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Alvares, Manuel, 1526-1583; et al.

[Liverpool, England]: Dept. of History, University of Liverpool, 1990

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MANUEL ÁLVARES

**ETHIOPIA MINOR
AND A GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PROVINCE OF
SIERRA LEONE
(c.1615)**

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An interim translation of

MANUEL ÁLVARES S.J.,

‘Etiópia Menor e Descrição Geográfica da

Província da Serra Leoa’ [c.1615]

(‘Ethiopia Minor and a geographical account of the Province of Sierra Leone’)

transcription from an unpublished manuscript by the late
Avelino Teixeira da Mota and Luís de Matos
on behalf of the Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga of Lisbon
translation and introduction by P.E.H.Hair

Issued from the Department of History, University of Liverpool

30 September 1990

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INTRODUCTION

Apologia

The account of Sierra Leone and the Northern rivers and coasts by Father Manuel Álvares is the last of the Portuguese texts on Guinea which in 1969 I was invited by the late Avelino Teixeira da Mota to have translated into English.<1> Like the text by Donelha which was published in 1977, the first publication in a projected series, the text by Álvares had remained in manuscript since the seventeenth century and had never been consulted by scholars.<2> The case for publishing it early in the series was therefore strong, but the text is very long - the longest of all the texts in the project - and my English translation was only completed shortly before Teixeira da Mota's death in 1982. In the intervening years I have issued the translations of the other Guinea texts - Faro (1982), Almada (1984), Coelho (1985) and Jesuit documents (1989) - some with scholarly apparatus, some without. Now it is the turn of Álvares.

But this translation is issued in a very crude, and inadequate, and inelegant, and therefore tentative form. There are occasional gaps and queries in the translation, and apart from this introduction there is almost no scholarly apparatus. Other commitments, measured against increasing years, have prevented me from tidying up the translation, which no doubt also contains errors. Typed over a long period by various typists the typed form is not always consistent, and each chapter is separately paginated. Faults in the photocopying and make-up of volumes are mea culpa, since, with the exception of welcome wifely help in collating around the dining-room table and other furniture, I did it myself.

Some years ago I promised never to publish translations of previously unpublished material without supplying a copy of the original document, if necessary in microfiche.<3> I have not done this here, for a reason. Although I think it unwise to leave material that might be useful to others too long in a single copy in my desk drawer, I feel less guilty in allowing a few scholarly colleagues to see this work in such a raw form, because it now seems possible that the Portuguese text, together with English and French translations, and scholarly apparatus, will be published, in due course. This possibility now arises as a result of a discussion in Lisbon to which I was kindly invited, in July 1990, by the present and past Directors of the Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga, Dr Emilia Madeira Santos and Professor Luís de Albuquerque. It would be very appropriate if the project which Teixeira da Mota began when Director of the Agrupamento de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga was now resumed and completed by its successor institute. But this is D.V. and finances permitting - the latter proviso one which presently limits scholarly activity as much in Britain as in Portugal.

Father Manuel Álvares

Not a lot is known about the author of this text, Father Manuel Álvares, S.J. (1573-?1617).<4> He joined the Jesuit mission 'of Cape Verde' in 1607; briefly visited Bissao and Santa Cruz (Guinala, in the Rio Balola); reached Sierra Leone, still in 1607, to join the veteran missionary, Father Baltasar Barreira; then apart from a brief visit by another Jesuit colleague in 1609 and a brief visit by either one or two rival Augustinian missionaries in 1613 and/or 1614, worked alone from 1608 up to his death in 1617 (or perhaps 1616).<5> The circumstances of his death appear not to be known, and his place of burial is uncertain.<6> What we do know about him comes from his writings. On his way to Sierra Leone he wrote a letter which has been published by Brásio, and a report which was included in the contemporary published edition of Jesuit reports by

Guerreiro (I have translated both).<7> From Sierra Leone he supplied information which appeared in Barreira's 1609 report and hence in Guerreiro; and also in Barreira's 1610 report (all translated).<8> His annual report for 1611-1612 was incorporated in a more general report by Barreira, but also appears within the present text (I have translated and edited it).<9> His next annual report, for 1613, was also incorporated within a more general report and also appears within the present text. None of these 1611-1613 reports were published contemporaneously, but a small section of Álvares' 1613 report, referring to the death of Barreira, was included in a 1647 history of the Portuguese Jesuits.<10> If Álvares made any later annual reports they do not appear to be extant, but we have a letter, or part of a letter, written in 1616 (not yet published in Portuguese but available in English).<11> Finally, we have the present text, which is described below.

A much younger man than Barreira, Álvares' reports from Sierra Leone were not given the publicity of Barreira's earlier reports, partly because the reported success of the early years of the mission was now patently wearing thin - or perhaps it is fairer to say that idealistic hype was giving way to a more realistic approach, since we need not hold that all of Álvares' efforts were in vain. But after Álvares' death the Jesuits abandoned Sierra Leone.

'Etiópia Menor e descrição geográfica da Província da Serra Leoa'

This text of about 90,000 words was given to me in a transcript with the following notes on the title page. First, this in Portuguese - 'Composed by Padre Manuel Álvares of the Society of Jesus, when he was resident in this Province of Serra Leoa, but never completed or put in a clean copy on account of his death in 1616. Copied from his own original preserved in the Royal Convent of S. Francisco in Lisbon'. The reference being to a manuscript of 143 ff. in the Biblioteca da Sociedade de Geografia in Lisbon <12>, I take it that this note appears on the manuscript and is of earlier date. The transcript then has the following note, in pencil in Teixeira da Mota's hand and in English, added for my benefit - 'Original reading by Dr Luís de Matos. Most of the corrections by T.M. Most of the punctuation has been introduced. Many passages still to find the meaning of or to render clear (revising punctuation or after discovering the probable errors of the copyist)'. The transcript is in partly modernized spelling (e.g. Álvares for Alvarez). I take it that the title given on the transcript is the actual title of the manuscript and of Álvares' original.

The text deals with the coast of western Guinea, from the Senegal River southeastwards to Sierra Leone, in that geographical order, but in two Parts. The first Part covers the Northern rivers and coasts, the second Sierra Leone, where Álvares was living as he wrote the account.

I must emphasise that I have not had the opportunity to see the manuscript. Had Teixeira da Mota lived, when I completed the translation from his transcript I would have signalled difficult passages to him and he would undoubtedly have checked both my translation and the transcript against the manuscript. Therefore what you have here is a not-finally-revised translation of a not-finally-revised transcript of a not-finally-revised text. I draw attention especially to the lack of punctuation in the original, which helps to excuse some of my difficulties with certain passages.

As with all the earlier translations, a draft translation was prepared for me by my faithful assistant, Mrs Pamela Horner. This I revised considerably, in particular in the light of my knowledge of the historical and African background, but also with the guidance of a French translation of Part II by

Professor Léon Bourdon. I am therefore solely responsible for faults in the translation.

Dating the text

We have no exact information either as to when Álvares wrote his account - the Dedication and Prologue are undated and the account contains few dates - or as to when it reached completion in the form in which we now have it. Although Part I of the account is shorter and much less well informed than Part II, giving rise to the suspicion that Álvares began by writing an account of Sierra Leone to which he later added an account of the Northern rivers and coasts, the final draft must have been written in the order we have it since he refers several times in Part II to what he has already written in Part I (2/2/9,2/8/4).^{<13>} It is likely that he began the account when lonely after the departure of Father Barreira in 1608, and the few post-1608 events he bothers to date are in years between 1609 and 1612 (1609 - 1/3/1,1/4/4,2/2/2,2/10/6; 1610 - 1/9/1,2/2/8,2/25/1,2/25/6; 1612 - 1/3/12,2/2/8,2/2/11,2/15/7), with the exception that in Chapter 15 of Part II he refers to 'the present year 1613' (2/15/6). A reference in Chapter 10 of Part II to a present sent to a local king by 'Brother Francisco Pereira' almost certainly cannot have been written earlier than 1613.^{<14>} All this suggests that the account was written in 1612 and 1613.

The final chapter of the account begins with a statement to the effect that Álvares did not intend, when he began writing, to discuss the history of the mission, but having been solicited by his 'dearest friends' to include information about it (in fact he had mentioned it frequently), he now adds a copy of his 'Annual Letter for 1611 and 1612'. This report - in this version - has a footnote referring to events dated to June 1613.^{<15>} This footnote is additional to another version of the report, perhaps the original version, which Álvares sent to the Cape Verde Islands in April 1613. The account formally ends with Chapter 26, but the manuscript continues with material that appears to derive from Álvares and may well represent additions he drafted with the intention of working them into a revision and enlargement of the account. It does however seem that at one stage he thought the account was complete, since he prepared a Dedication and a Prologue. The Dedication is to Father Claudio Aquaviva, the Jesuit general who died on 31 January 1615. But since Álvares may not have heard of the death for many months, he may have prepared the dedication as late as 1615, although 1613 or 1614 is perhaps more likely. However, a reference in the Dedication to the affairs of Sierra Leone having become 'a battleground for various opinions' probably refers to the Augustinian belittling of the Jesuit mission, and if so is most likely to have been written after 1613.

The additional material begins with Álvares' annual report for 1613, which he probably wrote in April 1614. But it includes a footnote reference to 'the visit of the Portuguese in 1614', suggesting that the footnote was added not earlier than 1615. The other additional material consists of an account of Barreira's visit to Bena in 1607, which could have been written at any post-1608 date; and two chapters of considerable ethnographic interest. One deals with the Susu, and the other with secret societies among both the peoples of the rivers and coasts North of Sierra Leone (Bagas, Susu, etc) and the Sierra Leone peoples. It is possible, since Bena is in Susuland, that the three chapters were intended to go together, and just possible that Álvares was filling out a gap in his account, between Part I and Part II, where he leaps from the Biafada to Sierra Leone, ignoring the intermediate coast and the Susu interior. Be that as it may, none of these chapters includes a date.

The latest dates appear in footnotes. Not having seen the manuscript I do not

know whether these notes are actually footnotes or marginal notes; and in the transcript some appear to be introduced at the wrong point. Many appear to be mere reflective jottings - hence peculiarly difficult to translate since the meaning is often obscure - and these give the impression of having been added after the text was written. Moreover cross-references in a number of notes refer to later chapters, so were added later, perhaps in an intended revision. But without closer study I cannot yet decide whether all the footnotes are late additions to the account.

Alvares died in late 1616 or 1617, but since he appears to have been ill in his later years he may not have worked on his account after 1615, just as he may not have forwarded an annual report after 1614. The failure to integrate the 1613 report into the account and the scrappy nature of many of the footnotes throughout the account suggest a work which was being revised and updated - minor respects up to 1615 and whose revision was never completed.^{<16>} This confirms the later comment on the first page of the transcript. We do not know - that is, I do not presently know - how the original manuscript reached Portugal (or for that matter why the manuscript of the transcript was copied and how it found its way, separated from other Jesuit material, into a secular archive). But it seems likely that Alvares never despatched a copy of his account to Portugal, and that his manuscript remained with him until his death, when it was rescued by a member of the Portuguese trading community in Sierra Leone and sent to Lisbon.

The value of the text

Alvares' text is more original, as well as fuller, when dealing in Part II with Sierra Leone (that is, an area bounded by the lower Scarcies River to the North, the lower Port Loko Creek to the East, and the riverside of the Sierra Leone estuary to the South and West). His material on the northern coasts and rivers in Part I is partly derivative, and for the Cacheu-Bissau-Guinala area, where he and fellow Jesuits had briefly worked, tends to be replete with missionary rhetoric and pious stories.^{<17>} Not that rhetoric and piety are lacking in the account of Sierra Leone, but Alvares had spent years in Sierra Leone compared with weeks further North, and his account therefore also contains a large amount of personal observation, mainly of an ethnographic nature. While too much in this direction should not be expected of a seventeenth-century missionary - and Alvares is not outstandingly perceptive - nevertheless his account is markedly superior to the writings of Barreira in its reference to local detail. Of course this was partly due to the difference between writing edifying annual reports for home consumption and writing a 'geographical account' - although one wonders what Alvares thought were the possibilities of its publication.^{<18>} But the difference was also partly due to the personalities of the two men. The elderly Barreira was an old hand in Black Africa and hence distinctly blasé about the African background, whereas Alvares, with no previous experience of alien cultures before joining the mission, was still sufficiently suffering from culture shock to want to record and report what he found exotic around him. Yet the whole account is imbued with a proper missionary spirit, necessarily in the style and understanding of the time, so that the modern reader may find many passages irrelevant to his/her interest, boring, even irritating - not least of course when they clash with, not only our better understanding of African societies, but also with our liberal and relativist prejudices. The account contains a good deal of missionary rhetoric, some allusive and far-fetched; and chapters 18-24 discuss Christianity versus 'superstition' in such general and moralising terms that three chapters and most of a fourth, which include not a single specific reference to Africa, have been omitted from the translation. Further, the African scene is seen through very critical, not to say blindly biased

contemporary-European eyes. But when allowance has been made for all this, Álvares is to be commended for telling us more in detail about certain aspects of the cultures of Sierra Leone peoples, especially the Temne, than any earlier writer.

Álvares is fond of quoting from the Fathers of the Church and from contemporary authorities on morals and doctrine (more so than Barreira), as well as from the Scriptures - the hangover, no doubt, of his years as a lecturer. I have not yet done my homework on these references, to identify and check them, hence some of the gaps in the translation. Did he take his academic books with him to Africa or had he a good memory? He certainly had some books at Sierra Leone, indeed he received some, for in his 1613 report he directs the reader to the printed edition of Jesuit letters by Guerreiro which included accounts of the Cape Verde mission up to 1610: this indicates a work of which the final volume appeared in 1611 and which he therefore probably received in 1612. Álvares had therefore available a printed account of the mission, with material on both Sierra Leone and the northern coasts, including Barreira's visit to Bena which Álvares summarises in one of the additional chapters, and Barreira's brief visit to the 'Little Coast' of Senegal in 1608. But Guerreiro also includes a summary of the account of western Guinea by André Álvares de Almada, written in the early 1590s - still in manuscript, Almada's account was probably copied by Barreira when in the Cape Verde Islands and summarised either by him, or else by Guerreiro if Barreira sent the whole account home. At a glance, Part I of Álvares' account draws on this summary of Almada in Guerreiro: closer research may not only confirm this impression but show that some of Almada seeps into Part II. It is doubtful, however, whether Álvares used any printed material on Guinea other than that in Guerreiro, and indeed there was very little in print, at least in Portuguese, and especially on Sierra Leone, that he could have used.

What then were Álvares' other sources? Apart from his own brief personal observations at Bissau and Guinala, and his extended observations in Sierra Leone, he no doubt obtained oral information from Barreira during the months they spent together. He similarly obtained oral information from members of the Portuguese trading community in Sierra Leone, and from their mixed-raced descendants or any other local Africans with whom he could communicate, in Portuguese or the vernacular (the latter, one suspects, via an interpreter). Since the African included a small number of 'evolué(e)s', at least one of whom had received intensive education and acculturation in the Cape Verde Islands <19>, his reliance on African oral information was probably considerable.

This is not the place to attempt to assess Álvares' attitudes to Africans, to Moslems, and to women - or for that matter, to the heretical English, whom he encountered in his latter days when they visited the estuary. Or to investigate his extreme interest in the Devil and all his works. Perhaps the account is most valuable when it deals with the 'Mane invasions'. It supplies a mass of detail on the Manes. Unfortunately the detail is often unconnected and therefore puzzling, and perhaps sometimes garbled. It must be said that Álvares is not the clearest of writers, and his constant moralising at times erodes the logical sequence of descriptive passages. Worst of all are the footnotes. As already stated, these are often scrappy and very difficult to follow. All in all, the account calls out for extensive annotation - I may yet be able to tackle this. Perhaps the greatest weakness of Africanist annotation is that it often displays a regrettable ignorance of the European background. Álvares was a Portuguese Jesuit, and his thinking must have been permeated with the thought-patterns of Portuguese Jesuitry. Or, at the simplest level, with knowledge of the Scriptures. For instance, the horror-stories Álvares relates about the Mane invasions may echo some of Isaiah's fulminations against Babylon - 'They come from a far country ... to destroy the whole land. Every

one that is found shall be thrust through ... Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes; their houses shall be spoiled, their wives ravished' etc, etc (Isaiah 13: 5,15-16).

And finally

The translation is fairly literal, but words and phrases in brackets have been added to fill out the meaning. Doubts about the translation - or the accuracy of the transcript - are signalled by (?).

The translation is available in a very limited number of copies to specified scholars, in the expectation that a fuller edition, together with the original text, will within a reasonable time be published in Lisbon - thanks to the continuing efforts of those of his friends and admirers who respect the memory of Teixeira da Mota.

P.E.H.H.
1.10.1990

NOTES

<1> For a lengthier account of the Teixeira da Mota project, my involvement, and the future prospects, see my note in History in Africa, 10, 1983, pp.387-394.

<2> Teixeira da Mota arranged for the Álvares MS to be consulted by the late Walter Rodney, who then quoted or cited significant passages in his History of the Upper Guinea Coast (London, 1970). These references in an important if somewhat prejudiced book led other scholars to approach the Lisbon library, Teixeira da Mota and later myself, for copies of the material. When it was assumed that the whole project would be quickly completed, restrictions on access to material in Portuguese archives and libraries appear to have operated; and certainly I was expressly forbidden to make transcripts and translations available, so that only after Teixeira da Mota's death and a subsequent lapse of years without publication proceeding have I felt justified in showing my translations of unpublished material to other scholars. Teixeira da Mota himself of course frequently cited Álvares in his publications and he presented a section of the text in his Cristianização dos reis de Bissau (Lisbon, 1974), pp.59-63.

<3> Paideuma, 33, 1987, pp.42,45.

<4> Born in 1573 at Alter de Chão in the diocese of Elvas, he entered the novitiate in 1590 and eventually taught philosophy and theology for nine years, according to C. Sommervogel, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, Brussels/Paris, 1890-1932, t.1, 1890, column 219; t.8., Supplément, 1898, column 1615. However, this authoritative source (hence copied by Streit-Dindinger) errs in stating that Álvares died at Lisbon in 1619.

<5> For a chronology of the overall mission and of Álvares' movements, see my Jesuit documents on the Guinea of Cape Verde and the Cape Verde Islands, issued from the Department of History, University of Liverpool, 1989.

<6> Senna Barcellos gave the burial-place as Caracore [i.e. Pepel] Island, which is plausible, but he gave no reference.

<7> Jesuit documents, items 23,28 (= António Brásio, Monumenta missionaria africana: África ocidental, second series, vol. 4, Lisbon, 1968, items 64,66-68; Fernão Guerreiro, Relaçam anual das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da Índia Oriental en emalgûas outras ... Tirado tudo das Cartas dos mesmos Padres ..., pt.4, Evora/Lisbon, 1609, liv.4, ff.193-196).

<8> ibid., items 31,41 (= Guerreiro, pt.5, 1611, liv.4, parts of caps. 5-8; Brásio, item 111).

<9> 'Álvares at Mitombo', Africana Research Bulletin, 11/1-2, 1981, pp.92-140. In this paper is some discussion of Álvares' activities in Sierra Leone.

<10> B.Telles, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu da Provincia de Portugal, part 2, Lisbon, 1647, pp.644-5.

<11> Jesuit documents, item 46.

<12> As noted in A.F.C. Ryder, Materials for West African History in Portuguese archives, London, 1965, p.80. The manuscript is given no call-number. I regret that I did not ask Teixeira da Mota about the source and history of this manuscript, including its alleged original. Rodney calls it an eighteenth-century copy.

<13> 2/2/9 signifies Part II, chapter 2, page 9 in the present translation.

<14> See my 'The abortive Portuguese settlement of Sierra Leone 1570-1625', in Vice-Almirante A. Teixeira da Mota in memoriam, Lisbon, 1987, pp.198-9.

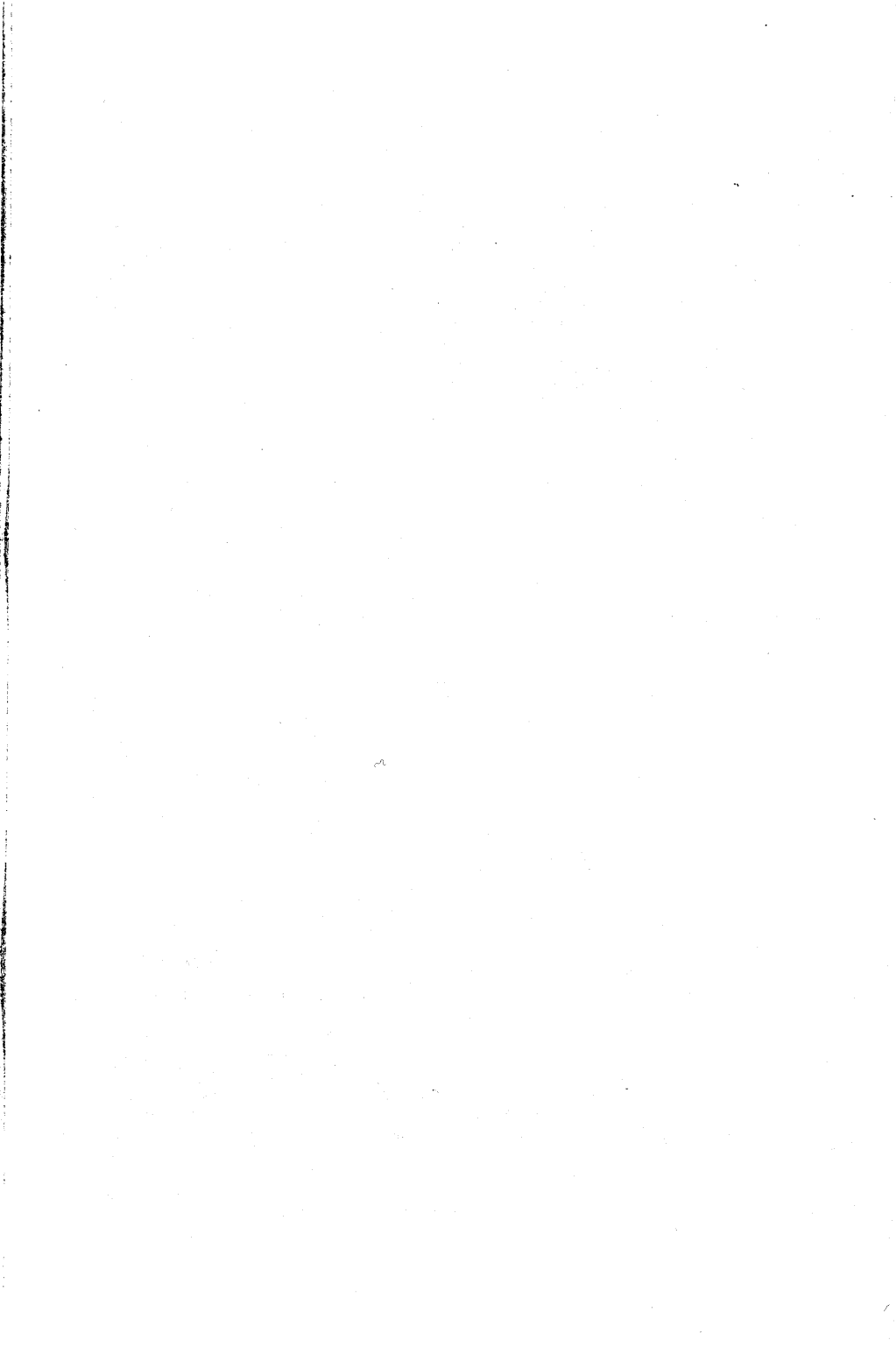
<15> For a comparison of this version of the report with that in Brásio, see my 'Álvares at Mitombo'.

<16> I am assuming that the original manuscript had the footnotes as well as the text in Álvares' hand. I have considered the possibility that at least some of the notes were added by another person, perhaps after Álvares' death. But since certain notes refer to an 'I' who is undoubtedly Álvares, and many contain references or allusions that only he can have supplied, it is more likely that all the notes are his.

<17> In Part II he includes a chapter (2/16) on events in East Africa, but this is clearly summarised from a standard source.

<18> And I cannot be sure yet that 'geographical account' was the author's own description of his account. However the Jesuit bibliography calls it 'Descrição geografica da quella parte da Africa, chamada Guiné'.

<19> See my 'Hamlet in an Afro-Portuguese setting: new perspectives on Sierra Leone in 1607', History in Africa, 5, 1978, pp.21-42.



C O N T E N T S

Ethiopia Minor

Part I. A Geographical Description of the Province and Kingdom of the Jalofo Heathen [and other peoples of the coast NW of Sierra Leone]

chapters

1. The location and fertility of the [Jalofo] land, and the nature and occupations of its inhabitants.
2. The Kingdom of Jagau and the Grand Borçalo: the character of the land and people.
3. The lands peopled by the Mandingas and Sonequei. The situation and wealth of the country, the characteristics of its various inhabitants, and the rites and ceremonies of each nation.
4. The town of Cacheu, a place of treasure, and the condition of its population.
5. The trade of this port and the characters of the settlers there and of the heathen who surround them.
6. The port of Bichangor, its site and the fertility of the land, and the heathen of the district.
7. Attitudes of these heathen, and their superstitious rites and ceremonies.
8. The renowned island of Bussis, the character and organisation of its people, the riches of its land, and the royal state of its great king.
9. The famous islands of the Bijagos heathen, the fertility of their soil, and the character and industry of their inhabitants.
10. The way of life of these heathen and their customs, also a discussion of their superstitions and idolatry.
11. The island of Bissau and the nature and characteristics of its inhabitants.
12. The Balanta. The fertility of their lands and the disposition of the natives. The way of life of these heathen and their superstitious rites.
13. The Biafar heathen. The location and fertility of the land and the character and industry of its inhabitants.

Part II. The Province of Sierra Leone.

chapters

1. The name, situation and bounds of this Province and the nature of the land.
2. About the character of the heathen that live in this Province, so various in name and language.

3. The public institution of the heathen, including their laws and legal arrangements, and the deficiencies of these.
4. The domestic institution of the heathen, their lifestyle and customs.
5. The little attention these heathen give to the true faith and their limited understanding of it: the variety of their idols and their peculiar superstitions.
6. The idol and oracle of Benle and Togma, and the nature of this superstition.
7. The offerings of these heathen, and the society of Menas.
8. Circumcision and various other ceremonies of the heathen, and their wakes and funeral rites.
9. The state of the Province before the Conquest.
10. The origins of the Manes, the fertility of the land, and the character of these heathen.
11. The numbers of the heathen, and their various names and languages.
12. About the government of the heathen, the elevation of their king, and their war medicines.
13. Reasons for the impact of this army of Manes, its marching order and its ceremonial.
14. How the savage army attacked the Congo and what happened thereafter, up to the time that the Province of Serra Leoa was conquered.
15. The campaign of some of the Manes against the Sousos and what happened during it.
16. The arrival of the Manes in East India and how their army was routed.
17. The state of the Province after the conquest, and how the members of the Society of Jesus entered the Province.
18. The apostle catechises the king, and instructs him in the matters of our holy faith. [Part omitted in the translation.]
19. The creation of the world and other matters. [Omitted]
20. Discussion of various very strange doubts and the replies to them, in relation to the same subject of the catechism. [Omitted]
21. The origin of the idols and various forms of idolatry.
22. The recognition and adoration of the Primary Cause, and its nature. [Omitted]
23. Superstition and the aspects of this false devotion.
24. Maleficium and its forms, and a brief note on the power of evil spirits.
25. The state of Christianity in the Serra.

26. The foundation of the Temple of the holy Evangelist in Farma's kingdom, and the glorious death of Father Baltasar Barreira, first ambassador of the Gospel to this Province. / Discussion of the progress of Christianity and the most remarkable events connected with it.

[Additional material]

Annual Report for 1613

Of the Province of the Sousos. Single Chapter. Of the locality and its wealth, the quality and industry of its inhabitants. Discussion of its government and customs.

Single Chapter. Of the Journey of Father Baltasar Barreira to this Province, and particularly to the Kingdom of Bena.

Single Chapter. The various ceremonies pertaining to public order among the Manes, Calus, Bagas and the other kinds of heathen in this district.



Dedication

to the Very Reverend Father Claudio Aquaviva, Præposito General
of the Society of Jesus.

Classical literature tells us, Very Reverend Father, that Diogenes the Cynic, being in the city of Syracuse when it was besieged by Philip, father of the great Alexander, and seeing that all were busying themselves in playing the role of valiant soldiers and were resisting the enemy, took an earthen pot he owned and rolled it through the streets and squares. When asked why he did this, he replied that it was so that he should not be considered to have any less strange an occupation (than the soldiers). In the same way, when I saw that the truth about the affairs of this Ethiopia Minor and Province of Serra Leoa had become a battleground for various opinions, it occurred to me to write this treatise, since I considered the subject a most pleasing one, and one not without interest from the point of view of gaining knowledge about many very important points bearing on the topic of servitude and about other matters discussed in the treatise. My reasons for offering it to you, Reverend Father, are such open ones that this degree of boldness on my part deserves your pardon, as if it were that of a son, even an unworthy son. The slowness of the work has made me a coward. But equally what has given me confidence, so that I do not speak out of presumption (?), is the affection and paternal charity with which you always treat those who shelter in your shadow. Confidence that this is the first work (on the subject) and that it deals with matters as varied as they are interesting has enlarged the treatise. Now it does not fear to appear before Your Reverence in order to attain the fulfilment of its purpose, a fulfilment depending solely on the credit which you, Reverend Father, give to it and the authority with which you receive it.

