Peter kept a Malaquis Wife, and having been convicted of Adultery, he did Penance for it, as may be testified by several living Witnesses, namely one Joseph, and one Marino, who are both Strangers, and not Habassins; and who adding sin to sin, did Excommunicate the Emperor Jacob after he had Reigned Seven Years, as he did all the People of Ethiopia likewise, in case they did not Depose him, and Banish him to the Kingdom of Narea; and having placed Za Danguil in the Throne, he afterwards excited his Subjects to Murder him, by Excommunicating them if they did do it; and as if all this had not been enough, he took the Field with the Emperor Jacob against us, and was killed with him in the Fight. The Abuna Simon was guilty likewise of divers enormous Crimes, who besides his having taken one Mali an Egyptian's Wife from him, and dishonored several Virgins, he kept divers Concubines, and happening to have a Child by one who was not able to maintain it, to conceal his shame, he ordered it to be thrown to the Wolves, by whom it was devoured; this every body knows to be true, namely, the Azages; and who, when Julius Rebelled, instead of laboring, according to the custom of Patriarchs and Monks, to make Peace, joined with him in his Rebellion, and having called his Soldiers together, told them on the day before the Battle, That he forgave them all, Young and Old, their Sins, notwithstanding they had broke all the Commandments, upon condition they would put all to the Sword that they found in Arms in the Emperor's Camp, and that he would Canonize the Man that would kill the Emperor, assuring them that all that should be slain fighting against him, would die Martyrs, and go straightways to Heaven; encouraging Julius's Soldiers, after the example of Satan, to fight against us; but God was pleased to give us the Victory; and the Divine Justice having laid its Military hands upon him, he died an ill death. But to return to our chief intent, these Patriarchs in having, from the time of Dioscorus, denied Obedience to the Popes of Rome, who are the

Successors of St. Peter, the foundation of the Faith, and the Head of the Holy Church; and in having affirmed that there is only One Nature in Christ, and in having refused the Ordinances and Canons of the Apostles of our Lord, and wrested all writings to their own wicked purposes, have not led the People in the paths of Truth: Let us therefore give over yielding Obedience any longer to the Patriarchs of Alexandria, who are all Jacobites, walking in the ways of their Errors, and treading in the steps of Arius, Macedonius, Sabellius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus, and let us yield Obedience to the Bishop of Rome, who sits in the Chair of St. Peter, which Chair cannot Err in any matter of Faith or good Manners. And do you all in Peace follow the Holy Faith, which Christ our Lord built with his Holy Blood on the Cross, which he shed for the Salvation of all that do believe in him, for ever and ever. Amen.

This Manifesto, notwithstanding it is Orthodox as to what relates to the two Natures in Christ, yet its throwing so much dirt, and in all probability unjustly, on the Memories of the Habassin Abuna's, was a thing infinitely below the Dignity, as well as Charity of a Christian Emperor, who let his Religion be what it will, is not to write Libels, but to burn them rather, as Constantine did. And as to the policy of such a Manifesto at this time, unless the Emperor's Affairs were in such a condition, that it was safe for him to provoke his Subjects to Rebel, that so by subduing them, he might destroy the established Religion with the more ease, it was certainly stark naught, there being nothing that he could have done, that could have enraged his People more against him, than the making of such lewd reflections on Prelates, for whose Memories the Habassins had a most profound veneration; but such blunders as these are to be expected in places where Princes Councils are governed by People who have spent most of their days in a Cell, under the discipline of a blind Ordinance.

The Emperor about this time finding that notwithstanding he had enraged his Subjects almost to a madness against him by his Manifesto's and Proclamations in favor of Popery, that his Brother Raz Cella was still courted by the whole Roman Party as their Head, so that he was left, in a manner, without a Friend that he could confide in; he resolved upon some pretence or other to strip his Brother, not only of the Viceroyship of Gojam, but of all the Posts of Authority that he was possessed of, judging it to be necessary to his safety, to keep him as low as it was possible; and especially if the Portuguese Succors should come, which had been desired. Raz Cella, who was a Prince of a violent and rash Temper, having

discovered his Brother's jealousies of him, together with the resolutions they had made him take, did storm at such rate in all Companies, as to make the Emperor much more jealous than ever; who though resolved to throw him down, yet being willing to do it as gently as might be, he called him out of Gojam to Command an Army he was sending against one Cabrael, who had raised a Croisade against him.

Raz Cella, though he was not ignorant of what was his Brother's design in giving him this Command, yet being sensible that the Roman Party in Ethiopia was but a handful, and that the Alexandrians, who were a Thousand to One, would upon the Emperor's abandoning all Popish Interest, which a rupture with him at that time would have forced him to, not only have forgave him all that was past, but would as one man have declared for him, and stood by him in defence of their Religion; he judged it most advisable for him to obey the summons, and accordingly went and took the Command of the Army upon him, and having made a Vow to Francis Xavier to build a Church to him if he returned Victorious, he marched against Cabrael, who finding himself too weak to resist the Royal Army, trussed up his Baggage so soon as it approached, him, retiring with what speed he could to the Gauls, by whom, being hired to do it, he was Murdered; which success was so far from reconciling the Emperor to his Brother, that it made him more afraid of him than ever.

Now while things were thus in Ethiopia, at Rome and Madrid they thought it was more than time that a Patriarch were sent thither with Two Coadjutors, and with the same Power as the former; and accordingly one Alfonso Mendez being named Patriarch, and James Seco and John da Rocha, Bishops of Nice and Hieropolis, his Two Coadjutors by Philip the Fourth, they were approved by the Pope, and having obtained their Dispensations, for they were all Three Jesuits, and Bulls, the Patriarch and Bishop Elect of Nice, were Consecrated at Lisbon by Prelates of a much higher Sphere than the former Patriarch, their Order by this time having pretty well worn off the odium of Novelty; the Consecration of the Bishop Elect of Hieropolis being prorogued to the Indies.

On the 28th of May, the Patriarch with the Elect of Hieropolis, the Bishop of Nice having died in the Voyage, arrived at Goa, where he stayed till the 17th. of September, and then embarked for Chaul, where he met with the following Letters from the Emperor and his Brother.

### THE EMPEROR'S LETTER.

WITH the Peace of the good Pastor who gave his Life for our Sheep, We do give many thanks to God our Lord, who has granted us our desires and petitions; and has been pleased to fulfil the time, when your Lordship was to come to be our Patriarch, with two Bishops coadjutors, who will be all found little enough to help these straying Sheep in a stormy day. May God

bring your Lordship to us in Peace and health, and give you such a passage, that we may have you among us quickly, as the necessity of this Empire does require, with the greatness of which the Fathers have, I presume, acquainted you at large; in the mean time we do beseech God so to order matters, that they may all redound to his Glory and Honor, and the good of so many Souls.

*May 1624.*

### RAZ CELLA CHRISTOS'S LETTER TO THE PATRIARCH.

THE Peace of our Lord, the eternal word by whom all things were made, and all for his sake, who took our humanity in the Womb of the entirely holy Virgin; and without grudging did offer himself in the Temple of the Cross for our sake, Preserve your Lordships person from all Temporal evils, shedding the dew of health so on the fleece of your life, as to bring you in safety to that high Dignity to which he hath called you, and to which your Predecessor could never attain. Your Lordship's Letter when I received it, threw me into such an Ecstasy of joy, as that the Souls of the Fathers, when they were expecting the Advent of our Saviour, were thrown into, when that Ray of Divinity appeared to them, in so much that I may safely say, that from my Childhood to this day, I never felt any exultation in my heart equal to that, not being able in the balance of my heart to weigh the gold of the joy I derived from your Lordship's Letter, which was purified by a strong flame of love, on the arrival of your Lordship's Piety; what shall I return to God, who is slow to anger, and of great mercy? and who does not look upon the countenance of my wickedness with the eyes of a vigorous Justice, though he is a searcher out even of venial Sins; for having prolonged my life to hear the joyful news which I have been many years expecting, the Nerve of my thoughts having for a long time depended and hung on the Tree of your Lordship's love; now as God who is entirely good, and of abundant kindness, has made me worthy to hear the news of your Lordship, and has thereby unburdened me

of that load of trouble which had for several years lain so heavy upon me for the sake of the holy faith; so he will, I hope, think me worthy to see your Lordship's face, and to kiss your shoes, being brim full of Love and Charity. I must beg your Lordship to make all the haste you can to us, that so this Land of Ethiopia, which is at present in the way of corrupt Doctrine, and in the crooked Faith of Dioscorus, and abounding with Errors, may be wafted into the secure harbor of the true faith of St. Leo, the Pope of Rome, and Successor of St. Peter, and Pastor of Pastors. This Country is very Large, and has many Tribes of Heathens in it, who do all desire to receive the Christian faith; and it was not long since I destroyed a prodigious Idol, whose beginning was not known among them, nor the time when it was first Worshiped; it was adored by a great many Tribes of Heathens, called Agus, who since I burnt it to ashes, have flocked in great numbers to Baptism; and it has been the same among the Caffres; neither do we want any thing but Fathers to perfect these Conversions; for which reason I beseech you a second time to bring great Numbers of them with you, &c.

What it should be that made the Jesuits et caetera such an Original of their Beu-Clerks, if it was not, that in the suppressed part of it he writ as vehemently for Portuguese Troops, which they thought would not look well in him at a time when he was upon such ill terms with his Brother, as he did in the part they have published, for Fathers, let the Reader discover if he can; but however this were, it is certain, that when he was in disgrace with the Emperor his Nephew, that he writ for such Troops at a more vehement rate than he does here for Jesuits.

In May the Patriarch landed at Baylar, from whence he went disguised to the King of Dancalis Court: The Dancalians, who attended him as his Guard, having heard that there was an Abuna or Patriarch among the Fathers, were still inquiring, which was the Patriarch: We told them, saith the Patriarch himself, That he died at Sea; meaning the Bishop of Nice.

The King entertained the Fathers, for the Patriarch was still incognito, very courteously; and through ignorance refused a Noble Present they would have made him, and accepted of a Trifle.

On the 21st. of June the Patriarch arrived at Fremona, having one morning by the way seen a Prodigious Star in the Heavens: Some of the Fathers were of opinion, that it was the Star which Conducted the Wisemen to

Bethlehem; but the Patriarch dissented from them, and demonstrated it to be the Figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary, who being the Star both of the Morning and Sea, appeared to them to promise them her light; which being agreed to by all, the Hymn, Ave Maria Maris Stella, &c. and the Antiphona, Sub tuum praesidium, were sung to it.

The Patriarch continued at Fremona till November; the Emperor having sent him word, that so soon as he had made an end of chastising some Jews that were in Arms against him in the Mountains of Cemen, he should have orders to come to Court; but Raz Cella, who would always outdo his Brother in civility to the Roman-Catholics, with his Present and Compliment, sent the Patriarch a strong Guard, to wait upon him wherever he went. In December the Patriarch arrived at Gorgora, where he ordained Twenty Priests, ordaining such of them as were in Habassin Orders, with a Condition; and permitting such of them as were Married, to live with their Wives. Not many days after, he received an Invitation from the Emperor to come to Dancez, where the Court was at that time; and being come within half a League of the Royal Camp, he was met by most of the Officers of the Court in their best Clothes, and a body of Sixteen Thousand Soldiers; who after having made him a profound reverence, opened to the Right and left to make a Lane for him. Among the Grandees that went out to meet him, were Basilides, the Emperor's Eldest Son, and his sure Friend Raz Cella Christos.

In this State the Patriarch was Conducted to a Tent that was prepared for him without the Camp; where having put on his Pontificals, the Princes and Grandees all alighted and kissed his hand. When that Ceremony was over, he Mounted again, and was Conducted to a Tent within the Camp; where having put on his Mitre, he Mounted a stately Horse richly equipped, that the Emperor had presented him with; and riding under a sumptuous Canopy, that was supported by Six Viceroyes, he advanced to the Church Jan Jabet, having his Horse led all the way by Serca Christos the Steward of the Household.

When the Patriarch entered into the Church, he found the Emperor there, sitting on his Throne with his Crown on his Head; who when the Patriarch drew near to him, rose up and embraced him with great Affection, the Patriarch having paid his Devoirs to the Emperor, went up to the Altar; where having spent some time in Devotion, he seated himself in his Pontifical Chair, and begun a Sermon, taking for his Text those words of

the Psalmist, Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to live together in unity. His Discourse is said to have been the more applauded, for its having been the first Sermon that was ever preached in Ethiopia by an Abuna: Upon which, as if all Popes and Roman Archbishops were constant and laborious Preachers, and mortal haters of Money; the Jesuits triumphed, and made this reflection, That by this, if there had been nothing else, the Habassins might have seen the difference there was betwixt their Church and that of Rome, their former Abunas having come amongst them for no other end, but to get money out of them; the Patriarch having given the blessing, was told the Emperor staid for him in the great Hall of the Palace; who when the Patriarch came near, rose up and made him sit down by him in a Chair, that differed nothing from that he himself sat on; the Emperor after they were both seated, inquired very kindly about the Patriarch's health, and the length and fatigues of his Voyage; and some Compliments and Ejaculations having passed on both sides, they fixed the day whereon the Emperor and all his Converts were publicly to swear obedience to the Pope in the hands of the Patriarch.

The Eleventh of December, which was the day appointed for the Solemnity, being come, the Emperor and all the Court-Converts repaired to the great Hall of the Palace, in which there were two Chairs of State placed near the Throne, one on the right side for the Emperor, and another on the left for the Patriarch; who being seated with his Tiara on his head, and in a Cope of Asperges, he begun a Sermon, taking for his Text, Thou art Peter, &c. I shall not trouble the Reader with the Sermon, there being nothing in it but the common Roman Mumpsimus upon those words, and the gross fallacy of confounding, the Supremacy the Church of Rome now pretends to, with that primacy of order that was anciently given to it purely in consideration of Rome's being the first city in the Empire; to which purpose the Patriarch quoted a Canon of the Council of Nice, which he told the Habassins they would find in their own Books, which runs as follows:

*There are four principal Chairs in the World which are as the four Rivers that flow out of Paradise; or as the four universal Winds, or as the four Elements; but above all the Chair of St. Peter has the Dignity and Primacy; and in the second place that of St. Mark of Alexandria; in the third place that of St. John; in the fourth that of Antioch, which was also St. Peter's, from which four all the other Bishops are derived.*



Now this Canon, besides that it is not a Canon of the Council of Nice, which in its Constitution relating to the Hierarchy, contradicts it in making Antioch and not Ephesus the third Chair, and Jerusalem the fourth; it overthrows that very Supremacy to which the Habassins were about to swear obedience, in giving no other Primacy to the Roman, over the other three Patriarchs than it does to the Alexandrian over the other two, which was undoubtedly a Primacy only of Order and not of Jurisdiction; for had the Primacy that is here given to these Chairs, been given out of respect to the Apostles who were their first Bishops, then Antioch must have been the second if not the first, and Alexandria the last; but notwithstanding it is not easy to imagine, that the Patriarch should be ignorant of these two great flaws in his Canon, he concluded it with this flourish, See now to whom you ought to give most Credit, to a gross Falsary or Cheat, or to a Decree of Three hundred and eighteen Catholic Fathers.

There was another thing which he much insisted upon, which was, That there had been Heretical Bishops in all the other Chairs, whereas no Bishop that had sat in the Chair of Rome, had ever been so much as suspected of any Heresy; which to say no worse of it, was a bold word, considering That Liberius stands accused by all his Contemporaries of Arianism; and Honorius, Bishop of the same See, was condemned by Name in Two General Councils, as a Heretic. But the Habassins having little or no knowledge in Church-History, encouraged the Patriarch to make so bold with them.

When the Patriarch had ended his Sermon, the Emperor Commanded the Viceroy of Cemen, who was Lord High Chamberlain, to speak in his Name.

There is but one thing remarkable in the Chamberlain's Speech, that is, his saying, That the people of Ethiopia did compel the Emperor much against his will, to take the Crown upon him, and that if they would have let him alone, he would have been much better contended to have lived and died in the Monastery they found him in, than to have been made an Emperor. Now this is very different from the History we have of him, which makes him, during Jacob and Za Danguil's Reign, to have scoured about with a Body of Raperees, and to have fought his way to the Throne.

When the Chamberlain had done speaking, the Emperor turned about to the Patriarch, and told him, Your Lordship is not to think that what I am

about to do now is a new thing, I having some years ago yielded Obedience to the Pope, in the hands of the Father Superior, who is here present; nevertheless being willing to do it again with more Solemnity, he took the Book of the Gospels in his hand and, Kneeling down before the Patriarch, made his Submission in the form following:

WE Seltem Saged, Emperor of Ethiopia, Do Believe and Confess, That St. Peter was Constituted Prince of the Apostles by our Lord Jesus Christ, as also Head of the whole Christian Church, Christ having given him a Principality and Dominion over the whole World, when he said unto him, Thou art Peter; and when at another time he Commanded him to feed his Sheep. We do also Believe and Confess, That the Pope of Rome, being lawfully Elected, is the true Successor of the Apostle St. Peter in that Government, having the same Power, Dignity, and Primacy over the whole Christian Church. And to the Holy Father Urban the VIIIth. who is, by the Grace of God, Pope at this time, and our Lord; and to his Successors in the Government of the Church, We do Promise, Offer, and Swear, to Obedience and Subjection with all humility at his Feet, for our own Person and Empire So help us God, and this Holy Gospel.

Upon this Submission the Emperor was represented here in Europe, by the Missionaries as one of the greatest Saints that had ever worn a Crown: But upon his returning to re-establish the Alexandrian Faith again, which he did, not many years after, we have this great Character recanted, being represented on that occasion, and that by the same Missionaries, as a wretch that had never any thing in him that was good. So that Princes are Saints or Devils with some people, as they are Friends or Foes to the Pope, of which Queen Elizabeth, and Mary Queen of Scots, are a home instance.

After the Emperor, the Princes, Viceroy, and Ecclesiastics of the Court made their Submissions, saying, I. N. to Promise, Offer, and Swear the same. So help me God, and these Holy Gospels. When the Solemnity of Swearing was ended, Raz Cella Christos began an harangue, and having talked himself into an heat, he drew his Sword, and holding it up naked, said, what is now is now, and what is past is past, but whosoever shall not do his duty hereafter, this, shaking his Sword, shall be his Judge.

After this, all that were present took an Oath to Prince Basilides, as Heir and Successor to his Father; which Oath, say the Jesuits, when the Great Raz Cella Christos came to take, he, like a true Son of the Roman Church,

took it with a Condition, worthy of his Courage and Christianity, saying, I Swear to the Prince as Heir to his Father in the Empire, and I do promise to Obey him as a Loyal Subject, so long as he shall Hold, Defend, and Favor, the Holy Catholic Faith, which whensoever he shall cease to do, I will be both his first and greatest Enemy: All his Officers and Servants taking the Oath to the Prince with the same Condition.

The Solemnity was concluded with an Excommunication pronounced by the Patriarch against those who should at any time violate these Oaths; and with two Proclamations, the one prohibiting all Habassin Priests to perform any Ecclesiastical Office before they had presented themselves to the Patriarch; and the other commanding all the Subjects of the Empire, upon pain of Death, to embrace Popery, and to discover all such as adhered to their Ancient Religion, Commanding them likewise to observe Lent and Easter according to the Roman Style.

The next thing to be done, was to settle a Revenue on the Patriarch, suitable to the height of his Dignity, to which the Lands and Perquisites of the former Abuna's were not reckoned to be sufficient; the Emperor therefore bestowed a great Estate in Land, lying upon the shore of the Lake of Dembea, upon him, giving him also the Palace of the Empress Mariam Eima, and ordering another Palace to be Built for him in Dancaz, where the Court resided for the most part.

The Patriarch having thus feathered his own Nest, begun to look abroad, and having got the Emperor to found a College for Sixty Students at Dancaz, he begun to send his Missionaries about, and not having Fathers enough for so great an harvest, he was forced to make use of such Habassins as were observed to have the most Zeal for the Roman Church.

And as it is common with some People to reckon a work done before it is well begun, so when the News of this solemn submission came to Lisbon, Ethiopia was reckoned to be the Pope's, as sure as Portugal; for in a Book Printed there in the year 1623. by one Vega a Jesuit, the World was told, That the fervor wherewith the Habassins crowded into the bosom of Mother Church, was too great to be either expressed or conceived, and that there was nothing to be heard all over that vast Empire, but Praises of the Roman Faith; Old and Young, Rich and Poor, declaring that there was nothing to be compared to it; and that whereas hitherto they had been as blind as Bats, and miserably imposed upon, they do now behold the Light,

and are happily rescued from the Blindness and Cheats of false Teachers, the Roman being the only Faith that deserved to be maintained; and if there should be occasion, that is worth the dying for. Nay, the Patriarch himself, as appears from a Letter of his sent to Portugal about this time, was pretty sanguine too, having assured the Fathers of his Society, That he spoke within the compass when he said, an Hundred thousand had been Converted within a Year to the Roman Church; which, considering that Ethiopia is no very populous Country, was an extraordinary Harvest. And I do well remember, that in the year 1685. he would have been looked upon at Lisbon as one of the greatest liars in the World, that should have denied that in Eight Months time above Six hundred thousand Protestants had been Christened, for that was the word, in England.

There were likewise a great may pretty stories, either sent from Ethiopia or made at Lisbon, upon this occasion; I shall only set down one of them, by which the Reader may judge of the rest.

The Emperor having one day commanded one of his Sons, who was but a Child, to take up the Cudgels for the Roman Church, against one of the most Learned of the Habassin Monks, Bellarmine, for so the Emperor used to call that Child, took the Monk to task presently, asking him, without any premeditation, Whether he Believed Christ to have been God before he was Born? The Monk made answer, he did: Bellarmine then asked him, Whether he did not believe God's Nature to be different from Man's Nature? The Monk answered, It was undoubtedly: Hold your hand then, said Bellarmine, since you acknowledge he was God that took Man's Nature upon him, How can you deny that there must be Two Natures in Christ; which with argument the poor Monk was struck as mute as a Fish. It is no great matter whether this story was true or not, it being enough that it was pat for a Sermon upon the Text, Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, &c.

But as all other Orders, as we have hinted before, do accuse the Jesuit Missionaries of magnifying their own Labors and Successes thus, beyond all the bounds of Credibility, so they do complain likewise of their disparaging the Labors of all other Friars in their remote Missions.

Of which Proud and envious carriage, the Jesuits resident at Agra do, in their Letters of this Year to their Superiors at Goa, furnish us with a notable instance; where, speaking of some Friars, who, I suppose were

Carmelites, being come newly to that City, they say, They were so high-flown, as to pretend to nothing under Raising the Dead; adding, they have begun to work, but we do not as yet hear, that they have Raised any that were Dead to Life: We pray God they may prove true Prophets.

But though the Roman Church was thus Triumphant at Court, the whole Body of the Empire, notwithstanding the late bloody Proclamation, was extremely prejudiced against it, and the whole Court, for its sake, so that the Patriarch's Missionaries, wherever they went, met with but bad entertainment.

Two of them going into a Church in Tigre to say Mass, were Commanded, by a Person of Honor that lived in the Neighborhood, to go and say their Masses somewhere else, and not in the Church where his Father, who had lived and died in the Alexandrian Faith, lay buried; but the Missionaries, knowing they had the Government on their side, made answer, That he must not think to terrify them out of their Duties, for Mass they came to say there, and Mass they would say. The Gentleman finding they were not to be hindered by Threats, offered them Money to forbear; and when he found that would not do neither, he threw himself down upon his Father's grave, crying in a mighty Passion, that he would be buried with his Father, rather than suffer a thing to be done there, which he knew must be offensive to his Ghost.

But the Missionaries taking no notice of his words, performed their Masses, which provoked the Gentleman to that degree, that he had them both Murdered next Night in their Beds.

The Emperor and the Court kept the Holy Week and Easter with the Patriarch at the Church of Geneta Jesus, where Raz Cella, the Hero of the Jesuits Histories, with his Captains, guarded the Sepulcher all Good-Friday at night; and in the procession there were several that whipped themselves, after the fashion of Portugal, which was a strange sight in Ethiopia.

The Patriarch having published the Six first General councils with a Catechism in the Habassin Tongue, begun a Visitation; but finding himself not able to endure the fatigue thereof, he cut it short, leaving it to the new Bishop, who was expected daily from the Indies. The Emperor upon his having been told that the Patriarch had demanded no Fees of the Clergy at his Visitation, is said to have reflected upon the former Abuna's; who not having so great an Estate, as he had bestowed upon the Patriarch, did use

to take some; saying of them, That they seemed to have held Visitations for no other end but to get Money, the thing in the World the Roman Prelates and Jesuits hate the most.