Manuel Álvares.

Prologue to the Reader

It is an accepted view, deriving from the divine Plato, that the law of nature imposes the obligation on us that we are not born solely for ourselves but also for others. Recollecting this debt (to others), I resolved on the composition of this treatise, whose title is A description of Ethiopia Minor and the Province of Serra Leoa. I have divided it into two parts. In both parts there is accurate information derived from various friends who are as experienced and knowledgeable in relation to the subject as they are truthful. Those in this region whom we have involved having sounder information (?), their kindness, which has been fortunately great, has served to bury the disrepute of those Letters sent by the padres, in keeping with the ancient custom of the Church, from the most remote parts of the globe. For one letter, added at the end of the book entitled "Relação anual das cousas de Japão", etc., a letter which throughout tends to be fictitious in respect of the holy religion of the Jesuits, has been sowing disrepute regarding ~~regarding~~ our enterprise and our organisation. On this subject the religious who came to this Ethiopia, as they had not supplied the information, had at the time the book came into their hands, no light other than that given in the false Relação. They could not be expected to be more critical since the topics in question involved far-away lands. The accuracy (of such writings) depends less on the good faith of those who compile them than on the truthfulness which ought to be maintained by those who provide information on such exotic matters. Accuracy, or lack of it, is the fons et origo from which course and flow, either respect for a work, or contempt for it.

Should the present work produce an excess of unfavourable judgements which censure it as of little worth, this will be to raise it in estimation (?); and all discredit will in fact redound in greater credit (?).

Manuel Alvares.

Ethiopia Minor

A Geographical Description of the Province and Kingdom of the Jalofo Heathen

PART I

Chapter I

The location and fertility of the land, and the nature and
occupations of its inhabitants.

The famous Province of the Jalofo runs from the Senegal River, which lies in 16° or so and has the Fulos beyond it on the NE side, as far as Porto de Ale. It has a total length of 92 leagues, according to the rhumb of the nautical needle. The river, which makes its way eastward into the interior for a great number of leagues, is one of three which originate in and are fed by Lake Meotis. Since our topic leads us first to Senegal, that is, to its fast-flowing river, it would not be right to undertake a discussion of the sources of the other streams until we have revealed to the curious the courses of those of the Senegal. This way there passes the regular commerce of the North-Europeans, ^(a) who are not content with Senegal's gum-arabic which they come here chiefly to lay hands on, anchoring at the bar of the river because of its shoals, but who (also) carry off a large quantity of ambergris which is found along the African coast as far as the castle of Arguin, by dealing with the Fulo heathen and transporting it in launches, which they build, in the port mentioned, for this and for similar trade in ivory, hides, and various other commodities. And that is enough on this /f 2v/ river.

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- (a) The king of Ancalhor, the most powerful lord of Cape Verde, accepts much from foreigners, etc.

Now we are in the neighbourhood of Cape Verde. The coast runs SW from the Senegal mouth to here, and then it forms a very large bay as far as Cabo dos Mastos (Cap Naze) which is only 7 leagues on. Cape Verde stands ⁱⁿ $14^{\circ}40'$ and projects out into the sea, to the West, a very long headland which has sand-dunes on it and a number of palm-trees, some date palms, some common palms. It lies eastward of Santiago Island, which is otherwise called Cape Verde Island. It is much better known to true cosmographers by the name first given it and derived from the name of its cape, but in Ethiopia it is incomparably better known by the name of the glorious apostle i.e., Sant' Iago or ^{St.} James⁷. It has itself a higher esteem for the name it received from Heaven than for the name given for earthly reasons, the latter being wholly inferior, much to be scorned and little worthy of boast.^(b) I mean that (to call an island after) a cape, as if it were wholly that, (is misleading). But I want this to be my last word on the coastal seas of this province, for the mainland invites me to discuss its situation.

While the heavens showed themselves generous towards the mainland in fertility of products, they were correspondingly mean in providing it with adornment and requisite beauty. They deprived the motherland of nearly everything in order to augment its principal offspring, (that is, the islands), in whom they brought together all dignity, elegance and grace. The unfortunate region has very little of these, for while it lacks continuing breezes from the sea it is over-rich in destructive heat from the sky, so that it is without freshness, on account of the dry sands with which nature has covered its wide plains. Yet these plains hold much promise, to judge by experience with the normal crop, which is milho, so that no crop can

(b) Cape Island, Santiago Island, why.

fail to be productive; and ~~that~~^{is} without the labour of agriculture being so necessary here. For the Jalofo man, though almost without agricultural knowledge, has, thanks to the easy clearing of the ground and a small contribution of rain from the heavens, so good a harvest in his fields from four or five good showers that he considers further labour pointless. The district nearest the sea lacks running streams and springs, which are so uncommon that they are found only in a few places; and such wells as there are in the land go so deep that regularly they reach 100 fathoms. This is the reason why the stock graze in distant lands, and the chief reason for the lack of forest, the great disadvantage of the district. For as the lack of /f.3/ springs and streams makes the district less valuable, so the lack of green trees makes it also melancholy and sad. However, there are some palm-trees, but in number so few that they cannot make the land much more agreeable.

Nevertheless the country is rich in stock of various kinds; cattle, goats, and sheep - some coming from the interior; farmyard hens, which are very tasty but smaller than ours; camels in large numbers; and horses, generally small ones, though they do have a few Arab horses which the lords and those better circumstanced buy from the Moors who trade here. They also do not lack those animals one of which the Lord employed on his solemn entrance into Jerusalem, indeed they possess many of them; yet they are of no use to the people of the land, or to the more noble Jalofof, because none will ride them, considering this an unworthy practice. Among the wild animals in the country there are lions, tigers, leopards, deer, gazelle, civet-cats, foxes, mongooses, squirrels and different sorts of monkeys. Among the birds are ostriches, parrots and little ones with four wings, the two extra emerging beyond the bend of the wing as they fly. Although the land has these creatures in such abundance and is inhabited

by an adequate number of people, the normal lack of rain renders it dry, sterile and poorly provisioned. This is the reason why the heathen cope with thirst by drinking sour milk mixed with flour from their milho. The sea has no less abundance of creatures, and furnish the land with snappers, meros, chernes, esmargals, and saw-fish, and with quantities of mullet and other fish, to such an extent that on any day without a storm some 30-40 canoes go out to sea two or three leagues and return in the evening with an astonishing load of fish.

What shall I say of its ports? They are not inferior in what they produce, since they supply the land with what it lacks, by means of a large number of foreign ships and launches which anchor in them and are laden with various cargoes: iron in large quantity, exotic oysters, fine coral, crystal, all sorts of amber, beads, spirits, nortas and precious stones from the East for female /f.3v/ use such as quepo, laqueca and brandil, silver ear-rings and bracelets, red cloth, and other goods of different kinds (c) suitable for trade. The inhabitants are so impressed by these imports that as well as accepting the services of all merchants they provide them with the best facilities in Guinea for the dispersal of their goods; and, as they admit themselves, they are always so little concerned about transactions with foreigners that they largely lose the grace and friendship of the true merchant, Christ Jesus. To come now to the third and fourth points (of this chapter), it is necessary to allow space for some information, first about the government and way of life of the country, and then about the comings and goings of the foreign guests who trade here.

Cape Verde has its own king, who for his seat has selected the town of Ancalhor in the hinterland, 18 leagues from the cape.

(c) Goods from Flanders, France, etc.

He keeps a slave at the port as alcaide, as is commonly the case at the ports of the other kings of this province. The alcaide acts as receiver of the presents which all kinds of foreigners pay in return for the water and other provisions required for their ships. The coast (of this kingdom) runs SE from the Cape as far as Porto de Ale, which now belongs to another Jalofo king. The port lies two leagues beyond Cabo dos Mastos, to the SE, and in it there is a settlement of Portuguese, some dozen or fifteen houses. This kingdom of Ancalhor^(d) is 34 leagues long, that is, from the Senegal River as far as Cabo dos Mastos; and 22 or 23 leagues across, to where it meets (the kingdom of) the Grand Jalofo. On the East it has a boundary with the Fulos, with whom it is regularly at war, its king putting in the field 800 mounted men who carry shields and a spear like a javelin but shorter, because they are small men.^(e) This kingdom (of Porto de Ale?) extends from the creek [sic] as far as Ponta da Sereno, seven leagues SE, that is, along the coast. And from Porto de Ale to Labeia where the king lives is 12 or 13 leagues. The kingdom meets on the NW and North with the lands of the king of Ancalhor and on the NE with (those of) the Grand Jalofo who formerly was emperor, the lesser kings being subordinate /p.4/ to him since he had subjected them wholly to his rule. But having made too much show of his power he wholly lost it, and some of his territories, so that today for this reason his kingdom is the smallest and weakest of the three. The third kingdom (i.e. Lambaia) borders on the SE and South with one called Berbecim,^(f) and this kingdom of Lambaia is the most fertile in the whole Jalofo province.

(d) Jabo, king of Ancalhor.

(e) 'Justice by the iron' in Jalofo is by running it hot along the tongue three times.

(f) Berbecim kingdom.

The king who governs it today is 23 years old, a young man of great energy, who being so, has seized the kingdom which did not belong to him, since the legitimate heir was a brother of his deceased father, brothers being the obligatory heirs and not sons. This young man is a pagan and does not profess the Moslem faith as his father did, the father never drinking wine.^(g) For this reason the son differs in every respect. He is a very good friend of the Portuguese which his father particularly failed to be, for if he had any feeling for us he concealed it beneath his self-interest. The son's name is Dechampir. He has a gentle nature, which promises well in terms of affection for our holy faith; and when the Lord grants that he receive holy baptism, great will be the gains, not only for Grace but also for His Majesty's royal treasury and for his vassals who throughout these parts are continually assailed by various pirates and are daily vexed by them. The king is powerful and much feared by his own people: He can put into the field 1000 mounted men armed with shields and spears, and 300 archers.

From Sereno to Rio Berbecim the coast runs SE, and belongs to the King of Jagau, a Berbecim. The country is 11 leagues in length, and in the middle the Portuguese have a settlement called Porto de Joala which is used as a base and a route for trade with the heathen. Trading vessels from Cacheu come here to participate in the exchange ashore. The port is a very convenient one on account of a river which enters the land about half a league further on and curves around to run alongside the houses of the residents. The entrance to the river has nine spans of water at high tide, and once within it boats are secure from the regular threats from pirates. But apart from the vessels of merchants who trade only with the native heathen fewer ships come here than to Porto de Ale.

(g) Spirits in quantity.

Now that we have given this information (about the kingdom), we can go on to /f.4v/ speak about the character of these heathen, or of those as far as Joala, where we are forced to make a digression as the heathen (there) are different. The Jalofo is one of the most handsome of the heathen and the tallest and best proportioned in Ethiopia. All Jalofo have facial features so pleasing that it is worth seeing them for that alone. But they accept the burden of work unwillingly and the seventh of our mortal sins predominates with them. To see a Jalofo is to see a true portrait of laziness. Given then that they are like this, nevertheless there is among them great ingenuity in skilled work and they have a great variety of trades. The better part of the Jalofo nobility live in the hinterland and keep to the Mohammedan sect. Their way of bringing up children is the same as that among the other heathen. Men who are bexeris teach boys Arabic and thus educate them to their ministry. The Jalofo organises his sleeping the same way as do the others, making a bedframe from poles and using a mat as a mattress and a coverlet, and protecting themselves from cold at night with the fire they normally keep. Their houses are covered with thatch and resemble pavilions or tents in an army camp. Their furnishings are limited to a mat, a quiver and some spears. This is common among persons of lower rank who practise the following device. They hide the better part of their precious stones and other valuables out of fear lest the kings, who are greedy, should learn about them and invent pretexts to rob them of them, by imputing to the owners, and accusing them of, deeds which they have not committed. In this way the kings enjoy the fruit of the labours and achievements of the poor vassals, against all right. Normally the people dress in Moorish shirts of black and white which they make from their own cloth. The women who also dress in these, are very good-natured and friendly, especially

to those of the Portuguese nation, (h) which the men are not; and the women so exceed the men in this respect that it is by the women's specific warnings that the Portuguese (often) escape great misfortunes. The women generally take more care of themselves and dress better, with more style, and at greater expense, than do all the other women in these parts of Ethiopia. This is particularly true of the women who live in the kingdom of Lambaia, to whose king the two ports of Cape Verde and Ale belong. In entertaining guests the Jalofo has much to learn, for though he places all his confidence in outward show he is so curt in behaviour that there is no heathen in whose /f.59/ house the guest suffers more than in his. In their eating habits they are especially nasty, and it often happens that the tableware, consisting ^{of} either of a wooden bowl here called a tagarra, or a gourd, is used at a meal without having been washed; (also) master and slave eat together.

When two equals meet, the mode of salutation is for them to touch the ground with their hand and then, after bringing it up, to touch the head with it. If they are of different standing, the older takes the right hand of the younger and sniffs it twice. (i) The

(h) Jalofo woman, kindly natured, loving to all, "propter retributionem

(i) Jalofo polite habits. The Jalofo woman lies down with her body on the ground, her eyes looking down, clapping her palms instead of (? saying) peace. She greets more noble persons from a distance with much courtesy. On leaving, all shake hands as a salutation, saying "Alama sole vitola. Alame dia la Alame cant" meaning, "God be with you on the way". Ordinary men and women greet each other ^{by} squatting and sniffing each other's hands. The king does not employ women at table, he is served by men. His tablecloths are of ox-hide. The king is treated respectfully and with great courtesy. Those who come to visit him, if peasants, take off their shirts and cover their head or face with earth, etc., as a sign of respect. When the king gives the order they get up. This is generally the practice whenever one enters any place where the king is.

heathen of the coast are inferior in polite habits to those of the interior. As the nobility reside in the latter it is more sophisticated. Yet the coastal people are true heathen which the others are not, since the king and many of the leading men are very enthusiastic bexeris of the accursed sect, for as well as trade and other goods, the Moors have brought them the infernal sect of the infamous prophet, and these grandees are so spell-bound by the ministers of the false sect that the kings do nothing of importance without their counsel. When they go to war or despatch armies, apart from covering their shirts, shields and bows with large numbers of amulets, and encasing their arms with others and hanging some from their necks, (the bexeris) prepare for them certain medicines which, the bexeris say and the kings believe, if carried provide a royal assurance against loss of life. (The bexeris) affirm this, not because they believe it or think it true but, as they admit to some of the Portuguese, because it affords a means to keep in the good graces of these grandees, so that by attending in this way to what the grandees want to hear the bexeris obtain the best part of their lands. And these hellish priests are so clever and double-dealing that they take care never to accompany these kings to war, and when the kings ask them, they excuse themselves by saying that since the weapons will be aided by their prayers it is the same whether they go (themselves) or send others. During battles they remain preoccupied in their intercessions to the false prophet, beseeching him to obtain from the Most High a victory for the soldiers. And if these poor wretches fail to gain a victory, the bexeris attribute it wholly to their failure to keep the observances of the sect, from which lapse alone any setback results and chiefly derives ^{so} they persuade the ignorant people.

These lords are not without those who incite to military prowess while a war lasts. /f.5v/ No-one does this better than the Jews (Judeus). According to popular tradition the Jews were among the earliest inhabitants of the district we are discussing, but after these were conquered their (exact) origins have by today been almost forgotten. These heathen excel in airs and graces, and they are no different from the Jalofo heathen in good looks. The women wear many sorts of garment that the kings give them. The Jews are clowns and singers; they play drums and in time of war march in front (of the army) playing them, to excite their betters by their actions and to enable them to find new strength when they are exhausted. If anyone (soldiers) lack courage and a virile soul, they call them cowards and say to them with a great show of sorrow and passion: "Ah, your father did not behave like this! Your ancestors behaved differently on like occasions and in similar enterprises! Do not inflict the infamous mark of cowardice on the head of your line and on the lineage from which you descend!" "In times of peace, they place themselves at the doors of kings and lords, although they are not able to pass within. From here they call out to these important persons and make such pointed remarks, inventing an interminable litany of praise and a history of their prowess, at the same time making such an uproar on their drums, that the poor men are worn out; and since no offence can be taken with the Jews or with their actions, if the grandee has nothing else at hand to give them in order to gain his freedom from that inferno of importunity, he takes off his shirt or his cutlass and gives them that. The Jews have other tricks. As nothing makes them blush, the whites have no better debt-collectors when kings and grantees are debtors. So much is this the case that if the king himself is a debtor these clowns provide a means of extracting payment from him. The whites speak to one of the Jews and explain the position, and at the same time give him a fee for the job.

What he does is this. He goes as a singer to the house where the king who is in debt lives, and he talks about the debt loudly and with many grimaces and gestures, and in a disparaging aside, he says: "No honour to you for not paying your debt!". The wretched king finds himself so importuned that sometimes these clowns end up by going back to the creditor with the money in their hand.

Members of this group of the heathen have no fixed possessions and they do not farm. All of them are so looked down upon that, when they die, they are not buried as the Jalofo man is, but are placed in the forked branch of a monkey-bread tree, since it is said, and generally believed, that if they were buried in the earth there would be no rain and instead great drought. So when they complete their days, they find a place in the forks of trees.^(j) Although they have no fixed possessions, their /f.6/ chattels are so considerable that they can cause great envy. They are rich in this way because they are rewarded by all for the occupation they profess, which is to utter pleasantries and flattery which, filling the ears of those who listen, bring the Jews reward from their listeners' valuables. They are great horsemen and so dexterous that they gallop on their horses while playing the drum. Neither the lords nor any other group among the people of the land will have them in their homes or feed them, unless they are in their service. If the Jews lack anything, the others do not hesitate to provide it for them, but they go about so well stocked that it is not (usually) necessary. They adhere to the (Moslem) sect. At their 'burials' there are less tears than normal but more jousts and festivities.

Although the coastal Jalofo whom we are now discussing have only limited social and political organisation, nevertheless they have enough rascality^(k) and sharp-dealing in their trade with

(j) Children, first dismembered, are placed in the forks in baskets.

(k) Lascaris - certain shameless Moors of India.

foreigners. Many of them, speaking French as if it were their native language, have developed such ways by their regular trade with the pirates. Cape Verde is a true training-ground for these pirates. They regularly live there while they carcen their ships, and build launches and sloops to enable them to rob the entire coast of these provinces, from which they carry off in an average year 200,00 cruzados (worth of goods). Their seizures have left the coast as poor in wealth as it is rich in misery and destitution for the Portuguese, who suffer great losses on the coast because of their enemies. This could be remedied by means of two or three warships, which would patrol the coast, go in to the cape, and rout the pirate in this way greatly benefitting not only our sea routes within this Ethiopia, but also those to the Malagueta Coast, to Mina, and to Brazil. Of no less value would be the prizes which by this strategy would be taken from among the ships which anchor in Biziguiche Bay, in its renowned port of Arrecife, nine leagues from Porto de Ale. Annually three or four ships anchor here; and the French and some Flemings, who also anchor a mile away from Porto de Ale because of the bad bottom and poor anchorage, annually export 50,000 hides and 200 quintals of ivory, together with the ambergris and gold which comes to this place and to the renowned port of Joala from the entire coast of Ethiopia. What was stated above about the royal officers who live in the sea-ports and receive presents (for the king) is the general practice /f.6v/. These officers are admirably punctilious in what they do, in order to cultivate the goodwill of the lords and keep them friendly.

To conclude this chapter, let us speak of the occupations of the heathen. The men work in the fields and they fish and weave, making their very well-known cotton cloths by sewing together from six to twelve strips. Some of these cloths are so valuable that those that are taken from these parts to Spain are worth 6000 reis. The looms are different from ours.

All of them are traders. The Jaofo people in the kingdom of Lambaia are so enthusiastic that they give pledges to the Portuguese and go up-country to trade in the three fairs which are normally held every week. The main fair is called Ricai fair, and 2000 persons go there. The products of the country are sold; that is, cow-hides, cotton cloths, goats and hens - the latter in great quantities and so cheap that one can be bought for four strings of pocate beads worth at most 60 reis. The currency in use here is what the ships bring from all kinds of traders, coral etc. The main occupations of the women are to sew, cook and grind milho in wooden mortars which resemble our own grinding-bowls, these ones being an ell in height.⁽¹⁾ They do this last task from midnight onwards, in order not to be seen at work, and during the day they take it easy and treat it as time off. I have spoken about idolatry. For the heathen who live near the sea, the burial rites of the Jalofo are in every respect the same as those of other idolaters, and they have celebratory feasts in which food abounds, etc.

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- (1) Jagomai, king of the Berbecis, challenged the king of Berçalo, sending him in scorn a spindle. Berçalo attacked him, making his araga about a league (away). Each king at the same time sends out his jagarefe, and they both finish up speared on the road. The kings are surprised at the delay on the part of their ambassadors, and send others, who come with news of what has happened. Jagomai orders his filada, and clears a village which lay right across the road. The village was wholly encircled by thorn-trees. The Jalofo struck at the village, and bury themselves with loot. They lose their lives when Jagomai falls on them with fury, not with a spindle.

Now I come back to Joala. Having given due praise and shown a grateful heart for the love with which they receive us and the welcome they give our boats, we ought to be no less generous in giving our love to the heathen (there), because they are exceptionally friendly to the Portuguese nation and have no connection with the pirates. These connections are multiplying among the coastal peoples of the two (kingdoms or ports) of Cape Verde, as we have sufficiently illustrated above, and this is the main reason for the hatred of us which this Jalofo scum has developed. Having said that, and the subject being different as the circumstances are, in order that matters may be appropriately dealt with in the right place let us speak now of the Berbecim heathen. /f. 7/

Chapter 2

The Kingdom of Jagau and the Grand Borcalo : the Character of the Land and People

Before returning to Joala, as I promised in chapter 1, in order to discuss the character of the land and people^(a) in terms of the way of life throughout, I must interpolate that from the Sereno to the river called the Rio do Berbecim, which takes its name from that of the native heathen, the coast runs South East for a length of 11 leagues, in the middle of which is the very famous Port of Joala, which we will shortly discuss. To speak now of the position and character of the river of this people, the greater part of it is thickly forested. As regards its productiveness, the land is much inferior to those preceding it, and lacks staple foodstuffs, meat and other necessities of life; and there is not as much trade in merchandise among the Berbecim, though they do have a fair, which is generally held at the king's town, and hides, cattle and cloth can be bought there.

Before we discuss the character of the people, let us state the boundaries of their lands. It (sic) meets those of the Grand Borcalo on the North, North East, and East; and the coast, after leaving the Rio de Berbecim, the true boundary of the (kingdom of) Jagau, runs South East to the mouth of Gambia.

Now passing on, let us speak of the character of our Berbecim. They have an unique disposition, being so gentle that from birth (?) they never change for the worse. Our people receive great favours from them, because they have no fear of thieves (there). They keep their personal possessions and merchandise in the most public streets since they are as safe there

(a) Jagomai, king of the Berbecims, sends a challenge.

from being stolen as if they were hidden away in the most secret places. This is a country where the town-squares serve as chests, which is astonishing, as the land is impoverished. But the reason (for this honesty) is the people's lack of commercial contact with the pirates, a contact which is excessive in the case of the people of the Cape and Porto //f.7v/ de Ale. Because the land is not very well-off, the money from Moslem mints has not reached here, and so the Berbecim do not possess this sect. Their way of life is that general among the other heathen, they are farmers, etc. In manners and outward appearance the Berbecim is inferior to the Jalofo. But they are people of spirit and, war being frequent, they enter and attack the Jalofo (land) valiantly and retreat when they find their own land out of sight. For this is densely forested, which overthrows those who follow ^{them} on horseback, the wide woods with their thickets serving them as a refuge against the enemy when they hide themselves in its secret places. The kingdom does not possess the size and character of that of Lambaia, Jagau putting in the field only 300 horsemen, more or less, and 2000 archers. I propose to conclude by expressing my gratitude to this kingdom's port of Joala, earned by the spontaneous affection with which ^{the people} ~~these~~ there welcome our vessels in its river, which we have already described, and protect and defend them from the greed of the Flemish and French scum.

Although the neighbouring kingdom seeks separate treatment, nevertheless, since the material is brief and virtually an appendix to what has gone before, it has seemed to me better to carry on with what is here being offered. Reference to the boundaries between Jagau and the Grand Borcalo give an indication of the power (of the latter). This savage is so powerful that there is none on the coast his superior or equal, either in the

extent of land or in those other things necessary so that a king may sustain himself in peace or in war. This chief has subordinates among whom he has divided his monarchy, to facilitate its direction: all of these are his tributaries, as are the other nobles of the land, called jagras. These jagras are the sons of sisters (of nobles), and only these, since sons of brothers are not considered legitimate (heirs) here and hence are excluded from the succession into the kingdom. As regards the fertility of its situation, it is totally different from that of Jagau since it is better provided with cattle and other stock. Similarly its trade is greater: it has cotton cloth which the Portuguese carry away from here in large quantities. The king possesses certain Mandinga lands which are subject to him. From these the Fulos make their way down to pasture their cattle, since //f.8/ the pastures are excellent: they pay tribute for these to Borçalo, but what the jagras take when they plunder the herds at their whim is normally larger. It may be gathered from their attitude what the attitude of the common people is, for this is always worse when governed by self-interest.

The affluence of the Fulos enables us to appreciate the quality of the land. The quality of the people shows that the way of life and its organisation are sound, so much so that it is evident that they are only spoilt by incompetence in government. They are idolaters like all the other heathen, and are great witches and sorcerers, the most adept being expert in the herbs used in their rites. This can be seen markedly in their hunting, the stalking of elephants. Although these animals are most frightening, a Ful6^{places}himself underneath one with his weapons, and kills it from there.

The land of our Borçalo is bounded on the South East by the Gambia River. The hinterland is ruled by various Mandinga kings, or rather by the native Sonequei heathen, to whom the lands more properly belong. However we will discuss them as nominally kingdoms of the Mandingas, because of the alliance these savages have made with the natives, just as the Manes have done in the Province of Serra Leoa with the Sapes, Temenes and Boulons. Now let us discuss this people.

Chapter 3

The lands peopled by the Mandingas and Sonequei. The situation and wealth of the country, the characteristics of its various inhabitants, and the rites and ceremonies of each nation.

For greenness and freshness the district has no need to envy the finest lands of Ethiopea, because it possesses springs and full-running rivers, with green woods providing an awning, and it is especially made pleasant by the variety of things throughout the land. For this reason /f.8v/ it is healthy, and lacks nothing to achieve such degree of perfection as one may hope to find in these parts. The land is flat. The temperature is comfortable for the human body and the products necessary for its well-being are present. For its staple foodstuffs, the land has rice, and grain of various sorts; for vegetables, macarras and beans; for other crops, pumpkins, yams, etc; for meat, cows, goats and hens, all of these being cheap and in great quantity; and for drink, wine from the palm, beverages from honey and grain, and wine from Portugal, the latter always available in the ports because of the large amount of trade in them. Its wild beasts are elephant, buffalo, gazelle, deer - though not the normal sort -, antas, tigers, corcas [roe-deer,? misreading for oncas, leopards], lions, porcupine and wild boars. Among the smaller animals are civet-cats, various sanchos, tutus and saninhas. Its birds are parrots and catarinetas, which are green, two species of ducks, and gangas which are like cranes. Its snakes include some with two heads, and black ones which cannot bite but vomit a spit which blinds if it touches the eyes; and there are some snakes which can be tamed and are harmless - their skin is covered with different natural designs, and the heathen spare them and tend them with great care, believing them to be rational transformations of the human body. Here the royal lion is found and is called jata. When travellers encounter it, and bow to it in greeting, it pauses to watch; but those who disregard this courtesy do so at their peril.

Because the land is rich it has trade. Ships, sloops and launches come here from various parts. The normal trade is in slaves, cotton and cotton cloth, hides, ivory, and wax. The land has great swarms of bees which the natives ingeniously keep in hives of woven straw hung on trees. Some gold is traded, which comes from the hinterland at the direction of the Mande merchants who make their way to the coast from the provinces and lands of their supreme emperor Mande Mansa. The fruitfulness of the land we are discussing was revealed to Santiago Island in its time of great need, in 1609, when the land came to its aid by providing foodstuffs. These commodities are obtained from the country in exchange

for illegal (?) cloth, different sorts of precious stones from the East Indies, beads, wine and cola - the latter so much valued that throughout Ethiopia it is reckoned a gift from heaven and Mande merchants carry it to all parts of Barbary and, in powdered form, as far as Mecca; there they are created superior bexerins and they return with the normal reward of nominas (amulets), which they offer around through all these provinces. /f.9/ The fame of the great trade in this river has served the Portuguese captains ill, for at times pirates come here, on the special advice of those heathen who know the coast well, and great losses and other damage are suffered not only by the captains but even by His Majesty, in terms of his revenues.