In the Year 1627, the Gauls made a great Incursion into Ethiopia; and having surprised the Viceroy Bucu, who was a great Stickler for Popery, they put him and his whole Army to the Sword, but they were afterwards driven home by Raz Cella, who does all the great things in the Jesuits Histories.

But the ill success of Julius, Joanel, and others who had taken up Arms in defence of their Religion, had not so far cowed the Zeal of the Habassins, as to make them submit quietly to the Establishment of Popery; and the discontented Grandees, which are what no Government ever wanted, knowing the people to be extremely angry with the Emperor and the Court, are said to have made use of their Religious resentments for the carrying on of their own private designs.

And accordingly Tecla Guergis, the Viceroy of Tigre, who was Married to a Daughter of the Emperor's, Published a Proclamation on the Fifth of November; wherein having declared himself of the Alexandrian Faith, and swore to Defend it with the last drop of his Blood against all the world; He ordered all that were of the same faith to bring in all the Crucifixes and Reliques which had been forced upon them by the Fathers; and having got great numbers of them into his hands, he made a Bonfire of them all, telling the Monks and Soldiers, who were rejoicing at the sight, That they might see by this that he was in earnest; and not contented with having given them this assurance of his having absolutely broke with his Father-in-Law and the Jesuits; He Murdered his own Chaplain in the sight of the Camp, because he refused to return to the Alexandrian Faith, giving his body afterwards to the Officers of his Army, who with their Scimitars cut it in a thousand pieces.

When the Emperor heard of this new Croisade, he sent Kebo Christus with an Army to suppress it in the beginning; who having Marched day and night, was up with Guergis sooner than he expected; Guergis nevertheless trusting to the Zeal and Number of his Forces, accepted of a Battle when it was offered him by Kebo; who having encouraged his men with a short Speech, dispersed the Alexandrians with the first shock he gave them, few of them having been killed fighting, besides Twelve Monks. Kebo, who

was a Bigoted Papist, made a great slaughter, sparing neither Man, Woman, nor Child; and Guergis, who had hid himself in a Cave, being taken three days after the fight, was sent by him under a strong Guard to the Emperor, by whom he was condemned to be burnt to Ashes, not for his Treason, but for his Apostasy, and the Bonfire he had made; who having desired to speak with a Roman Priest before he died, had Father Antonio sent to him by the Patriarch, with full powers to absolve him from all censures in case he found him penitent. Guergis, hoping that his turning Roman-Catholic would have helped him to a pardon, told the Father that he was extremely sorry for what he had done, and desired nothing so much as to be reconciled again to the Roman Church, being resolved to die in her Faith. The Father having made him abjure the Alexandrian Faith, confessed and absolved him from all the censures he had incurred; but Guergis perceiving that all that he was like to get by having turned Papist, was only to be hanged in the prison as a Rebel, and not burnt publicly alive as an Heretic; when he was brought to the place of Execution, he declared openly, That he died in the Alexandrian, and not in the Roman Faith. The Emperor when he heard of this, sent an order to bring him immediately out of prison, to hang him on a Tree that stood near the Palace.

When the Officers came to the prison, they found him hanging; and perceiving that he was not quite dead, they cut him down; and carrying him to that Tree, hanged him upon it. The Emperor carried all the Court-Ladies to entertain them with this sad spectacle; and having commanded them to look on the Dead body, he told them, That from that day forward, they would do well to look to themselves and if they either rejected or forsook the Roman Faith; not to expect a pardon for it, since he had denied one to his own Son-in-Law for having done it; and to terrify the tender Sex the more, about fifteen days after, he commanded Adivato, a Lady of great Quality, to be hanged before them upon the same Tree; for whose pardon, when the Empress and all the Ladies of the Court had thrown themselves at his feet, he shook them off, saith Father Anthony, with the following Noble Fable.

There was upon a time a very ancient man, who being told that a Child was dead, made answer, Children are tender Creatures, and a small matter carries them off; and being told afterwards there was a Young man dead, he said, Considering the rashness of Youth, that was no wonder; but when he was told that an Old man was dead, he wrung his hands, and cried as if the world had been at an end, imagining death stood ready to arrest him;

So, saith the Emperor, you could see Guergis and his Companions suffer without speaking a word in their behalf, but now one of your own Sex is to suffer, you are all in an uproar to save her; but I will have you all know, That this Shoestring of Aba Jacob's, whom Guergis had Murdered for being a Roman Priest, is strong enough to hang this Sow, and all such as she is.

Father Anthony, who was present at all these Executions, has in his Relation of them, made so true a remark upon the change Popery had wrought on the Emperor's temper, and on the practice of the Habassins, who seldom or never used to put Grandees, and much less Ladies, to death, for Treason, or indeed for any other Crime, that I shall set it down in his own words; Whosoever, saith he, shall diligently read the History of Ethiopia, and shall observe the want of Vindictive Justice that was therein, and the Clemency Saltem Saged had used before with all that had Rebelled against him, must of necessity reckon his Punishing of Tecla Guergis so severely, to have been one of the greatest Miracles that had happened in many years in Ethiopia. For let the Church of Rome be what She will, as to her working Miracles that are any ways beneficial to Mankind, they must be very unjust to her that deny her the honor of working such Miracles as these in the tempers of her Converts. But, as we shall see hereafter, these Miracles of Cruelty did the Fathers no great kindness in Ethiopia, at long run. Neither were the Cruelties of an unprovoked Persecution at this time in Ethiopia, less wonderful than those of War; the inhumanity of the former being such, as to overtake those, who for Conscience sake had forsaken all that they had in the world, and had Buried themselves in Caves and Dens of the Earth; out of which, when discovered, they were either ferreted to be burnt, if they would not turn Roman-Catholics, or smoked to death in them. The memory of which Barbarities is to this day so fresh in the minds of the Habassins, that as they do still continue to have a great Veneration for those Caves wherein their Brethren suffered Martyrdom, so they cannot hear a Jesuit or a Roman-Catholic so much as mentioned, but with horror.

The Patriarch and Fathers reckoning themselves sure of the Emperor, after these miraculous cruelties, for which they believed the Alexandrians would never be reconciled to him, begun to make bolder steps than they had ventured to make before; and so the Patriarch having been informed that an Ancient Nobleman, who had been of the Council of State, and Chamberlain to the Emperor, had some Lands which belonged to the Church in his hands, he first admonished him to restore them to the Church immediately;



which the Nobleman having refused to do, the Patriarch seeing him afterwards at Mass, ordered an Excommunication to be pronounced against him; the Nobleman having never dreamt of any such Thunderclap, is said to have been so astonished by its Curses and Maledictions, That he fell upon the ground, as if Dathan and Abiram, to whom the Excommunication had delivered him, had been coming upon him like two furies to carry him quick down into Hell; but being come to himself again, he beseeched the Emperor and the whole Congregation to intercede with the Patriarch in his behalf, promising to restore the Lands to the Church immediately; which being done, the Patriarch absolved him in forma Ecclesiae, striking him with a rod all the time the Miserere was Singing. At which exercise of Discipline, though all the true Romanists, say the Jesuits, rejoiced, that they were Heretics in their hearts were mad to see themselves subjected to such reproachful punishments.

In this Year the Foundation of the Patriarchal Church was laid at Dancez; the Emperor himself having laid the first stone, and promised to build it at his own proper cost; and as an Earnest of his Devotion for our Lady, to whom it was Dedicated, he took a Crown of pure Gold off his Head and gave it to be employed in gilding the Seats in our Lady's Chapel; it was to have been a large Church with three Naves, but Popery did not stay long enough in Ethiopia to see it finished: for at the same time that its foundations were laid, the Emperor's jealousies of his Brother revived again; one Melcha Christos, who was his first Cousin having assured both the Emperor and the Prince, that Raz Cella was continually plotting with the Patriarch and the Fathers, to bring a Portuguese Army into Ethiopia, to make himself Emperor; in which charge Melcha Christos was seconded by one Lessana Christos, who being an Officer of the Army, was secured by Raz Cella, so soon as he heard of his being one of his accusers, and condemned him to be put to death immediately as an Apostate to the Alexandrian Faith. Lessana, to prevent the Execution of this Sentence, appealed to the Emperor; and fearing lest he might be dispatched out of the way, before he could have an answer from Court, he broke prison; but being taken before he could get to the Emperor, he had his head chopped off, not for Heresy, but for having broke Jail. But Raz Cella by stopping of Lessana's mouth thus, did open a Thousand against him; and did Confirm the Emperor and the Prince in their former jealousies; it being in every body's mouth, that Raz Cella had murdered Lessana for no other reason, but because he was privy to his plotting secretly with the Patriarch, and

was ready to have proved it upon him if he had been suffered to go to Court.

The discovery of this plot gave a fatal blow to Popery in Ethiopia; every body, but especially the Prince, being satisfied, that considering how Raz Cella had rendered himself to the Habassins, it could be nothing but his having received some assurances of a Portuguese Army, that could have put such fumes into his head; so that after this the Prince never gave over persecuting the Patriarch and Fathers until he had rid Ethiopia of them, as we shall see hereafter.

In the Year 1629, the Agau's of Begameder took up Arms for their Religion; and having Massacred the Soldiers that were Quartered upon them, and driven their Viceroy Za Mariam out of the Province, they sent Envoys to a Prince of the Royal Family, who had taken sanctuary among the Gauls, to come and take the Crown of Ethiopia, which belonged to him of right, upon him; promising to stand by him in Defence of their Religion, with their Lives and Fortunes. This Prince was probably Son either to the late Emperor Jacob, or to Za Danguil, who are both said to have had Sons; though we hear nothing of them after their Fathers were slain, unless we will believe Zaga Christi, who died at Ruel near Paris in the Year 1629, to have been the Son of Jacob, as he pretended; and who reported there, that it was with the assistance of the Portugueses, that Suseneus had Conquered and Murdered his Father, on the account of his being an Enemy to the Roman Faith.

But whosoever Son this Prince was whom the Agau's had invited to take the Crown upon him, he came to them with the Envoys they had sent to him; and having accepted of the Crown, did swear to defend the Alexandrian Faith against all the world: Upon which the Monks, who were enraged almost to madness, by the Emperor's having commanded all his Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, immediately to turn Roman-Catholics, flocked to their Alexandrian Emperor from all parts, declaring against the Emperor, as another Julian the Apostate; and who was not content with having abandoned the Religion of his Fathers himself, but he would force all the People of Ethiopia to follow his Example. By which tragical Exclamations they raised the Country wherever they came, chiefly the Peasants of Lasta, who have the reputation of being the stoutest Men in the whole Empire. But the Emperor having got together an Army of Twenty five thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse, Marched towards

the Peasants by the way of Gojam, in the beginning of February, and having attacked the strong Mountain of Lasta on all sides, he was beat back, having besides his General and several Persons of the first Quality, Seven hundred Soldiers slain in the Action. The Peasants flushed with this Success, followed their blow so close, that they obliged the Emperor to Retreat; and had not Kebo Christos come in to him very seasonably with a Body of old Troops, it was thought the Peasants would have gone near to have hemmed him in among the Mountains, which if they had done, they would have had him and his whole Army at their mercy.

The Emperor, though very unwilling to have employed his Brother any more, was forced by the condition of his Affairs to do it, not having a Man, besides him, that knew how to Command an Army; and accordingly he sent to him, to come and take that Command upon him; Raz Cella, who since his Disgrace had retired into the Country of the Agau's, having received this Message from the Emperor, yielded Obedience to it; and having, after he had got into Gojam, placed Guards in all the Passages the Agau's had into that Province, he repaired to Court, where he was received with great appearances of Respect and Affection.

But the News, which came a few days after, of the Agau's being got into the heart of Gojam, which they were plundering at a most unmerciful rate, the Soldiers that had been left by Raz Cella to Guard the Passages, having all either run home, or gone over to the Agau's so soon as they approached them, revived Peoples former jealousies of Raz Cella, it being in every body's mouth, That he was in a Correspondence with the Agau's, and had placed such Men in the Passes, as he knew certainly would go over to them, or that at least would not oppose them. Whereupon Raz Cella that he might clear himself of these suspicions, Marched with all the speed he could towards the Agau's; who having advice of his advancing towards them, withdrew, returning home full of the Spoils of that rich Country; which the Alexandrians said confidently, Raz Cella might have prevented if he had had a mind to it. But notwithstanding all these surmises, and that his having thus obliged the Agau's to leave Gojam, was no argument at all of his having had no hand in letting them into it; the Emperor was, it seems, so well satisfied with his conduct, that he gave him the Viceroyship of that Kingdom again, giving the Chief Command of the Army to the Prince, who was now become a mortal Enemy to the Patriarch and the Fathers.

The Alexandrians having thus got the Prince entirely in their Interest, begun to contrive how to rid the Court of all that were Champions for Popery in it; and having persuaded the Emperor to send his Brother into Gojam, they got him likewise to send Kebo Christos, who was the second great stickler for Popery, into Tigre, whereof he was Viceroy, pretending his presence there was necessary, by reason of its neighborhood to the Peasants that were in Arms.

Kebo, though he was sensible upon what design he was Commanded to his Government, yet not being in a condition to refuse, he pretended to be very willing to leave the Court, giving this for his reason, That he was not able to bear the coldness that increased in it daily for Popery; declaring, That he had much rather be slain by the Peasants of Lasta, Fighting for the Faith, than continue Chamberlain to the Emperor, and be obliged to Persecute those Good Men who had instructed him therein, which he saw plainly the Court would be brought to do in a short time. Thus Kebo full of fears and discontents left the Court, and being arrived at Tigre, went immediately to Fremona, where having spent some days with the Fathers, only about Ghostly business, he advanced from thence with a small Body into the Kingdom of Amahara, where the Prince had promised to join him with the Army; but Kebo having been sent thither by the Alexandrians on purpose to be Sacrificed, no Prince came near him; and having waited for him till his Provisions were all spent, the Peasants, as he was retreating to Tigre, fell upon his Rear, and having Slain him, as he was Fighting Manfully to have made good his Retreat, his Soldiers, who were all in their hearts Alexandrians, so soon as they saw their General fall, went over to the Peasants as to the Defenders of their Faith.

The Patriarch, who performed a solemn Office for Kebo's Soul, was wonderfully afflicted for the loss of such a Champion; and as Misfortunes do seldom come single, his tears were not well dried up for this loss, before he received the bad News of Tecur Egzi, the Grandee that was to have gone Ambassador to Portugal, being killed by the Gauls in an inroad they had made into the Kingdom of Damotes.

Upon the fall of these Two Pillars of the Roman Church, the Alexandrians about the Court grew bolder every day, and having observed the Emperor to be Melancholy upon such a run of Losses, they all waited upon him in a Body, one of them, in the Name of all the rest, asking him:

Sir, We desire to know how long we are to worry one another thus? The poor Peasants that are in Arms have no Quarrel with your Highness, but only for forcing them to be of the Roman Religion: That Religion may, perhaps, be true, but it is what they do not understand, neither will they trouble themselves, being well satisfied with their Old Religion, to study a New one; and so being resolved never to be of any other Faith but that of their Forefathers, they have set up an Emperor, who has promised to defend them in the Profession of it, calling us Turks and Moors for having not only embraced a New Religion our selves, but for Persecuting of them because they will not do it. The Emperor though he returned them no answer to these passionate Remonstrances, encouraged them by his silence and attention to what they said, to ply him daily upon that point; desiring him, at least, to leave his Subjects to their liberty of being which of the Two Religions they liked best.

But as when things are tumbling, every small push hastens their fall; so there were Two Actions of the Patriarch's which gave Popery a terrible shake, in the tottering condition it was in at Court.

The first was, His having commanded the Corpse of an Eminent Monk, who had been for several years General of the whole Order of Tecla Haymonot, to be taken out of the Grave, where it lay Buried in a Church, and be thrown into the open Fields, for his having declared at his Death, That he died in the Alexandrian, and not in the Roman Faith. It is not to be imagined, say the Jesuits, how great a storm this act of Discipline put the whole Empire into; it being in every Body's mouth, That the Romanists were not satisfied with Persecuting People while they were alive, who would not turn to their Religion, but did Persecute them beyond the Grave; which puts a stop to the Rage of all other Nations and Sects of People, by Commanding their Bodies, contrary to the Laws of Humanity, to be taken out of the Earth, and thrown for a Prey to the Birds and Wild Beasts.

The second was, the Patriarch having committed a Woman to Prison for being a Witch, and, notwithstanding upon his having been informed that there was a Law in Ethiopia which prohibited People to believe that there is any such thing as Witches; the belief whereof, they say, is founded upon the Error of the Manichees, That there are Two Independent Gods, a Good one, and a Bad one; he commanded her presently to be set at Liberty; yet that was not sufficient to stop the Clamor, or to keep the Alexandrians from accusing the Portugueses of being Manichees, and who in defiance to

the ancient Laws of the Empire, were endeavoring to bring the belief of Two Eternal and Independent Principles in among them.

There was another thing happened at this time too, which, though in it self ridiculous, made a great noise, and did Popery some disservice.

A Man, who appeared to be Distracted, running into the great Hall of the Palace, cried out, He had a Message from Heaven to deliver to the Emperor; the Alexandrians, who were believed to have made the Farce, having persuaded the Emperor to hear what he had to say, he told his Highness, That it was now Three days since he was Raised from the Dead, and having since been carried up to Paradise, was sent by God to deliver the following Message to him:

Hear, O Emperor, I have bore with you for some Years, expecting that you would have Repented of the great Sin you have been guilty of, in forsaking the Religion of your Forefathers; during all which time the Blessed Virgin has been on her Knees before her Son to Intercede for you; but I am now to tell you, That in case you do not Repent of that Sin, that God will Punish you with a strange Judgment. But notwithstanding, the Emperor Commanded the Fellow to be soundly Whipped for his News, the Alexandrians made great use of what he had said, That an Angel from Heaven had appeared to the Emperor with a Command to him from God to return to his Old Religion. But among other things, the Emperor is said to have been displeas'd with himself for having in the first heat of his new Religion settled so much Land on the Patriarch, which he would gladly have had a pretence to have resumed again, to settle it upon his Younger Sons; but whatever were the cause of the Emperor growing every day less fond of Popery, the Alexandrians being at him continually for a Toleration, he promised to speak to the Patriarch about it, and accordingly having sent for him, he told him, He had done all that was in his power to have introduced the Roman Faith into his Empire, but he was now satisfied that it was not to be done by force, it being visible that his People hated it more than ever, since he Commanded them to embrace it. Besides, there was an absolute necessity of his granting them a Toleration, since if he did not, he would quickly have his whole Empire against him; his Soldiers that he made use of against the Peasants, being in their hearts no less Alexandrians than the Peasants themselves. The Patriarch, who was extremely troubled to hear this from the Emperor, told him, That his Highness was miserably misled by Evil Counsellors, who under pretence of a Toleration sought the

utter Extirpation of the Roman Faith. But the Emperor urging still, That something must be done to satisfy the minds of his Subjects, the Patriarch was forced to promise the Toleration of all such Ancient Habassin Customs as were not contrary to the Faith, but upon condition that such a Toleration should not be Proclaimed; because if that were done, the Habassins, he said, would Triumph so upon it, as to conclude that the Roman Church was about to make Her Exit out of Ethiopia.

While Popery was in this declining state, Dom Apolinar D' Almeyda, the new Bishop of Nice, arrived in Ethiopia, bringing a Jubilee with him, and Letters from the Pope to the Emperor and the Prince; which Letters, though I have great reason to believe they were writ in Ethiopia, in order to rekindle the Emperor's Zeal for Popery, which was slackened so much of late; I shall nevertheless set them down as they are published by the Jesuits, leaving them to the censure of the judicious Reader.

### **POPE URBAN THE VIIIITH. TO SELTEM SAGED EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA. HEALTH AND APOSTOLICAL BENEDICTION.**

MOST dear Son in Christ; The Stream of the River Nile doth at this time make glad the City of God; Fruits fit for the Banquets of Angels being brought from the thirsty Land of Ethiopia to the Palace of St. Peter; there being nothing that the Mother of Riches, or that Africk, which is so fruitful of Monsters, can bring to Rome, the Mother of Christianity, that is so Precious and wonderful, as your Majesty's Letters, addressed to Gregory the XVth of happy Memory, to whose place, though unworthy of it, the

Holy Spirit has been pleased to call us; when we read them we could not forbear weeping for joy, to hear that the vast Empire of Ethiopia had submitted it self to the Laws of the Roman Pontificate. O happy Prince! who after having Conquered divers Nations, and triumphed over all your Enemies, have been able to exalt the Trophies of the Cross of Christ upon the Towers of your Provinces: For you do really plant Heaven in your Empire, so long as the favor of so great a King is sought after by the making a profession of the Catholic truth. Go on, my Dear Son, since God favors you, and Rome by its applauses exalts you to the Society of those Princes, who for having propagated the Kingdom of Heaven, have an immortal memory in the praises of Mankind; for notwithstanding your Majesty's Empire is beyond the anciently known ways of the Sun, the Apostolical Senate which comprehends all the Nations of the Christian

Commonwealth beholdeth all your Heroic Actions, giving manifold applauses on the Theater of the world to your Majesty, and to all that are employed by you, in suppressing the rashness of Rebels, and in breaking the horns of Fiends. We the Vicar of the Almighty Majesty in this Throne, which all Christians do with bended knees adore, have turned the eyes of our Apostolical solicitude towards your Majesty, praying that the most exalted Arbiter of Princes, may send his Angels to be Soldiers in your Triumphant Armies; we are not ignorant of what some people drive at, for we behold whole Legions of Devils fighting against the Scepter of Christ, which is the strength of your Majesty's Right-arm; we know the Professors of false Doctrines do likewise whet their Tongues as a Sword, that so they may with the poison of their Impiety infect the Bread of Life. Assume a courage therefore worthy of the Race of David, in whom the House of Ethiopia glories as in their Ancestor; who when such people placed their Camps against him, did put his trust in God, and so found by Experience, that the name of the Lord was the Tower of David, guarded by an heavenly Host, and praised by a victorious Army. My most dear Son, it is undoubtedly as you write, that the Pests of their Country, and the Disturbers of the people shall not, God assisting you, be suffered to reign. We do most affectionately impart our Apostolical Benediction to your self, and your best Brother, and to all your Royal Family and faithful People; and shall pray continually that you may always have the Arms of light from the Sanctuary of the Divinity; and we do here with the keys of the Pontiff open unto you the Treasure of the heavenly Indulgence; with whose healthful riches we do at this time bless the Ethiopic Church; we shall likewise be always mindful to solicit the most Powerful King of Spain, to grant you all that you shall desire of the Austrian House. Most Dear Son, we do embrace you in the arms of our Apostolical Charity; and carrying you in our hearts, we shall always adorn you with the Patronage of our Pontificate; and while you do with a Royal Piety venerate the Patriarch of Ethiopia, and his Coadjutors, you give Examples to others to honor the Priesthood; and do whet the solicitude of holy Prelates to Labor in Ethiopia; we wish you joy of the obedience of your people, who so long as a Religious King fights under the standard of Christ, do never Desert him.

*Dated at Rome at St. Peter's under the Ring  
of the Fisherman, this First of February,  
1627. in the Fourth Year of our Pontificate.*



**POPE URBAN THE VIIIITH'S LETTER TO THE PRINCE.**

Our Most Beloved Son in Christ, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

THE Wealth of Nile floweth to the glory of your Name; and you the Son of the Ethiopic Empire, do grow up in the hopes of a most powerful Principality; you do nevertheless understand, God having taught you, how miserable you had been, had you not drank of the streams of the Gospel, out of the Fountain of the Catholic Church; and if you had not by adoring St. Peter in the Roman Pontificate, been made the Son of God, whose Possession and Workmanship the whole frame of Heaven and Earth is in the Roman Church. The holy Choir of Reigning Priests, and of obedient Nations, do applaud the Heir that is to rule in Ethiopia with Christian Virtue; rejoicing that a Kingdom is prepared for you, out of which your triumphant Father, the Scepter of whose Empire is the Rod of Direction, does through the Divine Assistance, extirpate the Synagogue of Satan; you having been Educated in the Domestic imitation of such splendid virtues; and being in a Post that draws the eyes of Heaven and Earth upon you. Such Councils are expected from your Wisdom as are to be like the lights of the Holy Spirit, and the Thunderbolts of the Divine Vengeance. And being it is thus, beloved Son, you must not think of living at ease in your Father's Palace, before you have made all Ethiopia throw it self at the feet of St. Peter, that so they may find Heaven in the Vatican: For the Doctrines of the Pope, will not be only the hope of Salvation to you, but they will be also the Anchor of quietness, and the safety of your Dominions. We do embrace you, most Dear Son, with the Arms of Apostolical Charity, and do wish you an obedient people and favorable Angels amidst the Trophies of your Arms, and the Joys of your Prosperity; and we do from the bottom of our heart impart our fatherly Benediction to you.