While nature has shown itself generous to the country, endowing it with an abundance and variety of things, it was correspondingly mean with the country's sons, giving all of them a character so base that they seem more a product of error than of nature. 'Sons' I call them (in the plural because the people to whom the land belongs, the Sonequei, are today so mixed up and coupled with the Mandingas that the land is called after the latter. To be specific, the Gambia River and that hinterland commonly called the Mandingas', really belongs to the Sonequei, an idolatrous heathen, while the Mandingas originate from Mande Mansa, as stated in the second part of this Treatise, chapter []; a fact which confirms the natural tendency of character to which the savage is always prone. As the blood of those who people this river is thus united, so also are their characters and inclinations; or even worse, the Sonequei inheritance dilutes that from the Mandingas. In the latter covetousness ameliorates their natural character, for they practise the trade of merchant in which it is so important to gain respect and be scrupulous, because on this conduct depends the growth of profits. The nature of these people is so depraved, so dishonest and so double-dealing that the saying of the Prophet applies: 'Iniquitatem in corde et corde locuti sunt'

[] They have two hearts, one in the mouth and the other in the normal place. They are malicious, greedy and treacherous. Though living in their own country, they have today become lascarims. Whatever their evil spirit tells them they put into effect totally, as far as is possible. It is very necessary to be on guard in their ports, and failure to do this has often caused great disasters, when launches laden with goods have been lost. The much prized joy of life itself has also been lost, as happened to Diogo da Costa, from the Algarve, who was most cruelly killed by a Jalofo jagara, a native of Maniagar, in the land of the Grand Borcalo, a land also peopled by Mandingas of this union.

Although they have no respect for their guests when they are at sea, they have much when they are on land. Their goods are regarded as sacred, and if any happen to go missing, when the thief is found he is made to suffer (?). Here in this place where double-dealing and deception are not lacking there is still justice. Justice in these groups is degenerate, ^{(f. q. /} yet active and lively in carrying out the peculiar judicial forms they have. Some of the inhabitants are fine horsemen, and in the conduct of their households they are first-rate. The upbringing of children is on the lines normal among the heathen. They are especially interested in agriculture, raising stock such as cows, goats, etc. as mentioned above. They are weavers, excellent blacksmiths, fishermen and wine-tappers. To conclude, this group concedes nothing to the most skilful in Ethiopia in their mode of acquisition of the necessities of life.

Now let us talk about the Sonequei, the native heathen. If we consider them in their original form, we will find that as long as this lasted they had no trace of any observance of the (Moslem) sect. All that they have today in the way of professing (Islam) has come to them from the emigrant blood of the Mandingas, the group selected by the devil as ministers of the poisonous sect, and as its legates and ambassadors throughout Ethiopia, as we shall show later, some of them adopting trade and commerce as a means of spreading the infernal doctrines of the unworthy prophet Mohammed. The Sonequei inhabit various lands in Guinea, and apart from living in their native land, they mix with other wandering nations. Burama Calama was very famous among this people. He lives today, a cripple, in Geiba, a land of great trade, which we shall discuss in its place. The Mandingas tried hard to persuade this savage to profess the sect, telling him many fictitious things about it. The poor wretch was so pestered that he turned against them, and he told them to stop bothering him since he would not conform to the religion of the Prophet when it prohibited as holy a practice as the celebration of the mystery and passion of the Son of God and the consecration of His precious blood; and further, that no-one could trust those who wrote to the contrary. (Little) lacked Burama the light of the Gospel ! And according to the information given me about this heathen, because of the great love which he showed for us Portuguese, he also showed considerable affection towards our holy faith. Hence this heathen only practiced idolatry (not Islam), and he believed in sticks and stones and in those other things mentioned (elsewhere) in this account. It is not necessary to detail these at each stage, inasmuch as the superstitious practices are all much the same, and the inquisitive reader can learn about them

and gain a sufficient understanding of them in Part II (of the present work), where these matters are dealt with specifically; whereas in chapters like this one we only mention any practice of the heathen which is unusual, such as the Sonequei practice in relation to their famous idol Manga Jata.

When any one dies it is the common practice for them to carry him through the village on a bier made of pieces of wood like a grating or a ladder in Europe, and they ask him questions. Since the term 'to eat' here means the same as 'to kill', they ask him - who ate him up, or killed him? The devil replies, or those who carry the bier pretend this, by heading (the bier) towards where they consider that the people 'ate him up'. (But) if they pass by the idol, the devil in the dead man replies that Manga Jata killed him. They then remove the clothings and weapons from the dead wretch and place them all near the infernal idol. They give it these goods as a thanks-offering and perform the ceremony on account of the debt they owe to it for having killed this witch. They do not bury him like other men, for they consider supremely evil anyone whom Manga Jata kills, nor do they lament him with great grief. At best they leave the body in the forest for animals to eat.

This land has several kings, the Farins, who correspond to emperors, and have under them lesser kings or chiefs. Among the Farins are Farin Cabo, Farin Brás, and so on, who are like those in the province of the Souzaos, as will be shown later when I refer to that great kingdom. This is enough on the subject of the Farins.

Before tackling the subject of the true legates of Mohammed, I want to discuss a remarkable thing which happened to one of these clerics at Bambaceita, in the land of Borçalo, a town of Bezeres, and to his Koran. Here there is a common school where reading and writing is taught in the way to be described later. To this place there came one of these perverse pilgrims dressed as a poor man, all in rags. It was a time of great drought and all the grain crops had been lost. The members of the parish of infernal Mohammed rushed up to this cursed legate to ask him for help in this very great disaster. As if he had the favours of heaven at his command, he ordered those in need to provide him with a good meal. They came with cuscus, milk, etc. When he had had enough he promised them it would rain. They all laughed and jeered at this madman. He asked for a bowl of water. When they gave him one he walked away gravely, as if pretending to be very holy. He tipped the water over an anthill, making mud, and anointed himself with this, then made a wooden cross and fixed it on the mound, spent the night in shrieking and calling out, and at dawn disappeared. ^(f. 8v) Such a quantity of rain then fell

that the Mandingas boasted and celebrated the deed with great feasting and a great measure of astonishment. But even greater was the surprise of many Portuguese who happened to be there, among them a gentleman of great trustworthiness, who testified to all this and gave me the information. When he asked me to what I attributed this, I answered that it was by divine permission, as daily we experience here in various other matters, in the ordeals by red-hot iron or by 'red water', in replies of the Enemy through idols, those which are genuine, and so on. "I do not doubt it", said the Portuguese, "since as well as this I have also seen other happenings. And the cleric did the same thing in another village, the one he arrived at the morning (he disappeared from the first), and which was suffering the same lack of rain, and there he was venerated and regaled with all the good things of the land. I will not conceal a notable point about these wolves in sheep's clothing, their method of seeking alms. The true Mandinga are all very gentle and companionate, and therefore very charitable. (These people) come to the compounds or houses of the Portuguese, leaning on a spear, and ask for the normal presents, entirely for the love of God: they squat down and ask with extreme courtesy, pouring out words to such an extent that they obtain as much as they seek, as a result of their sheer persistence. What a crafty nation this is ! Thus they gain and complete all they desire.

As for the Mandinga traders, they are more properly called Mande, and they pride themselves on the name, as showing they are natural members of their group (familia) and line, without any alien intermixture. As they are wanderers and true merchants, they are great friends of ours and on all occasions support our interests. They are not mean but generous, and they entertain their guests with care and attention. This punctility, arising from their belonging to a group generally illustrious and of good character, is the normal feature among those of them not poisoned by the admixture of alien blood, as can be shown by (contrary) instances of bad faith, treachery, etc, (among the others). If we consider more clearly the rites and ceremonies of their priests, we see that these priests resemble the bonzos of Japan. They believe that the devil is made like a monkey, as will be seen from what follows; and among their many and various superstitions they believe that he brought to them here the musical organs with which they celebrate their feasts. The notes of the organs are employed as tocsins in war, and they produce a sound so harmonious^{16.11} that it resembles that of tocsins. The

nature of the people can be easily judged by the skill with which they conduct the administration and regulation of their affairs, both public and private. In the education of their children, the normal practice of the majority of them is superior to that of other nations, for as soon as the little ones are capable of learning they teach them their letters. The women are abnormally less than virtuous; and hence they gather the fruit of sensuality which sprouts from and finds its origin in dishonest living.

Now let us discuss how this malignant spawn regulate their ceremonies in relation to the profession of the Mohammedan sect, allowing first that there are different ranks among the clerics. The highest are the alemanes, who correspond to the rank of bishop or archbishop among us. In the second place follow the fodigues, who correspond to our vicar-generals or ordinaries. In the third place are mozes or bexeris, who are like priests among us. The homeland of this malediction of heaven is the widest and most spacious country in our Ethiopia, since it is befitting that here in this lower world the greater part should belong to evil. For the wicked usually gain their ends, the Lord denying success to the more virtuous souls and those worthier in His eyes : this was the case with Abel the just, since He slackened the reins of life over the infamous Cain to as great an extent as He pulled them in over that saintly young man, in order to comfort His martyrs and those who, although scattered across the wilderness as Cain was, yet know how to preserve themselves in purity and innocence of life during this His second draft of the prime law. The religious practice (of the Mohammedan sect) extends a great number of leagues into the interior. As well as drinking the milk of the accursed sect, these people serve it out to various nations to which they are its ambassadors; to which end they equip themselves with merchandise so that the commodities of the false Prophet can accompany these goods and enter into foreign kingdoms. Some of these people are fine horsemen. Wherever they care to make their home they help the kings in these lands with their (war-)medicines; and when it seems appropriate to them, they also accompany them. But rogues as they are, they (sometimes) excuse themselves by spinning the yarn to these lords that it would be more useful if they devoted themselves, as long as the wars lasted, to praying to the infernal Prophet to favour the kings' soldiers; and the kings, who are much influenced by what they dream, agree to all that is proposed to them, and either go (to war without them) or send(generals). Hence they are /f.11v/ much respected and receive fine presents from kings of

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this sort, even territories to settle in, if this is what suits them. But since they prefer the role of apostles for the diabolic sect and reap more reward from that, they do not stay long in one place.

They have mosques; and the bozes or bexerins^(a) establish schools to teach reading and writing in Arabic letters, which they use in their amulets, since these cursed reliquaries consist of certain precepts in this script. The task of the bexerins is to educate boys who will afterwards serve as clerics of the sect. They learn the same way as we do, by writing out copies of exercises, in daytime by normal light, at night by firelight. It is astonishing to see the number of fires round which they sit to read and repeat their lessons, which they do in such shrill voices that it upsets one to be within sight (and sound) of these infernal disciples. They demand alms day and night and live on them. The alemane keeps the Koran and he alone is permitted to enter into Mecca House. His office is to declare (the teachings of) the sect, and he lives in the kingdom which seems to him best fitted for the preservation and continuance of life and the one from which he can most easily send the ordinary or whichever of the lesser clerics he thinks best to visit the lands and villages under his jurisdiction. The hierarchy of clerics is not greatly developed since the alemanes are over them all, whether prelates and rectors or clerics. The title itself is not a fitting one since they have the most power. The alemane is much respected when he comes to a village : they kiss his robes and feet. He is very rich and therefore gives large alms out of love on Allah.

(a) The standing of the mozos among the infidels. Sertua, son of Farma, had smallpox. He came to hate Mapira, his mother. He told a moze of his state of mind. He immediately said to him : "This hatred is killing you, confess it to your mother and be reconciled with her." He did this. The mother wept as she heard her son. Before the sick man became completely better, the moze persuaded him to make cramene, so that he could take from him a fine shirt when he made an offering of anything that was his during the cramene. Sertua was scandalized and believed that these clerics are self-seeking, as indeed they are. A Portuguese jested with this moze. He lifted up a dish which the moze thought was impossible to do and had wagered could not be done, so the Portuguese won the bet.

It is the general custom of these alemanes to make annual visitations. Apart from those who regularly accompany them, some clerics from the seminary of the sect go with them. When they reach a village, the first thing they do is to announce the day on which they will begin lessons from the Koran. When this is known, many people arrive and assemble in the open space of the village, into which the cleric comes with great show. Then he has some fine mats spread out. From his embroidered purse he draws out the infernal legend written on parchments, which he unrolls over the mats, and he performs his ceremonial practice, standing upright and raising his hands and eyes to heaven, and after staying like this for a moment, as if in contemplation, he prostrates himself on the ground in front of the infernal 'bulls'. The people immediately make great reverential gestures towards these. When these are completed, he stands up and in a loud voice tells them to give ^{f. 12/}all thanks to God and His great Prophet for having had them brought together in order to pardon their great sins, and he makes various other declarations in praise of the devil. After this he praises the teaching of the parchments as he seeks to hold the attention of the people, and they comply in this to such an extent that though the cleric spends more than two hours reading and expounding part of the Scriptures, no-one speaks or sleeps or stirs, and in the large audience no-one takes his eyes off the cleric. The devil so draws these mozes and other fanatical adherents of the sect to the false Prophet that, although (Mecca) House is far away, this does not prevent them from visiting it, and they go there on pilgrimage through foreign lands in which they act as preachers of hell. From here they bring amulets as various as the uses to which they are put, with the relics inside being equally various. Some amulets are used on robes, others on shields, some go round the neck, others on the arm, and so on; but in each case the whole object is enamelled with these abominations.

Now let us speak of their rites and the superstitions underlying their ceremonial. Their fast lasts one month, beginning at the new moon and concluding with it. During this period they take nothing all day. But after sun-set they grind milho and make a drink from it, which they drink as they eat cuscus, meat and the other foods they have; and before cock-crow they make milho porridge with milk, to give them more strength for their fasting. They draw their [blank] in this period, and they say their prayers at night in a certain place selected as being most suitable for this purpose. They make a tabanca of timber which they fix in order to keep the place cooler. In the middle they

In the middle they build a little hut to hold three or four persons. To sum up, they choose the spot for the opportunity it gives them to hold these ceremonies, which are carried on throughout their Lenten season. This finishes when the new moon appears, and they greet it with great feasting. They celebrate their Easter with music and banqueting, and all assemble in a great crowd with the alemanes, fodigues and mozes. In the morning they go to make their sala, and have a great procession near a tree selected for this purpose, called mantaba. There they make their sacrifice. The bexeris carry their ^{of wood or metal} filled with water to purify themselves before entering the place of ^{(f-120/} the ceremony. The alemane washes his feet, mouth, face and top of his head, and the bexeris wash their feet too. When these lavations are completed, a bexerim of higher rank approaches the entrance of the enclosure ~~around~~ around the mantaba and begins to call out, "Allah, Allah", and the name of the prophet Mohammed. Then the lesser bexeris enter, always preceded by three of the others, but there are sometimes too many of them for all to enter. When they come near the oratory, they squat down one by one and tidy the spot, then taking some of the earth or sand, begin by scrubbing their arms, from the neck to the elbow, and after that their faces. Facing to the East, they first stretch out their arms in front of their eyes, and with the palms turned upward, invoke God and Mohammed. When this ceremony is over, they sit down and kiss the ground thrice, and each time all those present rise upright when the leaders do. After the sala they ask God and his Mohammed to deliver them from the world and from those enemies who are unknown to them or from whom they cannot deliver themselves.

Kings attend these salas, accompanied by many horsemen if they have them, otherwise by people on foot; and if the enclosure will hold them, they perform their salas within it. Afterwards they have great festivities and race their horses, and when the king returns to his house, those who accompanied him take their leave and depart for their villages. These bexeris are very refined and punctilious in entertaining their guests, more so than the kings themselves.

When any of these clerics dies, after making prayers of commendation over him they take him to the forest and inter him without his body touching the earth. They celebrate the obsequies with the normal lamentations. Three or four of the Jews whom we have mentioned earlier come to the obsequies in order to play drums.^(a) Many people attend in their finery, wearing the best clothes they have, for this is the proper time to wear them. The women who come from afar make a particular cry by putting their hand across their mouth, and this as a sign of sorrow for the passing of one of Mohammed's clerics. On arrival, they cover themselves completely with their clothes, and they wail with lowered heads. Dishes of cuscus, grain and rice are brought, and the person who leads the lamentations presents a great feast, after which the guests take their leave. Enough has been said about these rites.

Now let us finish the subject of this chapter. Let us discuss the estuary (of River Gambia). It is about four leagues across to Cape St Mary, which consists of high red cliffs./f.13/ On the point to the NE of the bar stands a village in which there lives one of the alcaides who receives presents from those who come here to trade. This port of call, or rather the present which is handed over to the kings, especially in the ports of the Mandingas, provides the key to everything else. It acts like a royal safe-conduct in the avoidance of great evils and the conduct of good or bad relationships. In the time of King D. Manuel, a fort was begun at the entrance to the river, the ruins of which still stand today; and he had a silver key made, to symbolise what we have just said about the port, that it is the real gate to commerce with this nation. This great river penetrates more than 150 leagues inland, and until the time of King Sebastian a caravel was sent there annually with great ceremony, in order to fetch the treasure-chest (?), and it carried trade-goods as far as Cantor and was loaded with gold, ivory and wax. In those days this trade was restricted, but it is now open and general. As the land is vast, the river extends into the hinterland for very many leagues to the NE and East, apart from making twists and turns in other

(a) Their sign of mourning is to shave only their beard. They eat, etc, just like the other heathen.

directions. To the SE this great multitude of savages stretches through the interior to meet the Casangas, to whose emperor some of the Mandingas are still tributary.

Now let us say something about the Cassangas, etc. To proceed rapidly and follow the model of a nautical guide, let us reveal what exists in the districts extending as far as Cabo Roxo. A river separates the Mandingas from the heathen we call Cassangas, whose emperor is superior to kings and ^{to} the neighbouring Suzes. I called him 'emperor' because as well as being king of his own subjects he possesses the higher title in relation to (his rule over) the Banhus. This empire acquired a king called Massatamba who was the family head and progenitor of the rulers who reign today. Massatamba was the best friend the Portuguese nation has had in these parts. If he took a boat full of goods he was most strict in paying the owners. Since he was so attached to us, he used to be greatly pleased when he was called the brother-in-arms of the King of Portugal. Further along the seaboard is the coast of the Banhu heathen, which stretches as far as a creek from which a single tide carries one to Cacheu. From Cape St. Mary the coast runs South to Cabo Roxo, another lair /f.13v/ and coastal strongpoint of pirates. There they lie in wait for ships of all kinds, whether from Iberia or from the rivers, in order to attack them and seize great loot. One cannot fail to note the laxity in this matter on the part of the contractors for these rivers. So many thousands of cruzados are received by them from His Majesty, or are kept back from him, ^(a) without their building the coastal patrol ships for which the money is intended. Regular large losses result from this, losses greater than need be, and affecting not only those involved but also the Crown revenue. Experts assert that these losses could be easily avoided if the lapse was corrected or if in the public interest the contractors proposed (other measures) to his Majesty, as they should. Cabo Roxo lies in $11\ 2/3^{\circ}$, and Cape St Mary, 18 leagues to the windward, in $12\ 2/3^{\circ}$. All the heathen here (whom I shall not discuss as they have little trade with our people, such having been the case up to the present day on the part of Falupos and Arriatas) are mortal enemies of all kinds

(a) Otherwise their 'farms', as they call their Guinea very contemptuously. Others call it table-silver more fitting for Epicurius.

of white men. If our ships touch their shores they plunder the goods and make the white crew their prisoners, and they sell them in those places where they normally trade for cows, goats, dogs, iron-bars and various cloths. The only thing these braves will have nothing to do with, is wine from Portugal, which they believe is the blood of their own people and hence will not drink.

It is pitiful to relate what white men suffer when captives among these savages. They immediately strip them, leaving only the meanest garments on their bodies. Although the captives are given plenty to eat by their masters this is because of the gain the latter hope to make by selling them, gain which, however slight, will repay the host for his food. They are treated by the heathen as if they were lunatics, and a couple of hundred children follow them around. This happened to a Benedictine monk who, together with a captain, fell into their hands. The savages took his robe and thus made it difficult for him to work in Cacheu. The fertility of their lands and the industry of the people, which result in there being no lack of the various foodstuffs found in Guinea, are the reasons for this hostility. They have rice, funde, milho, and earth-crops, and they raise large quantities of cows and goats and consequently have much milk and butter.

All of them are skilled at fishing, and at wine-tapping, there being plenty of palm-trees on which to exercise their skill. They are notable farmers, so successful that the abundance of products has corrupted their natural ambition. For only the person who does not live among a sufficiency of what is needful for him learns to seek out the Good, or at least what he thinks to be good. This can be seen with regard to many of the heathen in this Ethiopia who without doubt were greater tyrants than the Falupos and Arriatas when they lived in the same fortunate state. I could demonstrate this by various examples /f.14/ relating to many different peoples who, if they wish to cultivate our friendship, do so only out of self-interest, because in this way they can obtain a supply of whatever goods they lack. Since all of these goods abound with the Felupos, the Lord has worked well on them so that their cruel nature is tempered in such a way that they serve as agents of divine justice, in relation to those who by His secret judgements fall into his hands. Their lives are always spared, since He does not chose to pass over the reins of life to these savages to the point where they might tighten them with their own hands, a decision he reserves for Himself. We see this daily, so that however rough and yokelish the heathen are, they never do harm (to this extent) to any captive in their power. If sometimes on the contrary it does happen (that whites are killed by blacks) this occurs at sea. There, in order to safeguard themselves when seizing goods, the heathen first kill those who are least on their guard, as happened in 1612.

Chapter 4

The town of Cacheu, a place of treasure, and the condition of its population.

After Cabo Roxo, the point at which we concluded the last chapter, the land to the East forms a bay which extends to the entrance of Rio de Cacheu. This makes the estuary as wide as it is dangerous, dangerous on account of many shallows and tight corners right across it, on which many ships have been lost. From here to the port, taking the estuary and river together, is 15 leagues. The settlement has two older names or titles. The first, Cacheu, was given by the natives and its etymology is not known to us. It may derive from the name of some king, just as the town on the (Windward) Coast is called Porto de Ale after the name of the king who used to live there, Ale. But if not, it will be no easy task to discover why it bears this first name. Its second name, Rio de S. Domingos, although it does not really describe a place on land, is more interesting, and of more profit to the land since it is, of course, the name of the patriarch of the holy and religious Order of Preachers. The third name is /f.14v/ incomparably and altogether superior to the others, to as great an extent as the Queen of Angels is superior to all created things. This name was given to the town by the captains and soldiers living there, in gratitude for the signal victory they won over the neighbouring heathen, when the Sacred Virgin fought here in the midst of her soldiers. The successful outcome being hers, inasmuch as she was mistress in the field of both armies, her name was taken (for the town) in the form, Our Lady of Victory, and this is the correct explanation of the third name of this port.

The whole site of the settlement is flat. It is rendered agreeable by the variety of trees surrounding it, large cotton-trees, palm-trees, and a similar sort of tree which bears an even greater resemblance to the coconut because its fruit, though smaller, is somewhat like a coconut - such trees are called cibes. But the spot is made less healthy by the lack of springs and streams, and the nearest water-supply is insalubrious, causing much sickness and being very inconvenient for the whole population. In extent it is about two musket-shots in length, including the district of St Anthony, a finer name for it and a very suitable one because of the variety of inhabitants and their devotion to the great Portuguese saint. A finer name, did I say? If its other name of Vila Quente (Hot-Town) refers to the burning charity of its inhabitants, then it is in no respect inferior to finer names, for anyone with that virtue is so incomparably of the first rank that the rest of us can only follow after.

Let us leave it as Vila Quente district. It is not fair to deprive it of its heat since we have found no-one who can explain the true derivation of this name, while the popular explanation, being in bad taste, it is better to be evasive and remain silent about than to offend by discussing. As I have said, the full extent in length is about two musket-shots; in width, it is only that of its houses. Most of these belong to Portuguese, and are square-shaped, large and well placed, some having an upper floor. The walls are of burnt brick and are roofed over with cibe leaves, which are very large and therefore very suitable, although they have to be renewed annually, on account of the heat which damages them in summer. Inside they have combetes, which are square, with walls like those of the house, but whose roofs are first covered with closely-set timber and then with earth. This design is most praiseworthy. Those who live in these parts should thank the man who first thought of it, for because of him the common loss of goods which on land is caused annually by fires is greatly reduced. Similarly (by equal forethought) they could avoid many very great losses at sea, especially on this coast, if the contractors did not so notably neglect to provide vessels for it, to comply with a specific decree of His Majesty : their lack of compliance, which is culpable as it is deliberate, deprives them of the right to large grants in compensation. In this district the houses are almost all round, although of the same material as was mentioned. Here are also living a number of Portuguese and other whites as guests (?) but others have their own houses in which tenants (? also) live. This is the district principally inhabited by common people and persons in employment, all of them free persons, who maintain themselves by their daily work and wages, being carpenters, sailors and men in other sea-going trades.

Having discussed the sort of persons who live in Vila Quente, now let us discuss those who live in Vila Fria (Cold-Town), so that there can be no discrimination to which the envious can point. Cacheu has all that is needful for a well-organised community. On the spiritual side it is in the hands of pastors of outstanding and superior wisdom; on the temporal side, in all those respects relating to the preservation of life and to good conduct it has no need to envy Europe. Since those who make their homes there have large houses and varied lines of commerce, which they conduct in the interior as well as by sea, they are not only in the main very well-off but they all follow a very glittering life-style.^(a)

(a) Character of the settlers. See Chapter 5.

In liberality to themselves they are not sparing, as can be seen from the way they treat themselves to clothes. They cut up silks to provide articles of costly dress, or some use less expensive material for their different clothes, material such as damask from the Indies or China in several qualities, this material being more suitable for a land where English cloths and suchlike are intolerable. If they are particular in this matter of dress, they are no less so in equipping themselves with means of defence and attack, such apparel as breastplates, etc, and daggers, shields, swords and other weapons. When the countryside permits the use of horses there is no lack of /f.15v/ enthusiasm for this exercise. One man who does this is Gaspar Carneiro, a native of Vila da Santarem : I shall not describe in detail his skill because it is widely recognised, as are his nobility and the valour of his generous heart. What shall I say of the way of life of these people ? It has been much talked about, and even today the banquets and exquisite feasts they used to give and still give are the subject of talk, for they spent on each a great outpouring of money. But if they are generous to themselves they are not less so to their friends and proteges, and to anyone else, since charity by its nature cannot be selective.^(b) Our Society has experienced to the full the extreme generosity displayed towards it by Captain Sebastian Fernandes Caçã, who used to welcome the sons of Ignatius scattered through these parts with all the hallmarks of generosity, and so liberally and lavishly that it was easier for the padres to bear privations than to escape the importunate charity of their admirer, a charity which tried to force them to accept great gifts from his hands, though they only took the little that was necessary for life. Two years ago the same thing happened to one of our order who returned in ill-health from Sierra Leone, the generosity being that of Captain Baltasar Lopes from Setuval. He provided him with all he needed, not only while he was awaiting a passage to the Island, but also for the journey, giving him this on his departure. I could name other gentlemen whose fine reputation for similar acts of charity I prefer to conceal because my silence speaks louder than words.

(b) Character of the settlers. See Chapter 5.

When in 1609 the blessed Father João Delgado of our Society the order and harmony in the settlement, the attention given to correct behaviour, and the Christian customs and Christian exercise of charity there, points to which this saintly man contributed his influence in his lifetime - and no less after his death, since he remained as outstanding in the recollections of all, as he was and still is in the eyes of God, on account of his excellent and heroic virtues - Father Delgado said, and said with reason : "Gentlemen, it does not seem to me that all this for the portrait of the little Babylon I was told about." I consider that padre's experience and his conclusion can still stand today in refutation of those who, carried away more by passion than by concern, or to express it better, drawing their information more from the shades ^(f. 6/) than from the light, apply to all the settlers in Guinea the infamous names of lançados and tangos maos. These names properly apply only to those who, not content with cooperating with the idolatrous heathen in the practices and sacrifices of their false religion, erect huts and build pedestals for their infernal idols. The lançados are truly 'run-aways', and not only from the Lord's grace, a precious jewel their souls are as far from as are close to divine justice. These are truly tangos maos, for at the repast of guilt they not only snatch the dish but fill themselves like starving dogs, yet they remain famished for the Word of God. They are pursued by guilt and fear of punishment, since they are not content merely to repeat falls from grace; instead, and for the worse, they persist in sinning, so that by the bad example of their lives they discredit the power of the Gospel faith in the eyes of the heathen. ^(c) I can say more about them. They are evil itself, they are idolaters, perjurers, defiers of God, homicides, libertines, thieves who steal reputation, credit and good name from innocents as well as property, and also traitors - for they run away in order to help pirates, leading their ships to those places where our

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- (c) Nemo quod bonum est loquitur; nullus est qui agat poenitentiam super peccato suo dicens : quod feci? Omnes conversi sunt ad cursum suum quasi equus impetu vadens ad proelium. [They spake not aright : no man repented him of his wickedness, saying, What have I done? every one turned to his course, as the horse rusheth into battle. Jeremiah 8:6]

vessels are in the habit of anchoring and trading. They are people without understanding of right and wrong, without respect for anything other than their own appetites, and are the very spawn of hell.^(d) When the epithet 'infamous' is heard in this midden of the world, for a midden undoubtedly exists in this Ethiopia of ours, it is as appropriate for these people as it is far-fetched, even at the most malicious, for the noble Christian spirit of the worthy and most devoted soldiers of the Lady of Victory, her sons, a spirit which is the glory of the court of the Queen of Angels. This will suffice to indicate the character of the vassals of Mary, Our Lady.

Now let us discuss the size of the population. The settlement shelters some 1,500 persons, counting together Portuguese and natives of Santiago Island, of whom about 500 or so are fighting men. Some of these persons have truly deserved well from the point of view of this river, but no less do they deserve well from the royal munificence, because of the services which in peace and war they have performed, for God and His Majesty, in company with the slaves each possesses and with their various other retainers, including certain natives who put more trust in us than in their own parents and relatives. For reasons of self-interest^(e) - the abominable idol^(f) of Ethiopia - these natives are attached to us to such an extent that at every opportunity they extend help and loyalty in such a natural fashion that it is astonishing. This has been the case when wars with their own people have occurred. In 1590 there was a very sharp war. This was in the time of that apostolic man, the Reverend Father Frei Cipriano of the order of Our Lady of Carmel,^(f) who was endowed by the Lord no less with singular heroic virtues than with great zeal for the conversion

(d) An non viae eorum viae inferni? Proverbs 7:9; Book of Wisdom 2:5.
 [Are not their ways the ways to hell? perhaps misquotation of Proverbs 7:27.]

(e) Self-interest, the encompassing idol of ignorant men.

(f) Frei Cipriano, the Visitor, a notable musician: he brought the image of Our Lady of Victory copied from that of the Carmel at Lisbon, he built the church and hospital, he adorned everything.

of souls, and who was here on visitation on behalf of the Bishop of Santiago, D. Pedro Brandão. The cause of this warfare was the ill-treatment and the affronts continually afflicted by the king and the other heathen on those of our people who for the purpose of trading in the interior used to live there, within a gunshot of the town (?)^(g) Because of this they decided to move away gradually, first seeking and obtaining permission from the king, on the pretext that they were going to build combetes in which to store goods from Portugal and to help the captains in making up their ledgers.^(h) These poor fellows invented all this, in order to see if they could find in the Lord 'a present help in troubles', for in those days their troubles were great, taking the form of assaults on them on the highways and various other insults from the heathen gentry who, simply because they had crushed a few stalks of their rice when this first appeared above-ground, snatched their hats and sometimes their cloaks. And when our people were incensed by this pointless behaviour and raised a complaint, they used to beat them with sticks.

Divine justice comes slowly but surely. The Lord recollected the affliction of His people, who are scattered over these parts more because of their hatred of material poverty and other limitations on an honourable existence than by any desire for the abominable company of the heathen. All of them recognise the Saviour's name and fight under the royal standard of the Cross. They are not lançados : this epithet of the backwoods does not apply to them. The Good Jesus shed His blood for them and He inspired His soldiers against the army of the enemy when it came marching against them on the orders of the king. Pagan soldiers to the number of 1,200 or even 1,500, followed their general, Sampaesão, who today is the king. The battle had already begun in the hearts of the savages, for they had been incited to war solely by the greed of the king and the claims he made. This was demonstrated by the embassy^{16.17} he sent to the Portuguese, whose only point of discussion was that they should return to the customary trading places further inland. A heart insulted will to nothing defer. Remembering what they had suffered, our men, 50 whites with 200 servants, prepared for battle and struck at the enemy. They fought so valiantly over the space of six hours that little by little they got the better of the savages, putting some of them to flight while others were severely wounded and 20

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- (g) Frei Cipriano encouraged the soldiers in this battle, and it is said that he fired a gun, and that with his skill as a captain of both church and state he was of great assistance.
- (h) One night our men made a fire as they broke the defences, and by its light they were able to strike all the enemy with their arrows.

left for dead. Of our men, only one was killed and only 4 were wounded, compared with 80 of them (?) The captain, Gaspar de Setuval, who at the present time is serving as factor, was outstanding for his skill and the wisdom of his counsel.⁽ⁱ⁾ Nor must I forget the courage of Diogo Serrão, a native of Santiago Island. Not having time to load his gun in order to drive off an enemy soldier who was trying to slice his head off with a cutlass, he seized it by the point of the barrel and struck the savage a blow which laid him dead at his feet. No less distinguished in the battle were other residents of the port not here named. A Christian army whose Flower in the Field^{and} patron is the Mother of God can expect no less success, she alone being the reason for the victory, she through whose hands the Lord wholly dispenses His favours to His own. It was His will that there should be built a temple in which there would be invocation of Our Lady of Victory, so that, as well as preserving to eternity the name of His most holy Mother in this the leading and busiest port of Ethiopia Minor, through the name there should be perpetuated among future generations the remembrance of His singular goodness.

Although the victory was gained, we were henceforth apprehensive of heathen rebellion. This is why the moat was made which runs around and protects the settlement. From then on watch was kept, and for some time the inhabitants remained secure. Then followed a reconciliation on the part of the heathen with our people, self-interest being dominant with them. This reconciliation was confirmed by an oath, for which they killed a white puppy and a cock with the superstitious ceremonies they employ on solemn occasions. Our people also took an oath and promised to respect it utterly as long as the /f.17v/ savages did not fail in theirs. Once the agreement had been accepted and approved by both parties, musical instruments such as drums and flutes began to be played. To these harmonious sounds, and with other festive demonstrations, everyone went marching to the factor's house, where they were received with all the tokens of goodwill. Until

(i) António Rodrigues, brother of Luis Lopes Rebelo, knocked down two with the butt of his musket.

that period there had been no capitão de guerra (military commander) and no need for one, but immediately after (these events) Captain Brás Soares, then the commander in Santiago Island, recommended for the post Diogo Serrão. This man, nine or ten years later, was killed when lending assistance against the Falupos, in support of D. Bernardo, the Christian king of the natives, ^(j) dying gloriously together with 20 of his companions and some slaves. Death buried him but could not bury the memory of his heroic deeds (which lingered) in the traditions of those who came after.

Although peace was for a time agreed on and established, it did not last long. The heathen retained a capacity to behave unjustly and the liberties of our people suffered greatly. The nobles continued their assaults, and they invented new chais (excuses for extortion) and sought opportunities to start up wars again. The settlers hid their feelings and temporised as much as they could. The heathen renewed their attacks on the highways and they tied up their (?our) slaves, until our people could no longer put up with such unreasonable treatment and went to war again, which led to the heathen starting great fires. Yet though fire is feared by all unthinking creation it showed respect and reverence for the house of the Sacred Virgin, which was not scorched in the least. It was also, and still is, a matter of intense admiration that not a single white man was killed in military operations within the settlement, and only a few were killed outside it. Gain and favour are always dispensed as generously by a kindly protector, such as that of Our Lady of Victory. /f.18/

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- (j) D. Bernardo discouraged Serrão from going, because he considered that the chances of failure were high: he did not give way to him for reasons of self-interest, but those who know the history best say that Serrão won (permission) and stopped the argument (?)

Chapter 5

The trade of this port and the characters of the settlers there and of the heathen who surround them

As there is no other (official) trading station in this (part of) Ethiopia, it is patent how important its trade is. It was first located three leagues up-river from Cacheu, at a place called Porto de S.Domingos or Rio de S.Domingos. Here there used to be the best trade of these parts, on account of the abundance of staple foodstuffs and of various other commodities, this abundance bringing about its growth and expansion. The trade in the various goods brought there by the Portuguese was considerable. The extent of its prosperity cannot be exactly assessed (now) but a fruit which is no longer available seems more tasty. In this prosperity lay the origin and the occasion of its great ills, as commonly happens when prosperity is possessed by those who lack understanding, in which case prosperity only serves to bring to great ruin a nobler state, that of being in grace and fellowship with the Good Jesus. With prosperity the heathen grew stronger, they became more confident and began to kick out, they lost all sense of respect and showed none to their guests. Malice affected the majority, malice which always plunges its roots deep when once tolerated and when once it finds itself feared. The ignorant heathen turned into malicious lascarims, thieves who robbed almost every night. Not only in secret but even in public they showed little courtesy in deeds and words. Vice had never flourished to such an extent. Yet no vice can be so strong that another more powerful one cannot be found to overtake it. Vice, wretchedly sombre, makes all melancholy and without joy. But even with savages, God raises lilies among the thorns. Such was Massatamba, whom we have mentioned. He helped by first giving the Banhus advice and warning about the necessity of providing good treatment for those foreign guests to whom he recognised a great obligation. And to punish the Banhus for not complying when they heard what he asked them, he marched against them with a large army and burned Buguendo, this being the name of the place where our factory was sited, otherwise Rio de S.Domingos, the name given it by the Portuguese; /f.18v/ and he killed and captured many of them. In response to this dire event, the factory was transferred from there to Cacheu.

The river is about one mile wide and forms Porto das Maus, a port for ships and other vessels trading in Guinea, such as sloops and launches, both those belonging to this port and those coming from Santiago Island. Between six and eight vessels come here in order to buy slaves for the

Indies. On average, 1,800 slaves are exported annually, either to the Indies, or to Santiago Island and other parts. This port is the most suitable centre in our part of Ethiopia for this trade, and hence it draws to itself trade-goods from overseas and from the whole of Guinea. These are then divided among trading ports and exchanged for that commodity for which these provinces are best known, slaves. This trade is the most substantial and the best one (we have), according to the experts. But I am not sure they have examined the matter other than its more superficial aspects. Those who maintain this have, as well as the necessary capacity, the equally necessary and fortunate circumstances of their own experience; and can convince us. Yet in terms of general considerations, it may be that one important factor in producing this view has been that acknowledged daughter of avarice, greed, which regularly corrupts everyone, and by removing scruple where property is concerned, makes things seem beneficial which often are not and things seem clear which are markedly shady. As experience has taught me, I do not wish to be too positive in this matter without full consideration, and will only say, as the royal prophet said of the waters gathered up in the clouds before they spread it over the land : "Tenebrosa aqua in nubibus aeris" "Dark waters in the clouds of the air", Psalm 17 [v.12]

Unjust critics are never in short supply. Since I already hear such people attributing the literature on the subject to Jesuit scruples, I wish to reply to them thus. Slavery can only be justified under four heads. First, when anyone sells himself, taking a share of the price and being of age, the law setting the age at 20. This derives from the emperor Justinian's Institutes. Second head, when poor people sell their children : Leviticus 25,L.2, "De patribus qui filios distraxerunt" "Concerning fathers who offer their children for sale". Third head, just war : L., "Libertas",ff. And the fourth and last head is /f.19/ a criminal offence. This is the common opinion of scholarly authorities.

I pass over the recommendation of Mercado and Brother Luis Lopes, to the effect that the trading agents should examine into the justice or injustice (of enslavement) in individual cases. This is not my view. Repetition (of inquiry) is useless where there is a lack (of information). My approach is better in that, in relation to the traders, it raises the dust in the streets of the great city of conscience. I entirely agree with all that Mercado says about the four heads, when these apply, according to his understanding of justice, to the acquisition of slaves

in these parts, carried out in good faith and in conformity with the principles and rules of canon and civil law. But what can be said when a conspiracy of silence - the poor heathen gagged so that he cannot speak - is the only response to inquiry? Under cover of this silence, this new head for enslavement, this head of the Gagged Mouth, those gentlemen, the contractors for these regions, buy slaves who have been stolen, sometimes in large numbers. And they have been brought, by night, to their buildings and sometimes to their vessels, by the Biafar and Banhu criminals who were responsible. Again, what about the head of Slaves in Disguise, whereby they obtain other slaves and have them conveyed like this in order not to be recognised - what excuse can be given for such acts? Where is the justice and good faith in these proceedings? I do not repent my singing a different tune about 'the most substantial trade' of Guinea.

I could speak of other injustices for which I believe the merchants are not (to be held) responsible, since it would be difficult for them to learn the truth. But these injustices are often committed by the heathen when getting rid of their own people, and they run contrary not only to natural and divine law but to ^{canon} ~~can~~ and civil law. One such is when they enslave large numbers on the grounds that they are witches, an offence which they can only prove by diabolic arts. But once the notion is in their heads they attack the homes of the witches and kill their families. Then there is the abominable abuse practised by the Biafars whereby uncles sell their nephews. Are there any to whom this does not appear to be beyond the bounds of reason? Only those deprived of this very reason, only those who are instead bound by closer ties to self-interest, only those least subject to the influence of noble blood and noble feeling which alone can censure base dealings. Reason in a generous spirit elevates all, aids all; and only those things appear good to it which are indeed so. Reason is so divorced from gold and silver that however much these rattle and tinkle, it judges as folly what is current in the world about these metals - how they can turn gross behaviour into polished manners, how they can represent what is low as being high, how they can exalt what is unworthy and give authority to ignorance, and worst of all, how they can make masters out of slaves - so aggravatedly that a man who owns money becomes increasingly its slave.

Let it not seem /f.19v/ that by dallying over this subject we too are enslaved. We only claim to be of use to those who are most curious about the true interests which are involved. After this digression we

now emerge from the labyrinth and speak of trade of a less morally delicate sort, that in milho and rice. At Bichango some 300 moios of the two staples are bought annually, of which the greater part goes to Cacheu to sustain the population and victual the ships, together with 400 moios from Buguendo and what comes from the three ports of Songo, Jandem and Sara. According to those who make exact calculation this town of Cacheu accounts for 1000 moios of milho and rice, without including what is grown within it. The quantity (in demand) is so great that ^{there is} ~~in~~ no year when an alqueire is worth less than one white cloth, an exchange-currency employed here, which corresponds to a tostão in our money in the Indies, this high price being because the land is an expensive one. However this (supply of foodstuffs) does not exhaust the good works of the settlers, for in the use of their goods they act very liberally towards all, reserving a large portion for the poor and sick. In this category ^{fall} ~~are~~ regularly many of the sailors and other men employed on the ships arriving from Iberia : to these, if they do not immediately leave again, the land offers the normal advantages and a convalescence. The settlers take them into their homes, as if they were their own sons, so the homes of our people here are alms-houses (casas de misericórdia), and if it had chanced otherwise the sick would have little hope of escaping death. All the people here have been endowed the Lord with deep sentiments of piety.^(a) The best proof of this is frequent losses have not sufficed to lead them to abandon their holy rather it has so increased that the settlers are envious of each other and have pious disputes over which of them will take a poor wretch home.

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- (a) A gentleman has told me that this charitable behaviour has been greatly revived today. What has made me doubt, and still makes me doubt, whether there is any charity at the moment among the laity is that it was so lacking in the case of a Benedictine religious. He left Cacheu because he saw there so much greed, in the clergy as well as in the laity, since they gave him no welcome, and they failed to provide a habit or full vestments when he once went there from here at short notice(?). He found charity only from a poor woman. When the Saints are so poorly served, rarely met is praise of the charity which Your Majesty gives to those in need, as in this case. A Benedictine religious, a holy and solemn man.

and lodge him. Once the sickness is over, they provide him with a livelihood, as often is necessary when seamen employed on these ships arrive here with (only) their wages. I will not discuss further the characteristics of the strictly foreign part of the population because this has been sufficiently done in chapter 4, where it can be examined.

As for the heathen who surround this town, they are all Papels. Those in closest contact with us are of a worse character than those in the interior. When the latter see a Portuguese /f.20/ they greatly respect and admire him, as do those from Baxarel, from the whole of Putamo and from Timis. All of them are employed in agriculture and they are excellent farmers.^(b) The countryside varies in appearance, having both flat areas, and hills and valleys. The latter are very refreshing on account of the plentiful water, so that these districts are the ones mainly used for crops and cultivation, and on account of the abundance of trees. The Papels raise stock, but not to the extent of the heathen previously mentioned. Two kings are the rulers of this town of Cacheu. The first, with the best claim to the land, is Jampessão, king of Mata.^(c) Today he is the more powerful king and the one more well-disposed. Mampatas used not to be a territory belonging to Horcafem,^(d) (but) so clever and shrewd is he that by his generosity and largesse towards the heathen he brought them to his side, with such success that, by their

(b) In exitu Israel de Aegypto.

(c) Jampessão is the principal king of Cacheu, with subordinates under him.

(d) Horcafem, king of the Mampatos, of Buiate and Cacau.

support, he reached a position where he could gain the most benefit from Cacheu.^(e) So although the King of Mata retains the title, this only relates to absolute and supreme sovereignty over the land, while in practice Horcafem has greater sovereignty over the hearts of the heathen, who respect only those who give them gifts, for in all Ethiopia what you own counts for more than what you are. I said that he gained the most benefit from Cacheu because this enemy of our holy faith is the affliction of our people in this port, where he lords it over the dwellings, interfering with them and losing all respect for the Portuguese. Not that this signifies much in a man who has lost respect for God by demonstrating such heretical infidelity and loose-living. I said that he lords it over our dwellings because he carries out visitations of them, and for this reason he is feared by the more cowardly and the least generous, just as the corregador de alçada (circuit judge) is by criminals when he visits a town where he is normally a guest (?). Horcafem is a lascarim. When a settler's slave, longing for the forest, runs away to Horcafem, if the slave is to be returned to his master the master must be someone from whom Horcafem has received generous gifts, since he has no respect for those who are tight (with their money) and will not hesitate to sell their slave to anyone he pleases. As well as the gift which boats and ships give to the King of Mata, to whom this is due as the chief king and lord of the land, they give another gift to Horcafem, to satisfy him. In this way they keep to the full an agreement which the settlers made with him after the last war he conducted against the port, in 1607.

Apart from the favours of Our Lady,^(f) which are and always have been the town's strongpoint and its tower most fully furnished with men of war, it owes a great deal to the /f.20v/ Reverend Bartolomeu Rebelo Tavares, its Vicar, who as well as performing great services for His

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- (e) To those of little experience Horcafem has appeared to possess greater power in the land, but this was so and had been so only inasmuch as it was rendered him in virtue of his unjust claim. Today Horcafem is the leading ruler for the common people.(?)
- (f) Sicut turris David collum tuum, quae aedificata est in propugnaculis militum. Clipei pendent extra omnis armatura fortium. "Thy neck is like the tower of David builded for an armoury, whereon hang (a thousand) bucklers, all shields of mighty men" [Song of Solomon, 4:4]

Majesty in the East Indies, performed no small ones in Cacheu at this period. For though a churchman, he hastened to the tabanca and mounted that frail stockade with such valour that once he had set his foot on the timber, this proved enough for Horcafem's men, their courage began to die away, and they abandoned the struggle. Nor must I be silent about the good works of the Portuguese captains whose ships were anchored there at that date, for they lovingly rushed to help the Reverend Father to repel that disgrace to the faith and the Christian religion.

This is the right point to speak more specifically about the heathen who surround this town. All of them are Papels, otherwise known as Buramos, and they have a number of kings, as the Banhus do. Their land extends in length some 18 leagues, as far as Bissau, where it touches the Balantas on the East side. In width, on the South side it reaches what we call the Ilhetas or Little Islands, the Papel heathen's own (? home-)land, and a larger island called Bussis which we shall discuss shortly. The whole way round the land there are creeks which enter the sea, and this is the reason why it is so unhealthy for strangers. The people present a good appearance throughout, but are less hard-working than the Banhus. In the interior, the men usually wear goat-skins which have been tanned with mangrove bark. They draw the skin across their fronts by tying the corners, or by having one corner which passes (between their legs) from behind and is tied on the navel. The gentry wear dyed cotton cloths, called barafulas, which the whites sell them. Some of them make Moorish smocks from these cloths. To appear less immodest, poor people make from cibe straw a cover-piece which only covers their rear. But this form of dress is so ancient that all the kings of the Papels own such pieces. When they take possession of their kingdoms they wear one edged with many hems in red, yellow and other colours, and they dress this way at dances and feasts. This strange garment is considered an insignia of royalty, together with a red cap and a bow with arrows. As for their other rites and ceremonies, they are much the same as those of their Banhu neighbours. This is all that need be said about the Papel heathen in this chapter. If anything further occurs to us, we will mention it when discussing the Ilhetas or Bussis Island /f.21/. However there is so little information available about the islands we call Ilhetas that it seems to me best to insert it here in conclusion. According to the Lusitanian bard, these islands are the three sisters directed by one eye, for though there are three only one can be seen. In terms of natural characteristics, the inhabitants are Papel. Pirates come here to water and sometimes take valuable prizes,

since the islands lie at the mouth of Rio Grande and at the exit from the S.Domingos estuary, to the East of Caravel Channel. Facing the islands to the South-West are certain of the Bijagos Islands, the first of these three or four leagues distant, which we shall discuss at the correct point. In between lies the renowned Rio Grande, five leagues on (from the Ilhetas). To the South-East of these islands is the well-known Island of Bussis, the description of which, as it is more extensive, we rightly reserve for another place. Moreover we cannot deny priority (in treatment) to Bichangor, to which it is most properly due on account of the authority of the Queen of Angels, Jesus' Lady. Her merits, since they exceed those of all creatures of superior being, from the Saints to the seraphim burning most brightly in the highest heaven, no less oblige us by their power to introduce into the subject-matter and arrangement of this Relação, for this reason, the Banhu heath (of Bichangor) and their characteristics, before turning to deal with the people who inhabit the well-known Island of Bussis.

Chapter 6

The port of Bichangor, its site and the fertility of the land, and the heathen of the district

This town of Bichangor is situated five leagues up-river from Cacheu, at a point where it can only be reached by water. While the heavens have been unduly mean to it in awarding it a not very agreeable site, they have been ^{correspondingly} ~~equally~~ generous in giving it advantages in almost every other particular. Bichangor /f.21v/ is a sampler of the favours of nature. Here the flowers smile, here little birds in woods composed of a variety of trees sing in harmony, to the sound of the clearest water running from the spring. This is especially delightful for the House of the Sacred Virgin of Jesus, a Divine Olive-tree standing in its beauty amid its surrounding meadows, or, to express it a better way, a lily planted here among thorns. It was the will of the Lord that the founder of this miraculous house should be a priest, a man of excellent example, known no less for his virtues and his zeal for the conversion of souls than for his evangelical teaching, a man who served a large part of Ethiopia as a true apostle of the Gospel, a man who was as much divorced from the temporal as he was united to the eternal, as much loosed from the ties of earth as he was wholly committed to those of heaven. Because he was such a man and because of the high opinion people held of him, he was thrice sent to the Port of Our Lady of Victory as Visitor for these parts. It was here that this man of religion ^(a) finished his course, here that the Lord called him, here that he took him to receive the blessed prize of his holy labours and excellent service, the most certain external signs of his gaining eternal life being demonstrated in the beauty and joy of his face, as if he had already begun to participate in that glory to which we believe he was taken. Among the legacies which he left to the Sacred Queen of Angels at Bichangor, the chief one was his own soul, an inheritance which Our Lady prizes when the soul is that of a just man, not only because it belongs to her Jesus, but because it resembles a nosegay, a varied bunch of flowers, gathered in the orchard garden of the Predestined in this lower world in order to be presented to the whole of heaven. He (also) left the house that body of his which had served it in his lifetime, and great efforts were made to fulfil the intention of the legatee on this point, but as this was not the wish of the Lady of Victory it was in her house that he was buried, with full funeral ceremony. And great was the sorrow of the sheep for the shepherd.

(a) Death of Padre Miguel Simões.

If this lily was planted among thorns, it was nevertheless surrounded by variety, as represented by the residents, for whites and half-whites live here with the blacks. The colour of the first points to ^{the} purity of the Virgin; the off-white colour of the second to the labours of Our Lady's 63 years of pilgrimage here on earth; and the third /f.22/ represents the outward blackness of Mary, that Nigra sum [Black (and comely) am I, Song of Solomon, 1:4] received from Adam. This blackness is outward only, since the paintbrush of sin never reached her, for if it approached her it did not do so fast enough not to be repelled by grace and equally by the scarlet of charity. The latter is largely reflected in the House of Our Lady, in the most ingenious and delightful decorations and pictures, a pious supporter having devoted his art to this aspect of the building. The holy House does not lack ornaments and lamps habitually burning, any more than it lacks the charitable gifts which the ministers of the holy sacrifices receive from the stewards and devotees of Our Lady, who present them with generous alms.

I cannot remain silent regarding the sincerity of the gratitude of the land to the Sacred Virgin for her singular kindness in giving them a site so convenient in all respects. Its pleasing view is of trees of different kinds, which form a fine wood in the direction of the water's edge. A river flows from the South West, emerging from a source in a bubbling spring, and it pours gracefully into the sea through sandbanks and shady woods. As well as completely overshadowing it, the woods, by their welcome view, invite thoughts that when holy and on the subject of eternal deliverance and the epoch of Glory, as were the thoughts of the Prophet in the Psalter, are well employed. Such were those of that holy religious, my beloved (friend), Padre João Delgado, ^(b) a man truly apostolic, of exceptional discretion and learning, to whom, in recompense for the services of her devotees, the Sacred Virgin was pleased to give a tomb in her own house. I could speak of his excellent virtues; but what can I say to enlarge on a man who has continually progressed in God's eye, who for this reason alone is undoubtedly a great man, as are all those who are raised to face the Lord? Being no more, even though here it is easy to imagine otherwise, his full portrait will be presented (?). While he was here the padre continually increased his loving care and zeal for the salvation of souls, and he drew all after him. The power of his love was such that the savages, and even their leading men, came to

(b) Padre João Delgado of the Society of Jesus.

meet him and called on him frequently, captivated by his gentle, meek nature. When the saint was entertaining one of them, and looked at him with thoughts of eternity and its joys, and then reflected how far the savage was from heavenly understanding and enlightenment, he wept. The pagan king, seeing the heartfelt tributes of love fall from the eyes of the blessed saint, was saddened /f.22v/, for he misunderstood the padre's thoughts; but when the apostle explained their meaning, he was satisfied. The Rambadin, the King of Bichangor, had come to visit our man of religion because he was very attached to him. The padre engaged him in a discussion about the conversion of his soul and he was so moved that he would have been converted to our holy faith if the Lord had not tightened the reins of life over him. One day the savage said to him: "Padre, the harmony of the Saviour's religion appeals to me; but I do not wish to offend Him further or to deceive you, since I do not feel myself yet persuaded by the heavens to give up my wives,^(c) of whom I have more than 400, or abandon the superstitious ceremonies of the idols which enable me to govern my land". The padre remained patient and put the matter in God's hand. Nevertheless the king is a great friend of ours and he has a good disposition. His brothers, nephews and kinsmen have already been bathed in the sacred waters of baptism and are of service to the whites. The sacred image of the Mother of Jesus, to whom the savage is so devoted that he keeps her feast each year by offering a cow, will take care to obtain from Jesus for him her son's singular benefit.

As we have already discussed the settlers, let us now discuss the regular trade of the port. Apart from the great quantity of foodstuffs, the chief trade there is in slaves, who are bought from the king and gentry of the land. Otherwise merchants of another kind have permission to make their way through all the lands, their merchandise being in my view more circumspect.^(d) The heathen closest at hand have by now been corrupted by regular trade with us, as I stated in the previous chapter.

(c) His machanju did not recognise them in a group, they being so many. Today, a poor man without a kingdom, he has 400 of them.

(d) Jewish merchants. Category of free heathen. Being Jewish, live only by trading. Our people here have a good opinion of them in that they sell slaves only by day and openly, after buying them at various fairs. They argue that the legal position is better because by trading with these men it becomes a matter of purchased goods. But who will relieve us of every point of scruple, since the limited veracity and the covetousness of these heathen give a criminal aspect to everything(?). Muddy waters.

They are Banhus. In general those in the interior are always the better disposed. They are excellent farmers. Their country is about 20 leagues long and 12 wide, and it has a chief every 4-5 leagues. All these chiefs recognise and pay tribute to the sons of Massatamba who today possess the kingdom of Casamansa, the kings of this house being of the family of the emperor. The king with most power and authority over these (Banhu) heathen is the king of Bichangor, a town which lies two leagues from Buguendo, in the land of the same people. Although they are excellent farmers and raise stock of various kinds, cows, goats and so on, they nevertheless /f.23/ make good use of the verbs 'grab' and 'steal'. In other words, they are great thieves, so much so that if those watching stock doze off, they take the animals as they graze. They hole into and undermine the combetes belonging to the Portuguese, carrying off all they can, and not only cloths and other goods, for sometimes they seduce away the more 'bush' slaves and give them shelter. However the kings are punctilious in punishing crime, for if the offence is proved and the criminal known, then he becomes the slave for life of the victim; and if he is caught red-handed and killed, no more is said. At this point it is appropriate to explain how Our Lady of Jesus has acquired the epithet 'miracle-worker'.