*Dated at Rome at St. Peter's, under the Ring  
of the Fisherman, the Twenty Eighth  
of December, 1630. in the Seventh Yearof our Pontificate.*

Now besides that, the Phrase of these Letters do very much resemble that of the Patriarch Mendez, who affected a Tinsel Oratory in every thing he writ: That to the Prince bears Date the same Month of the same Year when it was delivered.

This Jubilee, notwithstanding it was Laughed at by the Habassins, who asked by what Authority the Pope pretended to forgive Sins, is said to have

warmed the Emperor's Zeal so for Popery again, that the Discourse of a Toleration seemed to be quite laid aside by him.

The new Viceroy of Gojam, Raz Cella having been quickly turned out of that Government, was so enraged at this change in the Emperor's mind, that he was for deposing him presently as an irreconcilable Enemy to their Religion, and for declaring the Prince, who was a hearty Friend to it, Emperor in his room; and being encouraged so to do, by the Monks and Alexandrians that were about him, he proclaimed the Prince Basilides Emperor of Ethiopia, at the head of his Army; and having done it, dispatched a Courier to him to acquaint him therewith, and to desire him to join the Army he had the command of, with his, that they might be able to subdue all the Enemies of their Religion; but the Prince was so far from being pleased with the Viceroy's having proclaimed him Emperor, that to satisfy his Father of his having had no hand in it, he sent the Courier that had brought him the first news of it to him in chains, to punish him as he should think fit. The Fathers, whose Church of Collela was but at a small distance from the Viceroy's Camp, were put into such a terrible fright by this Proclamation that they immediately shut their Gates; and their Convent being built very strong, as indeed all their Houses in Ethiopia were more like Castles than Monasteries; they resolved to defend themselves until an Army should come from the Emperor to relieve them.

The Viceroy hearing how much the Fathers were alarmed, and of their having taken all the Portugueses of the Neighborhood into their Garrison, he sent them word, That they had no reason to be so affrighted, for seeing they did not come into Ethiopia before they were sent for, no body could blame them for having come, or for what the Emperor had done since their Arrival; and being extremely desirous to have wheedled them out of their strong-hold, he bid the Messenger whisper them in the Ear, that notwithstanding all he had done, he was still a true Roman-Catholic in his heart, having been forced to set forth the late Proclamation, to quiet the Minds of the People if it were possible; desiring them likewise to send him the Horses and Muskets that had been left in their Convent by Raz Cella: but the Fathers not believing a syllable of what he said, refused to open their Gates, or to deliver their Arms to the Messenger; which provoked the Viceroy to that degree, that he changed his note, and sent them word, That if they did not deliver the Arms and Horses to him presently, he would come for them himself; and that if they did give him that trouble, he would be at a little more for to teach them better manners than to disobey his

Commands. And he had certainly been as good as his word, had he not been hindered by the news of a great Army advancing towards him apace.

The Monks, who were got in shoals about the Viceroy, advised him to do something to satisfy the people, that he was in no Correspondence with the Court, but was in earnest to defend their Faith; adding, that there was no such way of doing that, as by making Examples of some of those, who to please the Emperor, had changed their Religion; the Viceroy approving of their advice, commanded a Monk who was his own first Cousin, to be put to death publicly for having turned Roman-Catholic.

The Prince, who Commanded his Father's Army, having received advice that the Viceroy was Marching with all the speed he could to join the Peasants of Lasta, crossed the Nile, and by doing so, put himself betwixt him and them; and having brought him to an Engagement, had an absolute Victory over him. After which, that he might fully satisfy his Father of the Viceroy's not having had the least encouragement from him to proclaim him Emperor, who could not but take this extremely well of the Prince, having examined the Viceroy and his Officers, commanded Seven of them to be presently put to death, Six of which are said to have died Roman-Catholics; which the Seventh was so far from doing, that when one of the Fathers told him at the place of Execution, That he would be Damned for him if he were not Damned if he died out of the Communion of the Roman Church; he bid the Father look to himself, that he be not Damned upon his own account, for he was resolved to venture his Soul with the Alexandrian Faith, by dying in it. Behold a Miracle, say the Jesuits; the Seven bodies being after they were executed thrown to the Dogs, they all fell presently upon the Alexandrian body, and eat it up bones and all, without so much as offering to touch or smell at any of the Six Roman-Catholics bodies that lay before them. One of the Viceroy's Chief Servants continuing to rail against Popery, and the Emperor for forcing it upon his Subjects, was hanged by the thigh upon an iron hook that was driven into a Tree; and after having hung thereon for some time, for persisting in his railing, he had his Tongue cut out; the Viceroy himself being secretly put to death a few days after. The Emperor having none now to deal with but the Peasants of Lasta, advanced towards them in person with a great Army; and having beat them out of three or four of their strongest Mountains, was in hopes to have reduced them all to his obedience in a short time; but the sturdy Peasants were so far from being terrified into a submission by those ill successes, that they fell upon the Viceroy of Begameder in his Quarters;

and having made a great slaughter among his men, obliged him to retreat in great disorder. The Emperor, who was grown old and timorous, apprehending the Peasants to have been much stronger than they were, and fearing lest he might be hemmed in by them among the Mountains, retired in a great Consternation, his Rear being closely pursued by the Peasants for some Leagues. The Alexandrians observing the Emperor's Spirits to be much dejected by the disgrace of this Campaign, renewed their Remonstrances to him, some of them asking him, Whether he thought it made a Prince look great in History, to have been continually fighting with his own Subjects, and especially his Peasants? Others telling him plainly, That if he did not speedily grant his Subjects a Toleration, that he would be Deserted by his whole Army, who would fight no longer against their Countrymen, only for defending the Religion of their Forefathers, and which they themselves were of, no less than the Peasants. The Emperor promised them to speak to the Patriarch about it; and having accordingly sent for him, he told him again, That he could not but be sensible of his having done all that lay in his power for to have established the Roman Faith in his Empire; and that whereas he had endeavored to force his Subjects to embrace it, he was now satisfied that there was no bringing them to it by that Method, it being visible to every body that his having used it had no other effect but to increase his peoples aversion for that Religion. He told him farther, that he had reason to fear, That if he did not quickly grant a Toleration, that he should be Deserted by his whole Court and Army; but not being willing to do any thing in that matter without his consent, he had therefore sent for him to advise with him about the manner of it; adding, Something must be done, and that speedily, to quiet the minds of the people. The Patriarch, who was extremely troubled to hear the Emperor speak of a Toleration again, made answer, That his Highness was miserably misled by evil Counsellors, who under pretence of a Toleration, designed the utter Extirpation of the Roman Faith; but the Emperor urging still the necessity there was thereof, the Patriarch was forced to promise to give way to the Toleration of all such Habassin Customs as were not contrary to the Roman Faith; but upon condition that the said Toleration should not be proclaimed, that so it might look more like a Connivance than a Toleration: Whereupon it was concerted betwixt them, that the Habassins should be Tolerated as to Three things, one was the observation of Saturday; the Second, the Fasting on Wednesdays and not on Saturdays; and the third was, that they might use their ancient Offices according to his Emendations of them.

The Alexandrians being acquainted by the Emperor with what the Patriarch was willing to grant them, seemed to accept of it very thankfully; only they told him it must be proclaimed, for if that were not done, it would have no effect at all on the minds of the people; which was the only end for which they had desired it; and not for their own sakes, who pretended to be so abundantly satisfied with the Doctrines and Customs of Popery, as to wish the people could without disturbing the Peace of the Empire, be brought to embrace it. And so having prevailed with the Emperor that it should be proclaimed; proclaimed it was, and that with extraordinary Solemnities; first in the Camp, and afterwards over the whole Empire, to the great Joy of the people; they that understood how it truly was, reckoning it however a good beginning; but for the generality they believed it to be a Toleration of the whole of their Religion.

The Patriarch hearing of the Toleration having been proclaimed, and of the people rejoicing at it, as a Toleration of their whole Religion, he immediately drew up the following protestation against it, and sent it to the Emperor.

NOTwithstanding I told your Highness That your Subjects might be allowed to fast on Wednesdays instead of Saturdays, and might use their Offices, as by me amended; and excepting Easter and the Festivities depending thereon, that they might observe their Holidays as formerly; nevertheless I declared to your Highness at the same time, that it was not to be done by Proclamation, which as he that publisheth them, publisheth them as he thinks fit; so all that hear them, do understand and interpret them as they like best, as we see it has happened in the present case; for though I am satisfied that your Highness designed to grant no more by your Proclamation, but what was agreed on betwixt us; yet as I am told, all the news every where is, that your Highness hath by a Proclamation commanded all your Subjects to return to the Alexandrian Faith; upon which conceit there have been extravagant rejoicings in your Highness's own Camp, to the great Mortification of all true Catholics. Whatever it was that induced your Highness to do this, know you certainly, that God will one day call you to a strict account for it. And that I and the Bishop to whom the Holy Ghost hath committed the Government of this Church, which Christ purchased with his blood, as it is said in the Acts of the Apostles, may not be partakers of the same Condemnation, We do jointly declare to your Highness, That in this Proclamation you have not observed that order that you ought to have done, which being a business of an

Ecclesiastical nature, the publication thereof did not belong to your Highness, but to us.

Your Highness would do well to remember what the high Priest Azarias said to King Ozias, in the Twenty Sixth Chapter of the second Book of Chronicles; O Ozias, it is not your Office to offer Incense to the Lord, but it is the Office of the Priests, and the Sons of Aaron, who were Consecrated to that Ministry. Therefore come forth of the Sanctuary, and despise not, for this thing will not be for your Honor in the sight of God. Your Highness would do well likewise to remember the punishment which immediately befell that King thereupon. And since it was not thought sufficient to have these Proclamations published only in the Church, but it must be done also in the Camp, your Highness before your ordered that, ought to have consulted with some of the Fathers, or some other of your Chaplains, or with some person authorized by us to that purpose, who would have taken care to have prevented the offence that it has given; for we are informed by some that were present at the Solemnity, that the people after the Proclamation were heard to say openly, That now they were to have all their old Offices again without our amendments of them; and were to observe all their old Holidays, not excepting Easter and the Festivities that depend thereon; and that they were not left to their liberty, but were commanded not to fast on Saturdays, but on Wednesdays. Wherefore, that the last error may not be worse than the first, your Highness must set forth a Second Proclamation with all necessary Explanations of your mind, at the framing whereof I do appoint Father James Mattos to be present in my place; and whereas it is not convenient that it should be done without the concurrence of Abeto Basilides; I do in the name of God require your Highness to acquaint him with it; and I do farther admonish you to pray to the Father of Light for Light, that so you may not fix your eyes so much on an Earthly Kingdom which is transitory, as to lose that of Heaven which is Eternal, and that on Earth likewise. O. Patriarcha.

The Emperor, though nettled with this Protestation, complied so far with the Patriarch's desires, as, with the concurrence of Father James, to publish a second Proclamation, wherein he declared, That there was nothing he desired so much, as to have all his Subjects of the Roman Faith, and that his intention in his former Proclamation, was only to Tolerate Three Customs that were not contrary to that Faith, and that he would never have done that, had not the Patriarch given his consent to it. Nevertheless, he

reckoned he was bound in Honor to return a Sharp Answer to the Patriarch, for his having made so bold in his Protestation, which he did in the following Letter.

**THE LETTER OF THE EMPEROR SALTEM SAGED, COMETH  
TO THE PATRIARCH WITH THE PEACE OF GOD,  
WHO IS BLESSED FOREVER.**

HEAR: We have received a Paper from Your Lordship, and do understand all that is contained therein, relating to the matters your Lordship gave us leave to do, in order to put a stop to Rebellions, and to quiet the minds of our People, that they may no longer fight against the Faith: The particulars were, That they might Fast on Wednesdays, and observe their Festivities as formerly, and use their old Offices with your Corrections: and being at Dancas, we were desired by our whole Camp, since your Lordship had been pleased to Dispense with our People as to those Customs, to acquaint them therewith by our Proclamation; which we consented to, the rather, that the Rebels might not think that they had frightened us into such a compliance with them, which they would have done had we delayed the publishing of it any longer; but being now informed that their minds are pretty well quieted by what I have done, I have published a second Proclamation, according to your Directions; neither in this whole matter have we done any thing but what was concerted between us: As to what your Lordship saith, of the publishing what they please that publish Proclamations; and of their understanding them as they please that hear them; that can proceed from nothing, but from your Lordship's having been misinformed; for, How dare they who publish our Proclamations, publish them any otherways than as they are; or they that hear them, understand them otherwise? So that I cannot imagine, that any body should have the impudence to say, That I had changed the Faith to the great mortification of Catholics; when it is so plain that I have not made the least alteration therein; neither did the Heretics rejoice so much as you speak of, they having been all told before, that they were not to use their former Offices without your Emendations of them: They must therefore have been People of Factious Spirits and of Ill designs, that have put such stories in your head, since we have done nothing but what your Lordship had agreed to; neither did they, who published our Proclamation, either add or diminish any thing. Things being thus, your Lordship might very well have spared your bidding us Remember Ozias, and comparing us with one who

was Punished by God with the Leprosy for having taken the exercise of the Priestly Function upon himself; which as he ought not to have done, so we have never offered to do it; having only published a proclamation, wherein there was nothing that you had not agreed to when the Roman Faith first took footing in Ethiopia; it was neither introduced into it by the Preaching of the Jesuits, nor by any Miracles that were wrought by them, nor by no other means, but by our being convinced, that your Faith agreed with our Books, and that the Church of Ethiopia must therefore be in an Error; it was this induced us to Establish the Roman Faith by our Commands and Proclamations, contrary to the Humor of our People, because we believed it to be true; all which we did of our own accord, despising a visible Kingdom in hopes of one that is invisible. As to your Lordship's admonishing us to fix our Eyes not on a Temporal but on a Heavenly Kingdom; How many Subjects have I slaughtered? And how many Provinces have I lost for having done so? I need not tell you their Numbers, you know them as well as I do my self; so that I cannot for my life see, wherein I have offended God in this whole matter. Had we been forced to have embraced your Faith, you might then have had some cause to be jealous that we have a mind to forsake it, but having voluntarily embraced it, we cannot undo what we have done, nor destroy what we have built. I would therefore advise your Lordship for the future, not to have your Ears open to false and wicked men, that put such things into your head.

This Letter, though it gave the Patriarch several Reprimands, as it did also his whole Order, in denying that any of them had ever wrought any Miracles in Ethiopia; which is very strange, considering how many they pretend to work on all such occasions: Yet for the notice it gave him of a second Proclamation, and the assurance of the Emperor's resolution to continue steadfast in the Roman Faith, he was so well satisfied with it, that he judged all things to be set pretty well to rights again; and resuming his ancient courage thereupon, ventured to do a thing, which gave a terrible blow to his Patriarchal Authority. The case was this; A certain Judge having turned Monk, denied to pay a yearly Pension, which some Lands which he kept still in his hands were charged with, to a certain Parish Priest; of which the Priest having complained to the Patriarch, he presently commanded the Monk to pay the Priest his dues; but the Monk, instead of obeying, denied that he had any Jurisdiction over him, appealing from him to the General of his Order, as the proper Prelate in all such cases; and the



Cause coming to be Tried at Court, the Patriarch was cast, the Judges having given their Opinion, That the Patriarch having no more Power than their former Abuna's, had no Authority over the Monks, which the Patriarch had hitherto pretended to, and had constantly exercised; having in this, and an hundred things besides, extended his Jurisdiction beyond what any of the Abuna's had done.

The Country being put in a pretty good humor by the Toleration, which, according to the Patriarch's fears, was every where extended beyond its intention, the Emperor sets about raising a great Army to go against the Peasants; who would not be satisfied with any thing under the Re-establishment of their Old Religion, and the Banishing the Patriarch and the Fathers out of Ethiopia, as the Causes of all the Blood that had been shed in it for several Years. But the raising of such an Army as the Emperor designed, requiring time, his Brother, by the advice of the Alexandrians, was sent before to streighten them with a Flying Army. Raz Cella upon his being denied his Old Troops, which were entirely at his devotion, would fain have been excused from going on this Expedition; but the Emperor pressed him so hard, that he saw he must either break with him, or do it; and as his heart misgave him all the way he went, so his Success was answerable to his forebodings, for he was no sooner got among the Mountains, than he was fallen upon by a Body of Twenty thousand Peasants; and being Deserted by his own Men, most of which went over to the Enemy, he narrowly escaped being made Prisoner. The Alexandrians, who it is probable had sent him against the Peasants on purpose to be beat by them, could not conceal their joy on the occasion of this Defeat; the blame whereof they laid wholly at his door, which sunk him so low, that he was never able to rise again to do the Roman Church any service. The Emperor fearing lest the Peasants might upon this advantage have advanced towards Dancas, retired from thence to Gojam, to be at a greater distance from them; where having made up an Army, that consisted chiefly of Gauls, being afraid to trust his own Subjects any longer, he went to offer the Peasants a Battle; who since their late Victory over Raz Cella, had ventured down into the Low Countries, reckoning themselves strong enough to Fight any Army the Emperor could bring against them. The Two Armies having looked each other in the face for some Hours, the Emperor, who had placed a stout Body of Gaulish Horse in the Front, ordered them to fall on, which they did so furiously, that at the first Onset, which is commonly the last too with the Habassin Armies, they broke through the

Peasants main body, which Dispersed immediately, and Throwing down their Arms, fled towards the Mountains; the Gauls pursued them till night came on; so that though few or none of them were killed Fighting, there were Eight thousand of them found dead the next morning; whereas had they had the Courage to have fought it out, they might, with half that loss, have had a Victory; for had they but routed the Gauls, who charged them first, it is certain the Imperial Habassins would either have gone over to them, or have thrown down their Arms. The Court-Alexandrians, though they were extremely mortified by this great blow, yet did so manage the matter, that they gained their point by it; for having persuaded the Emperor to go next morning to view the Field, which was covered all over with dead bodies, and observing him to be touched with so direful a sight, they came about him, and with Tears in their eyes told him, Sir, You see how many dead bodies are lying here: Whose were all these? Were they the Bodies of Mahometans or Heathens? No, not so much as one of them, but they were all to a man your Highness's Natural-born Subjects, and our own Blood and Kindred; we do therefore beg of your Highness to consider, that this is a War in which, whether you Conquer or are Beat, you thrust a Sword into your own Bowels. Neither were these poor wretches, you see lying here, dissatisfied with your Highness for any thing, but for forcing a New Religion upon them: How many Thousands have already lost their Lives in this Quarrel? and how many Thousands more must be Massacred before Popery can be established in Ethiopia? Wherefore, for God's sake, Sir, let your People alone with the Religion of their Fathers; which you must either do, or resolve to destroy your Empire with your own hands. We must tell your Highness farther, That the very Gauls and Heathens do condemn us for what we are doing, calling us Apostates and Renegado's for having forsaken the religion of our Ancestors. And that they might clinch the matter, the Prince and Amana Christos, had got the Gauls, as the Emperor passed by them, to cry out, That they would serve him no longer, being quite weary of Cutting poor Mens Throats, for no other reason but because they would not leave the Religion they had been Born and Bred in. The Empress interposed likewise, and desired him for God's sake, and his own, and his Posterity's, not to go on destroying his Subjects at such a merciless rate; and to consider that in all his Wars with them, he did, as it were, but cut off his left hand with his right; and whether any thing could be more dishonorable, than for a Prince to employ Foreigners and Heathens to Massacre his

Christian Subjects; and all this to introduce a Religion into Ethiopia, which it was plain to all the World, it would never be reconciled to?

These passionate Remonstrances one upon the neck of another, together with the sad sight of so many dead bodies, did affect the Emperor so much, that instead of returning to Dancaz in triumph after so great a Victory, he returned thither so extremely disconsolate, that he did not care to see or speak with any body.

The Patriarch, Bishops, and Fathers, hearing how things went, hastened to Court, not to Congratulate the Emperor upon his late Victory, for that their Friends had told them, he could not bear, but to see if they could get him out of the hands of the Alexandrians, who at present were in full possession of him, the Champions of the Roman Faith being all either Dead, or in Disgrace at Court.

We are not told what passed betwixt the Emperor and the Patriarch at his first Audience; but whatever it was, a great Council was called a few days after, to consider the state of the Empire, and by what means the Peace thereof might be restored; in which it was quickly agreed, That there was no other way of doing it, but by restoring all the Alexandrian Rites and Customs, and by leaving People to their Liberty to be of which of the two Religions they pleased. This Resolution is said to have been opposed by one Abithaca Johanes, a Nephew of the Emperor's, who told the Council boldly, That all the Miseries of Ethiopia were owing to their Sins, and not to Popery's having been Established in it. To whom the Council gave no other answer, but that something must be done to restore the Empire to its former peace; and that there was nothing would do it, but what they had agreed to do. The Patriarch being alarmed with this resolution of the Council, sent immediately to demand an audience of the Emperor; and having obtained one with some difficulty, he went on the Twentieth of June 1632, attended by the Bishop of Nice, and Five Fathers, to wait upon him; to whom lying in Bed very pensive, he delivered the following Speech, the Bishop and Five Fathers standing behind him.

SIR, I thought we had had the Victory in the last Fight, but now I begin to understand that we had the worst on it; for notwithstanding in reality the design of the Rebels was to have taken your Crown from you, nevertheless what they gave out was, that they fought only to have the Religion of their Fathers restored; so that if they should gain that point, though they were

beat, they may be reckoned to have been Victorious; but as before the Engagement was the proper time for the making of Vows and Promises, so now is the time for fulfilling them. In order to Engage God to confer more such mercies upon you, who by this last Victory has as it were set his seal to all the former, and that for no other end but to oblige your Highness to advance his holy Faith, under the banner whereof you obtained it. Besides, it was the Catholics that are in your Army that did the work, and who are not so few as your Highness is told they are. The reason why they do not appear to be more numerous, is because they have no favor showed them; whereas if your Highness would but be pleased to call them about your Person, and bestow all Offices of Honor and Trust upon them, you would quickly see how they would multiply, and how by that means both your Empire and the faith would flourish; whereas of late they have been kept from coming near you, none but Serpents having been admitted into your Councils; a whole Nest of which Serpents did on Friday last assemble together in the Hall of your Palace, where they treated no longer about the out-works of Religion, but laid the ax to the root, consulting together how they might destroy the Catholic Faith; which they agreed at last, to put to the Vote, by leaving the People and Soldiers to be of which Religion they like best; who whenever they are asked whether they will have Christ or Barabbas, will certainly prefer Barabbas, for having been of their own Office and Profession. Sir, Matters of Faith are not to be treated in such a manner, but are to be settled by Councils consisting of great numbers of Bishops, where they may be had, or else of Grave and Learned Priests and Friars: For though in Matters of State, these very men do not think fit to consult with every body, but only with persons of known Prudence and Experience; nevertheless in Matters of Religion, the Otadores Gauls, Mahometans and Heathens, are reckoned to be good Counsellors; and are all called in by them to determine which is the true, and which is the false faith. I would have your Highness call to mind the many mercies God hath conferred on you since you embraced the Roman Faith; and though it is true there have been many Rebellions, which is a Plague Ethiopia never was, nor never will be free from, until the Faith is deeply rooted therein; yet God has always been so kind to you, as to lay the Rebels at your feet, and particularly in the last Fight, when your affairs were come to a crisis; so that your Arm is not shortened, but extended. Remember likewise, that you did not forsake the Faith of Ethiopia out of fear, the Fathers being in no condition to oblige you to do it by force of Arms, but you did it purely upon your being convinced of its falsehood, and of the truth of that of

Rome: Neither must you forget, that I did not come to you of my own head, but was sent by the Roman Pontiff, and your Brother the King of Portugal, upon your having writ to them several times to send you a Patriarch and some Bishops; in which affair if there was any delay, it was occasioned by the jealousy they had of the fickleness of the Habassins, which we now begin to experience; and which the King of Portugal had formerly had experience of, when he sent Don Christopher De Gama hither with a stout body of Troops, by whom this Empire was rescued out of the hands of the Mahometans (who had Conquered it) and that not with an intention of keeping it to themselves, but of restoring it to your Ancestors, as they did: Neither had the King of Portugal ever any other view, nor did he expect any other reward for what he did for you, but only your Friendship, and the union of this Empire with the Roman Church; to which end I and the Bishop that is here behind me were sent by his Holiness and his Majesty to you: Neither did we come among you as Beggars, but well stored with Books and Pontifical Vestments and Ornaments, they not being willing to charge your Highness with so much as the Maintenance of our persons. Consider, Sir, how just cause those Princes will have to be displeased with you; and though they may be at too great a distance to have due satisfaction, God nevertheless, who is every where, will not fail to require it of you: consider likewise, what a blot this will be in the Scutcheon of the Lion of Judah, and what an eternal stain both to your own and your Empire's honor, and how many Souls you will ruin by your Apostasy; which, that I may not live to see, nor the Divine Judgments that will befall you thereupon, let me beg it of your Highness to command my head to be here struck off before you. At these words the Patriarch, Bishop, and Five Fathers, threw themselves at the Emperor's Feet, to receive his answer. At which sight, notwithstanding the By-standers seemed to be all touched, the Emperor himself did not appear to be in the least affected with it, in so much that the Patriarch saith those Verses of the Poet were very applicable to him.