The House of Our Lady

Passing over those other benefits which individuals devoted to the house receive, I will relate a miracle which happened in it. When Father Miguel Simões, with the help of charitable gifts from all, founded this House, he sought the goodwill and permission of the king, his sons and the gentry. In this the devout initiator of the institution behaved with great prudence, since he was a man with experience of how important it is to have the favours of the great and how necessary to obtain their goodwill. For with these people it is certain that what brings a matter to a successful conclusion is, after the divine grace, the grace they find in those who approach them. The padre endeavoured greatly to achieve this, and so he completed the task to the great satisfaction of the king. The Banhus are aggressive, and they become deeply involved when the matter concerns the commerce of their own salvation. One of these Banhu entered the House of Our Lady with ill intent, not seeking that remedy of grace which Our Lady, because she is His mother, is privileged also to dispense. The wretched heathen had nothing worthy to do there, his perverse intent being to become a sacrilegious thief. His secret was God's, and only He knew it. Next morning the faithful came to greet the Virgin. All of them were taken aback by a novel sight, the Banhu so helpless that he could do nothing

for himself. There he was, though free (from bonds) yet as if a captive. His prison was merely the House of Our Lady, his bonds only her eyes, which had only needed to take note of the Banhu for him to become her prisoner. And so it happened that when the matter was reported to the king, he treated the man as a thief, stating that he believed that he had gone to the church in that capacity,^(e) and he then presented the holy house with ornaments./f.23v/ When the man would not publicly admit it, sufficient clear evidence was found in the damage he had done to the railings of the church, cutting through one of them in order to carry out his scheme, which was nothing else than the sacrilegious plunder of the objects dedicated to the Sacred Virgin, and some say that he had already parcelled them up. The sacrilegious Banhu would doubtless have carried them away if Our Lady, when she captured him with her eyes, had not closed his with a sleep so deep that it was seen as a marvel, not only by the youth who at this period was paid to light the lamp and care for the holy House and who came there in the morning to carry out his duties, but also by the rest of the faithful. As I said above, the king was much enraged and wanted to kill his Banhu subject, in view of his ingratitude to Our Lady. For his part, the king, though a heathen showed much respect for her. On her solemn festival, to the sound of trumpets and drums, he arrived with his brothers and kinsmen. The king was mounted on a horse, since he always owned between 6 and 10 of these which the Portuguese had brought either from (Santiago) Island or from the (Windward) Coast and had sold to him. The king would have (killed the Banhu) if the merchants of the port and those devoted to Our Lady had not successfully interceded for him; and they persuaded the king that he could not serve the House better than by giving it possession of the sacrilegious Banhu. Since the man was already a captive of Our Lady, it would not be right to take him away from her. The savage was much impressed by these arguments which he considered very powerful ones, and he found in them such opportunity for grace that he granted the man his life, and also did Our Lady some small service, by giving her as her prize the man who had intended to make a prize of her goods. As a result of this miracle, the king gained a high opinion of the great merits of Our Lady, to whom he increasingly showed affection and respect. In this holy House are buried several of the Christian sons and kinsmen of this king, who was himself such a sincere friend of the Portuguese and the whites.

(e) A capacity which at that time was held in more esteem, when it was acquired without a sense of guilt (?) .

Chapter 7

Aptitudes of these heathen, and their superstitious rites and ceremonies

They are morally depraved, being great thieves, as already stated. They also act as couriers and envoys for the mortal enemy (of man) and of that precious jewel which, according to Tertullian, only blushes and runs if it remains hidden, that is, the Truth. This the prophet^(a) as greatly longed to find in the streets and the marketplace as he wished to dislodge from the human heart the diabolical usury of wickedness and the many forms of double-dealing. As I have stated, they are skilled at agriculture, (for instance,) the raising of livestock such as cows, goats and hens. They are equally skilled at fishing, using what are called camboas (fish-traps), made of tara, or palm branches, or mangrove withes. The mangrove is a tree which resembles our willow in that it grows along the banks of rivers, but it is quite different in its foliage, which is more like the large leaf of our wild lentisk, the tree from which baskets are made in Portugal at the season of the olive harvest. To continue, these trees are not as thick as ash-trees but are very much taller, and they have a great variety of uses. The fruition of the tree is surprising, for the further it grows, the growth resembling that of a cane, so the further it bends towards the ground. Thus it serves the trees not only at times as a support but also as its seed. Mats are woven from (the foliage of) these trees, though the mats are not as tightly constructed as ours, for the withes are a thumb-width apart. In length they are about 12 palm-spans, and they use them to block up the channels which at high tide carry water to and from inner points, so that when all the water has left at low tide they can collect a great quantity of fish. For this reason fish are very cheap here.

The land is not lacking in 'acorns' (?) which serve the heathen here as olive groves and vineyards serve us in Europe, for they draw from the clusters of flowers (an oil) which is different from that produced by the chaveo in the winter season. Winter begins here at the time of our summer and lasts into part of autumn; /f.24v/ and in their summer season the bunched fruit of the chaveo serves them in the same way. These two are

(a) See Isaiah, 59 [v.14], Ibi veritas in plateis [actually quia corrui in platea veritas, 'for truth is fallen in the streets'], where it means that only evil and profanity occupy the public streets and truth everywhere is lacking, Veritas in oblivione, etc [v.15]

different: the flowering cluster resembles that produced by our palms in Europe, but the second sort is a ^{bunch} ~~bunch~~ completely made up of fruit in little cells and armed with sharp spikes. Apart from being arranged like an army rearguard carrying pikes, there is nothing in Europe with which it can more suitably be compared than a skinned pomegranate with its white and red seeds, if there were a pomegranate the size of a medium Calcutta pumpkin and shaped like a pyramid or sugar-loaf. But the fruit is bigger than a pomegranate seed, each being the size of a fine olive with a large stone. The skin of the chaveo is something like that of an olive, and when it is eaten a pith resembling our esparto muido (thin grass) is left in the mouth.

From this bunch, I repeat, whose support is almost as wide as an extended hand and is fibrous, a special wine is drawn. This is less pleasing when it is fresh than when it is kept from day to day, being very ruddy. From the outer pulp an oil is made, a more healthy oil than ours, although red in colour. It is not only in regular use for the table and for lighting, but the heathen use it for the ointments they commonly apply. They make these themselves, especially from the kernel of the nut. No less do they make use of the eye of the palm tree, from which they draw palm-cabbages which are very tasty and sweet; and they use the foliage and branches to enclose their houses and to make ropes. They also value the little nuts of the cibes, eating the outer pulp but keeping the stone which they plant in the earth, and from the kernel, which is very tasty with a taste like that of an apple, there grows a little palm looking like a medium-sized turnip, which when cooked tastes like chestnuts. The foliage of this tree, as well as being used for ropes and various other things, provides the material for the large number of baskets which are as much a feature of Banhu country as they are lacking among the peoples of Sierra Leone. Some people think differently, but we can accept what they say only if they are referring to the baskets used in the Serra to winnow (?) rice, which I shall mention in the proper place.

Although I have already mentioned their skill in agriculture, I add /f.25/ a point here which I should not pass over, as it will interest persons living in these parts. The Banhus^(b) are very fat : they are also very brave and very uncomplaining in peace and war. They are the best

(b) The Banhu, a working people, well fitted for the business of managing families.

workers in this Ethiopia and very eager to acquire and own chattels. live in districts ruled by the Cassangas, for at almost every step in the lands there are many kings. With respect to social intercourse and in particular to the management of private affairs, their way of bringing children^(c) is the usual way among the other heathen, and the same applies to all their superstitious practices. Each man has many wives, the number being in proportion to their means, more or less. As well as carrying out normal duties in the upkeep of the family, such as spinning and so on, these women are keen traders and travel from fair to fair to gain a livelihood. (Hence) on the number of his wives depends the greater or lesser importance of the household of each man, whatever rank he holds. Normally there are fairs every day, for each village has one every seven days. These women manure the land with the mud or dung they throw on it and they weed and harvest the staple crops and pound them in mortars. They usually dress in cotton cloths, coloured or black, which they dye with local dyestuffs.

The king and gentry and all the well-off wear common Moorish smocks with very full breeches, richly pleated, resembling knee-length drawers with many pleats - but this comparison is not exact, for this form of breeches is seen nowhere else, and when they are laid out they look like ceirão. Women wear cotton cloths which they earn themselves, as they do men's cloths normally. Their matrimonial contracts, wrongly so-named since they are not true marriages, carry no natural or civil obligation. Gentry give villagers some cows or anything else of value, in exchange for the daughters they receive from them. These girls are treated as servants and lack the standing of a wife. Their fathers are not regarded as fathers-in-law, their brothers as brothers-in-law, or their alleged husbands as sons-in-law, and the servant herself is not considered a daughter-in-law. Their role is only to serve sensuality,^(d) a role which the disgraceful and evil custom

(c) They buy children so that those with money can adopt them.

(d) In his Oeconomica Aristotle recommended continence to husbands away from home, giving as a moral example Ulysses, who, long absent though married to Penelope, was tempted to sin by Circe, daughter of Atlas, but not even her promise of immortality, though he believed it, could overcome or break his fidelity. Today absences are sought and only hell can reckon the extent to which men yield (to temptation).

of the heathen bestows on them. The Portuguese and men of all other kinds who live a permissive life of corrupt morals here make a point of employing these (respected) names for the fathers and brothers of the women whom they keep as nominal servants, to the damnation of their own souls./f.25v/ This polite and politic language conceals another description as shocking to a true Christian as the behaviour is unworthy of him.^(e) But though they want to present their behaviour in a good light for the eyes of the world, by excusing themselves in terms of their need to have their households looked after, this never succeeds in the eyes of God; instead it is only the seal hanging from the writ of their eternal condemnation.^(f)

This shows us the area of opportunities created by the presence of these servants, and this common practice causes so much disgust among those who fear the Lord that they are scandalized when they hear these terms, on account of the discredit their use in this way throws on the holy sacrament, both among the savages and among those who are descended from them and from Portuguese blood. Although the latter have been brought up in the Christian religion, their attachment is wavering, because just as their Portuguese ancestor came from outside so does their attachment in matters of faith, and they commonly drift back to their primary principles. And this breeds in the heathen a thousand causes of disorder and total confusion. First, these gentry can sell these women if they commit adultery;^(g)

(e) "Per vos non blasphematur nomen Dei ! " ["For the name of God is blasphemed ... through you ...", Romans 2:24] Through these in-laws and these bad Christians who by their heathen practices may be named heathen.

(f) Mel.Scandalo Exod.,25. He who makes a well and does not cover it must pay up if a donkey falls in. How many souls fall because of those who set a bad example !

(g) The Banhus can (even) sell servant girls because of maleficio (evil spells).

But it often happens that they sell them (on this excuse) simply because of some moment of displeasure, the heathen being capricious. They accuse them of these offences publicly and falsely, and innocent persons thus lose the mainstay of life, which is liberty, a jewel so precious that here on the earth below it can only be taken away in exchange for the richer profit of eternal life and the service of the Lord.

However, if the servant woman is of noble birth and she is living with a commoner, any time that she wishes to leave him and take another master, she can do so. Hence it is common for these ladies to unite themselves with men of lower standing, in order to give themselves more scope for sensuality and more free licence to lead a dissolute life, in little or no subjection, since their goodwill, its presence or absence, controls the supply of favours to their boors. Because of this, these men present perfect illustrations of the henpecked husband, for instead of being, in relation to their wives, the head, they are not even the feet but only the slaves of the feet, their wives' feet; since these women order them about with kicks and make them perform more turns than a child does whipping his tops.^(h) Nor is this surprising, as these men - at whose marriage the Lord is not present - are only straw husbands, not real ones, and hence they are controlled by the relationship they have established with the women.

But so that we can /f.26/ conclude this subject in a more pleasant strain, I propose at this point to ask a question which that glorious saint, St Basil, posed in an ingenious form, and to which he made a reply of some subtlety, suitably worthy of the genius of so great a saint. It fits in appropriately here. In his book De Virginitate (About Virginity), St Basil asked: "Why did God, when he wished to nurture in the hearts of the two sexes, that is, in man and woman, the seeds of affection, give the woman the advantage, by making her much less passionate towards the man than he to her? Why was he not pleased to treat both equally?"⁽ⁱ⁾

(h) Marianus, on Penitence.

(i) Said Adam on seeing Eve : "Propter hanc, etc" ["Because of this..." ? misquotation of "She shall be called woman because she was taken out of man", Genesis 2:23] He does not take a woman (?): he remains silent, because God willed that man should be attached to woman. The married man is both master and slave.

In reply to the question, the saint said : "This was in recompense for the subjection which God has imposed on the woman by making the man the head of household affairs, and by making her so subordinate in this respect that a discreet and prudent woman at whose espousals there was no lack of wine, that is, of flowing grace, will not so much as raise her eyelashes without her husband's consent. And this is why she keeps her hair long, it being the reins by which the man takes her in hand and steers her through the mysterious journey of life."^(j) For St Paul said Vir est caput mulieris ["Man is the head of woman", a gloss on 1 Corinthians : 11,3-10 ?], and the apostle recommended women to be punctilious in their subjection and seclusion, while he wished them to devote themselves to this because of the disorders which normally result from their ^{being} seen (publicly). Such (public exhibitions of themselves) are what St Bernard called "the plague of the soul". This was the case with Dinah, as we learn from the Scriptures ['Dinah...went out to see the daughters of the land...' , Genesis 34 : 1]^(k) Hence it is that God allows women slippers, which they consider a luxury but which are really restraints on their feet. The most fashionable slippers are fetters, so that they cannot move in them.^(l)

(j) And master of the woman. Genesis 2[: 16] : God gave man the command : "Ex omni ligno" ["Of every tree (of the garden thou mayest freely eat...) "], and then he formed woman. He wished that she should learn from her husband.

(k) "Filii enim sanctorum sumus, et non possumus ita conjungi, sicut gentes quae ignorant Deum", Tobias 8 [: 5, For we are sons of the sanctuary and cannot therefore be thus united, as are the heathen who do not know God"].

(l) Exodus 4 (?). The Egyptians made a law that women should walk barefoot. Plutarch says that this was so that they could slip out without embarrassment, to see or be seen.

This is what the Lord intended in the law which said : "Three times in a year all thy males shall appear before the Lord God" [Exodus 23:17, or Deuteronomy 16:16]. The text is silent about women, in case some of them should become pilgrims for less devout reasons.

But because man, enjoying his dominant status, has aspired, as they say, to even higher things, the Lord turned again and made him subject to the woman in the matter of passion^(m), this being a servitude incomparably more terrible than the subjection of the woman in regard to obedience. The man became the woman's slave, she the loadstone, he the needle, so that when man brought the whole world beneath his feet⁽ⁿ⁾ he left it in the hands of woman. For he has raised her to have such charm and exterior graces that by her eyes, her conversation, her laughter and her tears, and the /f.26v/ appropriate bashfulness, she gains everything.^(o) Woman, who owes so much to the Lord for having given her so many advantages in this respect. His primary design of her, ought to show him a thankful heart while she exactly observes her obligations as a wife,^(p) since God made her for this expressly. As the glorious Augustine said, this is why He did not take her from the head (of the man) lest it fill her with pride, or from the feet, lest she be treated as a slave, but from the side, the Lord thus symbolising that indissoluble contract of their divinely-ordained association, that great mystery (of matrimony). Many women, less honest

(m) Virgo in Hebreo dicitur alma, id est, escondida. [In Hebrew virgo 'maid' means 'soul', that is, what is hidden.] It appears that seclusion was not so necessary in early times. Rebecca went to the well alone, Genesis 24 [16], Rachel kept her flock with the male shepherds, Genesis 29 [9].

- (n) It befits a woman to be long-suffering and patient. See Rhariel, Frei Filipe, p. 1,272 (?).
- (o) From these come the peaceful home and family. If husbands are disagreeable and bad-tempered, ^{wives} ~~they~~ should take water in the mouth while speaking to them.
- (p) Woman's display : "Pro suavi odore faector, pro zona funiculus, pro crispante crine calvitium et pro facia pectorali cilicium".
[For scent a fetid smell, for a belt a string, for waving hair baldness, for the breast a *harsh cloth*].

than Rebecca, of whom we are told in Genesis, chapter 14 [24:65], that when she saw her husband Isaac, she took a veil and covered herself, are so forgetful in their vulgar haste that they strike at the honour of their head (, the man), desiring contrary to all idea of right that the head should lie at their feet and, what is worse, that his self-respect should lie under their feet. Yet the honour of man is so precious that it cannot be compared with the most fine gold or the most valuable jewels from the East.

Now let us discuss the houses (of the Banhus). They are of wattle and clay, covered with thatch, in the shape of a pavilion. As has been stated, each house has a wall around it, and each wife has her own house, or nearly each. In their judicial ordeals, which are for the investigation of crimes, these people make use of the abominable ordeal of 'red water'.^(q) This ordeal is as commonly employed among the heathen of Ethiopia as testimony by multiple witnesses is with us. (But) Kings are first given information this latter way, certain of their followers acting as messengers in order to please kings and fulfil their role as flattering courtiers, a role welcomed and very common at a court. Everything is in excess (there), except for the man who deals in truths. These carriers of news hold such a view of the covetousness of their lords that they present as without doubt what in fact is full of doubt, or even has no semblance of truth. (Confident assertion) on the part of these men is rewarded among the Banhus where things are easily accepted. But if the matter cannot be so clearly understood, it is common for them to make use of this infernal water in their judicial processes - in place of our witnesses, as I said. 'Red water' kills the wretch who drinks it if, as generally happens, the official who administers it wants it so, or if the accused is such a lonely individual that he lacks friends to save him with

(q) Red water. This appears to allude to the waters, mixed with other things, used by the Hebrews and called proof-waters : they drank these to afford proof of certain occult offences. And they said that Moses used them to learn about those guilty of worshipping idolatrously the calf, when he broke it into powder and gave it to them to drink with certain curses. See Rabbis Sefardam in Coment. Sup. Exod. : "The guilty had their lips coated with gold dust and died, the innocent drank it without hurt". Exodus 32 [20]. Apart from this water, there is another kind given to obtain proof of adultery which is given to women suspected of this; and any woman who has fallen swells up. This was zeal carried to extremes.

antidotes in the form of emetics as I mention in Part II, when I discuss the judicial system of the Sapes. They attack the household /f.27/ of this forsaken wretch and confiscate all his goods. And this provides one of the most common justifications put forward by traders in these parts for acquiring and possessing, without the necessary conditions for true ownership, a large number of those chattels for which Guinea is renowned. Since this is a poor justification offered in bad faith it is not in keeping with the intention of His Holiness, or with that of His Majesty in the decrees which he has published concerning freedom in this trade, a matter full of pitfalls and truly a labyrinth for consciences. More generally it is a matter threatening eternal condemnation for souls, because of the carelessness and negligence often manifested on the part of the commercial agents when considering the justice or injustice of the causes of enslavement in individual cases, a requirement pressed on the Most Christian kings by the Supreme Pontiff. They also make use of the ordeal by red-hot iron. In less serious cases The iron is heated and placed in the palm of the hand, with some very slight pieces of grass under the iron. The accused takes several turns around a set area and if he is not burnt and withstands the heat he is immediately absolved from the charge. The Lord sometimes permits the devil to perform this (trick) to punish the heathen for having corrupted the dictates of natural law by their multiplicity of vices. This is what St Paul says about these savages⁽¹⁾ "They have known and know God : all confess Him but they neither glorify nor honour Him as they know He deserves : chastised they remain blind, without understanding what a great God they are called on to serve, and they have turned to objects of creation and worshipped these instead of God". Although these (Banhus), like the people in the text, are aware and state that there is a God, because vice keeps them in darkness they live like madmen, running hither and thither and resembling the players of Blind Man's Buff. In their wars these Banhus use various amulets, and they often employ a bexerin as a magician to prepare for them magic medicines which are made from certain herbs, in the same way as in Moorish geomancy. And if these are not successful, they make new ones.

(r) Paul : "Qui cum Deum cognovissent, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt, ideo obscuratum est cor eorum, etc" ["...when they knew God, they glorified him not as God...and their foolish heart was darkened", Romans 1:21]

Whenever they decide to go to war or assault (an enemy) they follow the traditional practice of the heathen. They have special chinas, which in their total ignorance they consider valuable in their moments of need, and to these they make sacrifices which are as brutish as they are themselves. For they always offer the chinas the nastiest things,^(s) such as the heads and feathers of cocks, and their blood or that of other animals. Over these they pour palmwine, which is white, and they chew cola and sprinkle and daub it over the sacrifice. They fill themselves with the better bits, such as the meat, whose bones they throw back to the interceding idol, and with wine and other things. They believe that once this /f.27v/ ceremony is held, they have achieved their end with the idol, so that when they know misfortune, it can be eliminated by superstitious ritual (?). But in relation to what is good they deceive themselves, inasmuch as they do not attain it, but believing sincerely that their abominable sacrifices ascend to God, they depart complacently, as if they had attended a (holy) jubilee. If after they have performed these ceremonies to petition for something from God they do not obtain it, they apply to their witches and give them what is necessary to perform a cramene. These priests go and offer this to the idol, and when the idol is asked about the messages they convey to it, the devil sometimes replies. But he never speaks clearly, only making a loud sound, um,um.

In medical matters, some of them are expert herbalists, and hence they perform cures like doctors and surgeons. Some cures are so striking and are performed so rapidly that they are of interest to those most learned in the art (of medicine). This can be seen in the case of those given a wound measuring a palm-span in breadth from a spear of the kind they have, a wound which is cured in 8-10 days, without suppuration, by means of a wonderful herb. The disorders which arise from sensuality they flatten like hosts (?), the outer appearance being that of a living thing(?); and those they treat are instantly better. But if an illness is unknown to them and they will not run the risk of treating it, they obtain from the sick man something to give to the china, since they have persuaded the people that (when they are sick) witches are devouring them. By this trickery these priests make the man believe that they will go to the idol and will demand that it does not permit this to happen, by causing

(s) The worst (part) for God.

that person (? the witch) to feel regret and sorrow for the ill he has done, so that he then leaves the victim alone. But if the sick wretch dies, they say that witches ate him up. No-one dies here, for to die is to be "eaten up". "They have eaten him" means "they have killed him". They do not attribute death to God, for they say that as God is good and the author of all good things, including life, it is not God who takes it away. They accept a thousand lies about the soul, believing and asserting that it wanders about on earth; and if anyone bears a resemblance to a dead person they say that he is the dead man's soul. They are so imbued with this idea that they consider (certain animals) as rational transformations of the human body, such as the tame snakes which make their way about houses and are useful in the way cats are with us, also monkeys, big elephants, in fact any animal they fancy.

As for leopards, I will describe a remarkable thing that happened some ten years ago at Bichangor and which was witnessed /f.28/ by whites. A woman of this town, leaving her house at dawn, met a leopard which there and then killed her and carried her to the bush a musket-shot outside the town. When the citizens saw the traces of blood and ^{discovered} ~~found~~ the woman was missing, they followed ^{the traces} and found her in the mouth of the animal which was feeding on her flesh. On seeing this they rushed back to the town and sounded the war-drums, the bambalous. These are hollow trunks of trees resembling our beehives, with a sort of opening on one side to make the notes. The people immediately assembled in large number as if they were preparing to join battle. In this fashion they all went to the area of bush, ^{and} with their weapons at the ready they surrounded the animal. It disregarded all of them and refused to come out. They had to ask our people for a gun, which they fired to wound it. At this, it emerged amongst those surrounding it and they scattered to save their lives. But since there were so many of them waiting to kill it, the ferocious beast hurt some of them badly before it was killed. They took the body to the town and laid it in a public place, and then the maximin ^(t) arrived, the dignitary who corresponds to a viceroy or chief officer among whites and whom the king stations here for this purpose. After the leopard had been

(t) Maximin means Massa jum.

placed on a wooden litter like a bier, to bury it, the maximin had questions put to it by a witch, here called a jabacouse, begging it to tell them the truth : whose was the soul it bore within it? What answer could there be from a creature now lacking all feeling and never having other than the life of the senses (?) ? The savage maximin persisted : "Since you refuse to confess and answer, I order you never more to return to the world in the form of a brute so given to ill-doing and so voracious as to eat human flesh. If you are overcome by the desire to return, let it be by taking another body; but if it is that of an animal, in no case let it be that of a leopard. Unite yourself to one with a better nature, one more humane. And so that you are moved to pity, contemplate the loss you have caused : give it your full consideration." As if the devil and those who are his would have any pity! To such an extent do the heathen deceive themselves! The maximin finished his speech, and they then carried off this untamed animal for burial, with great funereal pomp.

The heathen communicate with each other by whistling, this being so generally done that /f.28v/ the whistles carry the meaning of things just as nouns and verbs do with us.^(u) Women use a hooting noise. Bambalous are also used to signal what they want announced in a very public way within districts or among neighbouring villages, and these serve the same purpose as do sentinels and beacons, so that as soon as the sound of the bambalous is heard this is the signal for all to listen (to the message). Since previously I only spoke of the bambalous in passing, I now wish to provide in some detail an accurate account of this form of instrument. There are various sorts, some larger and some smaller, (all) in shape and

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- (u) The Papel, Bijago and Balanta heathen do the same. Also by bambalous, as stated below. The Bagas do the same by hooting, a man calling u,u, and a woman three times, u,u,u. The Bagas of Furna call out to their friends uto, which means 'they love', and as a sign of love they call to them like dogs, playing the fool like João Palha. Uxo means 'friend' in the Bijago language.

size like one of the pair of trunks which form a load (on pack-horses). They are of wood and quite hollow within. At the top there is a slit two palm-spans in length which corresponds to a well-placed sound-opening on a musical instrument, and sometimes this runs the length of the bambalou. The width of the opening is about that of a hand. The bambalou is sounded with two sticks, like a drum, and in this way they announce whatever needs to be communicated in any matter of peace or war concerning the villages so that those far-off can hear it. And there is an immediate reply from the person in charge of the bambalou in the next locality. When a war breaks out, within an hour it is known over a distance of 20 leagues. If there are settlements all the way the information is passed along more easily, even if the houses lie a league apart, since each tells the next. They use these bambalous to solemnize funeral ceremonies. This will suffice for bambalous.

Before we discuss burials I want to conclude my references to the trad of the land by mentioning an important commodity, wax. Some 8-10 leagues inland there is much trade in this, in response to the demand from the whites who go there, and from different places they obtain about 200 quintals, which is the total reaching Cacheu from Banhu territory. As stated above, this territory also supplies a variety of foodstuffs, etc.

Although these heathen in their burials follow the normal custom of the other heathen in almost all aspects of the ceremony, let us now say something about them in conclusion. When a sick man dies, they straightway ask him not to flee away but to reveal who ate him. In the excess of their malice and ignorance they do as their ancestors did. Do they hate any of their fellow citizens? Four of the heathen then carry the dead man on a wooden grating like a bier, and sometimes they add the cloth the man wore when he died. They quickly make their way around the village, from one side to the other and through the open places. And whenever the ministers of the devil stop, it is said and falsely believed that /f.29/ the people in that spot 'ate' the dead man. Then they take him to be buried in the forest, carrying away with the body all the precious possessions it was found he had, such as cloths, etc. The wretch whom the bier accused (by stopping) has to pay. His house is attacked and a host of his children are enslaved. Spite is (thus) one of the heads under which those who are sent to our Spanish lands [i.e. the Indies] are acquired, although this has been so strongly condemned in the bull promulgated by His Holiness in the year - on the subject of the purchase of Brasilians.

At the wakes of the heathen, the main business is feeding, and without wine there are no tears. On these occasions a great deal is eaten, but the flesh only of birds, goats and hens, except that the flesh of dogs is always also included, a delicacy much esteemed by these savages. Lastly, each guest contributes according to his means. After the burial they place upon the grave some hens or only their blood and heads, they pour over it some palm wine, and they stand on it a pan of rice, which is much appreciated by both the domestic stock and wild animals. When (the relatives) come the following day to see if the dead person has fed and find the pan empty they leave overjoyed, for they believe that he has eaten the food. But if they find anything left, they sadly return home, saying that there must be some evil or hatred around, since he has chosen not to eat their food. The ceremony continues for several days and whether the outcome is good or bad they then cease to provide the food. Only the animals lose by the discontinuance of this abominable provision.

Chapter 8

The renowned Island of Bussis, the character and organisation of its people, the richness of the land, and the royal state of its great king

Although the greater part of this chapter will be about the celeb King of Bussis, let us first discuss the land.^(a) As stated at the end of chapter 5, this beautiful island lies five leagues to the South East, facing the Little Isles. Its situation is delightful and very healthy account of the continual breezes from the sea and the very refreshing aspect afforded by trees of different kinds, such as palms and cibes. Nor does the island lack an abundance of running waters from its springs /f.29v/ In general the inhabitants are good-looking. They are employed in farming and fishing, like the other heathen. The more noble among them wear cotton cloths, either barafulas or others obtained in normal trade. They are great wine-tappers. The land abounds in milho, rice, beans, yams and bananas, and no less in livestock, such as cows, goats and hens.^(b) The poor wear goat-skins, and if they lack even these they make use of cibe leaves, from which they weave a small sort of mat, and with this they cover themselves, as stated near the end of chapter 5. The women are employed in the usual tasks, and they weed the fields in the appropriate seasons.

The king of Bussis is unique in that there is so much to be told about his household and royal state, as well as his person and all his possessions, for the whites have turned him into a lascarim. He is well acquainted with what comes from Spain, indeed he benefits more from these things here than many do there. Heathen as he is, those who know his lifestyle cannot but speak well of him. They say: "A good disciple of a good master! ". So let us ^{proceed} ~~go on~~ to make a careful examination of the savage. His person is so dainty and sleek as a result of a variety of delicacies and luxuries that he can readily be envied by those of this district most dedicated to epicureanism. As regards his manner of life, in order to dress well he cuts up silks and other expensive cloths, and does this more lavishly than do those Spaniards who make most use of these. As proof it is enough to refer to the quantity of silks and other textiles sent him by his admirers in this Guinea. He has many of these

(a) The inhabitants of this land too are Papels.