*Nec Magis incepto vultum Sermone Movetur.  
Quam si Dura Silex vel stet Marpesia cautes.*

Only making a sign with his hand that they should rise, he asked the Patriarch with what face he could say that he had not showed favor to the Catholics, since he had favored none else but such? but the Heretics, said he, are numerous, and all that have rebelled against me, have given no other reason for their doing it, but my having changed the Religion of my

Country. How many Thousands have I killed already in order to introduce Popery? And how many Thousands more must I kill before I shall be able to do it? My People are all weary of cutting one another's Throats, and are all upon the point of deserting me; I can do no more than I have done. Besides, We are not meddling with the Faith, but only with some Customs; or if any are about changing it, they have not acquainted me with it; if you are told otherwise abroad, you must inquire abroad whether it be so or not. For my own part, I do here Promise, That I will never Decree any thing about Religion, without first Consulting with your Lordship: The Emperor stopping here, The Patriarch Replied, That as to the Custom of Fasting on Wednesdays, and of using their Old Offices as he had mended them, and of Observing the Festivities as formerly, which were all that his Highness had desired of him, he had granted them already, and was ready to grant them every thing that was in his Power, and not contrary to the Faith; wherefore since his Highness did not intend that there should be any Alteration made in Matters of Faith, he beseeched him to put forth a Proclamation, declaring, That as he was of the Roman Faith himself, so it was his Will and Pleasure, That all his Subjects should be of the same; and that as to matters of Custom he was ready to comply with them therein, so far as the Faith would permit him: In which request the Bishop and Five Fathers seconded him with great earnestness, but to no purpose, the Emperor telling them plainly, That he could do no more for Popery than he had done.

The Patriarch, who was for leaving no stone unturned, went from the Emperor to wait upon the Prince, and having told him the same story he told his Father, the Prince seemed to be surprised with the news, and returned such Answers as would have imposed upon a weak Man; but the Patriarch knowing him to be Master of a most profound Dissimulation, and an inveterate Enemy to the Roman Church, gathered from his ambiguous Answers, That without a Miracle the Roman Faith could not be much longer supported in Ethiopia. So they all returned to the Patriarch's Palace desperately afflicted with the present sad prospect of their Affairs.

The Alexandrians, that they might bring the Emperor under a necessity of executing what had been agreed on in Council, had industriously spread a report, That on St. John Baptist's day their Ancient Faith was to be restored to them; which report having brought all the Country to the Camp to be present at the Solemnity, they then told the Emperor, That there was no remedy but he must either Restore to his People the Religion of their

Fathers, or run a great hazard of his Crown, since the People, who were come in such vast multitudes in hopes of having it done, if they were disappointed would be thrown into such a Fury, that no body could tell where it might end: The Emperor made answer, That he was willing his good Subjects should enjoy their Old Religion; but that he might not be worse than his word to the Patriarch, he commanded some of his Servants to go and wait upon him, and acquaint him with the necessity there was of gratifying his People with a Toleration of the Alexandrian Faith.

Za Mariam, who was in the number of those that were commanded to carry this Message to the Patriarch, being admitted to speak with him, told him in the Emperor's Name and words, We have embraced your Faith, and have been at much pains about it, but our People do not care for it; so, though it was really out of hatred to Raz Cella, that Julius took up Arms, nevertheless the pretence that helped him to an Army, was, that he would defend the Old Religion; who, with vast multitudes of people that had flocked in to him, was destroyed: Cabrael and Guergis used the same pretence, and had the same success: And Cerca Christos, and the Peasants who are now in Arms, have no Quarrel with me, but for having prohibited them the exercise of their Religion. The Faith of Rome is not bad; but as I have told you formerly, my People do not understand it, and are very well contented to live and die in the Religion that they were brought up in: I am resolved therefore, since they are so fond of it, to let them alone with it; and if there are any that are inclinable to the Roman Faith, they shall have free Liberty to Profess it, as the Portugueses, who have been among us ever since the Reign of Asnaf Saged, have had. When Mariam had done speaking, the Patriarch asked him, Whether it was by the Emperor's Express Order that he had delivered him that Message? Mariam told him it was: The Patriarch made no other reply, But that Ethiopia had never been without Wars before the Roman Faith was known in it, and that he would return an Answer to the Emperor after he had advised with his Brethren: Who having consulted together, drew up the following Manifesto, which they sent to the Emperor by Father Manuel.

YOUR Highness has sent me word, That being upon the point of losing your Empire for your zeal to establish the Roman Religion, you are resolved to let your People alone with their Old Faith, and that you will at the same time grant Liberty to all that have a mind to embrace Popery.

Sir, My Affection for you is nothing inferior to that I have for the King of Portugal; being as ready to condescend to every thing that is for the interest of your Kingdoms, as you can desire, provided it do not clash with the Purity of the Faith; for as whatever is a Sin can never be for the good of any Kingdom, so neither can I grant any such thing, neither ought your Highness to desire it of me. There are two things to be observed in this great Affair; the one concerns the Peasants, who having never embraced the Roman Faith, your Highness may for some time wink at their living in the Heresy of their Fathers; the other, concerns those who have embraced the Roman Faith, and Communicated with that Church, and not only so, but have obliged themselves by Oaths to be always Obedient to her: Now to these your Highness cannot say, You may, if you please, live in the Faith of your Fathers, since it would be a grievous Sin against God in you to do so, as it would be in me likewise if I should either advise you to it, or consent to your doing it: And were it lawful for one that is a Foreigner, to meddle with your Government, or to give advice about it, I would tell you, that it is my Opinion, That your Highness will certainly Ruin your Empire by granting Liberty of Conscience, which must necessarily fill it with Dissensions and Civil Wars; For what but Blood and Wars can follow, upon one part of your Subjects being for the Roman, and the other part for the Alexandrian Faith? And must not the having of an Abuna for one Party, and a Patriarch for the other, infallibly end in Two Kingdoms, and Two Kings?

Whether the Patriarch believed the Popish Party to be so Numerous in Ethiopia as to have made a considerable division therein upon a Toleration, or talked so only to terrify the Emperor; it is certain, that the Toleration was no sooner published, than the whole Body of the Court and Country returned to their Old Religion; insomuch that Father Manuel happening, after he had delivered the Patriarch's Manifesto to the Emperor, to tell him, That by granting Liberty of Conscience he would undoubtedly Ruin his Kingdom; the Emperor taking him up short, asked him, How that was possible, since he had no Empire left to Ruin? And so dismissed him. And whereas formerly the Fathers, when they left the Emperor, used to be conducted out of the Court with Ceremony, there was no body now took the least notice of Father Manuel, unless it were to make Faces at him as he passed through the Rooms; but the Father was not got out of the Court, when the Drums beat for the Publishing of the Proclamation which he came to have put a stop to; the Proclamation was as followeth:



HEAR, Hear: We formerly gave you the Roman Faith, believing it to be true; but innumerable multitudes of my People having been slain upon that account, under the Command of Julius, Guergis, Cera Christos, &c. as now also among the Peasants; We do therefore Restore the Religion of your Fathers to you, so that your Priests are to take Possession of their Churches again, and to officiate therein as formerly.

Never was any Proclamation received with greater expressions of Joy than was this, there being nothing to be heard in or about the Camp for some Hours for the noise of the Trumpets, and of innumerable multitudes of people continually echoing each other from all quarters of the Camp with acclamations and shouts of, God Bless the Emperor, and let the Alexandrian Faith Flourish. At Night the whole Camp and Country was Illuminated with Bonfires; into which most, if not all of the Popish Converts threw the Beads and Reliques that had been given them by the Fathers; and that with so much Contempt and Indignation, as abundantly manifested that they had never had any inward Respect for their New Religion, but had only professed it out of fear.

The Patriarch and Fathers, though mortified to the last degree by this sudden change of things, nevertheless since the public Exercise of the Roman Worship was not prohibited, they went on saying their Masses as formerly; and on the Sunday following the Proclamation, the Patriarch himself Preached in the Camp, with some Passages of whose Sermon, (for he could not forbear reflecting severely upon what had been done,) the Alexandrians were so much enraged, that he was advised by his Friends to forbear Preaching, till the storm the late Proclamation had raised, was a little abated, which, they said, it would be the sooner for its being so extremely violent.

But the Alexandrians, who could not presently forget how hard they had been ridden by the Patriarch and Fathers when they were in the saddle, were never satisfied till they had all their Churches and Lands taken from them; and had obtained a second Proclamation, which Commanded all the People of Ethiopia to be of the Alexandrian, and of no other Faith. The Emperor did not long survive this Revolution, dying the September following of an Hectic Fever, in the Sixty first year of his Age. The Fathers will have him to have died in the Communion of their Church. But however that were, it is certain, he was buried by the Habassin Monks, and with

their Offices, in the Church of Ganeta Jesu, which they had taken from the Fathers.

The Prince Basilides being Proclaimed Emperor so soon as the breath was out of his Father's Body, Raz Cella coming amongst the rest of the Grandees to Swear Allegiance to him, was received by him with all the marks of Honor and affection that his near Relation to him could pretend to; the Emperor, among other kind things, telling him, That hereafter he should look upon him, and treat him as his Father, rather than as his Uncle.

But whatever was the matter, this kindness betwixt the Nephew and Uncle was not long-lived; the Fathers pretend that Raz Cella's constant Zeal for their Religion, was the cause of it; and particularly, his having acquainted the Emperor with his Father's having appeared to him, and commanded him to tell him, that it was a madness to lose an Eternal Kingdom, to secure one that was Temporary: But what is certain is, that the Emperor giving no credit to his Uncle's Vision, had him arrested and committed to Prison as a Traitor, disarming the Patriarch and Fathers at the same time, and commanding them from all parts of the Empire, to Fremona in Tigre, the Viceroyship of which Kingdom he had bestowed upon one who he was certain would enter into no Cabals with them. The Order run thus:

HEAR, My Lords, what We say and write unto you; You cannot be ignorant of our being engaged in a War with the Peasants of Lasta, and of our Empires not having had one hours Rest since this War begun: You must therefore send us the Muskets and Carabines, and all your other Arms; together with all the Powder and Bullets that you have in your keeping: We have sent Daniel and Miserata Christos to recover them, to whom you must not fail to deliver them; and when the War is over, they shall all be restored to you again; or if you are willing to sell them, they will give you your price for them. There is an Alexandrian Abuna arrived here, he has been for some time Incognito in the Kingdom of Narea; and who when I desired him to Confer holy Orders, made me answer, He could not do it so long as there was a Roman Patriarch about us; for which reason we command your Lordship to repair to Fremona, and to take all your Fathers, and Books, and Goods with you; we shall take care to appoint a Captain to attend you thither with a strong guard; with which Orders the Messengers carried a verbal Instruction, which was, That if any opportunity for the Indies should offer, the Patriarch, Bishop, and Fathers, had free leave to make use of it.

The Patriarch when he was served with this Order, complained the Emperor was very hard upon them, and that he could not judge otherwise but that his design in taking their Arms from them at the same time he banished them to Fremona, was, that they should be all Murdered by the way; as to the Arms, he said, they owed nothing to Ethiopia, and as he was resolved never to give them away, so he was no Gunsmith to sell Arms. Nevertheless if they were resolved to have them from him, they might find them in such a place, but that he would declare to all the World that he was robbed of them; but having before the Messengers had seized the Arms, received advice that Father James was likewise served with an order, to deliver all the Cannon, Muskets and Armor for Man and Horse that were in his Custody; He sent for the Messengers and told them, That he now saw plainly what the Emperor's design was in demanding their Arms, and that he would therefore write to his Highness about it before he parted with them; but the Messengers being very urgent to have the Arms out of his Custody, he agreed that they should be deposited in the hands of any person they would name till he had an answer from the Emperor.

### **THE PATRIARCH'S LETTER TO THE EMPEROR.**

Daniel Miserata Christos, and Danaceos, have by Virtue of an Order from your Highness demanded all my Guns, Muskets, and other Arms; I presently showed them all the Arms I had, and which are now deposited in safe hands, until I have an answer from your Highness. On the same Ships with these Arms, there came several Cannons and Muskets which were all carried back to the Indies; only for the guard of my person, the King's Officers gave me Twenty four Muskets, and a few Carabines; of the Carabines I have not one left, having parted with them all to your Father, and some of the Grandees; and of the Muskets, I gave Fourteen to your Father, Two to Raz Cella Christos, one to Caba Christos, and one to Guergis, keeping Six only for the guard of my own House and Person; which, as they are all I have, so they are all very much at your Highness's service; though at the same time I cannot forbear telling your Highness, that your Father on several occasions sent Carabines both to me and the Fathers, with which we never did harm to any body, nor were they of any other use to us, but to affright Robbers, and other ill-disposed people. And whereas your Highness is pleased to Banish us to a place, to which we cannot go but through vast Deserts, we might reasonably have expected that you would have done us the same favor; but instead of that, to take

the Six Muskets from me which are my whole guard, is in effect to take away all my Church-Ornaments and Books, which are my whole Treasure, if not my Life, this being to give the World to understand, that they have free leave to Murder the Bishop and the Fathers: This I know very well is the design of those that gave you this advice, though they will not let your Highness know so much; for though I am sensible how pure an heart lodgeth in your Highness's breast, and how like you are to your Father; yet you have undoubtedly those about you, that are contriving how they may have us all Murdered; and as there are several things, which they have Extorted from your Highness by their Importunities; so this of banishing us to Fremona is one of them, which is done by them with an Intention of having us all Murdered, either by the way, or when we are there, of which your Highness is to know nothing until it will be too late to remedy it. The Lion when his Teeth and Claws are broke, becoming the sport of the Monkeys; and notwithstanding the guilt of our Blood may lie upon others, the disgrace thereof will fall upon your Highness: For what can the world say but that you disarmed us on purpose that we might be Robbed and Murdered; and that after having tied us hand and foot, you threw us in the way of Soldiers and Robbers. I am informed likewise, that your Highness has sent the same Orders to all the Fathers, which is really to treat us as Rebels, none but such having their Arms taken from them by the Government; so that with our Arms you take away our Honor and Lives. Now this being our case, your Highness would do us a great favor if you would command us all to be slain here, where our bodies will not be devoured by Wolves; or if you would be so kind, as to command us to be put to death in the Camp; I do promise to come in my richest Pontificals to undergo that Blow which would I hope be precious in the Sight of God. May the same God preserve your Highness.

### *O. Patriarcha.*

This Letter having had no effect upon the Emperor, whom the Patriarch for all his giving him such sweet words, and throwing all the blame of things upon his Counsellors, knew to be the most inveterate Enemy the Roman Church had in Ethiopia; Miserata Christos was sent back with a verbal Order, commanding the Patriarch immediately to surrender his Arms, and to declare upon Oath that he had delivered all he had. The Patriarch took this so heinously, that he told the Messenger, That he neither could nor would take any such Oath, Bishops being prohibited by the sacred Canons to swear: adding, His Highness might venture to take his Muskets from

him, who being a Clerk was to make use of no other than spiritual Arms; but that it was more than he durst do to a private Portuguese Sentinel, who do not use to part with their Arms, but with their Lives. The Messenger perceiving the Patriarch was not to be persuaded to Swear to the Delivery of the Arms, desired that Two of the Fathers might do it; which being granted, the Fathers delivered all their own and the Patriarch's Arms, declaring upon Oath that they had delivered all they had; but when the Messenger urged the Patriarch after he had Disarmed him, to begin his journey to Fremona; He made answer, That he would neither go, nor promise to go thither, before he had an Answer to a Letter he designed to write to his Highness.

### **THE PATRIARCH'S LETTER TO THE EMPEROR.**

Daniel Miserata Christos, and Danaceos, have in your Majesty's name commanded me and all the Fathers, to go straightways into the Province of Tigre; and have given us the reason why your Highness has thought fit to banish us to that Kingdom: My Answer to them was, That I would neither go, nor promise to go thither before I had your Highness's Answer to this Letter.

Sir, I did not come into Ethiopia of my own head, but was sent hither by the Roman Pontiff, who is the Supreme Governor of the Church; and by your Brother the King of Portugal, after your Father had entreated him by several Letters to send a Patriarch; and as it was at your Father's request that I was sent, so when I arrived here, I was received by him and the whole Empire as their Pastor and Father, all of them Swearing in my hands to be always obedient to the Roman Church.

I have served you all now these Seven Years, as Jacob kept the flock of Laban, according to the Talents God has bestowed on me, by Preaching, Administering the sacraments, and visiting Churches, as is known to all the world by several Books that have given an account thereof; and now all of a sudden you are for removing me from the Post God and your self placed me in; and for banishing me to Tigre, and from thence in a short time to the Indies or Portugal, there to be affronted by every body that shall see me, since they cannot but think, that I who was so kindly entertained in Ethiopia, must have done some very ill thing, to deserve to be thus banished from thence. But supposing you should not send me to the Indies, but should suffer me to have my grave at the foot of the Patriarch Don

Andrew D' Oviedo's Tomb in Fremona; all the Indies and Europe, nay all the world, when they shall come to hear of my being banished thither, will and must conclude that it is for some great Miscarriage that I have been guilty of. Wherefore, that I may be able to give some account of my self to the world, I do in the name of God and Truth beg and require it of your Highness, and of all your Nobles, That you would be pleased to let me have the reasons in writing why you have thought fit to banish me the Court; whether it be for my having preached any false Doctrine, or for having been guilty of any scandalous Crime; or for not having punctually complied with the obligations of my Pastoral function, or for having been Insolent in my words, or too rigorous in punishing, or for having been slothful or careless, or for what other cause.

Your Highness may remember, that when your Father desired that his Subjects might be permitted to return to some of their ancient customs, that I gratified him fully in that matter; and that he happening at the end of our Treaty, to mention some other customs that he had not spoke of before; I told him, That I was ready to yield to every thing that was not contrary to the Law of God, one thing only excepted, which was the giving the Cup to the Laics; which, though not contrary to the Law of God, the concession thereof being reserved to the chief Roman Pontiff, the Successor of St. Peter, and Christ's Vicar upon Earth, it was not in my power to grant it; I promised nevertheless, at the same time to write to his Holiness about it, and to lay the whole matter before him with great sincerity, that so he as a faithful and prudent Steward might Ordain what was most profitable. What I did then offer to your Father, I do now again offer to your Highness, and do declare, That if your Highness and your Empire will but continue in the Obedience of the Roman Church, the head of all Churches, and will but follow her faith, that I will grant you all that I can with a good Conscience in the form aforesaid. Finally I do beseech your Highness before you send me away, to assemble all your Learned men, to Treat and Dispute with me about their doubts in Matters of Faith; for confiding in the Mercy of God and their good Judgments, I do not in the least doubt but that I shall be able to convince them of their being in several errors, and to oblige them to confess, that the Chair of St. Peter is such, That the gates of hell can never prevail against it. This in my opinion would be the best course you could take to quiet the minds of your people; for that if this should not be yielded to, what can the common people say, but that the Learned men of Ethiopia were afraid to appear before the

Light of the Roman Doctors; but having shut their eyes, do throw themselves into utter darkness. What is offered in justification of their not yielding to this, to wit, that they shall incur an Excommunication if they do it, is intolerable; since the Patriarch of Alexandria, no nor the Pope himself, has not power to lay an Excommunication upon his Subjects on that account; and the reason is, because such an Excommunication would tend to the Destruction of the Faith, which is known and made manifest by the Disputations of Learned Men. It is likewise contrary to the express command of God, and his Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul; Christ having commanded his Disciples, and in them his whole Church to go and teach all Nations, Jews, Gentiles and Heretics; and again, to seek and they should find, knock, and it should be opened unto them. And how is truth sought, or how are its gates knocked at, but by Disputation? It is also contrary to what St. Peter ordered, who commands all Christians to be always prepared to give satisfaction to all that should desire a reason of the hope that is in them; and in the last place, it is a contradiction to St. Paul, who told his Disciple Timothy, that a Bishop ought to be a Doctor; and writing to Titus, he declares wherein that Doctorship consists, and that it does, in being so powerful in sound Doctrine, as to be able to convince Gainsayers. Wherefore if your Learned men do think that we contradict the truth, why do they not endeavor to convince us of it, and not to seek to excuse their not endeavoring it, by pretending that by engaging in a Disputation with us, they should fall under the Excommunication of Three hundred and Eighteen Fathers; there being no manner of foundation for that pretence, since Hosius, Victor, and Vincentius, the Presidents of that Council, were all the Legates of Pope Sylvester, the Master of Constantine the Great; who undoubtedly never drew the Sword of Excommunication against themselves to thrust it into their own Bowels; wherefore to flee to Excommunication in such a case, is to trust to a covering that cannot hide the ignorance of him that seeks to cover himself with it.

Since your Highness has been pleased to take all my Arms from me, if I must go to Fremona, I desire the favor of you, to let my Servants have the Muskets to Guard me thither, and they shall be sent back to you again; and if this should be denied, I hope your Highness will appoint a strong Guard of Portuguese Soldiers with Fire-Arms, to see me out of danger.

*O. Patriarcha.*

Though one cannot but be touched to see a Person, who but a few Months before was in so high a Post, treated thus rudely; yet at the same time one can scarce forbear smiling to find a Roman Prelate advancing the Principle of the Seekers so high, as to make it to be destructive of Religions, and contrary to the Commands of Christ and his Apostles, to forbid People under pain of Excommunication, to dispute about Matters of Faith, denying it to be in the Pope's Power to rob People of this Liberty; notwithstanding he could not but be sensible that it is what the Pope does every where; and that there is no Doctrine whatsoever for which the Inquisition would sooner Burn a man, than for maintaining such a liberty of Inquiry into the truth of Doctrines of the Faith, to be the undoubted Privilege and Duty of every Christian. But this is not the only instance we have of the Jesuits affirming, That the very same Doctrine may be true in one Country, and false in another. The Patriarch's Letter having been read in the Council, it was Debated therein, Whether they should gratify him with a public Disputation; and though that was carried in the Negative, it was judged convenient, however, that an Answer in the Emperor's Name should be returned to it; Which was as followeth.

### **THE LETTER OF SELTEM SAGED, COMETH TO THE PATRIARCH, WITH THE PEACE OF GOD.**

My Lord,

HEAR what we say and write to you: We have received your Letter, and do understand all that it contains: As to your desiring to know why we have turned you out of the Post wherein God and the Emperor had placed you: Your Lordship cannot but be sensible, that so long as we were under our Father the Emperor, we never disobeyed him in any one thing; nor did we ever so much as open our mouth against any thing that he did; but were so submissive to him in all things, that we never said, I will have this, or I will have that; or I like this, or dislike that; insomuch, that I do not remember, that during his life, I ever did any thing of my own head, but did still what he Commanded me. As to the business of your Religion, our Soul never entered into its Councils, neither did we ever join with any Counsellors either to build it up, or destroy it. We need not be told that the Emperor sent for your Lordship, and that the Fathers likewise came with his Consent; as we need not, that ever since your coming he has been continually embroiled in Wars for endeavoring to establish your Faith; Fighting sometimes with his Sons, and at other times with his Slaves,



whom he had raised from the dunghill to great honors: Insomuch that from the first hour we were able to bear Arms, we have never done any thing, but fight in obedience to our Father's Commands, which we always obeyed. After the Battle I had in the beginning of this Winter with Agnadega, our Learned Monks and People having assembled themselves together in the Camp, took the confidence to tell my Father their thoughts freely in the following words; Sir, How long are we to be plagued thus, and to tire our selves about things that are good for nothing? We desire to know, When we are to give over fighting with our Kinsfolk and Brethren; or cutting our right hand off with our left? What great difference is there betwixt the Roman Faith and ours? For do they of Rome teach, That there are Two Natures in Christ; and have not we always believed and taught the same, in affirming that our Lord Christ is perfect God and perfect Man; perfect Man as to his Humanity, and perfect God as to his Divinity? But whereas those his Two Natures are not separated, his Divinity being United to the Flesh, and not separated from it, and his Flesh to the Divinity; we do not for that reason affirm them to be Two, but One; being made so out of two Causes, and that not so as to Confound and Mix those Natures in their Beings; but on the account of their being one and the same Principle, we call them by the name of that Union; so that our Controversy with them in this matter is of small importance: Neither was it the cause of our having had so much fighting, but it was because they denied us the Blood in the Communion, notwithstanding Christ has told us positively in his Gospel, that unless we eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you shall not inherit eternal Life. And notwithstanding that Christ himself, when he Instituted the sacrament, after having given his Body to his Disciples, and received it himself, did not say, The blood is in my flesh which I have given you; but on the contrary, he said, Take and drink, and divide it among you: His Disciples doing as he Commanded them, and as he gave them to understand by saying, Do this in remembrance of me. Neither was this the only thing that discontented the People; but moreover the prohibiting them to Fast on Wednesdays; which St. Peter and St. Paul, and no fewer than Eight Synods, had Commanded them to do, upon pain of Excommunication. Neither was that all, but because they saw us Eat and Drink in the first week of Lent; Eating on the Morning of Good Friday; from which time till Easter they do never taste any thing: they heard likewise, that we received the Sacrament in the Morning on Fasting-days; and that the Roman Church permits People on Fasting-days to eat Milk and Butter, and to drink Water; having changed all the Festivities of the Year,

and suffering Men and Women promiscuously to enter into the Church, without keeping any out for being unclean. But the things of all others for which they abhorred us the most, was for saying, That they Baptized themselves as if they were Heathens and Publicans; whereas, in truth, there is no great difference betwixt the Romanists and them as to that point: And because the Romanists treated their Priests and Deacons, as if they had not been in Holy Orders, giving them Priesthood upon Priesthood, and Diaconate upon Diaconate; and for burning some of their Altars for no other reason, but because they were made of Wood, and Consecrating those again that were made of Stone, as if they had been Profane before; the Monks were also enraged against the Romanists for not living like Monks, who are not to be left to their liberty whether they will Fast or not; and because the Fathers took state upon them, and did not visit them according to the Custom of Monks.

For these and divers other reasons, the People far and near were much discontented, and said to the Emperor, Hear what we have to say, and either give us leave to live quietly, or knock us on the head, since the War does thicken upon us daily. When the Emperor was told this by all his People, he, without our joining with them in it, finding that there was no other way to quiet their minds, and that he would not be able to punish them much longer, commanded his counsellors to advise together what was best to be done; who after a serious consult came to this Resolution, That they must all return to their Ancient Religion and Customs.

Your Lordship in being acquainted with this, will know the reason why you are turned out of your Place, which God and the Emperor had bestowed on you; and that the very same Emperor that sent for your Lordship, and gave you your Authority, was the Person that deprived you of it: Wherefore since an Alexandrian Abuna is on his way hither, and he has sent us word, that he cannot be in the same Country with a Roman Patriarch and Fathers; we have ordered you to Repair to Fremona, and there to remain. As to what your Lordship now offers, which is, That if the People of Ethiopia will but continue in the Obedience of the Roman Church, that you will dispense with them as to all matters which are not contrary to the Faith; that comes too late now; for how is it possible for them to return to that which they have not only forsaken, but do abominate, now they have had a taste of their Old Religion again? For can a grown Man be born again, or enter a second time into his Mother's womb? Your Lordship further desires, that we would assemble our Learned Men to Dispute with you

before you depart, about matters of Faith: This ought also to have been done in the beginning; besides, Is that Cause like to be supported by Arguments, which has been maintained hitherto only by Force and Violence? By taking Estates from some, and throwing others into Prison, and Punishing others more severely; and that for no other reason, but because they would not embrace your Faith? And as if that had not been sufficient, you have dragged great multitudes out of the Deserts, who would have been contented to have lived there upon Herbs, and confined them to Prisons; nay, the poor People that would have been glad to have Buried themselves in Caves, not having escaped your Persecution. Now what a Barbarity would it be, to go and tease poor People with Arguments, who have suffered so much in Deserts and Banishments? It would certainly be a very unjust thing, both in the sight of God and Man. As to your Lordship's desiring to have a Portuguese Guard to attend you, that cannot be; but we shall appoint a very Honest Man, and who has a great train of Servants, to convey your Lordship, and all your Goods in safety, to the place whither you are to go.

This Letter gives us a great deal of light into the Affairs of Ethiopia at this time. For First, We see plainly thereby, that Popery, as to its Persecuting spirit, is the same in all Climates; it having no sooner got the Power of the Government of Ethiopia on its side, than it made the penalty of not embracing it, the loss of Estate, Liberty, and Life; and Herbs were reckoned too high a Diet, and Caves and Deserts too good a Dwelling for those that left all, and fled to them, to preserve a good Conscience. Secondly, That their denying the Cup in the Sacrament to the Laity, and the validity of the Alexandrian Ordinations, and not their believing that there were Two Natures in Christ, were among the chief causes of the Habassins having such an Aversion for Popery. Lastly, That Popery owed all the footing that it ever had in Ethiopia to Violence; so that it no sooner lost the assistance of the Secular Arm, than it came to nothing. There are two passages likewise in this Letter, which do seem to make it evident, That the Habassins do not believe Transubstantiation; the one is, where they do absolutely deny our Saviour's Blood to be in the Element of Bread; and the other is, where they seem to intimate, That our Saviour made his Disciples understand what he meant, by calling the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, his Body and Blood, by bidding them to Celebrate it in Memory of him.

The Patriarch finding that there was no remedy but that he must go to Fremona, and that the Emperor would neither lend him his own Arms, nor appoint him a Portuguese Guard, did thereupon desire him to charge some Responsible Man with the Books and every thing else that belonged to the Church; declaring that if that was not done, That he would not take them with him: The Answer the Emperor returned to this petition was very short, which was, That for his part, he did not know how to pack Goods, and that he must therefore e'en do it himself, and having done it, be gone with them. And the Patriarch having desired to know who it was that was to be his convoy; he had word sent him on Holy Thursday, That they were two Messengers, and two Nobles, who would go well attended with Servants, and that he must begin his Journey next Morning; which being come, the Patriarch made his Farewell-Sermon; and after that was ended, he took off his Shoes, and having shaken the Dust that was on them in the Air, he put them on again, and begun his Journey; on the Second day whereof he dispatched the following Memorial to the Emperor.

Now that your Highness's Counsellors do reckon that the security of your Empire does consist in the Extirpation of the Roman Faith, which is the only true Catholic and Apostolic Faith; and in the Banishment of the Patriarch, Bishop, and Fathers; I for my part, notwithstanding I know your Highness is most miserably abused by those men, do say with Jonas, Take me and throw me into the Sea, it being better that one man should die, than that a whole Nation should perish. However your Highness must know that the Roman Faith can never be destroyed, it not being founded on the mud wherewith the Nile fills Egypt, but on the firm Rock of St. Peter's Confession, to whom Christ hath promised, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it; having also said to him at another time, Peter, I have prayed to my Father for thee, that thy faith may not fail. Wherefore being now banished for having preached the Gospel, I can say with St. Paul, I labor even unto bonds, nevertheless the Word of God is not bound.

Wherefore as Fathers when they come to die, or when they are to part with their Children for any long time, do speak to them as Jacob did to his Twelve Sons, or as old Tobit did to the young one, and as Christ when he ascended into Heaven did to his Disciples; so upon my departure, I will speak to your Highness and your whole Empire all the truths which it imports you to be acquainted with.

In the First place, I do testify to your Highness, before God and Christ Jesus, who is to Judge the quick and the dead, That the Church of Rome is the Mother, Mistress, and Head of all Churches, Christ having commanded her in the person of her Founder St. Peter, to confirm his brethren, and feed his sheep; that is, all the faithful of the world, who are all the Sheep of Christ; so that none can have God for their Father, but they who have this holy Church for their Mother, out of which there is no Salvation, no more than there was out of the Ark in the time of the Deluge; and I do farther declare, That your Highness and all that are in your Empire, who have violated the Oath you made in my hands, To live and die in the faith and Obedience of the Roman Church, have incurred thereby Excommunication which was pronounced by me and divers Priests in the name of God at that time, and by the Authority of St. Peter and the Roman Pontiff his Successor, from which you cannot be absolved before you return to the Obedience and Union of holy Mother Church.

In the Second place I do declare, That I, so long as I do live, and am not loosed from that bond of Spiritual Marriage, which I have Contracted with the Church of Ethiopia, am the true Patriarch and Pastor, and Abuna thereof; and that whosoever is or shall come from any part; is a stranger, and cannot enter into it by the door, it not being opened to him by the faithful and prudent Steward, to whom Christ has delivered the Keys of his House. Such a one therefore must be an Adulterer, in taking another man's Wife while her lawful Husband is living. I have been placed in this Chair by the true Successor of St. Peter, and that with the same Authority as St. Peter placed his Disciple St. Mark in the Chair of Alexandria; all that are in that Chair, and do deny Obedience to the Pope and his Successors, being Patriarchs only in name, for the branch cannot bear fruit of it self if it continueth not in the vine.

In the Third place, I am to put your Highness and the whole Empire in mind of those words of St. Paul, Be not deceived, for God, no nor men, will not be Mocked by your pretending that you have not forsaken the Roman faith, but only in some customs; for it is plain you have departed from her by divers Heresies; namely, the using of Circumcision together with Baptism, the repeating of Baptism, the keeping Saturday, and the ceremonial Law about Legal uncleannesses, and distinctions of meat; and in dissolving Marriages, many of you affirming that Christ is the Son of God by grace only: Others affirming that there are Two persons in Christ; others that he has one person made of Two, and that he has not two Wills

nor two Operations; others that he died without his Divinity, others that the Humanity is equal to the Divinity, and is every where. You do affirm likewise, that water squeezed from dry grapes may be Consecrated, and that the Souls of Children are derived from their Parents, with a great many other things that are repugnant to the holy Scriptures, and have been Condemned and Anathematized in divers Councils.

In the Fourth place, I do beseech your Highness by the Precious Blood of Christ, and by the Bowels of Our Lady the Virgin Mary; and I do in the name of God, and by the Authority which he hath given me by the Pontifical Oil that was poured on my head, as upon that of Aaron, on the day of my Consecration, command you neither by force nor promises to endeavor to oblige the Portugueses that shall remain here to renounce the true Roman Faith: Nor to set any Captain over them that is not a Catholic by Descent, and chosen by Catholics. And I do pronounce the greater Excommunication to be Ipso facto incurred, and do invoke the Indignation and Curse of Almighty God, and of the holy Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and of St. Thomas, the Patron of India, and of St. James the Great, the Patron of Spain and Portugal, on all that shall any ways offend in this matter, or who shall at any time forsake the Roman Faith.

In the Fifth place, I do advertise your Highness, and all and every one in your Empire, that there is no Nation under Heaven that has the like Obligations to another, as Ethiopia has to Portugal. The Portugueses not having come among you, as the Children of Israel went into Egypt with Asses, to have them laden with Provisions to satisfy their hunger; but were moved to it purely out of Charity and Zeal for the faith. It is not above an Hundred years since they were sent by their King to his great cost laden with Arms and Muskets, and accompanied with a train of Artillery which is at this time in your Camp, with the Royal Arms of Portugal upon them, with their Pockets full of Money, and that not to make themselves Masters of Ethiopia, nor to Conquer it for their King, but to deliver the Habassins out of a Mahometan Captivity, and to free them from the Yoke which that cursed Sect had laid upon their necks; for which great Service, they have been so ill rewarded, that their Children and Grandchildren were reduced to that penury, that the King of Portugal was obliged to allow them a yearly Maintenance. Wherefore I do beseech your Highness, to let them enjoy the Privileges which their Fathers purchased for them with their Blood; and which have been granted them by former Kings for their services.

In the Sixth place, I would have your Highness remember, that several of the Fathers of the Society who are Eminent for their Piety and Learning, have come into Ethiopia at divers times, not to seek after Honors or Riches, but to serve God and your people in much humility; and to teach them the true faith, some of them having given the greatest Testimonies of love that are possible, in having laid down their Lives for their Friends; which Three of them did, one after having been several years a prisoner at Matzua, and the other two at Adel; and those that are now alive have served your Father with all the fidelity of Doctors, Servants, and Slaves, as he himself has many times told me; all which notwithstanding, after they had built several Churches and Houses, they are now turned out of them all; and that in the midst of Winter their Churches and Goods being all given to the Enemies of the Roman Faith; the Fathers that were at Gorgora having in little more than three Months time been sent from three several places; they that were at Dembea and Gojam having been likewise turned out of all; notwithstanding all which hard usage, they continue to pray to God to Establish your Highness's Empire for ever; and that he would give you a House that has the true faith for its Foundation, and Heaven for its Roof. Furthermore I would have your Highness remember, That your Father desired the Bishop of Rome to send a Patriarch and Bishops into Ethiopia; at whose request he sent me and a Bishop; we were both Masters of Divinity, and Readers of the holy Scriptures: Neither did the most Catholic Powerful and Munificent King of Portugal, expect that your Father should have remitted Gold to him to defray the charges of our Mission, or that he should have taxed his Nobles on that account; but he took the whole charge thereof upon himself, which amounted to several Thousand Oquea's giving us also many rich pieces to make Presents of, some of which are at this time in your Royal Palace, and in several great Houses of Ethiopia: Neither did he so much as charge your Father with the Maintenance of our persons, having sent me yearly an Hundred Oquea's to support my Dignity. Now all the return you have made to your Brother the King of Portugal, and to the Bishop and me for all the charge and trouble that we have been at, is to throw us out of all at a blow, and to entertain another without knowing who he is, or from whence he comes; threatening us like Caterpillars, against whom when they come, the whole Country is up in Arms; so that according to the word of David, I am cast out like a locust; you, in what you do, fulfilling what Christ said to the Jews, I came in my Father's name, and you received me not; another will come in his own name, and him you will receive; the Children of Israel when they went

out of Egypt carried not only their own goods, but the Egyptians also which they had borrowed; whereas we are forced to leave a great part of our own goods behind us; but since we must leave them all when we come to die, that gives us but little trouble; but what afflicts us most is, that your Highness should send the same Message to us, which another King delivered with his own Mouth to Moses and Aaron in the Twelfth of Exodus; Arise and go from among my people; and that with the same haste as he forced the Jews out of Egypt by night, it being said the Egyptians pressed the Hebrews to depart suddenly, saying, if they do not depart this night, we are all dead men; imputing the death of their First-born to the presence and detention of the Children of Israel; whereas in Justice they should have attributed it to the hatred they bore to the Hebrews, who had been their deliverers, and to their own cruelty, in having thrown their Sons into the Nile. After the same manner Ethiopia ought to impute the just punishments they have received at the hand of God, to the unjust hatred they have for the Portugueses their restorers; and to their Manifold public and scandalous Sins, some whereof I shall just mention:

Most of their men are for having several Wives, and their Women are for changing their Husbands. Their Monks care not to have any thing more of Monks than the habit, choosing the Houses of the Court of Ladies for their Monasteries. The Nobles are for making themselves Lords of the Church and her Lands, indulging the flesh in all things, and would have their Pastors to be as so many Statues, in having neither Eyes to see their Sins, nor Mouths to reprove them, nor hands to chastise them.

Now so long as these Sins continue in Ethiopia, the Sword will never depart from it. Open your Eyes, Sir, and follow the truth according to your knowledge thereof, and suffer not the good Nature and Understanding which God has given you, to be ruined by evil Counsellors; but do justice to your Subjects, remembering what God hath said by the Ecclesiasticus, That Kingdoms are Translated from one to another, and from one Family to another, by reason of Injustice. And since we are not to see one another again, before we meet at the Tribunal of God's Justice, I must tell you plainly, That though I should not accuse you there, you will accuse your self; your Empire, the Gospel, the Councils, and the Books of the Fathers, and Doctors of the Church which I brought for your Instruction, and you have rejected, will accuse you there.



Nevertheless, I, the Bishops and Fathers, imitating our Master Jesus Christ, who when he was on the Cross prayed for his Murderers, not attending to the hatred wherewith they persecuted him, but to the precept of his Father's and his own willingness to die for them; do from our hearts pray, that God of his great Mercy would pardon you and your whole Empire, and remove from you and it the Scourges of his wrath, which the examples in holy Scripture threaten them withal who will go on in their Sins. And whereas the Gauls since the time of your Ancestors broke the Oath they made to the Portugueses, That they would receive the Roman Faith, have become Masters of the greatest part of your Empire; so I pray God, that the remaining part thereof may not be lost on this occasion wherein there have been so many Oaths and Excommunications, with such a clear knowledge of the truth; insomuch that what Saint Stephen said of the Jews, may be truly applied to you; You do always resist the holy Spirit after the Example of your Fathers. May that Divine Spirit, which is the Temple and Fortress of Truth, enlighten and strengthen your Highness to know and love the Roman-Catholic Faith, which is the true way and life.

*Offonso Patriarch of Ethiopia, Banished  
for Jesus Christ.*

The Patriarch having been rifled by the way by a company of Banditties, arrived at Fremona on the 24th of April; and not being able to think of returning to the Indies to live there as a Private Friar, and where he knew his Conduct would be censured, if for no other reason for its having been unsuccessful; he began to consider whether he might not, in case the Emperor should command him to depart his Kingdoms, which he every day expected he would do, find some Nobles that would undertake to protect him against him; but being sensible that that was not to be done any other way, but by giving assurances, that a Portuguese Army would come in a short time to succor them, he immediately dispatched four Fathers to Goa, to solicit the sending of an Army to them, as the greatest Service that could be done either to God or the Crown of Portugal; and having done this, he thought he might very well encourage some of the Grandees to take them under their protection by promises of a Portuguese Army being ready to embark at Goa, to come to their assistance; and being informed that Prince John Kay, the Heir of their old friend Bahurnagays, was living discontented, upon his own Lands which were Mountainous, and not far from the Sea Coast, he sent two Fathers to him, to try if they could persuade him to undertake their protection, by promises of great things the

Portuguese Army that was coming would do for him. The Envoys managed matters so, that they brought O Kay to promise to protect them, it being agreed betwixt him and them, That whensoever the Emperor should command the Patriarch and Fathers to leave Ethiopia, that he should send a Troop of Horse to fetch them from Fremona into his own Lands; where, when he had them once, he promised to defend them till the Portuguese Army arrived.

This O Kay you must know was one of the chief Leaders in Guergis's Croisade for the extirpation of Popery; which, though the Patriarch knew well enough, yet being sensible that he was discontented with the Emperor and the Court, and believing Ambition to be much stronger in him than Religion, he thought he might be a man proper enough for his purpose, the very Peasants of Lasta being made use of by the Fathers against the Emperor, as we shall see hereafter. The Emperor, who was too jealous of the Patriarch and the Portugueses, not to have his Spies upon them, having received advice, that the Patriarch was caballing with O Kay, sent an Express with a precise order to the Patriarch and Fathers, immediately to depart his Empire, telling them if they would go to Matzua, there to embark for the Indies, that he would write to the Bashaw of that Port, to treat them civilly, and help them to a passage.

The Order they were served with, run thus: From the day that Popery came first into Ethiopia, our Empire has never had one day of Peace, which was what it always enjoyed before. Wherefore since our Empire is very near having been ruined by you, we do strictly command you all to depart presently; which, if you will do quietly, and go to Matzua, we will recommend you to the Bashaw of that place. The Patriarch, whose business it was to gain as much time as possible, writ thereupon a very submissive Letter to the Emperor, begging most passionately of him, not to deliver him and the Fathers to the Turks, the most inveterate Enemies both of their Religion and Nation, which he would do if he forced them to go to Matzua, a Port which belonged to those Infidels. But the Emperor was so far from being prevailed with to revoke his Order, that he renewed it with greater rigor in the following Answer to the Patriarch.

**THE LETTER OF THE EMPEROR SELTEM SAGED COMETH  
TO THE PATRIARCH, BISHOP, FATHER JAMES, AND THE  
REST OF THE FATHERS.**

HEAR what we say and write: Asma Guergis, Taca Christos, and Melch Christos, have acquainted us with all that you have said, and with all your excuses when they commanded you in our name to return to the place from whence you came. In the first place you say, You did not come hither of your own accord, but were sent hither after you had been invited by divers Letters. What, have you forgot the reasons I gave you formerly, why I was obliged to send you away? and I do much wonder that you should offer to give me the trouble of repeating them to you again; I need not tell you what hath happened betwixt you and the people of Ethiopia, and what a struggle you have had with them to oblige them to embrace your Religion; but one thing I must tell you, That if you continue not to regard either the power of God who is above, or of the Emperor here below, that you shall not live Two and Twenty years, no nor one year, no nor half of one in Ethiopia. There is no need of telling you what Infinite Multitudes of people have lost their lives because they would not turn Papists, or how great Troubles and Persecutions my Father endured for your sake, since you cannot but be sensible of them, as you are also of his having given over your Religion, when he saw plainly he was not able any longer to support it; so that as it was he that first introduced it, so it was he that put an end to it. After which he returned to the Foundation of his Fathers, which is the Rock of the Faith of Alexandria, and fortified it so by his Proclamations, that it is never to be removed.

As to your putting us in mind of the valiant Portugueses, who came hither in the time of Asnaf Saged to defend the Faith, it is what we very well know, and we do confess that they did us very good service in helping us to peace; but as they never offered to destroy the Religion of Ethiopia, which was delivered by the Fathers and the Apostles; so our people never offered them any violence; but as they deserved much for having delivered us out of the hands of the Mahometans, so they were all well rewarded by the Emperor, having Lands given them where they had no Inheritance; which Lands are enjoyed to this day by their Posterity, none ever asking them the question, What do you make here?

As to what you say, of your having reserved the Absolution of the Excommunication you have laid upon Ethiopia, so to your self, that none but you can Absolve her of it; That is easily answered: For when the Fathers began to Preach Popery in Ethiopia, By what means did they oblige the People to embrace it? Was it by Excommunications, or by doing any thing that looked like a Miracle? No, it was by neither of those methods, but it was purely by the force of the Imperial Authority: And did not the same hand that threw them into Prisons, set them at liberty again? Neither can you but be sensible, that there was not so much as one Person in Ethiopia that embraced your Religion voluntarily.

As to what you have said of Ethiopia being your Wife, it was no where ever Written or Decreed, That a Woman shall be bound to a Husband contrary to her own Consent, only because her Father and her Mother will have it so; for which reason your Lordship cannot but be sensible that Ethiopia was never your Spouse; since, as we have observed, There was not one Person that belonged to her, that embraced your Faith voluntarily. As to the Vow you speak of, it admits of several distinctions; some make a Vow to relinquish their Estates without turning Monks; some Vow to live and die Virgins; and others, not being Virgins, for the Love of God, to live Chastely: The force of all which Vows is resolved into their having been voluntary; which, when they are, they Sin that do not observe them; the faculties of the Will and Consent being so in the nature of the Soul, as to Govern its animal Powers, which are the Flesh: This is a true account of the nature of Vows. And as to your pretending that you cannot leave Ethiopia, because you are under a Vow to her, that need not trouble your Conscience, since you have not left her, but she has left you; neither do you flee from her, but she flees from you, as a Coward does from a Battle. We are ready to be your Lordship's Witnesses, that you Loved Ethiopia very much; as we are ready to be her Witnesses too, that she could never endure you, who have given her so many bitter Potions: Wherefore what we have to say to you, is, in a word, Be gone all of you to your own Country in Peace: And we do call God to witness of our having been no ways accessory to any injuries that you may have sustained; for as it was the Emperor our Father who invited you hither, so it was he that dismissed you, we having had no hand neither in the one or other; on the contrary, we have hitherto Protected you, and are at this time fighting with the Xague that Robbed you, with an intention of restoring all your Goods to you that we can recover; and as you have no reason to complain of us for

your having been plundered, so that you may not be Robbed a second time, we have appointed Za Mariam, and the Nobles of Sararoa and Amestea, to convey you safe to Matzua; where, if you please, you may buy a Ship to carry you home; having also writ to the Bashaw of that Port, in Arabic, to use you kindly, and to suffer you to part in peace. As to the motion you have made, of returning to the Indies by the way of Dancaly, and the Port of Bahur, a way, which your self excepted, none ever yet came; the Fathers and all the other Portugueses, having come continually by Matzua; we must tell you, that now your Expulsion is determined, it is to no purpose to allege reasons why you cannot go; and that if you should shuffle any longer with our Orders, that it will be your Ruin. Have we taken anything from you that you have got in Ethiopia, that you should disobey us, and say you will not go? this is not right. Be gone therefore, without making any further reply or excuse, your Expulsion being determined, as you will understand by the Order you will receive.