(b) The king has large numbers of capons which are useful to him as gifts when he is giving these.

people, because he behaves with royal magnificence to those who gracefully fall down before him. In 1612 one of them sent him, in merchandise of this kind only, a quantity to the value of 40 black slaves. His bed is a paradise. No-one in Guinea except this tyrant possesses a bed of this style; and he can vary it as he wishes with such a variety of bedspreads and canopies that there would be no end to describing them. He is the richest king in all this (part of) Ethiopia. His jurisdiction is the most unhampered and absolute. Although the country is small, being only about six leagues long and four across, it is so important because of its king that it extends as far as the savage cares to spread ^{his} fame.

The result of this independence is that there is no law other than the king's appetites. If he wished to be worshipped, and Divine Omnipotence did not intervene, he could completely achieve his wish. On the human plane he is treated with great respect by his people, wholly because he is very powerful and to be feared. /f.30/. Hence no vassal of his would dare to sell a slave, even if it belonged to the vassal's domain, without seeking permission from him; nor may he sell a bullock or castrated goat without first informing the king. If he goes fishing and catches a large fish, he must bring it for the king to see, so that he can take any part he fancies. Anyone who fails to do this could lose his head, unless, to save it, he presents a slave and so is freed from the penalty. No-one may give his daughter to a man without first bringing her to the (royal) household, and if she pleases him the king may take her for himself. Anyone who arranges a marriage and disregards this law may lose his house and family - since nothing of import must happen in the land without the king being first informed. And in this respect they are all obedient and very punctilious in keeping the law, and are greatly encouraged to be so by the apparatus of spies and informers reporting on breaches of the law which is maintained by the king. At any time he wishes he can put in the field nearly 2,000 men armed with shields, spears, swords and knives. Hence he is feared by the neighbouring kings. And he can defend himself successfully from the inhabitants of the Bijagos Islands, 3-4 leagues out to sea to the South West, who live by mounting assaults either at sea, attacking Portuguese vessels in their canoes, or on the mainland, where they burn houses, villages and churches. This last they did in 1603 at Biguba, and in 1609 at Guinala, where they fired the House of Our Lady.^(c)

(c) If it happens that vessels are overwhelmed and the lookouts (on land) are to blame, he punishes them most severely, as he did with particular ones, ordering them to throw themselves overboard with a stone tied to their neck in that part of the sea where a ship and its crew had been lost.

But they cannot invade this renowned island, the king having ordered such vigilance to be kept all around it that a bird cannot appear out at sea or cross the land without it being generally known, by means of the bambalous. The men who keep watch from the tops of trees are in charge of these bambalous, so that if there is cause, they sound them in order to give the whole land warning of what is happening.

This king has a very large compound and within it are all his houses, which contain over 200 wives. In order to keep the wives at home, he has given the post of doorkeeper to one of his intimates, though some say that he uses eunuchs. Only to this man or these persons is given the right to open fire with arrows on any wife seen by night outside her/his house. When these women walk along any road such is their modesty that they do not raise their eyes from the ground, and anyone who meets them must turn aside. How this would upset /f.30v/ wives in our Spanish homeland! Wives who make no pretence of staying at home, and who do not cover their face or lower their gaze except in order to draw more attention to themselves! Many of his wives are slaves and have been bought for money. As well as the large number of houses (for wives) which the king maintains in this place, he has his own house,^(d) which is barred with iron all around. Within this house he keeps many trunks and boxes full of different articles of clothing, such as very elaborate smocks, doublets and breeches, (also) sheets, coverlets and canopies made of different pieces of silk, and items in gold and silver. These goods, apart from the ones left him by his uncle and predecessor, he has bought and continues to buy from the Portuguese who come there with their ships to obtain slaves,^(e) a commodity the tyrant's chains never fail to have available. For he has such cruel laws that only the person who is truly a slave (at heart) and does not know the value of life would be willing to live under this king's rule. The Portuguese come ashore in full security and they are received with all the signs of friendship, since this king is fond of saying that, without his permission, only the snakes in the forest can do anyone ill in his land. And this is the experience of the Portuguese even today, for if they cut down a hand of bananas his vassals will not accept money for it, on account of the respect for the whites which they know their king has, albeit only out of self-interest. On this point, the heathen deserves praise.

(d) This house is for treasure.

(e) Who are ~~his responsibility~~ (2) such by his own will (?).

His bearing is solemn. More often than not he is seated on a chair lined with velvet, for he has several of these and makes most use of them when delivering judgements. The captains convey goods to him on his verbal request and he pays them well, although what he pays is usually related to how much an individual pleases him. He shows great respect to captains of vessels, but they are expected to give him handsome presents; and he consents to eat with them, though he never eats with other persons, a restriction arising from his sense of hauteur. He is in the habit of giving away some of his castrated animals as presents, and adding a slave. Yet all the heathen (give presents merely to obtain) a compensating advantage in return, a characteristic of the people of this Ethiopia, who whether they give little or much never do so other than in the hope of getting more back. They have a proverb - Give a hen, hope for a goat: give a goat, hope for a cow ! Because these savages have no horses, they use oxen instead, after castrating them to make them fatter. The oxen become so tame and tractable that they insert a rope through their nostrils to act as reins so that they can ride them /f.31/, and they can travel on these oxen for a fair number of leagues. However the oxen tire easily because of their great size. To make them go more quickly they beat them with sticks shaped to the thickness of a palm, and give them such thwacks on the belly that they can be heard a good distance away. These oxen provide the mounts for the Papels and for the other heathen inhabiting these lands.

Now let us be more specific. In material power this savage is far above all the other kings and lords of this Ethiopia. As everyone concedes, he alone is king, and he behaves accordingly, requiring obedience appropriate to the royal dignity. He maintains an elevated royal state befitting his royal person; and this is more extreme than if his state were one due to Grace,^(f) although he has displayed outward signs of desiring this state of Grace. But he has such false instructors in the faith that, instead of providing him with a good reputation deriving from the fundamental virtue of the House of the Lord, they disparage this with their works of hell. For these people sell their own Christian slave-women to serve the appetite of the savage, as Jorge Fernandes Granjo and other captains have done,^(g) and another of those lançados about whom I have spoken

(f) The land which does not know the plough and is still virgin always produces the finest fruits: so it is with religious conversion, in cases where the plough of bad example has not been at work.

(g) A nephew of António Nunes, by (name of ?) Luis Afonso, he sold the slaves whom he inherited from António Nunes in Guinea.

fortified the king's port with two cannon, a scheme in which Captain S.B. Fernandes has been very active. I am sure that their lordships, the ecclesiastical visitors of Cacheu, must know about these acts which are so contrary to the Christian faith and religion. Equally contrary are other acts practised on the Windward Coast, by the sale to the heathen of many kinds of prohibited goods.^(h) Prohibited goods are all goods which do not meet the test of being morally indifferent and applicable to various uses. For only goods meeting this test are licit, and those are not licit which have a single use and that a diabolic one, in idolatry, for instance. Hence the sale of paper is not licit, nor the sale of animal horns and heads, since these are ingredients for their magic medicines. And it should^{not} be said: "So what ! Someone else will sell these goods and they will continue to practise idolatry ! " The people who obtain these goods for the heathen are accessories to their sin. I say the same thing when slaves procured unjustly are offered for sale. "But if I don't buy them, their own people will kill them, because they are witches ! " A poor argument, for as long as witches are vendible they will be uncovered daily.

I have already mentioned the king's gold, silver, etc. He keeps his table⁽ⁱ⁾ like a great lord, with nothing lacking in the way of the most exotic and variegated delicacies, with wines to match and even spirits. Throughout /f.31v/ the year he has as much as he needs of the best (food and drink), brought from the Canaries.^(j) As for the local wine, each day between dawn and nine or ten o'clock a large number of bolis are brought to him by the wine-tappers. They are placed under a tree and he goes out to inspect them and allocate them to sections of his household. In sum

(h) Goods of no moral import can be sold to the heathen, but not those goods which only serve them for the practice of their false religion, such as paper, etc.

(i) With silver tableware and a silver water jug additionally gilded.

The table linen very rich and varied, like the rest of the table service.

(j) Many preserves, of the finest quality.

whether for treating his outer person or his interior, all the best things coming from Spain are, as it were, addressed to him, since all fall into his hands, and this on account of the barbarian's reputation for liberality - furniture, trinkets, fine objects in gold and silver. He has no cause to envy those who fare most sumptuously in Europe, for he possesses tapestries, decorations in leather, carpets, a fine wardrobe. As for weapons, apart from the cannon given him by his admirer, he has muskets, swords, and daggers, in brief, a complete armoury, and he has no shortage of gunpowder. There is no end to what might be told concerning this disciple and precious friend of the enemy of the spiritual edifice of the church militant, this intimate friend of the French scum, whose favour in return nourished him.

Does he lack perfumes and scented waters ? The houses of God may lack them, but not the house of the sensuous King of Bussis. Does he lack a vessel to trade by sea ? He has his own, and, in this vessel there travels, in (the name of his) benefactor, the king's jagarefe; a very dignified officer and the second in the kingdom after the king, named D. André. This man visits the whites in Cacheo, together with some of his sons who are also Christians and who go in their own boats. The jagarefe is such a distinguished Christian that, to fulfil his obligations to the church, he goes to Our Lady of Victory in the king's launch; and he is so good-natured and so much our friend that his great charity has earned him the name among the whites of 'Father', and so they now all call him 'Father Andre'. It is this gentleman who rules the household and family of the king; and he does so in consultation with the elders. A white man travels in the vessel with him. However D. André is not as attached to the King of Bussis as he is to the King of Glory, for he would very much like to find himself liberated from the evil tyrant in order to have more freedom to undertake the service of the Lord and to pursue the true interests of his soul.

The king has his own house, in which he sleeps, and this is a very large one, like the best-situated ones in Cacheu. /f.32/ The house with bars (around it) corresponds to a combete, and acts as one, for in it he keeps all his treasure. The house by the gate is for the cannon. The keys are held by his three eunuchs, who serve the king at table, and who occupy the same house as he does when he retires. They alone have the privilege of speaking to his wives, hence everything runs smoothly in his household. As instructed to behave by the king's faithful friends, his major-domo, a man named M.P. Oliveira, decided to improve on his standing with the king, by presenting him with an object which the savage had no previous knowledge of, an object he had admired at Lisbon and for which he had offered 18,000 reis. This object was an exotic writing-desk from China. He would have

conveyed it here if he had got it for that price. But since the owner refused and asked for much more, he left it, buying instead a tomb or (rather a) coffin, beautifully prepared, in which the savage could be buried. This was obtained in Lisbon for 5,000 reis, the price including many other goods, both fineries and trinkets. But the benefit of it all came to French pirates and to the Falupo heathen. For the ship was seized and despoiled of the better part of its cargo by these sea-robbers in the Falupos' bay, and the natives kept many goods which the French could not carry off, as well as the ship and the persons of the captain, the pilot and the others aboard, among whom was the King of Bussis' devoted acquaintance. The latter lost his coffin which otherwise he might have made good use of for his own burial, since among these savages his life was so much at stake that he repeatedly endured torments, those true torments earned by persons who out of self-interest are excessively attached to anyone who makes a show of loving them, solely out of the same self-interest.

Apart from his vessel, the king has a number of very fine war canoes, for defence against his Bijago enemies and to alarm them. In fact the Bijagos dare not touch his island, because the king has promulgated a law to the effect that any of his subjects who yield ground in battle will be sold, and hence out of fear they fight with total determination. And the careful operation of the system of look-outs, using bambalous, goes a long way to ensuring that there are no battles on land. Moreover the king's house has its own drummers who play all night, so that the same harmonious sound celebrating the king's praises and proclaiming his goodness can, in the event of an attack, bring to arms all those who sleep less soundly. It is not possible for the land to be invaded from any direction without it being immediately known, since it has people everywhere, living in their villages. Now enough /f.32v/ has been said about this king of ours and about the other points concerning this renowned island. As for the idolatry practised there, it is the sort which is general among the other Papel heathen.

To draw this chapter to a conclusion, let it end with the ceremonial used in their burials, etc. First, the burials of leading persons, these being celebrated with great pageantry. In readiness for the day of life's final farewell, the heathen puts aside the best things he has, his

treasured possessions.^(k) But let us describe how the king is already preparing and furnishing himself in order to thoroughly dismay that Lady here in the eyes of men (??). The king does not lack persons to instruct him as to how lords in Portugal proceed in this matter, by devoting themselves to building very elaborate tombs. Being depicted on the tombs with joyful and delighted faces, while still alive they can gain pleasure from looking at them and can gradually acquire a feeling of composure which enables them to depart with greater ease of mind and fewer pangs, since even their dry and shrivelled bones will perpetuate, and be of profit by perpetuating, some of the splendid vigour which the bones enjoyed while they supported a living human body, as their craving (for remembrance ?) seeks from them. The King of Bussis, enlightened by his devoted acquaintances, is proceeding in this direction. He ordered from Portugal, and has had sent, a coffin lined with velvet in which to lay this dry wood destined for eternal flames; for the greatest honours these people pay are reserved for the dead. And as I said, on this occasion they squander all their treasure and their most precious possessions, including cloths and other fineries of all kinds, as well as whatever they own in valuable commodities such as gold and silver.

Great is the tyranny here which ordains that another chattel, but a rational one, should perish with the king or any leading person. The savage even today sets aside for this abominable practice a number of young women who serve him and whom he keeps,⁽¹⁾ his intention being that, when he dies, they should be all killed and buried with him. There are some thirty or forty of these, including some free women who are his wives. They are killed this way. As soon as the death of the king is known, they

(k) They consider these idolaters their masters, and from these people the idolaters receive news of what goes on in Portugal. Who else could have told them that we purchase graves for burial ? Who else could have revealed to them all our secrets, who else other than these malicious enemies of heaven ?

(1) And a number of young men; and if they have any Christian women they keep them for this ceremony, as happens at the present time, when one or two are in this king's power, for instance Guimar Gramaja, etc. The encouragement of the Jabacouces is enough for the Sousos to kill many people for this reason.

seize them and straightway give them certain potions which reduce their feelings at the cruel outcome. Then they bring them to the grave of the dead man and strike them on the back of the head with clubs they have brought with them. When the women are dead they are laid in the grave, each in her own place. The grave is a very large vault, of a size relative to the importance of the dead man. The women are laid out this way: some are placed /f.33/ at the head, others at the sides or at the foot, and they make some stand up or be seated, while others are on their knees, (all) with their household tools in their hands. Each woman holds whatever signifies the task she was occupied with in life, so that in the next world the dead man will not lack this particular service in his exalted state. Then they completely cover the grave with the best of the East-Indies cloths they possess, cloths called pintados, and with various other cloths. Also they adorn the dead with whatever he owned in the way of gold and silver, etc, and sometimes a silver vase. When the burial is over, the wake follows, the lamentations being accompanied by the sound of musical instruments, side-drums, bambalous and ivory trumpets. Under cover of this they kill 50-60 cows, or even 100 if the wake is that of a king of Bussis. As for goats and hens, one can count the number, for these mourning occasions are turned into the greatest feastings in life for those who feast only for Epicurean joys. Most truly, the feastings here are more extravagant than anywhere else in our Ethiopia. The lamentations of wives, sons and brothers continues after the funereal rites are finished. When a new king is instituted, he has several oxen killed and the meat displayed in a public place, so that anyone of the women of the previous king who wishes to become his can go and take some. But any woman who does not do this has permission to go wherever it suits her and to take a countryman as husband just as she wishes, even if she is the dead king's sister or niece or any other relative. Now let us discuss the Ilhas dos Bijagos (Bissagos Islands) which lie to the West of this island.

Chapter 9

The famous islands of the Bijagos heathen, the fertility of their soil, and the character and industry of their inhabitants

The situation of these islands leaves nothing to be desired, being what the poet Lucian called "of luxuriance the most luxurious", for divine favour has made them the best situated islands in all this Ethiopia. Their aspect is the most charming and pleasant, the flat countryside being open to view /f.33v/ and covered throughout with groves of high palmtrees, as well as being crossed by a number of creeks entering from the sea, whose sands are, in recollection, attractive above all others. The perennial springs of the countryside have the same quality.^(a) In sum, these islands are a paradise. Yet they belong to the worst people in Ethiopia. The land is fertile, and produces in large quantities a variety of crops, such as milho, macarras, mafafas, rice, beans and wood-yams.

But let us discuss the main point. It must be understood that there are no heathen more astute than these. Hence what mainly occupies them is the art of war. Excellent warriors, they have spread terror and desolation among all those to the windward. They have destroyed the Biafares and even burnt the house of Our Lady of Guinela in 1610, and they have made large-scale assaults on Biguba. This is the reason why the preaching and propagation of the Gospel has had limited success in these parts, for although many of the kings wish to revere the true King, they fail to do this because of the daily outrages and hardships comitted and inflicted by the Bijagos. An account has been presented to His Majesty.^(b) Yet perchance the covetousness of the majority of these in Guinea would otherwise have obstructed the achievement of a successful outcome. For it has been necessary to contend with an opinion spread by those least devoted to the eternal interests of such a number of souls, souls who might with great ease have been brought from darkness into light. What has been said is this : "Upset the Bijagos and Guinea is finished ! " As if such an evil people were the fundamental substance of Guinea! The canard only serves as a snare and as eternal fetters for many souls who, being directed only by temporal interest, have lost eternity. This piratical lot (the Bijagos) are here in large numbers, all of them living on loot, unjustly, which is precisely how they collect the goods. Whatever they come upon at sea they grab, even if it belongs to their own people; and so, once they get into their canoes, they plunder the Biafares,

(a) Although these are mainly wells containing small quantities of water, dug in marshy ground, or near the sea in the sand-dunes.

(b) Or not actually presented, because, as it happened His Majesty in full splendour of royalty accepted ^{the} truth of what was alleged. (?)

the Falupos, the Papels or Burames, the Balantas and the Nalus. To sum up, those not aboard the Bijagos fleet cannot escape their claws. They themselves say that the sea has no king, just as they have no king, even on land.

When they go on these raids, their boats are the sort called canoes, which are constructed out of a single piece of timber. Canoes ride level with the water, but it is the habit of the Bijagos to raise (the sides) with two planks we call false-sides, fitted on top, so that the canoes can /f.34/ ride deeper and carry more robbers and loot. A canoe normally carries 22-24 men, each rowing; and as well as the men it carries their weapons. These consist of a long spear, and some canhacos with iron points shaped like large barbs and about the size of a small spit, which they hurl while keeping the spear in their hand and using it like a sword, and also shields or bucklers of thatch, larger than ours, through which only a shot can pass. They are so adroit that, using only the spear, they can protect themselves from stones thrown by two or three men, without being hit by a single stone, and can keep this up. They also use bows and arrows but not very often, only when essential. The captain stands at the prow, flourishing his shield and spear, and chanting (war-songs); and this soldiery of hell row to the rhythm of his chant. If they encounter two or three canoes from other points on the coast they do not avoid them, even if they are war-canoes, unless they are (overwhelmingly) stronger. Hence they say that all other nations on the sea are their chickens, which is just what the French scum say nowadays of the Portuguese. For the Bijagos, being followers of the French, tread in their footsteps in committing outrages.

Now that I have mentioned the French, I will report a facetious remark made by one of them on the (Windward) Coast, concerning the wealth of the Catholic rulers of Portugal. When a native of the Canary Islands said to him that he was not leading a good life and was therefore risking his salvation, which is the true riches, the Frenchman replied: "What has this got to do with salvation? I am trying to look after myself, and I go to sea to do this since I cannot on land." Then he added: "For what reason should I stop doing this?" The islander replied that what he did was against the seventh commandment, 'thou shall not steal.'^(c) The retort was this fatuous comment. "Haven't we French and your king the same father, Adam? And did Adam's will make the King of Portugal the only heir to gold, silver and everything else? Did it deny us the whole lot, though we (too) are his legitimate children? We go to sea to overturn any will giving such an unfair disposition, since a legitimate heir cannot be passed over and excluded by a genuine probate."^(d)

(c) Facetious saying of a French pirate on the Guinea coast.

(d) Adam made all his heirs. Ita [-thus according to-] Joam de Padilha, familiaris [-close acquaintance-] of the said Álvares.

And so they say that the sea has no king, neither can it be disposed of by /f.34v/ will. Since what arrives on beaches belongs to the first who seizes it, why not the same for what is found at sea? Especially since it involves much more trouble, including, as well as difficulties of many sorts, a constant risk to life. If the Portuguese call them 'chickens', they retort: "You are Frenchman's chickens".

When the Bijagos are making their preparations ashore for a voyage, the captain begins by consulting some magic medicines at the same time as he states the intended locality. If the results are as he wants them to be, he kills some cows, as many as are required for his men, then he announces (details of) the journey, and the warriors who are going to go with him eat the meat. But the Bijagos are so credulous regarding omens^(e) that if anyone falls into the sea after they leave, or if they hear certain birds calling, or they hear certain other sounds which they regard as a bad omen, they return home. But if nothing obstructs them along their route then when they reach the place which is to be attacked, and they reach it always at night, they send out spies who know the entrances and exits of the place like natives. Such spies are sometimes ^{indeed} natives of the land who have been captured when young and who have continued to live among them ^{Bijagos} willingly and have been permitted to take a wife, if they deserved this. When the message comes back that the inhabitants are asleep or engaged in feasts and off their guard, the Bijagos enter the place and set fire to the houses, all of which consist only of thatch. The inhabitants rush out in order not to be burned and the Bijagos are ready for them outside, so that when the poor wretches emerge they kill them if they resist and make captives of all they can. What happens to the village depends on the course of the battle and the number of people involved. If it resists fiercely, the enemy forces withdraw very cautiously until they reach the canoes they left in the sea, with three or four men remaining in each to bring them ashore when required. When the Bijagos return victorious with their plunder, their wives and the rest of the people come to help them to unload the spoils of war, which they then offer to their chinas in gratitude. The chinas are mostly horns of cows, sheep or other animals, covered with hens' feathers and splattered with blood.^(f)

(e) A characteristic of generally all idolaters, such as the Manes, etc. They call these events correr (?)

(f) The idol of the Bijago heathen. It is a bundle of sticks the thickness of a Bengal staff, and a palm-span and a half long. They kill a hen over it, anoint it with the blood, and place the feathers on it. Similarly with a goat, cow, etc.

When this ceremony is over they go to their houses to rest, eat and drink, and dance. The next day they divide and share the booty, forming it into three parts. The owner of the canoe who provided the necessary victuals for the voyages takes one part, the war-captain who killed the cows takes another, and the last part goes to the men who organised and carried out the seizure of prizes during the action (?). These Bijagos are so cruel that if, as they are laying hands on /f.35/ a black, two or three of them grab him and cannot come to an agreement, then they split him down the middle to give each a piece.^(g) Those captives brought back to the land (of the Bijagos) are sold to Portuguese ships which regularly visit their ports to trade. But if a captive has no buyer because he is a cripple or very old, they bring him back ashore and as soon as he steps out on the beach they spear him, once or a hundred times (as necessary), until they kill him.^(h)

The normal trade of the blacks is in cows, red cloth, copper kettles, iron, coral, cloaks, caskets and other trinkets, horses' tails - which they originally valued so much that they even used to give a black for three of them - brass rattles and bells. Yet nowadays in this Ethiopia things are very different because of the many Portuguese who make a living here. They do this by such efforts and with such trouble to themselves that, if they instead strove in the direction of gaining eternity, less effort would without doubt bring them greater and more certain profits. Consider the watches that are necessary on a ship by day and night, the unceasing quarrels of the sailors during voyages, at times their desertions, the perils from pirates, and so on.

Let us proffer some advice (on how to behave in Guinea). Always act with courtesy, otherwise all will be lost. Never make a gesture which the heathen can imagine to be derogatory. If you are disparaging, if you talk loudly, if you are irritated, since the black is suspicious by nature he will think it is directed at him, even if you are referring to another person or another matter. In this place one must be well-tempered clavichord : just a

(g) Nowadays they generally use a canhaco on a slave who is going to escape, after first ascertaining that he is their own property. If he is jointly owned they sell him and divide the money.

(h) This is not common.

the strings vibrate in the air, to make sweet music to these heathen, so must good humour vibrate from the eyes, the tongue and above all the hands - for the black loves him who gives most. Nowadays should a great lord give an Ethiopian ten of anything and should his slave offer a trifle more - the latter is the better man. As for the devil, let him offer not a scrap more and he will outbid the lord and the slave. You are given no thought by these people unless you reward them or unless they hope you will - even though in Guinea there is no room for hope.⁽ⁱ⁾ Here the verbs are not conjugated in the future tense but are entirely in the present. : Do [I give] not Dabo [I will give]. If you promise something in the future they disregard the condition. They always understand the promise to be of now,^(j) so that if you fail to act accordingly, they mark you out as a liar, as daily /f.35v/ we see happening. Moreover they never understand our requests. If you ask them for something, they say they cannot understand you; yet if you offer them something, no matter how uncommon the term is, they always understand its meaning.^(k) Suppose we are making a bargain. The seller starts off with a storm of preposterous and wild talk, so that one is willing to suffer a considerable loss merely to avoid the sight and sound of the savage's face. Observe the pleadings that make the black so persistent. If you do not buy from him you are a bad man, the worst man in the world - though I reckon that the worst man is he who buys Bijago loot.^(l) Since the strings of disharmony may be played, wine must be in evidence from morning to night. Wine is the

(i) General characteristic of our age.

(j) The heathen of Ethiopia only know the present tense.

(k) Their verb has no imperative or future tense.

(l) Dub.(?) Should one buy loot from heathen pirates or robbers?

Surely not. Then why is the piratical trade of the Bijago tolerated?

Vide et nota tu qui legeris aliquando haec [See and note you who read this here.]

worst enemy of Guinea, for if the blacks know that you have it and are denying them it, then you have a quarrel on your hands. You are permitted to deny them anything except wine. To bring them to conclude a deal it is necessary to behave generously. Hence, of the cargo which the ships bring, a third is intended as gifts. But despite all these little ways of keeping the blacks sweet, one has to be careful about one's speech, for they are so evil that they take offence at the smallest thing.

In connection with this I want to say what it is about these heathen that enables us to entertain the notion that they like us. Almost everyone holds that if they are attached to us it is an attachment to our goods alone. If the native of these parts is a friend to the white man's property,^(m) he is also a friend to him, because, as long as the white man is about, there is always hope of acquiring and possessing some of his material good things. But if the heathen shows little interest in our goods, be on guard against living near him for this is the surest sign that he does not want our friendship. This is what is generally believed here on the subject of the savages' goodwill, to wit, that whatever goodwill they have towards us is always at our own expense. /f.36/

(m) These heathen in Guinea only love the Portuguese to the extent that they value his money.

Chapter 10

The way of life of these heathen and their customs, also a discussion of their superstitions and idolatry

As I said above, these heathen are more devoted to the art of war than to anything else. The men have no interest in life other than the amount of plunder which arises from the success or otherwise of their wars, as we shall continue explaining below. (In other respects) their way of life is the same as that of the other heathen. It is on the women that everything depends. They are the ones who work the land, after cutting down and burning the bush; and they build the houses. In general, in the same way as slaves do for us, the women look after the men, and when the latter are on land they have nothing to do except tap wine and have a good time. The Bijagos are thoroughly untrustworthy. They have a common trick involving slaves. They pretend they wish to sell them, but when they put them aboard (Portuguese launches) they do so in such numbers that it enables them to kill the crew and seize the launch. On land they act in a disorderly fashion, and for no good reason they treacherously kill each other. If guests come to visit them, before the guests can make their farewells the Bijagos are sending out canoes to lie in wait for them along their route, to capture them. On land the Bijagos never steal from each other. They have no kings: the most powerful among them acts the king. Adultery, witchcraft and murder are punished by enslavement, and they sell their own people (for these crimes). They do the same with those captured in the wars which take place within the islands, and they spare no-one. Among the men of power, if a husband finds his wife with another man he kills them both and puts their heads on stakes near the entrance to his house. When men are young and have little wealth, in order to get a wife they give their (future) father-in-law two black slaves in exchange for a girl; and if it comes about that she commits adultery or leaves her husband, he can sell her. Women whose husbands die marry warriors renowned for their daring, and such men acquire many wives and a large number of war-canoes, and so become important and powerful. Apart from what has already been said about these canoes, it should be noted that they are extraordinarily light, because they are made of such /f.36v/ small amounts of wood. The sides are about the thickness of a thumb, and the bottom about that of two fingers.

The men all wear goatskins. The women, although their only upper garment is a dressing of ochre, powdered or dissolved in palm oil, remain decent with a grass-skirt which hangs from the waist to near the knees. All of the Bijagos eat in a disgusting manner. Instead of eating in the house

they eat out-of-doors, in the streets, where they can be seen; anyone passing can join in if they so wish. Hence the tagarra, or gourd, from which they eat is common to all. The man of standing, the slave, the child, all dip their hand in; and he who is most forward and vigorous, whoever he is, is allowed to have the best of the dish. Similarly, when a cow or goat is killed, as many persons as are present have a share.

They carry superstition to the point where the following can happen. A Portuguese, who was living in the land because at this period it was completely at peace (within), was walking along the shore reciting his prayers when a canoe happened to return in a battered condition, from a raid, with many of its crew dead. (The survivors) threw themselves in a rage on the poor man and killed him, saying that he was to blame for their lack of success, which was due to the magic of his prayers by which he had arranged with God for their trouble and losses.

The Bijagos are especially lacking in decency and they force the captives they bring back into the vice of sensuality, even in public. Their behaviour towards the captives is most tyrannical, for they ill-treat them and torture them in various ways. Captives who are rejected when offered for sale, they (used to) wound and kill, although today they no longer follow this practice, as stated in the marginal note to chapter 9 above. When they leave to go to war they anoint themselves with ochre, charcoal-dust and white clay, and they cover their heads with hen's feathers. Before they leave the harbour, a female magician steps into the canoe and breaks a rotten egg over it, at the traditional part for this ceremony, in the stern. Then she takes a mouthful of salt water, and splatters it around the stern, so that the water touches the bolis and jars of beans. At the prow, the captain holds up to the sky some antelope horns; and he begs for a successful journey, without rain or other difficulties, for numerous prizes, and for the safety of the warriors. At this they all shout and raise their oars in the air; they lower them and row so vigorously that in no time the canoe has disappeared, leaving the woman who performed the ceremony behind on the shore. The captain has a fixed period of time /f.37/during which he is to return, and if at the end of this period he does not appear, the best warriors arm themselves and set off in the direction they think appropriate. Trumpets are blown, and those men who are located where they can hear them assemble by following signals given by the trumpets. The women remain at the harbours where they maintain a look-out until the men re-appear.

Their idol comprises a bundle of sticks, as already stated, and also two short antelope horns which are attached to two of the sticks, and these are anointed with blood and covered with feathers. These sticks lie above the bundle. This abominable idol, this turd, is placed in a little hut shaped like an oven and made solely of clay. Here are also placed some bolis made of gourds, containing red beans. To this place the people make their way in order both to give thanks for favours received and to seek remedies in times of trouble. The priest, whose office is here filled by magicians, enters the hut, and closes and blocks the entrance with a mat, while everyone else waits outside. He touches [? makes a sound with] the boulis to call on the evil spirits, according to his superstitious belief, and the poor heathen believe that he is invoking their dead. The devil replies to questions with a cry which has no meaning, but the priest expounds it as he wishes. And so they give the priest credit (for the contract), and will not deviate a jot from what he says to them. When someone dies, all he owns they bury with him; and they kill cows, which they buy for this purpose when they need them and when there is a supply in the ports. (At burials) they do not kill people, (but) if a woman with a child at breast dies, they put the living child in the ground with the mother. They are such brutes that they say that this must be, because if God had wished the child to live he would not have taken away the person who sustained it. At wakes, the men perform war-dances with great yells. All are masked and they make a thousand threatening gestures with their spears as well as other war-like motions. They especially do this when the burial feasts are those of their captains or of warriors who died in battle, since they hold these persons in very great veneration. The women, who remain within doors, make their lamentations at night and at dawn, by chanting verses; and during this period they all shave their heads, smear white clay over them, and wear a slatted bonnet dyed white, with no top in it. They hang a collar of cibe leaves around their necks and cover part of their body with a skirt of bark, which is beaten out like esparto grass. /f.37v/

Chapter 11

The island of Bissau and the nature and characteristics of its inhabitants

The land is healthy, and its situation is beautiful and pleasing because of the variety of trees and the abundance of (flowing) water, which the island has in sufficiency. It is deserving of general adulation for it serves those who pass this way as a hostelry or inn for their refreshment. Here vessels are provisioned with water, and with other essentials for the completion of their voyage; and these it has available since it abounds in foodstuffs of different kinds, such as rice, local types of funde, beans, yams, etc. Also pumpkins and much wine. There is no lack of cows, goats and hens. Everything is low-priced but can be obtained even more cheaply because of the kindness of certain Portuguese who live there. I pass over the buffalo, antelope and wood-hens found in large numbers; also chocas, ducks, etc. The wild animals include elephant, buffalo, leopards, wild-cats, sanchos and green parrots. The supply of fish is as much as the land requires, and the same is true of oil. Everyone there is skilled in agriculture. There are many fairs on the island, and to these the Balantas bring cows, goats and various foodstuffs, which the Papels buy from them for iron, Santiago cloth and oil.

The education of their children calls for no comment since it is the same as that among the other heathen. They all have many wives. No son succeeds his father; succession to the kingdom is from uncle to nephew, to a son of the dead uncle's oldest sister. Sons have only what they have themselves acquired. The King of Bissau is an emperor; he bestows the (royal insignia of the) bow and cap on the King of Bussis. Their customs are barbarous, for a man can have as his wives two sisters. They have clean eating habits. In the winter season the poor go short in respect of the necessities of life, but they manage on chaveo and tarafe. They are all well-disposed and friendly towards the Portuguese, as what I said above shows. Their system of justice contains great abuses for they can enslave a person for little.^(a) I shall give an instance. A woman asked for and borrowed /f.38/ something not worth 10 reais from a man. She lost it. He asked for it back.^(b) She said: I have lost it but I will pay you for it. He

(a) They employ 'red water' which they administer to a man as he is standing up, with his private parts covered with banana leaves.

(b) When a debt is demanded, a hen is killed: where the body falls indicates which party is guilty and he is condemned.

refused, on the grounds that she could not give him the exact object, and he enslaved her. Here then is another of their unjust reasons for enslavement. A further instance. A man married a woman and discovered that before she became his wife she had fallen into sin with three or four men. This friendly husband had them all enslaved. Moreover, he asked her to arrange to trap other men by leading them on, so that the two of them could earn their food this way; and he assaulted the poor wretches. Thus, for all her offences of this kind, whenever committed, whether when she was under an obligation (of fidelity) to her husband, or not, that is, before she came into his power and when she was single or a widow, the wretches had to pay up, contrary to all notions of right. Some men are so crafty and malicious that they beat their women in order to see if fear will make them confess. Suppose now that a man twice commits adultery. If he is poor, the first offence counts. But if he is rich, he wipes out this crime by paying money: (only) the second offence counts against him. And if he has the means to free himself he does so, but if he cannot do this he is sold. Hence whoever falls into adultery, whether he is a freeman or otherwise, always pays; and lords often lose their slaves this way. If a noble woman marries a commoner, any time she pleases she can leave him and take another, or she can reject this one and take yet another. These women are so wicked that if their second husbands are not kind to them, they pay them out by taking any children and returning to their first husband; and the second husband is turned from a freeman into a slave merely by the scheming of an evil wife. For the wife persuades her first husband that the second committed adultery with her and the former hands over the latter for punishment. Yet it is all untrue, since these ladies normally arrange these seizures only because they have been ill-treated by particular husbands.

If a nobleman takes his own slave as wife and she gives him any cause for dissatisfaction, he can sell her with her son, if the latter is young, and it is of no account that the child is his. If a son has intercourse with any of his father's wives, the father can sell him and will give the money to the members of his Council without touching any of it himself. If the wife of an important ruler commits adultery, he has her and the adulterous man speared to death in a public place very early in the morning on a fair-day, so that those attending the fair can see that justice has been done. Relatives come to bury them but they cannot hold a wake. Similarly there are no wakes for magicians/witches, and they are not buried in the cemeteries I am about to describe, /f.38v/, but in an ant-hill, as thieves are. These two sorts of persons are buried naked, and their heads

and genitals are displayed on a stake at the fair. If a commoner marries a noble woman, he cannot leave her whatever happens, nor can he enslave any noble who commits adultery with her, however frequently. But if she commits adultery with a man of his own standing, and he can manage to secure the man, then he can take his case before a nobleman for judgement.

As is common, the idol of these savages is a bundle of sticks, anointed with the blood of birds, such as hens, and the blood of goats and cows, and with the feathers of a cock over the blood. Such is the crass error of all the Papal heathen. The king ^{owns} has a single wooden figure, which is seated on an iron object shaped like a trivet. Leaning against it is a short, iron-shafted spear, whose head, made of the same metal, resembles a scraper. When the king is taken to be buried the spear travels in the coffin, and when the ceremony and the funeral rites are over, it is returned to the king's successor. An ancient object, it serves as the insignia of state for this empire. The chapel of these idols is a funco where the idols are assembled. The people come here in all their moments of need. Here a fire is lit at night.

Opposite this island is another one which is a seminary of devils, like Camassono Island at Serra Leoa. The site, which is completely green because of the variety of trees, is venerated for this reason. An ancient tradition tells that a very old king came here to die, and as he thought of other things the waves of the sea swept him away from the shores of the island. Some heathen who passed that way later succeeded in persuading the natives that they had seen the poor king's spear protruding from the ground. Hence it became the custom to go to the islet annually, or every second year to sacrifice a very large ox, a black one without a blemish; and to hold great feasts. To these feasts come more than 3,000 men and women, including horsemen to the number of 70, more or less, riding on the horses which are bred on (Bissau) island in large numbers. But only 50 or 60 persons out of this great crowd go to the islet, where they roast and eat the whole ox and bring no part of it back. As well as the ox, they each year cast out on the islet a cock and a hen, which die of thirst in the summer season because there is no source of water there. When they go by canoe to make the sacrifice - either the king or his jagarefe goes in the canoe, for the king does not normally go to these feasts - they carry with them a dog, a hen and a woman./f.39/ If the crossing is rough, they throw the cock to the waves; and if they can make no progress, they throw out the dog, and the woman goes the same way. For she is the king's chief china and destined to die when he does, so that if the king is in danger because of the rising storm, they

reckon that the china should be cast into the sea before the king dies.

The savages attribute all such storms to their own dead. The jagarefe is the second person (in the kingdom), after the king, as it were, and is the king's chief councillor. On him depends the whole government of the kingdom since the king does nothing without him.

That is enough about the land. Now we shall discuss the wakes of the heathen and their burials. When an important king of the Papels dies, the first thing done is to have a large cage made from thick canes, in the lower compartment of which is put a he-goat of astonishing size and in the other compartment a large dog. Over this cage another smaller one is built and intertwined with the first, and in this is placed the king, beautifully dressed in Portuguese style if he ruled lands or ports where whites live, his body having been previously washed in wine. The cage is covered with capis of various kinds, with coverlets and with other fine cloth. At the front lie the heads and tails of two or three of the first cows that were killed. For two or three days they process through the town carrying this bier of sorts, while uttering loud and sincere lamentations. No-one can be seen who is not plastered with earth all over, his head shaven, and with ropes around his neck and waist. In great distress and sorrow the Papels praise the dead king, saying that never had he an equal; and some are so affected that as an expression of mourning they refuse to eat, or to sleep on a mat, or to wash off their covering of earth. Everyone throughout the land makes his contribution to the burial, by killing cows or goats, or by presenting cloths; and it is not only the natives who assist in this way, for even those foreigners in neighbouring lands who have relatives living here support the occasion with their offerings. In the case of one of the more important kings, the expenses are so great that they exceed the value of 200 black slaves. This happened at Bissau when Fernão, alias Fena, died. He was a great friend of ours, for he used to practise good works towards the whites, by ransoming with his own money any whites who fell into the hands of the other heathen, and this on his own initiative and without making demands first. Again, when our ships were being harassed by pirates and were run aground /f.39v/ in his ports, they were safe there and enjoyed his protection, for no-one was permitted to harm them or remove any goods from them. It was because he was so keen to retain our friendship that he was once almost killed by a cannon-shot. A French ship, escorting a Portuguese vessel it had taken, came to this port to ransom the prize. The Portuguese community arranged with the king's Council for the French to be told that, when they brought the stolen ship in and came ashore themselves, they would be given as a hostage the king's eldest son. But the hostage was

not the son, for they had prepared a trap by dressing up a slave in all manner of fripperies and pretending that he was the son. However the enemy were apprehensive of treachery, and when the king appeared in the port they fired a cannon whose shot went through a cloth the king was wearing. He was not harmed, and it seems that the Lord wished to preserve the barbarian in gratitude for the affection he had shown the Portuguese nation.

While the feasts continue in the village, the grave is being prepared. To determine where the mouth of the vault shall be, the king's chief china is brought to the place, her (?) ears are cut off, and the blood running from where those organs used to be marks out the spot. Later all the chinas are strangled. But first they feast and dance, beautifully dressed, in the great burial-ground, in honour of the deceased. From here these women are led away, some of them already in a condition approaching death, since they are given a concoction of musk in a bitter oil to reduce their sensations during the terrible draught of death; and as well as drinking it, they place some on their eyes. The way they are sacrificed and killed is as follows. Two strong blacks take a rope made of malila, which is from a tree and resembles one of our osiers in being very flexible, and they place the rope over the eyes and mouth (of the victim), and then pull on the rope, and so she is killed. Some of them are so cruel that even if the victim is still breathing, they will leave her and pass on to deal with the others. And thus they kill some thirty or forty women, the number depending on the wealth of the king or noble. The king's chief china serves in this role (of executioner) by killing the women who belong to nobles, wringing their necks; and some of them are so eager (to die) that she kills them with little effort (?). This king's china has special privileges. Without anyone preventing her, she is permitted to take anything in the land she fancies, cows, goats, foodstuffs, wine, etc. When the (sacrificial) ceremony is completed, the king is buried, and with him those persons he chose (to have with him) during his lifetime. Some of these are happy to die with him because they enjoyed his affection: others would escape /f.40/ if they could and would prefer to be sold (as slaves) because they value life.

This large vault is lined throughout with cloths. In it there lie only the king, his chief china on whom he rests his head, and three other women, one beside each arm and one at his feet, supporting them. The opening of the grave is closed, this being about the size of the bottom of a cask, and on it is placed a very carefully-made earthenware pot, with a lid, and into this some wine is put. Over the grave they build a hut made out of thatch, in order to protect the site from the rain. A man is given the task of lighting a fire there nightly. In a nearby burial-ground the (other) chinas

have a grave made the same way. This contains a number of beds on which the chinas lie, the men being segregated and placed in separate sections. There is also another tomb in which lies a dead horse, together with an ox and a boy. ~~who~~ In former times, they say, ^{these} were buried alive. Commoners have their own ^{resting place} ~~memorial ground~~ at a distance from those of the king and nobles, but all of them are within the forest. Although the bodies lie in these spots, a regular and general custom among persons of all ranks is that they prepare an enclosure containing a mat and a piece of cut pacharis, and in the middle they set up the richão and the tagarra (bowl) from which (the dead person) ate, the gourd from which he drank, the jar from which he took the oil to anoint himself - all with a hole driven through them and secured on a stake. In the case of kings and nobles, their cows and goats are killed and this (memorial) niche or chapel is adorned with their horns and tails. When individuals are in trouble, they bring a hen to their padres in order that these (priests) will discover from their intercessors the reason why the individuals are suffering the troubles. Whatever this priest of abomination tells them, this they do. It is not only the wretched heathen who believe in this rite, but what is worse, so too do the Christian blacks, however hard we try to persuade ourselves that they really are Christians. At Cacheu, even in the combetes (?), there are many blacks who are more given to observing heathen rites than following God's law, their pretence at doing the latter being only for the reason of their desire to rise in the world from the connection with us. Since they have no scruple in using religion to help them on, that is, no scruple in pretending to be Christian, great scruple may be entertained by those who baptise heathens of such a disposition without the influence and backing of that force of arms which is so important for the spreading of the Gospel.

Every important heathen has in his house the idol of sticks and the pot-cover of wine, and in regard to small matters he makes sacrifices (employing these). But in regard to serious matters he goes to the regular office-holder who keeps and controls the /f.40v/ village idol. The idolaters believe that the devil enters this idol, or rather that the dead members of their family do, and that these speak through it on matters affecting their relatives, their parents or their children, etc. All of this is as false as the belief that evil spirits can come to this world ^{far} instead of merely suffering in another world. But since they are/from accepting this latter belief and confine themselves to following the example of their ancestors, they put all their confidence in these corofins of theirs for the remedying

of the ills of life and for giving them prosperity during its course, in sum, for all pertaining to the material things of life. These heathen act so because they follow the principles of Epicurus, who said that nothing exists except what can be seen and touched.

Chapter 12

The Balanta. The fertility of their lands and the disposition of the natives. The way of life of these heathen and their superstitious rites.

A creek of modest width separates these heathen from the island of Bissau. To as great an extent as the land has abundance in its variety of staple foodstuffs, such as fundes and milhos, and in the flowing waters of its stream and springs, it is correspondingly lacking in trees of all kinds, for instance, in the palm-trees which are so necessary for these heathen. It does not lack vegetables such as beans, macarras, pumpkins, yams, and it has all the staple crops in great quantities, except for rice, of which it has little. Cows, goats and hens are raised in large numbers. Among its wild animals are civet-cats, etc. The land is meadow throughout, lacking any sort of wood for burning, in place of which they use milho canes and cow-dung. The people have an evil disposition and their appearance is surly and not very attractive. However they are excellent workers. Both men and women have lines on their forehead, most of which have been incised deliberately. They file their teeth. /f.41/ They are all great thieves and they tunnel their way into pounds to steal the cattle. They excel in making assaults, and from their villages they direct these against other villages of their own people, in order to plunder them by taking everything they can find and capturing as many persons as possible. In their behaviour they choose to resemble the Bijagos.

They have no princip~~le~~ king. Whoever has more power (than his neighbours) is king, and every quarter of a league there are many kings of this kind. Sons are the legitimate heirs to their fathers, and are their successors. Nephews and other (? male) relatives succeed women. Their greeting when they meet is to sniff at the right hand of the other, taking and raising it to the nose three times. Their marriages are the ^{common} ~~normal~~ kind, the son-in-law giving cows to the father-in-law in exchange for his daughter. These savages have great trade and commerce with the Biafares, who bring them cloths and oil, which are as lacking in their lands as there is abundance of butter and milk. From their fairs merchants obtain goats, cows and staple foodstuffs. It is only with the Portuguese that the Balantas have as yet no such contacts, and so we consider them barely or not at all friendly to us, hence even as our enemies. They build their houses without using the quantity of wood the other heathen use. Thin sticks are employed throughout, and on these they place the normal sort of thatch, made up into mats, so that the rain penetrates less easily to the apartments below. Where there are canes available, they use these for the framework. /f. 41./

Chapter 13

The Biafar heathen. The location and fertility of the land and the character and industry of its inhabitants.

Nothing affords a more lively proof of the benignity or otherwise of a locality than the nature, good or bad, of its inhabitants. If this principle, revealed to us by philosophical truth, is correct, then the province of the Biafar heathen is in no respect inferior to the very best of localities.^(a) It is almost completely flat, though a few hills can be found in certain parts. It is pleasant and refreshing throughout on account of the breezes which visit the parts nearest the sea. It has no lack of streams or of springs of excellent water, among them those of Biguba, a long-standing Portuguese settlement. Just how favorable and healthy the climate is here, can be gathered from the doctrine which I wish to present at this point, in order that it may provide a general rule for the assessment of localities in relation to their good or bad influences (on man). For this purpose the common theory of geographical zones must be accepted, the zones being five according to the careful analysis of geographers.^(b)

We shall be discussing the torrid zone - so called by reason of the continual sunshine which strikes it directly (i.e. at right angles) and turns it brown, heating it up more than any other zone. To learn its characteristics, the first logical step and specific inquiry is to see whether all torrid lands are inhabited. Of this there can be no doubt, for we can be certain that there is no land which is made uninhabitable by excessive heat or undue cold. This is shown by the fact that across the equator, which is in the middle of the torrid zone, lie a good part of Africa and Peru and many islands, such as S.Tomé, Sumatra, Borneo and some of the Moluccas, all of these being inhabited lands. Correspondingly one may take it as confirmed that around the poles - the areas we call the frigid zones, each stretching $23^{\circ}41\frac{1}{2}'$, or over 412 leagues - the cold is not so excessive that it is impossible to live there. On the contrary, it is stated by Holau Magnus, one-time archbishop of Upsala, who should be trustworthy because he came from that land and because he had penetrated to 86° , writing in his Historia which describes the peoples of the North, that men live in the middle of the northern frigid

(a) The lands inhabited by the Biafares belong to the patrimony of the Bijago people.

(b) How to tell a site is truly healthy. And which one is. See the discussion in this chapter, notabiliter ex sententia geographorum [especially the views of geographers].

zone. Now the same may be presumed of the zone around the other pole, since the Cabo de Bom Sinal, beyond the Straits of Magellan, which lies in that direction, does not have cold so excessive that Europeans cannot tolerate it. And those who are born there and have long experience of it must even become accustomed to it.

The second stage is to examine into the aspects and characteristics of zones and thus to discover which parts of the earth are healthier and more favorable to life. For it is certain that there are some lands in which men live longer, or have /f.42/ greater skills and better inclinations, than in others; and that in some lands men are black and in others white; and that at one place they are cruel and inhuman, but at another thoroughly well-disposed and gentle. As regards these differences, although some are the effects in large part of ancestry, and others arise from lack of trade and cultural contact, two elements which teach civilised order, yet it cannot be denied that they (ultimately) derive, like all other differences, from the characteristics of the land of birth.^(c) In respect of ease of habitation, the frigid zones are less suitable to live in than all the others. This arises from the great cold, which, because it is contrary and hostile to human life, makes these lands least healthy and shortens the span of life. The torrid zone is good to live in and better than the temperate [?] frigid meridians, for this reason. In the torrid zone the heat of the day is tempered by the cool of the night, the favorable influences of the cold planets, Saturn and the Moon, being more effective in this area because they impinge on it at an angle closer to the perpendicular than on any other part of the earth. Hence, according to Avicenna and other philosophers, it is healthier and better suited for human life. Also there are persons who say that this is the best and most healthy land of all those on earth because they suspect that here is found the Earthly Paradise, even though this is raised above the earth.

Nevertheless the North temperate zone in which we (Europeans) live is the best suited of all, and within it the best areas are those at 53°, or rather, at 36° of latitude. The reason is that the temperate zones lack excessive heat and cold, and hence are considered healthier and better. In them men live longer, have greater skills and better

(c) Juntino, in Expositio Sphaerae Sacro Bosci, chapter 20.

inclinations, and are white and of a reasonable stature. Yet there are differences between places, so that those who live further North are, generally speaking, larger in body and fairer in complexion, although skills and the circumstances of life they are more rustic and less spirited. In just the same way there is diversity among the men living in the torrid zone, since in some parts the people are very black and others white - which philosophers find hard to explain. We can sum this up by asserting with complete conviction that the earth's temperate zone is healthiest, followed by the torrid zone. But, to go into details, we can point to places within /f.42v/ these zones and even places on the same parallel of latitude - that is, points in the heavens corresponding to certain terrestrial planes - some of which are healthy enough, while others are very prejudicial to health and particularly so at one season of the year. Taking Serra Leoa as an instance, the latter is the case at the Port of St John the Evangelist, commonly called Mitombo, as daily experience shows.

This is not due to the influences of the heavens through the zones in which they lie. But it arises from accessory causes modifying these, such as the fact that certain places are near lagoons - whose evaporation is very harmful and causes sudden death or dangerous illnesses - or are either exposed to unhealthy winds on one side or else are blocked off by forest from healthy and refreshing winds. Or they may have unsatisfactory drinking water, or be very remotely located in the interior. Also ill-health may arise from eating fruits not in perfect condition, either because of excessive humidity which has delayed ripening or because of excessive heat which brings them on too early, and this is very prejudicial to health. If we consider lands in relation to the health of the individual, we can say that generally a person is most healthy where he was born, and this is why those sick with lingering diseases which fail to respond to physical remedies are as a rule ordered by their doctors to return to their native land. And so to conclude, we will say that the land is most healthy which is moderately humid and lies near the sea; is open to winds which in that place are healthy yet is protected against harmful ones; has a good supply of water but no lagoon nearby, and is neither very hilly and mountainous nor very flat, yet has a few hills. It clearly follows that, merely in terms of possessing such features, the most favorable and healthy land is that of our Biafar heathen, to which the particular requirements we have pointed out all apply.

Before we go on to discuss the fertility of the land, let us pause to answer those who ask why, in the same zone and on the same parallel, there are blacks in some parts but not in others. Some say that this arises from features of the land, the heat of the sun and influences of the heavens, which may modify the special qualities of the earth imposed by God on certain places at the beginning of the world. This is why we are inclined to say that in the course of time the first men became light or dark on account of the (differing) features of the earth and the heat of the sun, and their children /f.43/ afterwards inherited this from them. In the same way it can be understood why some men have curly hair and others not. This will suffice towards a full understanding of the character of localities and of those who inhabit them.

Now let us discuss the fertility of the land. It is the same as is general throughout Guinea, although there is little rice; the staple foodstuff, funde, together with milho branco (white millet) and massaroca, both very healthy foods, being more common. The earthcrops are yams and macarras.^(d) Varying quantities of these are grown, depending on the skill of the inhabitants, some of whom are very hard-working as well as being well-disposed. It has been claimed that the people of Biafar are outstanding in this latter respect, which might be gathered from what the Lord has written upon their physical features, for this people has the most handsome features throughout West Ethiopia. To contemplate the bearing, the smile, the dignity and the fine physical proportions of a Biafar, coupled with his mildness of character and his devotion to the person who brought him up, gives one much to think about. It is astonishing how forgetful they are, in their own land, regarding their parents and relatives, who are shadowy figures in their recollection compared with those they recognise (as their guardians) and under whose authority they find themselves. I myself was greatly struck by the attitude of a young boy whom I brought up in Serra Leoa. Whenever I encouraged him, out of love for his motherland, to speak about the succession to the kingdom, a matter which might some day involve him as he was the son of a very important individual, his reply was always exactly the same, that to him his motherland and his kingdom were myself and the (other) padres. My experience of him matched this answer, for I found him completely trustworthy in matters of moment and

(d) Pumpkins, beans, a few bananas.

he was my regular companion on my missionary journeys, when we both endured travails. These he bore with great joy, and his zeal and singular modesty drew the attention of all when he assisted at mass, by preparing the sacraments and carrying out all the other tasks of a good sacristan, which he did to perfection. People said to me : "Padre, there's nothing like this in the whole world ! ". A devoted priest said : "I have been across the East Indies and nowhere have I seen a youth of such ability, such bearing and such perfect behaviour. Your Reverence has the best service within your house you could wish for, and what does the church lack when it has this Ignatius ? " This is a striking instance of the character of these Biafares.

Their occupations and their way of life in peacetime, general and individual, are those normal among the other heathen, that is, they are farmers, fishermen, weavers and blacksmiths. They have no need of tailors because they wear /f.43v/ little variety of dress, their normal garments being goatskins, although their leading men wear tunics. They are skilled in raising cattle, as well as goats, sheep and hens. In certain localities they hold fairs,^(e) for instance, at Guinela and Bruco and in the sea-ports where whites live. At these fairs the products of the land are traded for bolls of cotton and strips of cotton-cloth, the currency of these people; for cola; for black cloth from Gambia, Goula and the Jalofos; and for various sorts of barafulas. The country produces slaves, and some of the best quality, as has been stated, and large numbers are provided for different destinations, even though the Bijago have decimated the tribe through their continuous assaults, which have put to fire and sword whole villages. Because of these assaults the people live in the hinterland in their huts, and remain in great fear of these savages.

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- (e) A large fair, once a week throughout the kingdom, wherever Portuguese live, apart from the normal fairs. The large one is held in their villages.

Their form of bringing up their children and their social discipline are those of the other inhabitants of Ethiopia, but those of the Biafar are more refined. Their family life is not different in style from that of the others. Affection, and such generosity as the means of each afford, are not absent. All of them are in disposition spiritied and haughty, as is not least evident in their habit of hiding their feelings and dissimulating. Each and all of them present a true portrait of hypocrisy, one that could not be truer. See a Biafar and his exterior appearance is saintly; raise the curtain and you find all hell within. Lying is their commonest attribute, or perhaps I should say that this diabolic vice is rooted in them, to such an extent that they are recognised as the biggest liars in all this Ethiopia, the individuals with least regard for the truth. Considerable doubt about their capacity to progress in the faith can be entertained, since once the faith is received it increasingly hunts out the secrets of its enemy, that is, their sins. And this is a process so painful for the Biafar that he devotes his efforts to concealing his evil dispositions.

[f.47] PART TWO

THE PROVINCE OF SIERRA LEONEChapter 1The name, situation and bounds of this Province and the nature of the land.

We now propose to begin Part Two of our enterprise, and as its main subject is that district we call Serra Leoa, (Leonine Hills), we shall speak first about its name. It has this name because of its mountain ranges, its rocks, its valleys, its hills and peaks, with their steep slopes. As for the epithet of 'leonine' ^(a) this refers to its caves, not only those of its famous Cabo Ledo, but also those elsewhere in the district. For these caves, together with its multitudinous valleys, produce an echo from the broken waters of its copious streams, as they run by the boulders and outcrops of stony places; as well as an echo from its furious waves, which break not only against its white beaches, but also against the great rocks that gird its shores. And this echo can be heard from very far away, resounding. (Yet) I do not doubt that the name of 'Leoa' is even more fitting because of the lions for which the Serra provides a refuge and a range.