The Patriarch perceiving that if he stayed any longer at Fremona, he must either go voluntarily to Matzua, or be sent thither in Chains; the new Abuna who was now got to Court, and who I reckon had the chief hand in all these severe Orders, having as little compassion for the Romanists, as they, when they were in Power, had had for the Alexandrians; he dispatched a Messenger to O Kay to acquaint him with the danger he was in, and to desire him to send some Soldiers presently to help him to make his escape; sending the Coadjutor and Six of the Fathers at the same time privately to a discontented Nobleman in the Saroa, to try if they could persuade him to join with O Kay in protecting them; but though that Grandee, like a Brutal Man as he was, told the Bishop and his Companions, That he would have nothing to do with them; O Kay, according to his promise, sent his Brother with a good Body of Men to a passage within a few Leagues of Fremona, whither his Confederate Tecla Mariam, who had been gained likewise by the Patriarch, had undertook to convey them in safety. The manner of their escape being concerted, the Patriarch and Fathers having put themselves in a disguise, so soon as it was dark, stole out at their backdoor; and being come to the place where Tecla waited for them, they were conducted by him to O Kay's Brother, who conveyed them to O Kay, by whom they were received with all testimonies of kindness, and for their security, were lodged by him in an impregnable Mountain in the Province of Bur, where they had not been many days before the Coadjutor and his Six Companions came to them, not having

been able to bring any of the Nobles they had visited, into an Association to Secure them.

The Emperor was much troubled when he heard of O Kay's having undertaken to Protect the Patriarch and Fathers against him in Ethiopia, and being sensible that nothing but an assurance from them of a Portuguese Army could have tempted one of his Principals, who had on all occasions showed himself a Zealous Alexandrian, to have done it; he resolved to send to O Kay, and to grant him every thing he would desire, on condition he would surrender them to him, to dispose of them as he should think fit. O Kay, though overcome by this Proposition when it was made to him, yet had too much Honor to deliver People, who, upon his having promised to Protect them, had put themselves into his hands, up to the resentments of and enraged Prince; neither would he upon any terms yield to the cutting off of Father Lobo's Head, on which the Emperor insisted much, knowing him to have been the most active promoter of an Association against him amongst his Subjects: All the Court could bring O Kay to, was to carry the Patriarch, Bishop, and Fathers to Matzua, and there to leave them to shift for themselves as well as they could, and to suffer them to be notified in the Emperor's Name, to depart Ethiopia in two days upon pain of Death.

The Patriarch, when the Messenger had notified him, and asked him, Whether he thought he had not been the cause of bloodshed enough already in Ethiopia? Made Answer, That he was under an higher obligation to the Emperor of Heaven not to leave his Sheep; for whom he was ready to lay down his life among devouring Wolves. And having obtained leave to speak with O Kay, he asked him, What he intended to do with him and the Fathers now he had them in his hands? He made Answer, Not to deliver you to the Emperor, but to convey you in safety to Matzua, where you will not be long before you will meet with an opportunity of returning to Dio, or some other Port belonging to the Portugueses in the Indies. The Patriarch not at all satisfied with this Answer, after having told him, That it was only to have avoided being sent thither by the Emperor, that they had desired his Protection; and that he had promised them oftener than once, to secure them in his Province until the Portuguese Fleet, which they daily expected, arrived with Succors: Asked him again, Whether he had determined to violate his Faith with them? To which O Kay returned this short Answer, That there was no remedy for it, and that they must prepare themselves to begin their Journey to Morrow. The Patriarch finding there was no good to be done with O Kay, addressed himself to the Company,

conjuring them in the Name of God, To consider what a wicked thing it was to be the Executioners of the expulsion of a true Pastor and Patriarch, and of the Preachers of the Gospel; and that by having a hand therein, they would all incur the greater Excommunication, from which the Pope only was able to Absolve them. But he could have no other Answer from them, But that they would venture that, being resolved whatever were the consequence of it, to execute the Emperor's Orders.

In the Morning the Patriarch being spoke to, to begin his Journey, instead of that begun an Harangue, which was heard quietly by the Company till he came to inveigh bitterly against the Emperor and his Counsellors for what they had done to him. Whereupon the Habassins interrupted him, telling him, They would not hear their Prince railed at so without a cause, and that he must come away presently, for the Company waited for him to guard him to Matzua, and not to hear him Preach, or rather Declaim against Ethiopia and its Prince. The Patriarch finding there was no staying for him in Ethiopia, prevailed with O Kay, who, it seems, had a mind to play a double Game before he began his Journey, to wink at the Coadjutor and Father Jacinto stealing away to Casta Mariam, and Father Luis and Father Bruno to Cantibazara, who had both promised to suffer them to abscond in their Lands till a Portuguese Army should come to relieve them; and upon the Journey, he persuaded O Kay himself by the same argument, to carry two of the Fathers back with him to abscond in his Territories, promising so soon as he got to the Indies, to hasten the sending of a Fleet that would make them all Princes quickly.

O Kay having conducted the Patriarch to the Gates of Arkiko, and delivered him to the Governor of that Port, returned home with the two Fathers that were to abscond with him; and the Turk having been told that the Patriarch had a vast Treasure with him, did, in hopes of a great Prey, not only receive him at the Gate with Ceremony, but carried him home with him to his House, where he treated him with a Respect that is not usually paid by Men of his Nation and Religion to Christians of whatsoever Quality they are; but this Complaisance was too unnatural to last long; for upon the Officers, whom he had appointed to search the Baggage, returning and whispering him in the Ear, that they had met with nothing of any value, besides two small Silver Chalice, he dismissed his Guests very abruptly, commanding them to be carried straightways to the Custom-house to be searched there; which having been done with less success than the Baggage, there being nothing found upon them besides two small

Silver Crosses, and a few Reyals of Plate, the Governor was put into such a rage by the disappointment, that he commanded them to be conveyed immediately to Matzua, where having landed about Midnight, they were conducted by the Baneans, the Friends of Mankind in general, to a house which they, upon having received notice that they were coming, had provided for them; but they had not been many hours in their Lodging, before the Governor, who was resolved to squeeze something out of them before they went to Suaqhem, (the Bashaw whereof had, upon the same Information of their having a great Treasure in Gold and Jewels, sent an Order immediately to bring them before him) arrived in the Island; and the Fathers very well knowing what it was that had brought him thither, went by times in the Morning to wait upon him with a Present of Six hundred Pieces of Eight, which they had borrowed of the Baneans; the Governor, though he took the Present, did it after such a contemptuous manner, as sufficiently intimated that he expected a great deal more from them before he parted with them. But finding there was no more came, he, upon some pretence or other, ordered a Boy that was in the Patriarch's Train, to be taken up, threatening to sell him to the Arabians if he were not ransomed with Sixty pieces of Eight within half an hour; which Sum was likewise borrowed of the Baneans, and paid within the time. After a Months stay at Matzua, they were all embarked for Suaqhem, where when they arrived, the stately Bashaw would not so much as see them; but having ordered their Persons and Baggage to be searched, he sent them word, That under Thirty thousand Crowns they were not to think of having leave from him to go to the Indies. Nevertheless, after much Bartering, the Baneans having brought him down to Four thousand, paid the Money; and having provided a Ship to carry them all to Dio, as they were upon the shore ready to have Embarked, word came from the Bashaw, That he had given leave only to Seven to depart, of which number, the Patriarch was not to be one; pretending to detain him till he had advice from Dio how matters stood there as to their Commerce.

Seven of the Fathers, Two remaining behind with the Patriarch, embarked on the 6th. of August 1634. and after a Voyage of Eight days, during which time they suffered a thousand affronts from their fellow-Passengers, who were going Pilgrims to Mecca, and who reckoned it to be meritorious to abuse Christian Priests, they were put ashore at Dio; where two of the Fathers, who were sent by the Patriarch from Fremona to solicit for Troops, were arrived but a few days before, the other two having died in



the Voyage, which had been extremely tedious. By the first opportunity that offered, Father Manuel, and Father Jerom, embarked for Goa; where being arrived, they were at the Viceroy Don Michael de Noronha, day and night, for to send a Fleet with some Troops to Ethiopia; representing the taking of the Ports of Suaqhem and Matzua, as a thing that Five hundred Soldiers, with Two Men of War, would do with ease; and magnifying the advantages the Crown, as well as the Church, would reap from the Portugueses being Masters thereof. But though there was never any thing pressed with greater heat and zeal than this Expedition was by the whole Clergy of Goa, Secular and Regular, who were all possessed by the Two Fathers, That the Reduction of another Europe to the Obedience of the Church of Rome, would infallibly be the consequence of it; Yet all they could obtain of the Viceroy, was only Commendations of their Zeal, with a general promise of undertaking that work so soon as the posture of his Affairs would allow him to do it. But the Fathers knowing where their business stuck, endeavored to obviate all the Political Arguments that could be brought against it, affirming with the greatest confidence, That the conquest of those two Ports would open another Indies to the Portugueses; and that the Customs of them alone would do much more than defray the Charges of Conquering and Keeping them; and that there was no reason to think that the Turks would not sit down quietly with the loss of two such important places, since they had lately lost the whole Kingdom of Gemen, and the Ports of Moqha, Odieda, and Cameran, which were all places of greater moment to them than Suaqhem or Matzua, without ever so much as attempting to recover them again.

But though the Viceroy had neither Ships nor Troops to spare at this time for an Habassin Expedition, he no sooner heard of the loss of Momboca, a Port belonging to the Portugueses upon the same Coast with Suaqhem, but which is much nigher to Goa, and more in the way of Trade, than he found Both to send thither; the History of which loss was, in short, as followeth.

The Governor of the Citadel of Momboca, a place, saith our Historian, that seemed to have Tyrannical Governors entailed upon it, having some pretence or other, in the year 1614. put the King of that Country, who was a Mahometan, to death, he sent the Prince, his eldest Son, who was but a Boy, with his Father's Head to Goa, where being put into the hands of the Austin Friars, he was Converted by them, and Christened by the Name of Hierom, and after Thirteen years residence among them, was Married to a Portuguese Lady; and having solemnly Submitted himself and his Kingdom

to the Pope, was sent home with his Queen, with a promise of having his Crown restored to him again. But the Governor of Momboca, though he allowed Don Hierom the Title of King, treated him much more like a Slave than a Prince, not suffering him to exercise the least Authority, nor to have a hand in any public business. The Royal Title, without any thing of Power, making Don Hierom uneasy; and having nothing else to do, he stole frequently by night to the place where his Father's Corpse lay buried; where, after having bitterly bewailed his unfortunate end, he still performed some Mahometan Ceremonies to his Ghost; which having been observed one night by a Portuguese, he went presently, and acquainted the Governor therewith; who concluding from thence, as well he might, that Don Hierom, though he professed himself a Christian, was a Mahometan in his heart, intended to have him apprehended in order to send him to the Inquisition at Goa, as an Apostate: but the King, having by some way or other had advice of what the Governor intended, resolved to be beforehand with him, and either to send him to the Inquisition of Heaven the next morning to answer for his Tyranny, or to lose his Life in the Attempt; which, knowing what the Inquisition of Goa was, he reckoned to be preferable to being lodged in it; and having, in pursuance of this resolution, by night with great secrecy got Three hundred of the stoutest and faithfullest of the Caffrees together in a Body, he surprised the Citadel betimes next Morning, where having Killed the Governor Peter Leytam de Gambiaa with his own hand, he put the whole Garrison, not sparing the Governor's Lady and Daughter, to the Sword; and having done his work in the citadel, he Marched into the Town, and before night had not left one Portuguese, Ecclesiastic or Laic, alive that he could lay his hands on. So soon as the Massacre was over, he went to the Lady Church, where having mounted the Pulpit, and commanded all the Natives who had turned Christians, to be brought before him, he made the following Discourse to them.

THE High Ala hath for many years suffered the Insults of Men; but the time appointed for their period being come, he would endure them no longer; having now in one hour revenged the Crimes of several Ages. The Portugueses came from the dark shades of the day, into this Country, where the true light shines; who after having destroyed great numbers of African and Asiatic Kingdoms, and having been Pirates in both Seas, had the impudence to pretend that they had no other business with us, but to teach us Policy for the Earth, and to instruct us in the way to Heaven. As if

either Divine or Human Laws did direct the destroying and robbing of men on purpose to bring them to embrace true Doctrines; is not this wonderful Doctrine, to put a Cross into our Hands, that they may take our Scepters out of them, and our Crowns from off our Heads, and to rob us, as they have done all other Nations, of our Liberty?

Their coming at first into these Parts, though drawn hither by nothing else but their insatiable covetousness, and desiring to have a Trade with us, was well enough; but to force us to it, whether we would or not; and instead of helping us to Goods, and Honor, to encourage us to trade with them, to fleece us to our very Souls if we did it, or refused it, is such an Heavenly or earthly Law, as I must own I do not understand. Let us for once grant them, That we are, as they say, without the Knowledge of the True God; What then? Can there be any such God as shall command us to be Robbed of our Lands, Crowns, Lives, and Liberties, and of our Wives, Children, Brethren, and Kinsfolk, that so we may be brought to the Knowledge of him? No, most certain it is, that there can be no such God; since to be God, is to be Just: So that the Robberies which we of Africa and Asia do daily suffer at the hands of these enormous Strangers, are Injustices which will infallibly be punished at his Divine Tribunal; for the very Men that do plunder us, do at the same time teach us, That when the Son of God sent his Ministers to Preach his new Law over the World, that one of his Instructions to them was, that they should propose it to the Gentiles, and if some refused to hear them, that they should go then and tender it to others: For had this work been to have been done by Violence, their Master was sufficiently able to have done one of these two things for his Ministers, either to have endued them with such a Divine Power as could not be resisted, but must have obliged all People to have surrendered themselves to them; or have given them Armies to have forced the World to a submission. Whereas it is most certain, that those Ministers had no order to take any thing from any body, or to compel any to receive their Doctrines: Which makes me wonder how the Portugueses, who pretend to be such Singular Ministers of those Doctrines, should first force us by War to embrace them, and after we have embraced them, should Rob us: What shall I call such People as these? The Preachers of the Divine Law, or the Doctors of Human Covetousness? Who call us Barbarians before we hear them, and after we have heard them, make us their Slave? With what plausible pretences did they first come ashore here? And how did they afterwards make themselves so far Masters of this City, as to oblige my

Ancestors to accept of their own Crown from their hands; and who, after they had served them faithfully, were rewarded by them with Reproaches, Treachery, Violence, and Death. But to pass over what is ancient, and to go no higher than my Father; Who among you, though your Bowels were nests of Scorpions, or of worse creatures, if there be any, do not lament the Memory of what he suffered at their hands, even to the taking away of his life by barbarous and tyrannical Methods? I have a thousand times, and a thousand to that, visited the Tomb of my good, but unhappy Father; and I never did it once, but I heard his blood crying to God for Justice, as also for vengeance upon my Soul; which made me consider how he had provoked the Portugueses to Murder him as they did, or what I had done to deserve the same treatment. As to my Father, he was easily justified; and as to my self, I am not sensible that I ever did any thing to offend them, unless it were by turning Christian; which, though it may seem strange, yet live Experience assures us, that it is their common practice to Respect and Reverence us so long as we continue to profess our own Religion, and to persecute and abominate us so soon as we are persuaded by them to profess theirs. I need not tell you, that I was bred up among them at Goa, where I saw so much of their Insolence, that I do much more wonder at their not having committed greater here, than at their having committed those they have at Goa. I saw the King of Ormus thrown into Jail, and his Crown taken from him and given to another, only upon a pretence that he was Mad; though all his Madness was, his having refused to give them as much to let him keep his Crown, as he to whom they gave it had offered for it; for with them we are Catholics, or in our Wits, according as we give; If we give them much, though we are Infidels, they reckon us Christians; and though we are Fools, they reckon us Wise; on the contrary, if we give them but little, then let us be never so Wise, we are reckoned Mad; and though Christians, are reckoned Infidels; so that it must be our Purses, and not our Minds, that must justify us with this Nation, which boasts so much of Politeness and Justice. If their Religion teacheth them these things, it cannot be a good Religion; but if it does not, they then must be very Wicked to dishonor it as they do by their innumerable Insolencies; but however that is, I am certain, we have reason to seek to secure our necks, and either to forsake their Religion as bad, or to abominate them as the worst of men, which I will always be sure to do, but will at the same time acknowledge, that were their Actions conformable to their Preaching, that they would not be ill men. Nevertheless we have the Law of our own great Prophet to save us, and which of all other Laws will do it the most

effectually: Neither shall I fail to take severe Vengeance on my self for having forsaken it for their Law, and that without seeking to excuse my self, by my having been converted by them at an age when I was not capable of understanding their Cheat, or of foreseeing my own ruin thereby. But this I must say in my own justification, That I discovered the error I had committed at the same time I came to the use of my reason; and retracted it in my heart, though till this day it was not possible for me to do it publicly; but though I have been slow in doing it, I do hope the glorious achievements of this day will abundantly compensate for that my slowness, being confident that our most just prophet will obtain a pardon for me from the sublime Alafor my having delivered this his people from that shameful slavery they have been so long held in by the vile Portuguese Tyranny, called by its professors the Catholic Church, whose mischiefs are now legible in their sufferings; it being God's property to chastise horrible Insolencies, and to favor regular proceedings; so we see they are all fallen by the edge of our Swords, and the flight of our Arrows; and being tied hand and foot by the enormity of their Crimes, none of them have offered to make the least resistance, neither have any of them escaped. Where was that Courage they so much boast of, and that Justice which they pretend favors them? By this you may all see plainly, that we are Superior to them, both as to a righteous Law, and in true Courage; as also that you were cheated by their cunning persuasions, to leave the breasts of our true Religion, wherein you had been Educated, in returning to which you shall have me for an example. As to those who have never Apostatized, I have nothing to say to them upon this point; but what I am now about to say, concerns you all equally; which is, That you join together to recover your ancient Liberty, and to defend your Ancient Kingdom, reviving the glory of your forgotten Cavalry, which in former ages was famous all over the world. You now know by Experience what the Portugueses are, who when they first Conquered this City, took advantage of our unwariness; but wherever people are watchful, there they are either beat, or depend on their craft for that, which we expect only from our Arms. Let them come now when they will, and they shall find what their courage or craft will signify to them; for as I am resolved to believe nothing that they say, so having upon this happy day cleared this place of them, whenever they come, I will defend it with more vigor than I attacked it; and how should they be able to retake this City, who when they had it in their possession, were not able to keep it? Wherefore do but observe my Orders, and you shall live in honor and safety, and be freed from Tyranny in your Houses.

The Portuguese Historian, who relates this Speech, makes the following reflections upon it; Thus this blasphemous man harangued his infamous Sect, in which he was become learned, reviling our Religion, of which he was not ignorant, but was spitefully set against it; but as to all other things mentioned by him relating to the temper and government of the Portugueses, they were, saith he, spoke by him, and so much is the more pity, with more of truth than passion: adding, Neither could this Prince be said to be Disloyal in having made such an Insurrection; for wherever Tyranny becomes Exorbitant, and is not to be curbed by gentle Methods, it cancels all the Bonds of Allegiance; Self-Preservation, whether Natural or Politic, being a thing that is indispensably necessary; for would it not be a pleasant thing, that one should load another with insufferable Insolencies, trusting to this, That the injured person will not offer to defend himself, for fear, forsooth, of being thought disloyal, though at the same time he has no other way to remedy himself but by being so? For it is undoubtedly a much less fault to be unfaithful to a Tyrant, than to establish a Succession of Tyrants by a tame obedience.

But the Viceroy not having the same thoughts of the Revolution of Momboca as our Historian, so soon as he heard of it, dispatched his Eldest Son with a Fleet of Sixteen Ships and Five Hundred Soldiers, to recover it, and to chastise the Renegado King and his Caffrees; but they defended themselves so bravely, that after a close Siege both by Sea and Land for some Weeks, they obliged the Portugueses, after having lost most of their Soldiers, to return to Goa with disgrace.

The Habassin Solicitors, who had desired the same number of Ships and Men for Matzua, having put down this loss in their Book of Judgments, and finding there was nothing to be done for them at Goa, resolved to send Father Hierom to the Courts of Lisbon, Madrid, and Rome, to see what could be done there; as also to give such a Narrative of the Change in Ethiopia, as would vindicate the Jesuits Conduct in that Empire, which they had reason to fear would be blamed for it in Europe.

Father Hierom, after a tedious Voyage from Goa to Angola, and from Angola to Brazil, and from Carthagen to Cales, arrived at last at Lisbon on the Eighteenth of December, 1636; where having given in a Memorial to the Infanta Dona Margaret, who was Governess of Portugal at that time, and finding there was nothing to be had at that Court, on the Twentieth of January he begun his Journey to Madrid, where the King and the Conde

Duke having given his long story the hearing, sent him back to Lisbon with some, though small hopes of doing something for Ethiopia; but being returned to Lisbon, he found a Letter from the Portuguese Assistant of the Jesuits at Rome, commanding him to repair thither with all possible expedition; a true narrative of the late Revolution in Ethiopia being a thing their Order stood in great need of at that Court. The Father being got to Rome, gave his General Mutio Vitelleschi a full account of that whole affair; and after that was admitted to kiss the Pope's foot, to whom he delivered a long Memorial of all that was to be done for the recovery of it; and the Pope having laid that whole business before a Junto of Cardinals, the Father solicited them continually to come to some effectual resolution about it, but to little purpose, he being able to obtain nothing of them but good wishes and blessings, of which the Pope himself too is said to have been very liberal. But the father, who was a great Traveler, knowing that Matzua and Suaqhem, as weak as he had represented them to be, were not to be taken by such Ordinance; and finding that there was no other to be expected from that spiritual Court, trudged back again to Madrid, where by his Incessant Solicitations he obtained a Letter to the Viceroy, recommending the business of Ethiopia to him, so soon as the affairs of the Government would permit; with which Letter, which signified just nothing, the Father returned to Goa, upon whose ill success, Father Tellez makes the following Exclamations; This was an occasion wherein all the precious Jewels of Spain ought to have been sold, and all the sacred Treasures of Rome to have been opened; but for our Sins, those fervors of Christianity which discovered themselves in the Croisado's which were undertaken for the recovery of the Holy Land, and the Zeal of Converting the world, and of reducing Ethiopia, are now in a manner extinguished.

But what reflected the most on the Devotion of the State of the Indies, was their taking no care to Ransom the poor Patriarch and Fathers, who remained Slaves still at Suaqhem; and who finding they were forgot at home, were forced at last to give Commission to the Baneans to treat with the Bashaw about their Ransom; who having brought him down to Four thousand pieces of Eight, they advanced the Money, and embarked the Patriarch and his two Companions on a Ship that was bound for Dio; where being arrived after a months Voyage, and finding a Ship ready to Sail for Goa, they went on Board, and being got thither, revived the business of Ethiopia again, but with no better success than its former Solicitors.

But to cast our Eye back upon Ethiopia, O Kay, in whose Lands the Bishops of Nice and the three Fathers had absconded for near five Years, finding the Promises of a Portuguese army he had been so long fed withal, came to nothing, he treacherously delivered them all into the hands of the Emperor, who having ordered them to be brought in Chains to the Camp, they were all four tried and condemned to Death as Traitors. But it not being the Custom of Ethiopia, say the Jesuits, to put People to Death, though condemned to it, for Treason, (they should have excepted the times when they governed the Court, for then no Body was spared that was convicted of it); that Sentence was changed into Banishment, a Favor that was but of little use to them; for being sent into the country of the Agau's, the Mob rose upon them, and hanged them all four upon one Tree, pelting them furiously with Stones as they hung.

But notwithstanding Father Hierom's Narrative of this Revolution, which was undoubtedly favorable enough to his Order; there did not want those at Rome, who imputed it chiefly to the rash and furious Conduct of the Portuguese Jesuits, who they say by not following Father Peter's Example of introducing Popery by degrees, but having got the Emperor and his Brother on their side, were for doing it in a day, had ruined that whole Design by their Precipitation. Neither was it only the Enemies of that Order, of which it never yet wanted good store among the Clergy that talked thus; the Cardinals De Propaganda fide, having themselves declared, That they had the same thoughts of it, by taking that Mission out of the hands of the Portuguese Jesuits, and committing it to the French and Italian Capuchins. Neither were the Cardinals much mistaken in this matter; for in truth, the thing that ruined the Interest of Popery in Ethiopia, was the Portuguese Fathers, even when they were most in favor with the Emperor, caballing still with Princes and Governors, who were their Converts, to Canton Ethiopia into several Independent Kingdoms; together with their presuming, that with four or five Hundred Portuguese Soldiers, they should be able at any time to reduce Ethiopia to the Roman Church, which conceit made them the less fearful of committing Errors, or of precipitating things. This design of breaking the Habassin Empire into several Independent Principalities, however they might condemn it at Rome for not having succeeded, they could not in general condemn it either as impolitic or sinful; it being visible to all the World, that the great Fabric of the Papacy was erected and established by the same course; that is, by its having broke the Roman Empire into a great many Independent Kingdoms;



for which reason, the keeping of those Kingdoms from ever consolidating again into one great Monarchy, is visibly the chief care of the Court of Rome; which, let the most Catholic, or the most Christian, express never so much Zeal for their Religion, immediately turns their Enemy, whenever they begin to think of being Universal Monarch.

Now, though I cannot say, That the great Palafox, Archbishop of La Puebla [Puebla] de los Angeles had the miscarriage of this Mission in his eye, when he called upon Innocent the 10th in his second Letter to him, bearing date the 8th of January, 1649. to weigh the Services and Disservices the Jesuit Order had done the church in an equal Balance; nevertheless, considering how the Fathers by caballing with Princes, and plunging themselves over head and ears into Politics in Ethiopia, did, as it were, in one day destroy all the Effects of their long and great Labors in that Empire, what that Learned and Pious Prelate has said, is so very pat on this occasion, that I shall lay it before the Reader.

As I do voluntary confess, saith Palafox, about the middle of the Letter, That the Jesuits have by their Virtues, no less than their Writings, and both by their Words and Examples, done great Service and Honor to the Church of God; so I do assure your Holiness, that by some troublesome Qualities, not to speak of Defects which belong to them, they have done the Church more harm than good; it is therefore your Holiness's business to weigh the one against the other in your Apostolical Balance, to see which does preponderate. For, as a Prebend or Benefice is unprofitable to him that enjoys it, when its Charges exceed its Revenue; so a Religious Order may be said to be prejudicial to the Church, when it brings more damage than profit to it; and especially, when there are other Orders and Ecclesiastics, who may be as serviceable to the Church, without being prejudicial to her.

Suppose all the Jesuits to labor hard in the Service of the Church, yet what do all their labors signify, if they themselves destroy all the effects of them, or make them groan under the feet of the Grandeur and Authority they have usurped to themselves? What advantage can a Bishop derive from their Assistance, if they dishonor and persecute him, whenever he does any thing that they do not like? What fruit can the People reap by their Instructions, if they raise Troubles and Commotions among them? Of what advantage is it to Parents to have their Children taught by them, if they rob them of their sweet Company by taking their Children from them, and afterwards throwing them many times off shamefully for trivial reasons?

Furthermore, What advantage have Ministers of State, Grandees and Princes, by being sometimes well-served by them in their Courts, if the greater part of them are so far from being engaged by necessity, in such Affairs, that they intrude themselves into them of their own accord with a Presumption, which is prejudicial to the State, and does very much diminish that esteem Spiritual Ministers ought to be had in, rendering themselves thereby odious to the Laity, by entering into all the Intrigues and Secrets of Families, which they pretend to govern no less than the Masters thereof; and all this under the color of the Spiritual Government of their Consciences, tumbling no less scandalously than perniciously from Spiritual to Politic Matters, from Politic to Profane, and from Profane to Criminal.

What does it signify, that the Jesuit is more flourishing than any of the other Orders, if out of a secret jealousy, it darkens and oppresses all its Credit, and all its Power, Riches, Learning, and Pens, by publishing books that do it? And what is the Church profited by its Books, if at the same time she is disturbed by its Friars, who have transformed, if not destroyed the Wisdom which is truly Christian, and have rendered the truth of Christianity it self doubtful. What the Apostle teacheth being certainly true, which is, That the Knowledge of those who will learn things which do not belong to them, is destructive. Which lesson ought to teach both them and us, not to seek after a Knowledge that will not be governed by Charity. In a word, If it please your Holiness, what other Religious Order has ever been so prejudicial as this to the Catholic Church, or has filled all Christian Countries with so great Commotions?

The Cardinals De propaganda fide, being resolved, it seems, That neither the Portuguese Jesuits nor Government should have any thing more to do with the Conversion of Ethiopia, named six French Capuchins to go thither; who having by their King's Interest at the Port, obtained Letters of Safe Conduct from the Grand Signior to pass through Egypt; four of them repaired thither, the other two being ordered to try if they could find a passage into Ethiopia by the way of Magadaxo and Pale; but those two having, as the Jesuits tell us, more Fervor than Experience, came short home, and were murdered by the Caffrees so soon as they came among them; two of the four that went to Egypt, having got into the Kingdom of Tigre, by the way of Matzua, in the Habit of Merchants, upon their being discovered to be Popish Priests, were presently put to Death; the Emperor having made a Law, requiring those that discovered any to be Popish

Priests or Friars, immediately to kill them, without troubling his Court with them. The other two who had landed at Suaqhem, finding there was no getting into Ethiopia, from thence returned to Matzua, whereas hearing of the Death of their two Companions, they thought it was better to stay where they were, than to go any further; so that the French Capuchins, as the Jesuits, who I doubt were not over-well-pleas'd with their being employ'd, tell their story, made a very short business of their Habassin Mission.

But though they would send no more Jesuits from Rome to Ethiopia; there were two of the old Fathers remaining still in the Country, and who had ever since the Patriarch's Departure absconded in the Lands of Za Mariam, the Prince of Dembea, a Province in the Kingdom of Tigre; and who, now John O Kay had served them such a dirty Trick, was to be King of Tigre, when the long-look'd for Portuguese Fleet and Army came; they were Father Bruno an Italian, and Father Luis Cardegra a Portuguese; the Court having had intelligence that Za Mariam notwithstanding he was in Arms in Confederacy with the Peasants of Lasta to defend the Alexandrian Faith, which they still pretended was in danger, had two Roman Priests conceal'd in his Country; sent to Za Mariam, either to deliver them up to the Emperor, or to put them to Death himself, hoping by this discovery to make the Peasants of Lasta jealous of him, as a secret Friend to the Roman Church, notwithstanding all his high Pretensions to the contrary; and upon Za Mariam having denied that he had any such Priests in his Country; the Viceroy of Tigre to spoil the Double Game he was playing, writes a Letter to the Monks, that were among the Peasants, to let them know what a Champion for the Alexandrian Faith they had in Za Mariam, who had for several years kept two Roman Priests conceal'd about him, in hopes that a Portuguese Army would be sent to conquer Ethiopia; to prove the truth of which, if they would not take his word for it, he offer'd to send them two unquestionable Witnesses; the one an Habassin, who had been bred among the Jesuits; and the other a Portuguese, whom he had intercepted, coming with a Message from the Indies to Za Mariam: But as God would have it, say the Jesuits, notwithstanding it was all true, that the Viceroy had writ to the Monks; yet Za Mariam having lodg'd the two Fathers privately in the Mountain of Amba Salama, did face it down so, as a Trick of the Viceroy's to break the Confederacy; that the Peasants and Monks not believing a word of it, continued still to look upon Za Mariam as a true Alexandrian, and on the Emperor and the Court as still Popishly affected, for having

attempted to create a misunderstanding betwixt him and them: Now, this was a pleasant turn enough for to bring the Peasants of Lasta, when they could get none else to do it, to serve the ends of Popery, the thing in the World they hated the most, and which they thought they were then fighting against.

The Emperor finding the Peasants were not to be undeceived, ordered the Viceroy of Tigre to march against them with a numerous Army, who having brought them to a Battle, routed them totally; and their Head, Za Mariam, being taken the day after the Fight, was cut in pieces by the Soldiers, who were so enraged by their General's being killed, that they gave no Quarters: In Za Mariam, say the Jesuits, the Last Pillar of the true Faith, and the Foundations of all our hopes in Ethiopia fell to the ground.

The two Fathers having lost their Protector, were quickly discovered, and being put into the hands of one Lessano, a violent Alexandrian, he carried them to a great Fair that was in the Neighborhood, where he hanged them both in the Market-place, after whose Death there was not a Jesuit of any Nation left in Ethiopia.

In the Year 1646. the Congregation De propaganda fide sent two Italian Capuchins to Ethiopia, who having got to Suaqhem by the way of Grand Cair [Cairo], they found one of the French Friars of the former Mission there, and having consulted together, what course they were to take, the wise Italians were for writing to the Emperor for leave to come into his Country to preach the Gospel in it; which being agreed to, they writ a Letter to him, wherein, contrary to the course that had been taken by the Portuguese, who were still for making the difference betwixt the Alexandrian and Roman Faith as wide as they could possibly; they were for persuading the Emperor that he and they were of the same Faith, and that being so, they hoped his Highness would not be against their coming into Ethiopia to preach the same Faith that his Highness professed.

But the Emperor was so far from being overcome by this Capuchin Compliment, which contradicted all the Jesuits had told him of their Heresies; that upon reading the Letter, he roared out as if he had been mad, saying, What is it not enough, that I have been persecuted for so many years for my Religion by Portuguese from the East, but that I must have Italians come from the West to persecute me for it afresh. And instead of returning any Answer to their Letter, he writ to the Bashaw of Suaqhem,

who valued himself much upon his being a Renegado Christian, To ease him of these, and all the Friars that should come to his Port at any time, complaining that he could not have one days quiet for them in his Kingdom; and that having rooted out the Portuguese, a new set of People were come to disturb him with new pretences.

The Bashaw being glad of the opportunity of at once gratifying the Emperor, and his own Renegado Zeal, commanded the two Italians to be murdered in his Presence, and the French Friar who had a Passport from the Grand Signior, to be assassinated, sending their three Heads to the Emperor, who as a Reward, made him a Present of three Bags of Gold Dust; promising him as many Bags of Gold Dust, as he should at any time send him Heads of Roman Friars. Upon which Correspondence betwixt the Emperor and the Governor of Suaqhem, a report was raised of Basilides having turned Mahometan not long after he had banished the Patriarch.

The Patriarch being extremely desirous to revive, if it were possible, the Jesuits lost interest in the Habassin Mission, in the year 1646. sends and Dedicates a Book he had writ on the Six First General Councils, and a Catechism he had made in Ethiopia for the use of that Church, to the Congregation de Propaganda fide; from whom, the year following he received the following Answer.

*Most Illustrious and most Reverend Lord:*

THE Books composed by your Grace, with great diligence and study, (as appears from the frequent testimonies of Scripture which are in them) together with your most Elegant Epistle Dedicatory to this Holy Congregation de Propaganda fide, having been received by the most Eminent Fathers of the said Congregation, with a joyful mind; and who have ordered two things concerning them, the one is, That the said Books be delivered to the Portuguese Assistant of the Jesuits Order, that so all that is in them relating to the Habassin Errors, and all that your Grace has writ in Confutation of them, may be noted, and being digested into a Book, may be Printed in the Press of the said Holy Congregation, for the use of the Missionaries of Ethiopia. The other is, That some Persons, Secular or Regular, of which there is great plenty in this City, be deputed to Examine them, and give in their Opinion of them.

All which, with their Thanks for having Dedicated those Books to them, the said most Eminent Fathers have ordered to be imparted to your Grace:

Which I here do in their Name, and in their Presence, with great cheerfulness; as I do also offer you my own Service, beseeching Christ to prosper you.

Your Grace's most Affectionate Brother,  
*Aloysius, Cardinalis Caponius.*

*At Rome the 14th of October, 1647.*

This Letter, though very civil, did not answer the Patriarch's design in his Present; for notwithstanding there is a mention of it in an Habassin Mission, there is not one syllable of restoring it to the Jesuits.

In the year 1648. the Patriarch, who continued still at Goa, sufficiently mortified by the congregation de Propaganda fide reflecting so much upon his conduct, as to take the business of his Church out of the hands both of his Order and Country, notwithstanding he had complied so far with what was ordered at Rome, as not to send a Portuguese; yet he ventured to send an Italian Jesuit to Suaqhem to try if he could get into Ethiopia to send him intelligence how matters stood there.

Father Torquato, which was the Jesuit's name that was sent, having put himself into the habit of a Merchant, embarked upon an English Ship at Surat that was bound for Suaqhem, which having touched at Moqha; the Father, who was sent to Ethiopia chiefly for Intelligence, pretended to meet with the News there, of Basilides having declared himself a Mahometan, and of his having sent into Arabia for Priests of that Sect to come and instruct his people therein.

This News put Father Torquato into such a passion, that he resolved without using any precautions, to run presently into Ethiopia to confound those Infidel Priests, before they had time to spread their contagion there. But being on the wrong side of the Sea, and fearing that he had not Faith enough to cross it upon his Coat, as many a Friar had done a greater Sea, and when they had not half so much business; he resolved when he came to Matzua, to be governed by Father Anthony, the French Capuchin, whom he expected to have found there, as to his going on that Errand. But whether there were any color at that time for this story of Basilides being about to turn Mahometan, if he was not turned already; it is no news for Monks and Friars to throw such scandals on Princes that have any ways vexed them; witness their stories of the Iconoclasts Emperors being

sometime turned Jews, and sometimes Mahometans; and of our King John having offered the Emperor of Morocco, if he would assist him, to be of his Religion; and of Charles Martel's Soul being some years after his Death seen in Hell for his Sacrilege.

On the 6th. of May, the English Ship the Father was on Board, sailed for Moqua, and on the 12th. touched at Dela, the biggest Island in the Red-Sea, it being Twelve Leagues in Length, from whence they sailed directly to Suaqhem; where being come to an Anchor, the Master sent ashore for pratique, which he had sent to him at first word, with a Present of fresh Provisions from the Governor. The Father, who walked upon the Deck as if he had been the Supercargo, having inquired of the Watermen that came aboard, How the Christians that were in Suaqhem did? They made Answer, That they knew of none that were there; some that were there formerly being gone into Ethiopia. Next day the Father went ashore with the Master to enquire farther about the Friars, but was not able to learn any thing<sup>62</sup> concerning them, only he was told by some of the Baneans, That the Fathers that were there had been for some time dead: But the Master of the Ship having observed that the Father was much troubled that he could learn nothing of his brethren, told him, He needed not inquire any farther after them, for he could assure him that they had been all Three Murdered by the Order of the Bashaw; which was afterwards confirmed to him by a Banean, who told him farther, That the Bashaw had strictly forbid all People to speak of it.

The Father being now satisfied that the Friars were all Murdered, his next business was to get their Bodies, or some part of them at least, to carry with him to Goa; which, with the story of Basilides being turned Mahometan, he reckoned would make him welcome there; but here he was at a greater loss than he was before, considering the hatred, say the Jesuits, that the English Heretics have for all Sacred Relics; nevertheless, being resolved to carry something home besides his Moqha News, for I do not find that it was confirmed at Suaqhem, he ventured to speak to an English Sailor, the Master having forbid him to go any more ashore, for fear of bringing the Ship into trouble, to go to a certain Island, that lay but a little way off, and if he found any dead bodies there, to bring them to him, promising to pay him well for his pains; the honest Sailor told him he would do his best, and going ashore he picked up Two Skulls and a Bone, and having brought them privately aboard, delivered them to the Father; who, though he had never seen any of the Friars, knew the Skulls as first

sight to the Heads of the Two Italians that came last; and which was altogether as difficult, he knew the Bone to be the Bone of Father Antony's right Arm; which was a lucky as could be, for had it happened to have belonged to either of the Skulls, which were both visibly Italian, he must then have either sent his Sailor ashore again to have busked for more Bones, which was not to be done without danger, or which would have been a sad thing, he must have gone home without a Relic of the French Friar.

With this rich Treasure, and his Moqha News, Father Torquato returned well satisfied to Goa, where he was made welcome by the Patriarch, and was reckoned by all, but especially the Capuchins of that City, to have made a good coasting Voyage. The Patriarch having paid his devotion to the Relics, did, contrary to the custom of his Order, to encourage the Capuchins in their New Mission, part with this noble Treasure to them, but upon condition, that if the Congregation de Propaganda fide should at any time demand what Evidences they had of their being true, that they should remit an exact information thereof to it. The Patriarch hoping, it is like, by this means to satisfy the Congregation, that the Jesuits, for all their having represented the Capuchin Conduct in the Habassin Mission to have been one continued blunder, were so far from their being displeas'd with their being solely employ'd therein, that they hazarded their lives to help them to the Relics of their Martyred Brethren.

I have not been able to learn, whether the above named Congregation did ever give it self the trouble of inquiring into the truth of these relics; but most certain it is, that if it did, that their want of natural Evidences was abundantly supplied by such as were Miraculous; for they having been, as all new-found relics are, undoubtedly much prayed to, if Ten out of a Thousand that prayed to them when they were sick did but happen to recover, there were just so many substantial Witnesses of their having a Miraculous Virtue in them to demonstrate them to be true; and for the faithless Nine hundred and ninety that died, their unsuccessful Prayers were never heard of to confront the Testimony of Ten living Witnesses; and being thus attested, the Congregation could not have denied them its Approbation, such Testimonies as these being all the Evidence the Church of Rome has for the greatest part of her Sacred Reliques: Neither would its having been afterwards discovered, as it was, that the Heads of those Three Friars were sent by the Bashaw who cut them off, as a Present to the Emperor of Ethiopia, have been any argument at all against the truth of



those which were lodged at Goa, there being nothing more common in the Church of Rome, than to have the same individual Reliques, and especially Heads, at the same time in several Countries, and all of them working Miracles in Confirmation of their being genuine.

The Patriarch that he might not lie at Goa, doing nothing for his Title of Illustrious, in the Year 1650, sent a Banean and an Habassin, who were both Romanists, with a Commission to one Bernard Nogueiro an Habassin Priest, but of Portuguese Extraction, to be his Vicar-General in Ethiopia, during the time of his absence from it.

The Banean and Habassin having got to Moqha, were detained there a whole Year by the War that was broke out betwixt a King in Arabia, and the Bashaw of Suaqhem; but the Envoys that they might do something for their Money, sent the Patriarch some News, which notwithstanding that it did not agree very well with that Father Torquato, had picked up at the same place not long before, they knew would be pleasing to him. The News was, That his Successor Mark had been Deposed, for having been guilty of all the Crimes that they could think of; namely, for having Danced frequently with his Gatar in his hand, through the Streets with public Strumpets; and that a Monk, whose name was Michael, was made Abuna in his place. In October 1651, the two Envoys having got to Matzua, stole by night from thence to a place in Ethiopia called Engana, from whence having sent an Express to Father Bernard, he was with them in a few days; and having gladly accepted of the Commission they brought to him, he wrote by them to the Patriarch, complaining that the Portugueses seemed to have forgot that there was any such Country as Ethiopia; where they had been expecting succors from them till they were weary, telling a lamentable Story of what Raz Cella Christos had suffered because he would not turn Alexandrian, and how his Gout, though extremely violent, did not torment him half so much, as the disappointment of the Portuguese Troops he had been so long promised. But we have that Prince telling his own Story in the following Letter, which came to Goa about this time.

Most Illustrious Bishops and Governors of the Indies.

*The Letter of Raz Cella Christos cometh with Peace and Health in our Lord Jesus Christ, To all most Christian Catholics, and to all the faithful of the true Church of our Lord.*

TO tell you the Truth, I do not know with what tongue or Words to begin to relate to you, the Persecutions of our Mother which I am at this time lamenting. O Holy and most Merciful Christ Jesus, nailed to the Cross, do Thou reckon them up, and make them to be known to all the Friars, Rectors, Prelates, Bishops, Archbishops, Viceroyes, Kings, Princes and Governors, that Rule on the other side of the Sea; I never in the least doubted, but that you would so far have concerned your self for the Catholics that are here, as to have delivered them from the Tyranny of this Perverse and Barbarous Nation, and that the doing thereof would not have been so long delayed but for my Sins which are Infinite: You seem to have been all dissemblers; formerly when there was not so much as the name of a Church, or of a Catholic in Ethiopia, the Portuguese came to our Assistance, and delivered us out of the hands of the Mahometans; but now notwithstanding there is an Infinite number of faithful people in it, there is no body seems to remember us, all our Brethren, and all those whom the zeal of the House of the Lord did eat up, seeming to be dead.

What, is the Pope, our true Pastor and most beloved Father, removed from the immoveable Foundation of the Roman Church? if he is not, Why does he not stretch forth his Rod and Staff of Consolation to these his Sheep, before we depart this Miserable Life, or before we are eat up by the Alexandrian Heretics. Is it possible that there is not one Prince left in Portugal, that has the Zeal of Don Christopher Da Gama for Christianity, no nor so much as one Prelate left to procure some remedy for us either from Heaven or Earth; I can say no more, but though my Mouth is stopped, my Tears are not; but being covered with Sackcloth and Ashes, I do most humbly beg succor from all the Faithful, and that with all Expedition, before all be lost. I am at this time in Chains in a Prison, and am daily tempted with promises of liberty, if I will but return to the Alexandrian Faith; the Heretics seeking in me to destroy all the Catholics in Ethiopia, and to Extirpate the Roman Faith out of it.

Wherefore if there be any Christians left beyond the Sea, or any that have a Zeal for God, let them know and understand that we are their Brethren in Christ Jesus; and that we shall then, and not before, believe that they have us in their hearts, when they shall deliver us out of the hands of Heretics, and out of this our Egyptian Bondage.

This Unfortunate Prince is said to have suffered Death not long after this, for this Religion, or rather for holding a Correspondence with the

Portugueses, for whom the Emperor was possessed with so strong an Aversion, that he made it Death for any of that Nation, or for any of the Roman Faith to come into Ethiopia.

In the Year 1656, the Patriarch was nominated by the King of Portugal, to the Archbishopric of Goa; which Dignity he did not live to take possession of, having departing this life on the Twenty ninth of June before the arrival of the Fleet, by which the nomination was sent. He died in the Seventy Seventh Year of his Age, having been Sixty Three years a Friar of the Society; of whom though his Brethren the Jesuits have wrote great things, the poor Ethiopic Church might justly apply to him what Moses's Ethiopic Wife said to him in a passion, Thou has been an Husband of blood to me.

Basilides having by a total extirpation of Popery out of his Empire, quieted the minds of his Subjects, set about recovering the Provinces his Infidel Neighbors had during the Habassin broils about Religion, tore from his Predecessors; and was so prosperous in his Wars as to regain most of them, having, if Morad the Habassin Ambassador at Batavia, did not stretch, extended his Empire Northward to the confines of Nubia, and Southward to Hadea, the people of which Kingdom were converted by him to the Christian Faith.

Basilides having Reigned Two and Thirty Years, was after his Death succeeded by his Son Aelaf Saged, in the Year 1665. Aelaf swayed the Ethiopic Scepter Fifteen Years, without doing any thing that was Memorable, only having heard of the greatness of the Dutch power in the Indies, he sent one Morad, an Armenian, his Ambassador, in the Year 1672, to the Governor of Batavia.

Aelaf dying in the Year 1681, was succeeded by his Son Faso Adian Saged, who sent Morad a Second time to the Governor of Batavia in the Year 1689. The account Morad gave of his Master, was, That he was exceedingly tall of Stature, had a fierce Countenance, and was very brave and wise, and of indefatigable application to business; and as to his affairs both at home and abroad, he affirmed them to be in a most flourishing condition. The Letters of those Embassies, together with the Dutch Governors answers to them, are published by the great Mr. Ludolphus at the end of his Commentaries, as are also the Answers which were given by the said Ambassador, to the Questions which that Learned Person had sent

some Years before to the Indies, for which I refer the curious Reader to that Learned Book.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE

# DOMINICAN HISTORY OF ETHIOPIA.

**COMPOSED BY FATHER LEWIS DE UURETTA, A DOMINICAN;  
AND PRINTED AT VALENTIA IN THE YEAR 1610.**

IN the Year 1316, Eight Dominican Friars, with a Holy Sister, Santered from Rome to Jerusalem, where having Visited the Holy Sepulcher, taking Bethlehem in their way, they went down into Egypt, and from thence to Ethiopia; and having there Learned the Language of the Country perfectly in a few days, they begun to preach to the Astonishment of that whole Empire, confirming the truth of all they taught by Miracles. Prester John the Emperor hearing of those wonderful Preachers, sent to bid them welcome into his Empire, and to let them know they had free liberty to build Convents enough therein to hold all Europe, and to exercise their power of Inquisitors upon all his Subjects; and that he would allow them all the same Privileges and Immunities that they enjoy in the Latin Church. The Fathers overjoyed at this news, begun presently to make use of the liberty that was granted them; and having penetrated Six Hundred Leagues into Ethiopia, they came at last to the Lake of Cafates, on the other side of the Equinoctial, where the head of the River Nile riseth, where upon the Mountains of the Moon, and in the Kingdom of Gojam, and among the Caffres, and in the Provinces bordering on the Cape of Goodhope, they built several Convents, filling them all presently with Friars of their own Order, most of which came afterwards to be as famous for their Learning and Piety as they were for their Miracles; but the topping man of all those Novices was one Tecla Haymonot, the only Child of King Sacasab, and Queen Sarah; who having wrought divers Miracles in his Infancy, when he came to be a Man preferred the Dominican Habit to a Crown, and came afterwards to be the Chief Glory of his Order, having had the Honor done him, whenever he said Mass, to have the Wafer and the Wine brought down from Heaven to him by an Angel; and whenever he went to any City to Preach, he was constantly attended by all the Lions, Tigers, Wolves,

Snakes, and Serpents in the Neighborhood, who never left him till he dismissed them with the blessing; for which they all expressed themselves very thankful; and who having founded a Monastery for Nine thousand Dominican Friars, obliged the Devil to do all the servile work there for Seven Years; which he did alone so exactly, that the Convent has never been so well served since, which made an Emperor when he was told of it say, That Tecla Hamonot was to blame, for not having made the Devil serve the Convent as long as it stood. While the Friars were thus employed, the Holy Sister was not idle, who as if she had intended to have taken the Emperor at his word, built a Monastery, wherein she placed Five Hundred Dominican Benta's of the third Rule. This great Nunnery was at first called Bado Nagh, but at this time Santa Clara; the History of all which Convents to this day curiously Painted in the Cloisters of the Plurimanos, whither any, who are so unreasonable as to doubt the truth of them, may go and be satisfied.

The Monastery of Plurimanos, in which there are Nine thousand Dominican Friars, was founded by Tecla Haymonot; It is four Leagues in Compass, and hath Eighty Dormitories, which have all the great Church at one end, and the Refectory at the other. Some of these Dormitories have One hundred and twenty, some One hundred and fifty, and some Two hundred Cells. Every Dormitory has a particular Chapel and Library belonging to it. The great Church is Six hundred paces long, and so it had need, since all the Friars repair to it together on Sundays and Holidays. The Second great Dominican Convent in Ethiopia, is that of the Allelujah, which was built by Bartholomew de Tiroli, a Dominican Friar, who was Consecrated Bishop of the City of Dangola at Rome; it has but Seven thousand Friars, who on high Days Dine all together in the Refectory.

From these two Convents, there are vast numbers of Missionaries sent once a year to Arabia, Bengala, Siam, Pegu and China; as also to Congo, Monoparata, and the Cape of Goodhope, by some of which Missionaries the King of Congo and Angola, was Baptized in the Year 1580. These Missionaries do all return home at Whitsuntide; and our Historian being sensible that that was more than flesh and blood could well do, very discreetly prevents the objection, by telling us they came back nothing but Skin and Bone.

These two Monasteries have been the greatest Seminaries of Martyrs that have ever been in the world, above Three hundred thousand of their Friars

having suffered Martyrdom in several parts, which is more than any other Order besides the Dominicans can boast of. For in the Empress Helena's time, who was her self a Dominican Beata, Eighth hundred Friars of the Alelujah alone suffered death in several Provinces for preaching the Gospel; at which the good Beata was so much troubled, that she sent to all the Mahometan and Heathen Merchants that were within her Empire, to let them know that they should Trade no longer in Ethiopia, if they did not take more care to preserve her Friars lives in their Missions.

The Priors of these two Convents are by the Pope's Letter Constituted the chief Inquisitors of Ethiopia, where the Inquisition is more rigorous than in Spain; for it relaxeth all Heretics and Apostates to the Secular Arm for their first fault, though never so penitent; who being relaxed, are always thrown, without mercy, to the Lyons.

But the wonder of the world is the Emperor's Library founded by Queen Saba, upon the Mountain of Amara, where the Convent of the holy Cross stands; its Foundress hanselled it with Solomon's own Works, and the other Books he Presented her withal, among which are the Books of Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Job, &c. And the Emperors have been ever since buying all the books they could hear of to put into it; so that at present it contains above a Million of Books all very fairly written, and richly Bound, an hundred and Thirteen thousand of which are Hebrew and Arabic: Neither is there any Book whose loss is bewailed here in Europe, but what is to be met with there; of which Gregory the Thirteenth being informed, he sent Antonio Grico and Lorenzo Cremones into Ethiopia to see whether that Library was so great and rich as it was reported to be; who having seen it, found it much greater than Fame had made it; and returning home, brought the Talmud and Cabala with them to compare them with those the Jews of Italy had in their hands. It is not very well stored with Latin Ecclesiastical Authors, having none of the Ancients, beside St. Hierom and St. Ambrose, translated into Greek, and St. Austin translated into Arabic; and of the Moderns, only Thomas Aquinas, St. Antonio, the Directory of the Inquisitors, and Lewis de Granada, who were all Dominicans; and if our Author sent them his History, the Librarians, who are Two hundred, if they did not give it one of the best places in their Library, in all probability, had never been heard of in Europe; the two unworthy men who had been sent to visit it by Gregory the XIIIth. having made no noise at all of it when they returned. The Key of this Library, as of the Richest Treasure in Ethiopia, is always put into the Emperor's hand when he is Crowned, who

delivers it to the Abbot of the Monastery of Sancta Cruz, with a strict charge to look carefully after it as the chief Jewel of his Empire.

The Emperor's Treasury, which may very well be reckoned the second, if not the first Wonder of the World, is upon the same Mountain, into which ever since Queen Sheba's time, they have been amassing vast quantities of Gold and Silver, and Precious Stones, without having at any time taken one Farthing out; so that if the whole world were to be sold, there is more Money in this Treasury than would buy the Fee-simple of it.

Ethiopia has but Twelve Archbishops and Seventy two Bishops; which small number considering the vastness of the Empire, they cannot be persuaded to increase, because it represents that of the Twelve Apostles, and Seventy two Disciples; so in all their Cathedrals likewise, they have never more nor fewer than a Dean and Twelve Canons, who do all live in Community with their Bishop, who has the whole Tithes of his Diocese; when a Canon dies, he is succeeded by the Eldest Priest of the Diocese, and the Bishop when he dies, by the Eldest Canon, and the Archbishop by the Eldest Bishop of the Province; the Eldest Archbishop is always the Pope's Legat, that Office having been annexed to that Dignity by Clement the VIIth. Besides these they have a great number of Titular Archbishops and Bishops, who are all named by the Emperor, Empowered thereunto by several Popes Briefs. The Archbishops and Bishops visit their whole Provinces every Sixth year, whose Excommunications are so formidable, that none can despise them longer than they can fast, such as are Excommunicated not being suffered to eat or drink any thing before they have made their submission.

Their Churches, namely that of the Allelujah, which was built by Queen Sheba in imitation of Solomon's Temple, in form of a Cross, and is now Dedicated to St. Humphrey; and that which was built by Queen Candace mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and Dedicated by her to the Virgin Mary, are excessively Rich and Magnificent, some of them having Three, some Five Naves, and all richly adorned with various Pictures and precious Stones, but chiefly Granata's.

As to the Doctrine of the Habassin Church, in all matters of Faith they are and were ever, or at least since the time that the Eight Dominican Friars went among them, the very same with those of the Church of Rome; all



that has been reported within these Two hundred years by the Jesuits and Portugueses of their being Heretics, being notoriously false.

The occasion of which false Reports was as followeth:

Most of the Four hundred Portugueses who went into Ethiopia with Gama, being Jews in their hearts, were not long there before imagining themselves to be out of the reach of the Inquisition, they openly professed Judaism, to the great scandal of the Portuguese Nation, but they quickly found themselves deceived; for the Dominican Inquisitors having heard of this Apostasy, did with great secrecy order them all to be apprehended by their Familiars; but the Jews having their Familiars too, our Author upon this occasion affirming the whole race of them to be all Magicians, and in Confederacy with the Devil, made their escape before the Inquisition or its Familiars could lay their hands on them, some of them running into the Kingdom of Berno; where notwithstanding they taught the Natives how to make Gunpowder; it had been well that they had all gone, for then there would have been none left to have run to Goa, to have raised such lies of the Habassins, as those who went thither did, who purely to justify themselves, and to be revenged on the Habassin Inquisitors, reported that the Habassins were all Mortal Enemies to the Pope and his Supremacy, and did hold several Heresies, which was the reason why they did not care to live amongst them any longer. Here our Historian falls into a most violent fit of Railing against those Portuguese Jews, and for their sake against the whole Race, calling them an Impious, Cruel, Malicious, Pestilent, Contagious, Infamous, Vile, Nasty, Loathsome Generation; and at last desires all the Devils in Hell to fetch the whole Race of them, for having dared to report such impudent lies of an Empire that was much more Catholic than France, in having received both the Inquisition, and the Council of Trent, which was what France could never yet be persuaded to do; he likewise blames the old Christians among the Portugueses for having been so easy as to give Credit to such malicious and groundless Reports; and as to what the Popes, and the Kings of Portugal have said and done upon supposition of the Habassins being Enemies to the Roman Church, he saith, they had been miserably imposed upon by the stories which were raised by those Villainous Jews; as they were also in the case of the Patriarch Oviedo, who at the same time that he was revoked by the Pope, because there was no hopes of his doing any good in Ethiopia, by reason of the Emperor and the Peoples obstinacy in the Alexandrian Faith, was revered by all the Habassins as a Saint, and beloved by them as a

Father, and listened to as a wise Man, and reckoned as an Apostle sent by God to them; and was so far from being in Disgrace with the Emperor, that he was President of his Latin Council. It is true, the Portuguese Patriarchs and Fathers having done several indiscreet things, whereby they had disoblighed the Habassin Clergy, grew sick of Ethiopia quickly, and returned to the Indies. The Portuguese, saith he, being a people who cannot live long out of their own Country, or at least from among their Countrymen; whereas Bishop Andre Oviedo being a Spaniard, and one who weighed and considered things, would neither leave his Flock, nor quarrel with them about Trifles, and so lived and died in Ethiopia with great Honor, his Memory being precious amongst them to this day; of the truth of which the Pope was quickly afterwards fully satisfied; for the Habassins of St. Stephen's College at Rome, understanding how their Church was misrepresented, sent one of their Body immediately to acquaint the Emperor Menna, who succeeded Claudius, therewith; who was put into such a Rage by the news of his being represented not to be a Roman-Catholic by the Portuguese Jews, that he presently made a Law, prohibiting all Portuguese upon pain of Death to come into Ethiopia without a Certificate of their being Old Christians, from the Inquisitions of Lisbon and Goa: He writ also immediately to Goa, Lisbon, and Rome, to disabuse those Courts, and to let them know, that none but rascally Jews would have had the Impudence to have reported, That he and his Empire were not true Roman Catholics: He writ also to the college of Cardinals, and particularly to the Protector of his Empire, obliging his Council of State to do the same, with passionate Declarations of their great Zeal for the Roman Faith; and to give the Pope yet further satisfaction, he made a new Submission of himself and his Empire to him. Alexander the Third, who succeeded Menna in the Empire, reckoning that his Predecessor had not done enough in sending only one Ambassador to the Pope, sent an Embassy to Rome, which consisted of Twenty four Priests, and Two Gentlemen, to yield Obedience in his Name to the Holy See.

So much of the Dominican History of Ethiopia. In which, though it is an Octavo of 1130 odd pages, and a small Print, there is not one syllable of truth from the beginning to the end; yet notwithstanding that, I do not know that I ever saw an History in any Language that had more of the Magisterial Air of Truth in it, the Author seeming every where to value himself extremely upon his Fidelity, and his care of setting down nothing without being first well assured of its Truth; appealing constantly to

Authentic Records, though a great way off, for such falsehoods as had the least of the Colors of Truth in them; insomuch, that in the beginning of his Book, he saith with the greatest assurance imaginable, That none could doubt of the truth of any thing he had reported in his History, but Sceptics, who also called the truth of all things into question; as in another place, he reflects severely upon the Jesuits, Massenis and Mariana, accusing them both of not having had that sacred regard for Truth in their Writings, which all who write Histories ought to have; and as if he had a mind to impose his Fictions upon God, as well as Man, for Truths, he concludes his Legend of the Lives of several Habassin Dominican Saints, some of which we have reason to believe were never in Nature, or if they were, were undoubtedly neither Dominicans, nor Papists, with the following Prayers to them.

MOST Glorious, Illustrious, and Holy Saints, who being now in the Celestial Palaces, clothed with Robes of Immortality, do enjoy the clear Vision of the most Holy Trinity; and being disarmed of your bodily Weapons, wherewith you fought so manfully in the World, are now seated under the Shades of the Victorious Palms, and of the Triumphant Laurel, in the Pavilions and Tabernacles of Glory; Pardon me all my Faults; pardon all my Errors; pardon my weak Capacity; pardon the Injury I have done the height of your Triumph, worthy of all Immortal Trophy, by my rude Pen; and pray for us, O most Glorious Saints, who in Company of the Angelical Spirits, and in the Celestial Choir of God, do Sing the Sanctus of the Mass of the most Holy Trinity, and are perpetually employed in the Praises of God; pardon the unpolishedness, shortness, and grossness of my Tongue, your Prowesses being so Great, your Works so Heroic, and your Victory so Glorious, that nothing but the Tongues of Angels are fit to celebrate them. Pray for me, O high exalted Princes, who do live as Grandees in the Palace of the King of Glory, and are as Cavaliers of the Golden Key in the Cabinet of God, being always in his Presence. Pardon the little that I have writ of your Feats, your Glories being so great that no Pen, without it be taken from the Wings of Archangels, is fit to celebrate them. Pray for us. Most Glorious Stars of Heaven, most Resplendent Meteors of the Earth, Golden Artizans of the Church, and the bright Light of the Predicant Order, who out of the Pulpits did astonish the World like Thunder, confounding Heretics and Pagans, and converting Souls to God. Pardon me, if the brightness of your Virtues is eclipsed by the little I have said of them, and pray for us. Apostolical Preachers, who are in Glory about the Father of Light, pardon me if your Travels, Missions, Peregrinations,

Sermons, and Labors, Virtues and Prodigies, or if the glory of your Glory is not aggrandized as it ought to be. And pray for us, Valiant Martyrs, who with your Blood confirmed the Truth of the Gospel, conquered Tyrants, triumphed over Wild Beasts, and with your hands full of Palms, and your Heads crowned with Laurels are entered into the Palaces of Heaven; pardon my Ignorance, and pray for us.

Sacred Virgins, shining Religious, the Glory of the World, the Honor of Heaven, the Beauty of Human Nature, and the singular Ornaments of the Order of St. Dominic, pardon all the Defects of this Book, in relation to your Praises, and pray for us. Amen.

After this studied Prayer, (which is a sufficient Indication of the Romantic Genius of the Man) he, imagining I suppose, that Protestants, notwithstanding all his Apologies, and begging of Pardons for having said so little of his Heroes, would not be so civil as to believe one half of what he has said of them, falls foul upon them, and thanks God that he did not write these things to Luther and Calvin, or any other excommunicated Heretics, who do ignorantly, brutally, rashly, and blasphemously deny the profitable Intercession of the most glorious Saints with God; but to most Catholic Spaniards, whose Credulity having never been tainted with the Heresies of their Neighbors of France and England, he hoped would swallow his Book of Prodigies without chewing; and especially coming recommended to them by all its Licenses, as a Book of wonderful Edification to all pious Souls, most of them vouching likewise for the truth of it.

Its Licensers and Vouchers being no less Men, than Don Batasar de Boria, Doctor of Law, Archdeacon of Xativa, Canon of the Church at Valentia, and Vicar-General and Official of the Archbishopric of Valentia. Juan Pasqual, Rector of the Church of St. Martin, and Licenser of the Patriarch of Antioch, and Archbishop of Valentia. Friar Raphael Riphez, Prior Provincial of the Dominicans in the Kingdom of Arragon. Friar Lupero de Huette, and Friar Jeronymo Mos, Licensers of the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition; who do all in their Licenses give great Commendations, both to this History and its Author.

But this History having been written chiefly to blast the rising-Reputation of the Jesuits, and the credit of all their Reports; its having so many, and so great Vouchers for its Truth, and the Master of the Sacred Palace likewise,

to whom it is Dedicated, for its Patron, was not enough to hinder the Jesuits from exposing it, so soon as ever it crept out of its cell, to the world for its true colors; whole Battalions of them falling upon it at once at such an unmerciful rate, that, as I have been told, they made the Dominicans so much ashamed of this Romance, which they had endeavored to have obtruded upon the world for a true History, that they have labored ever since to get all the Copies of it into their hands to destroy them; for which reason I shall do all that I can to preserve that which I have, by giving it to a Library, which, next to that of the Emperor of Ethiopia's, is the greatest in the World.

But this is not the only pious fraud the Dominicans have miscarried in after having promised their Order great honor from them; but above all is that of the Nun at Lisbon, the History whereof I shall here set down more at length, than I have seen it any where in one Book.

Maria, of the Annunciation, was Born at Lisbon, and at the age of Thirteen was put into the Dominican Convent of the Annunciation in that City; in which, so soon as she was of age to do it, she professed her self a Nun; which she had not done long, before she begun to have Miraculous Visions, and to be daily visited by Christ in Person; whom she still saluted with the Doxology thus, Glory be to the Father, and to Thee, and to the Holy Spirit. Whenever she received the Sacrament, her Soul was in a Rapture, and was honored with the Vision of the Heavenly Choir of Angels; and when she embraced the Crucifix, which she still called her Husband, it constantly darted out beams of Light much brighter and stronger than those of the Sun.

One day as she was at her Devotion, Christ appeared to her, and made her a promise to visit her again upon St. Thomas Aquinas's day, and thereon to do her the greatest honor that any Creature was capable of.

Maria having acquainted Antonio de la Cerda, the Provincial of her Order, who upon her Name being so high for Miracles, was become her Confessor, with the Promise had been made her, she was directed by him how to prepare her self for the reception of so great a favor; whose Directions she punctually observed, for never was any creature more submissive to a Confessor.

Thomas Aquinas's day being come, and all the Nuns and Friars being assembled to Matins, while Maria was in a most profound fit of Devotion,

Christ Crucified appeared to her; and in the sight of the whole Congregation, printed all the Wounds of his Head, Side, Hands, and Feet, upon the same parts of her Body; she had Two and thirty Wounds (such as Thorns use to make) on her Head, and in her Side a Gash that resembled a Wound made with a Spear, and on her Hands and Feet the Wounds were of a Triangular Figure, as if made by a Nail; and in order to excite the devotion of the absent as well as present, the Rags she laid to the Wounds on Thursdays, had always the Five Wounds of Christ printed on them in the form of a Cross; and happy was the Roman Catholic Prince or Princess who could obtain some of those Sacred Rags. The Pope he had one, and the King of Spain, who was strangely devoted to her, had another; and the Empress had one sent her against she lay in; neither was there a Roman Catholic Prince or Princess in Europe, but what had obtained one of them by some interest or other. Paramus, in his History of the Inquisition in Sicily, saw one of them which had been sent to the Viceroy Don Henrique de Guzman's Lady, who, he saith, adored it as the most Sacred Relic in the World. And Philip the IId. to satisfy the World that he firmly believed all that was reported of the Sanctity and Miracles of the Lisbon Nun, had the Royal Standard of the Armada, which came against England in the year 1588. Blessed by her.

The Inquisition, whose business it is to enquire severely into the truth of things which are reported to be Miracles, having summoned her Confessor, and all the rest of the Friars who belonged to the Convent, to appear before them, was fully satisfied by their Depositions and Oaths, as Eye-Witnesses, of the Truth of the whole matter, as it was reported.

Whereupon Gregory the XIIIth. writ her a very Godly Letter, exhorting her to Humility, Thankfulness, and Perseverance in her Devotions; and as there was no Roman Catholic that did in the least doubt of the truth of what was reported of her by her Confessor, who published a large account of her Miracles; so the poor Protestants were triumphed over strangely on that occasion, as the most perverse Heretics that ever were in the World, for neither believing those reports, nor going to Lisbon where their own eyes would convince them of the truth of them. So Petrus Matheus in a Bullary he Printed in France at this time, and which I now have by me, after a long encomium of the Lisbon Nun, adds, *Nihil est quod possit hujus Historiae veritati in ficiari, vivit enim beata Virgo vivunt Sorores testes, locus visitur, & clarissimorum Theologorum Oculato testimonio probatur & confirmatur*: that is, Nothing can be offered in contradiction to this

story, for the blessed Virgin is still living, as are the sisters also who are her Witnesses; the Place is visited, and the whole is proved and confirmed by most eminent Divines, who were Eye-Witnesses to it. After all this, one would little have expected that this fraud could have miscarried, or at least so far as to have been Owned and Condemned as a mere Cheat, by the Inquisition it self: But so it was; for the Lady Abbess (which for her greater Mortification the Nuns and Friars had forced her to be) when she wanted nothing but to have Died to have been Canonized a Saint for her extraordinary piety and Miracles, finding all that she said was received by every body as an Oracle; she began to mutter, That it was revealed to her that Philip the IId. had no Title to the Crown of Portugal, but that the right thereof was in the duchess of Braganza: The consequence whereof being, That Philip must either resign that Crown, or the Title of the Most Catholic, or look upon her, he had expressed so great a veneration for, as an Imposter; he chose the latter; the Inquisition striking the Oracle Dumb so soon as it began to Antiphilipize: For the Inquisition having thereupon ordered her Wounds, and other Pretension, to be searched to the bottom, they were at it quickly; her Wounds being found not to lie so deep as her Skin; and upon examination to be nothing else but marks made thereon very artificially with Red Lead. Whereupon she was Condemned by the Archbishop of Braga and Lisbon, the Bishop of Guarda, and the Apostolical Inquisitors, of whom at that time the Cardinal Archduke of Austria was the Chief, as an Hypocrite and Imposter, upon the Eighth day of December 1588. being in the Thirty second Year of her Age, to the following Penances.

**1st.** She was to be a Prisoner during her Life, in some Nunnery out of Lisbon, and which must not be of the Dominican Order.

**2d.** For Five years after the day of her Sentence, she was not to have the Sacrament Administered to her, excepting on the Feasts of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, or unless the receiving thereof should happen to be necessary to the partaking of the Benefits of a Jubilee.

**3d.** On every Wednesday and Friday of the Year she was to be brought into the Chapter-house of the Nunnery, and there to be Whipped publicly before all the Nuns, all the time the Miserere Mei Deus was Reading.

**4th.** At Meals she was not to be suffered to sit at a Table, but must have her Meat given her sitting on the Pavement of the Refectory; neither must any Person eat what she leaves; and both before and after Meat she must lie across the door of the Refectory, where the Nuns must tread upon her as they come in and go out.

**5th.** She must, during her Life, keep the ecclesiastical Fast, and must never be chosen Abbess, nor bear any Office in the Nunnery, but must always be the Lowest in the Convent.

**6th.** She must not be suffered to speak with any Body within, nor without the Convent, without the Abbess's Leave.

**7th.** All the Rags stained with Blood which had been distributed by her, and all her false Relics, and all Pictures of her, must be brought into the Inquisition; or where that cannot be done conveniently, must be carried to the next Prelate.

**Lastly,** She must never be suffered to cover her Head with her Veil; and on all Wednesdays and Fridays of the Year, must be Fed with nothing but Bread and Water; and must every day in the Refectory make a public Confession of her Crime before all the Nuns.

Unhappy Nun! had'st thou but let alone Princes Titles, and had'st made no other use of thy Impostures, but to have confounded Protestants and their Doctrines, thou might'st have died with the Honor of thy Wounds, and have been Worshiped upon an Altar, and have wrought a Thousand Miracles before this time; and that very Court which condemned thee to all these shameful Punishments for pretending to them, would have Condemned all of Impiety and Heresy who should have presumed to have called the Truth of any of them in question!

I could never learn what was done to the Provincial her Confessor, and the other Friars, among whom was the great Lewis de Granada, for having imposed such a Cheat on the Pope, the Inquisition, and the whole Roman Catholic World; however, it is plain from the first Penance mentioned in the Sentence, that the King of Spain did not care to trust so dangerous a Tool any longer in the hands of the Dominican Friars.

**FINIS.**



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