To deal now with its geographical situation. The Serra lies in a North - South direction. But to identify its cape, those travelling from Cape Verga must sail Southwest, in the direction of the Isles of Idols, keeping at a depth of never less than 7 or 8 fathoms. Coming this way, one can obtain a clear view of the Serra, with its cape or headland pointing North - South. Magarabomba lies to the South, and is divided into many separate islands by the various streams and rivers that penetrate or emerge from the hinterland. In this quarter flows the river Bangue, which girdles the Serra on the South. [f.47v] Facing the Serra on the North is the renowned Tagarim Point, which is ringed by the river Mitombo. This river and a tributary which breaks away from it make their way round the Serra in such a way that, at the point where the stream meanders to a halt, it is so near Bangue River that the Serra appears to be a large island. The distance between the two rivers is so little that with great ease the natives can transfer their boats from one to the other. With the same ease, the territory could be turned into a beautiful island, by cutting through the narrow neck of land at this point.

(a) D. Sebastian told me that the land breathed here.

Nature was far from mean to the Province, since it provided it with the ornamentation of several well-situated islands, which between them occupy a large part of the district. Those called the Wild Islands are on the South side, almost facing Cabo Ledo. The name is fitting, inasmuch as they are not inhabited nowadays, yet they deserve less harsh a name. For the name 'Wild' is, on deeper consideration, wide of the mark - as witness the abundance of their Indian fruits, their citrus trees, their palm groves, with a variety of timber for many uses. The three islands called the Islands of Idols are renowned, so it appears, for their fertility. One of them is very hilly, is full of many different kinds of trees, and is crossed and watered by rich streams; and because it is so comfortable for human existence, it has been chosen by the heathen for settlement. The other two, which are not very different, are used by them for their crops and cattle. Strictly speaking, these islands do not belong to the district of the Serra; nor do other islands nearer the Serra, to the North, and divided from that realm only by a river. These latter islands are fertile and full of all kinds of plants, herbs, and vegetables. One of them, Tasso Island, is well-known, and is so suitable for human life that even if one wished to take things easy, this island would never play the cruel stepmother, but would in all respects act as a loving mother.

Coming back to our Serra and its district, the land is throughout so fertile and so responsive to enterprise that the man who has had and continues to have sufficient experience of the area will have erased from his mind all confidence in that ill reputation which envious people have spread about it. This they have done, to the great scandal of our holy faith, because they are a worldly rabble, ^{and} with their licence and loose habits, are only interested in profits. They lack concern for the great cause of bringing a multitude of souls to Christ. The lives of these wretches exhibit on the one hand an obsession with merely temporal things, which destroys their consciences, and on the other a forgetfulness of Eternal matters and their own [f.48] salvation.

Another point must now be dealt with, the bounds of the Serra. Here follow the true ones. On the North side, along the coast, the bounds are the kingdom (sic) and lands of the Boulons, Casses, and Calus. Or rather, for Calus substitute Dagunchos, because these were driven out of the Serra by the Manes, and hence have had to settle in foreign lands, lands which seem to have been abandoned and left to them by the natives. Today they live in the valleys and plains of the renowned Serra Macamala, where people

of limited experience assert that there is crystal. We may yet believe these people, if they can convince us that it is found in the copious streams which flow from the base of the Serra, for in such streams that kind of stone may be found. In the same direction, the Serra meets the kingdom of the Logos, whose lands are very large, and which borders in the hinterland with the Fegnes, a very noble and rich people, and with the Limbas, the Fulos and the Sousos; and in this direction the land stretches on to Barbary. On the South side is Magarabomba,^(b) a patrimony of the crown of the Serra, a land full of little islands. Tausente Island is famous, and from it stretch out the shoals of St. Anne with the well-known Totos (Islands), which are four to five islets to the Southwest. The land possesses palm-groves, ivory and cola; gold is available, and there is good water; the whole land is sandy. Its borders are the lands of a certain heathen people^(c) called Baranas, who have great riches; and so it

(b) Magarabomba, a land full of idols.

(c) Beyond this island, the mainland carries on to Cape Mount, the capital of this Province, whose ^{superior} ~~superior~~ is Daba or Bento Farma, a subordinate of Mandimansa. At this cape Ludovico built his fortress, in order to trade the gold of that great Province. For the shortest route is from here, 40-50 leagues, which is not the case with that from Cantor, see Chapter 1, Book 2. Next come the Coras, hinterland heathen, hill people: they trade country clothes and gold. Ivory they cannot carry away: there is plenty of it. This trade is not open to our people, Daba does not permit it, since the heathen are very suspicious of foreigners. So much so that if the Manes themselves were to come in European dress they would flee. From here the land and the hinterland go on as far as Mecca.

runs on to the Cape of Good Hope. These are the true limits and bounds of what we call, strictu sensu, Serra Leoa. Therefore, neither the Casses, an independent land before the conquest ^{of} (the) Sapes, and also called Mabengoma, nor even the kingdom of the Boulons or [? the kingdom of] the Logos are included, or can be included in this kingdom or district of Serra Leoa, as their names themselves indicate. Truth will not allow us to include them. Greed alone will be the motive of anyone who considers our ^{demonstrations} limits too narrow. And should there be any desire to extend them wider, we would only agree to this when the neighbouring kingdoms, such as those of the Boulons or the Logos, come to accept the improper name of Serra Leoa.

Now let us discuss the third point of our chapter - the nature of the place and the fertility of the land. Generally speaking the air is more temperate here, and the water is better and healthier. The land is very beautiful and pleasant, with a variety of valleys, mountains, and hills, and with gushing streams which divide up, not only the Serra itself, but also the hinterland. It has a cover of dense forest, in whose shady woods the continuous and soft harmony of the many birds resounds most charmingly. The sea gives the district a pleasant outlook, the Serra itself being like a balcony over the sea, looking to the North and South. Its hills and high ranges spread in these directions, and are surrounded by its various creeks and rivers, all which are navigable to the natives, who pass up them deep into the hinterland. Hence the Serra has all that can be desired in the way of coolness and sea breezes. That is why we consider this Province the most attractive and most favoured in all Ethiopia; and why we consider the mountains of the Serra itself to be so kindly in respect of the health of the human body. Finally, this whole land is so suitable for those who can be content with the little that is essential for life, that we know of no other place in these parts where one can live better or longer.

Turning to the abundance of products, beginning with foodstuffs. There are different types of rice, the land producing fastest the sort the natives call 'seven weeks' rice', the apone of the land; then there is the more common kind, which is produced in great quantities, the common funde of the land. The seven weeks' rice gives a smaller quantity than our milho (millet), and is ^{darkish} grey in colour, but is very tasty, although it stimulates the sanguine humour in man. The land produces white milho and another kind, and also the sort called

macaroca, because it grows on a stem whose tip, where nature produces it, resembles a long spindle. From this grain they make cakes called batancas which we use at table as bread. The land also produces sesame; and tarafe, which grows on medium-sized trees found wild along the edges of rivers, and is used in times of famine, after being cured in water, just as we do lupine in Europe, but this seed is in larger quantity and is greener in colour. Of vegetables there are macarras, although these can only be obtained in small quantity: they are seeds similar to our peas, but there are more of them and they are different in colour, being a light grey. Then there are yams, potatoes, and mafafas which grow on plants under the soil, with leaves like those of the golfaõ (water lily) although these are much bigger; Calcutta pumpkins green and grey; certain beans; langanhas, which are widely used in the Cigas, and are fruits produced on the stems by a plant like a ^{malley} ~~geranium~~, /f.48 Ar/ in the form of those small sugar hats (?) which are shaped like pyramids; native aubergines called Bete; and also our own kind of aubergine, although cultivated in different way.

As regards meat, for those that want to keep the rule of Galen and Hypocrates there is no lack of domestic and wild fowl, peacocks, partridges, birds like turtle doves,^(d) and chocas which are small and dark grey in colour; also farfanos which correspond to our rabbits, and antelope, similar to our deer. The meat (from these creatures) is very good, but it is necessary to employ hunters to catch them. If one pays less attention to medical advice, there are (other animals which provide meat), elephant, buffalo, wild boar, pangles which are similar to cows with long faces and slightly-curved horns about half a span long, larger deer, and monkeys/apes. It is necessary to be on friendly terms with the hunters of these animals.

As regards fruit, although different from ours, there is no lack of it. There is Indian fruit such as bananas, some of them the smaller ones which are called Figs of St. Tomé - the subject of a discourse by the scholar João Fragoso and which in the opinion of D. Brocado was the fruit with which the devil persuaded our first parents to commit sin, as can be observed by anyone interested - and there are other bananas called centolous, longer and better. There are still longer ones more suitable for cooking than for the table; these are the ^{cultivated} ~~domesticated~~ ones,

(d) Wailing ducks and others.

which we have in our orchards and which are plentiful in all villages.

The valleys, hills and bushlands are bare and without brush wood for burning, like a good part of Europe. Coming to the variety of timber and trees, there is one tree so large that from a single specimen a canoe able to hold two or three hogsheads of cargo can be made. (Now) let us speak of the very valuable camo (camwood) tree, which is similar to ~~the one in Brazil~~ ^{Brazil wood}. The Serra is full of this tree, and also of another kind from which they make dyes, as they do from the Vongo, from which they make a very fine yellow dye. These woods are not attacked by damp or worms and are therefore excellent for many uses, and the canoes built from them last longer. However the foreign ships only take cargoes of camwood. The malagueta (pepper plant), a tree of middling size, is so called because of the fruit it bears, the long pepper, /f.48 Av/ which is very good for health, being hot and bitter. Because of its medicinal qualities, old hands order it to be used in their ^{cooking} ~~kitchens~~ and ^{stews} ~~in dishes~~: it counters chills and poison. Not only is its wood used to make masts for small vessels, but also its bark is employed to make oakum of a kind better than our linen, to ^{calk} ~~call~~ the bottoms and those other parts of ships which continually touch the water. Moreover tinder is made from it, which surpasses any other sort. From a tree called pance the natives draw a great quantity of tar, by striking the wood and making holes in it, and out of these comes a liquid called caca by the natives. This is dried in the sun, and ground into a flour, which can be boiled up like tar when required; the sign when it is ready is that it gives off a fetid smell. If we put on more ^{grease} ~~grease~~ than tar, the boat becomes so black that it looks as if it has been on fire and has turned to charcoal. To make strong ropes there is plenty of matampa, which is not a tree but in the way it spreads looks like a vine-shoot. Matampa resembles a fishing rod, but with the knots further apart. It is cut through the middle and very thoroughly beaten, the core is extracted, and after very careful scraping the remaining core is made into rope, the twisting being by hand. This rope is a very necessary item for ships, and on it depends their strength and safety. Matampa is very adequate for this purpose, since experience has shown that the ropes made from it are as good as those made from flax. (Ropes can be made from it) only in winter time, on account of the damp that the ropes require and the water that matampa needs, as its normal support when growing. Apart from making fittings for vessels, such as halyards and guy ropes, Matampa is used here for many purposes: they use it in building houses, tying up

the timbers with it, and so on. There is also plenty of nassinho, used for making different sorts of rope and all kinds of cord; these they make daily since they are not long lasting. But in the absence of the flax we have ^(in Europe) nassinho cordage is employed for most of the fittings on boats. I must not forget to mention pita, a kind of grass similar to our espadana (Spanish Iris), but the leaf wider and thicker; from this many types of cord are made, and it is employed instead of the thread we use, for mending shoes. Also, it is employed by sailors to sew the sails, or their clothes, and by fishermen to make nets, although more often they use the thread of nacome, which is /f.49r/ made from the tenderest leaf of the young palm tree. For the hoops of barrels used to store water, we do not need withes from Europe, for here they can be obtained in plenty from suitable trees, such as the pau dos arcos (stave-wood), the matampa, and the lirpa, which are long canes, although not like ours, more like Bengal canes; these, when split, are good for the purpose.

Of all the trees, the highest and the thickest, and the one with most branches, is the tree called poulan. It is planted over a puppy dog, whose blood has first been poured into the ground; so the tree, as it grows, is regarded as an idol by the heathen, and serves as a boundary mark for villages. No walnut tree or chestnut tree in Europe, however large, is as big as the poulan. It is a refreshing tree, under whose shade a great crowd of people can take shelter. Except on younger trees and higher up on old ones, the bark is covered with thick thorns similar to those on our brambles. Its fruit is like cotton; it can be used ^(instead of wool) as stuffing for mattresses, and when the tree sheds its fruits it is ready for blossoming again. Of the many different trees here, there is no bigger, and it is the one which is planted to mark the boundaries of land.

Let us now consider fruit trees, before we deal with grasses and bushes. The palm tree is the main one, producing chaveo, as was said in Part One Chapter . The ^{bushiest} ~~fullest~~ tree, and the one of most immediate ^{profit} interest, is the cola tree, of which the Province is full. Trade in cola fruit is the most regular and common trade. Cola grows in husks like our chestnuts; and cola trees to some extent resemble chestnut trees, inasmuch as both are large trees. The manipoleros (sorb-apple trees) bear manipolos, which look like yellow Saragossa plums, although the stone of this fruit is very large. These plums are so good that they would seem to be closely related to Saragossa plums. The machicas are like docase cherries. Some of the malilas are like sorb-apples. The foles, a very sweet fruit, grow on small trees, in

a kind of husk. (Other fruit trees are) abenche, sweet plums, black plums, the velvet-tree, and jagatu. The wild grapes, even if grafted or cultivated, never became as good as ours,^(e) etc. Without discussing here the real palm tree, /f.49v/ let us refer to the false palms. One sort is called poche, which is used to roof houses and from which wine is drawn; and another sort is called tara de bordão, and from this a large quantity of maguenche^(f) is drawn, which is also used as wine here. From this tara de bordão they make the gudinhos or containers for cola, the baskets to sift and clean rice in the same way as we do with our sieves, aresf, and straw mats. The nachul used to weave these goods is obtained from the leaves of the tree.

Now let us speak of the medicinal trees. Amongst these is the cedar the animpo, a tree producing copal, an effective poultice for chills of any part of the body. The bark of the mana, dried in the sun and ground into a powder, is good to alleviate headaches, when laid on the temples; also for itch and many other disorders. A very tasty medicinal oil, good for chills, is made from majuta. The oil made from the stone of the chaveo is very fine, and a bitter oil important for various uses is extracted from the fruits of a tree called uito: the fruits grow in husk. Now it is the turn of the citrus-trees, such as orange-trees, lemon-trees and lime-trees. The land is fairly well-stocked with these, although everything to do with their cultivation was brought here by foreigners who lived in the country in former times. The same applies to a quantity of sugar canes that are here. Even though the woods are full of all sorts of trees, plants, and poison herbs, the number of health-giving and medicinal ones is almost infinite, and if the local herbalists were able to write, they could write great tomes about them. Of spices, although there is no Malucca clove or Ceylon cinnamon, this Province has mantevilha, which can be used instead of saffron; red and black malagueta, which are used as pepper and as clove, and are so health-giving that the heathen use them in their medicines and on occasions with their food; cola, whose coolness lessens the burning taste of the peppers and which acts against poison, although here they employ even more commonly faça. This is the bark of certain small tree used for seasoning, normally with cola, but sometimes

(e) Perhaps they would be as good as ours if grafted.

(f) Maguenche is an inferior palm-tree from which is drawn the best wine

without; it is also good to quench thirst, on account of its juiciness, and it was used by the Manes^(g) on their journeys when they were conquering these and other parts.

The thick bush shelters a great many animals and beasts of various sorts, /f.50r/ apart from the ones I named before. We will deal now with the others, and begin with the elephant, because of certain characteristics of this great animal. It is the most fearsome and terrible of all beasts. There are many of them in this Province and hence there is a large amount of ivory. This is another commodity commonly traded in the Province. The best cola is so appreciated by the heathen that it is carried by Mandinga merchants as far as Mecca; and there is no heathen sacrifice in which it does not play a part. As for the elephant, let us speak about the natural charity these animals have towards each other. When a companion happens to fall into the traps which are dug in the woods to catch them, they pull it out; and if one of them is wounded, they take branches in their trunk, which serves as a kind of hand, and with these they fan away the flies from the wound and drive away other small creatures. With this 'hand', which is pierced on the palm, they pluck fruit and carry it to their mouth, and through its hole they drink or suck up water. Though this animal is so frightening, a mere mosquito can kill it: the mosquito gets into its trunk, which it then shakes so much, hitting it against trees, that the trunk swells and the elephant dies. Other animals here are leopards, lions, wolves and deer, although these are different from ours, also various sorts of gazelles, and numos. The numos live in streams which produce slime, and on this they feed: when they move they walk backwards: their meat is very tasty. Pangles I have mentioned; and there are rhinoceros, but these belong to the land of the Limbas, in whose ranges of mountains one can see at night great burning lights, as if of fires; and there are many other kinds of land animals.

(g) The Manes carried raça and by keeping it in their mouths they were able to go a long time without eating.

The smaller animals include the dari, which is amusing to see though one cannot admire its appearance. This creature is almost human. Even though it does not normally walk upright, its face, eyes, nose, mouth and other parts are more like those of a human being than those of a beast. Its beard, which is full of white hairs even if the dari is only two months old, is worth seeing, and this, taken together with its flat very wide nose and its frankly hideous upper lip, is enough to amaze anyone! The cries it makes as it twists its mouth to produce high and low notes, now higher now lower, are unique. Think of this hairy head appearing in a theatre in Europe! The sight of all ^{the things} the animal does would bring its owner a good supper and better dinner! These animals have no tail. The females have breasts like women, located in the same /f.50v/ place. When they walk they go on the backs of their hands, placing them on the ground. They have two hands and two feet, and on each five fingers with long nails. It is such a well-built and strong animal that it can tear out the palm cabbage from a palm-tree, hence they ruin the trees in those parts of the forest where they alone feed. They are great fencers, and when they meet any human being they go through the motions very enthusiastically. Ten or eleven years ago, a dari met certain blacks of Tombo, a village of the Boulons, and when it caught one of the men it gave him a hiding with a stick. The man was so badly treated that even today he has not recovered completely. They are fond of wrestling, chest to chest. If the female animal gives birth to a female, she abandons it in disgust; but a male offspring she always nurses and cossets. They are great enemies of elephants. Wherever elephants go, they flee from the daris, because if the daris see them it means that they go up to them with their sticks and give them a hard time. However, this more often happens when daris find a dead elephant in the forest, for they hit it such great smacks and blows with the sticks they seize for this purpose that it is a sign that an elephant is dying when one hears these blows and ^{the} bellowings of the animal.

Daris are robbers, to an extraordinary extent. It has been known to happen that they have even stolen children from their parents. During the period of the one took a little girl and hid her in the bush, feeding her for six days by bringing her fruits, until it was observed taking her the food, when she was rescued. What is especially amazing in this animal is that it climbs up a palm tree

with its baby, and will go from branch to branch, without hurting the baby, and indeed looking after it with loving care.^(h) A dari takes a small quantity of chaveo (palm nuts) and with a stone in its hand breaks the nuts and eats them. If someone hurts it, it will cry; it is usual to punish daris for their robberies and misbehaviour, as their mothers do in the bush. They even steal cloths which have been overlooked, from slave women and from anyone else they can, in order to cover themselves with at night. They look after themselves so well that instead of sleeping rough, like the other animals, they prepare their place in the forest; they sleep in the trees, on twigs and leaves that serve them as mattresses. At meal times, if they are denied anything they cry throughout.

In this Province, not so long ago, there was a dari which belonged to Estevão da Costa, from Algarve. When food was being served, it would immediately bring its own feeding dish and its drinking vessel. This dari was called Pilot. As soon as it saw /f.51r/ an oar being carried to a canoe, it would board the canoe at once, sitting at the prow. If it was told to get out, it became very upset and began to scream, to an extent that is almost unbelievable. When Costa had guests, those that were nice to the dari it would allow to come back another time; (but) the others it would not allow in, seizing sticks to beat them with, and slamming the door on them.

Daris are good musicians. In the forest, they make such an extraordinary thundering sound that it seems that we hear war drums being played. Usually it is said that they bang their bellies; other people say that they bang their feet on the ground, all together. When they are alone in the bush, they normally put their hands on their heads and walk on their feet. A person who sees their foot prints will not recognize them, thinking they are human. A sight worth seeing is a dari eating an orange like the natives, by sucking it, after making a hole in it with its fingers. To watch them 'poaching'

(h) They have natural compassion. I ordered a boy from this Serra, who looked after one of our daris, to be punished. The animal persistently refused to allow the boy to be punished. It attacked, making ferocious faces, and so they had to release him, out of fear.

is even more interesting! They like honey very much, so they remove it from the tree trunks that act as hives here. They approach the hole and blow into it, and out come the bees. Then they cover their faces with one hand and with the other take out the honey combs, passing them to their companions close behind them. These take them to a place where they eat the honey when the poaching is over. The older people say that, in the times when the natives lived in peace, daris were used to fetch water and firewood. But one had to be careful to lift the loads off their heads when they reached the houses, because if this was not done, they would break everything. Similarly they say that they used to grind food, but I considered this far-fetched. So is what I heard about a dari from the Serra which went to Rio do Nuno, where it worked as a ship's boy. It kept watch on the boat. Once, when the boat went aground, it tried with all its might to push it out again; but as it could not do this alone, when it saw a youth it caught hold of him, to make him help it, which the youth did. In return, the dari afterwards looked after the youth's boat, to prevent this one running aground. Anyone who has seen this animal will believe anything of it, even the most incredible things.⁽ⁱ⁾ When in former times they used to grind in a mortar, there would be trouble if the human partner gave rice from the mortar to children, for the dari would get angry and spank them. Being so versatile, this animal is the most dangerous to have around and bring up. It is very sensitive. But as yet these animals have not lost their dirty habits. They wash the tip of their nails in the flow from their noses and in the stream from their lower parts.

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- (i) There are heathen that claim to be descendants of this animal, and when they see it they have great compassion: they never harm it or strike it, because they consider it the soul of their forefathers, and they think themselves of high parentage. They say they are of the animal's family, and all that believe they are descended from it call themselves Amienus.

Turning to the different kinds of monkeys, their ruler and leader has four fingers on its hand. It is called ;/f.51v/ it does not touch the ground. When it has to drink, it does so from a tree hanging over water, and close enough to the water for it to drink from it. When it shouts, all the others keep silent.^(j) When it goes among the others, they all make way for it and show respect, after their fashion. There are other monkeys called sanchos, who live in ^{mangrove swamps} ~~large trees~~, and are very playful. When they see the children whose job it is to help in the fields, by guarding the crops when they are most open to damage, the monkeys seize their sticks, frighten the children with their grimaces, and make them run away. They do this in order to get into the young rice. Other monkeys called jagalacet, the most attractive and the longest lived, are so tame that they never forget the homes where they have been reared. They too are very versatile. Near here, there are others with stars on their coat, others with a white tail, others grey, and so on. Saninhas, which are the size of a small cat, have bushy tails. The tutos, with a body like a dormouse, are great enemies of all sorts of snakes, and by fighting them, they help us to find an antidote to their venom. The compolous, which are the size of a cat, are not liked by the wine tappers, because they go up palm trees and drink the wine out of the vessels in which it is collecting. These vessels resemble a narrow mouthed pitcher, but they are cut away a little on the top in order to make them fit more closely to the hole from which the wine is drawn.

There are various other small animals, with coats of different colours. The musk-cat, which is so valuable - the Serra is full of them. Chameleons are found here, and snakes of various kinds. The black ones, called simply this, are so venomous that their bite kills

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- (j) God allows such animals among us so that the devil may keep these people in their firm belief. When one of the heathen dies, the animals hold a great mourning near the village of the deceased. I had an argument with this family and they realised that they were not descended from the animal.

unless an antidote is applied immediately. Rofo is a kind of viper. Kangreverde, which is yellowish in colour, has a deadly venom for which there is no remedy. Aboro is black and thick. Iran can swallow a deer or a buffalo up to its horns, but by sucking in these animals it becomes so enlarged that it dies. It is not venomous. In sum, there are large numbers of these poisonous creatures.

Of birds there is a great variety: sparrow-hawks, bastard eagles, peacocks, parrots, and others like blackbirds; there are even some which look like nightingales. There are two kinds of sparrows. Some are small, and more like our sparrows: these usually go about in flocks. Others are yellow in colour, with a black head and neck. They undo each other's nests to steal the straw. Birds of another sort make their nests so skillfully that, though they are nearly one covado long, they are placed with such care on the trees that however hard it rains, the water cannot damage them. /f.52r/ To conclude, the birds are innumerable, and they display such a range of colours that they can give occasion for thoughtful people to contemplate the skill and art of the Supreme Creator.

Before I go on to talk about the sea and its contents, I would like to discuss the camosel. This is a large land lizard which makes its home in holes, especially holes in the towers of the bagabaga (that is, in ant-hills). The largest camosel is about one covado ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ long. These animals are very fond of hens and birds, and to catch them they hide in the most convenient places. They will eat anything, even human flesh. To the natives, this animal is the symbol of messages from the Enemy of all truth, just as the devil took the shape of a snake to deceive our first parents. And to prove it, they tell how a wonderful thing was seen in those parts from which the Manes emerged. The Enemy of the human race entered into the animal living in the towering hill of the bagabaga, and shouted 'Bei o Bei', meaning 'Help the King!' Now there was a village on each side of the animal. The people came running because of the screeching and uproar, which was the devil's work, and the two villages fought each other. Each side had many deaths, without either knowing what had caused the alarm. After they ^{animal} had eaten the corpses, something else happened. An old woman was gathering firewood in the bush near the camosel. She heard the cry, 'Help the King!' She went to investigate, and was amazed to see an enormous lizard. When warriors started arriving, the old woman

said to them, 'Stop! Don't fight! But dig up this place!' They found the abominable creature, which was so large and gross that they were horrified. They put an end to all this evil by killing it. (k) This is the story the Manes tell. (The moral is this). The intriguer and liar teaches and incites evil deeds. But he hides himself away, avoiding the public view, as the camosel does. For this creature only ranges its terrain in the secrecy (of night). It is indeed only in secrecy that falsehoods can prosper, can succeed, and can become profitable. So says Job: 'An evil man suits madmen.'

Let us conclude by discussing the baga-baga. This is a kind of ant. Its king is one of the same kind, but bigger, that is, longer and thicker. The society of this animal is a well organized natural republic. The royal palace is a mound of earth like a pyramid, almost a small hill, filled with cells inside. The female subjects serve their leader by surrounding him in the centre of the tower. Among them ^{16, 52, 51} is to be found the heir and successor to the monarchy, an ant which has a smaller body than the king, but which has the capacity to grow larger, in order to attain like him to the sceptre and royal dignity. This superior ant is served with all respect and all the signs of natural love. It never leaves the ant-hill; the others bring it the delicacies of mother nature. These ants make war on another kind of ant, a smaller sort.

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- (k) Alciato refers to this : he relates that a lioness and a boar fought each other under a tree above which was a vulture. The vulture was delighted because if the lioness won it would not be able to eat up all the boar, and so the vulture said, 'The spoils of victory are coming to me.' What does the evil care if you destroy each other? Or the judge if the evil woman, etc.

These are the main (living) things among the many produced in this land. Because of its full rivers, and because there is no lack of people interested in agriculture, who can cultivate the land, and improve it, by fertilizing it with the water and detritus of the rivers, there is no grass, vegetable, fruit, seed, plant or animal in the world that does not give promise of great increase here, not only in the Serra but in all parts of the hinterland. Thus, as the knowledge of agriculture and the interest in it spread among those who are going to settle in this land, so the handsome profits from all the activities which will develop in their time will expand too. The plants and the land will reward their labour with the fertility of their fruits and with all kinds of livestock and other animals, both domesticated and wild. I mentioned knowledge and interest because agriculture here (faces pests such as) the bagabaga which destroy everything, a particular grass which instantly kills cows which touch it, the plant-louse, the cagerta, etc. I have said that everything gives promise of great increase here because our (European) vegetables grow very well, parsnips, turnips, cabbages, lettuces, etc.; and so do our herbs, basil, etc. Turning to fruits, there are excellent melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, pine-apples, etc. All types of cotton grow here, and the same can be said of sugar-cane. If some imported plants have not grown it was the result of careless handling.

Certain fanciful dreams about the country have been repeated, dreams concerning pearls, mineral gold and carbuncles.⁽¹⁾ But we can only be sure about the presence of iron, saltpetre and loadstone. A Portuguese captain found a pearl here, but only one. Anyone who disagrees with us can entertain his fancies, that is his right. But our duty is to tell the truth about what we have seen, so that those who are eager to obtain knowledge may feed their minds upon it, a fit and proper task for such worthies. I do not deny that those commodities that a certain person likes to spread stories about may exist here. But ^(f. 53) in a place like this, where greed reigns, surely they could not have been hidden away so long.

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- (1) Some say there is silver, but not in the Serra itself. As for pearls, the King of the Serra has supplied reliable information. There are mines of bronze.

Now let us discuss the sea. It is full of different kinds of fish, which are so good and nourishing that they could maintain life better than any other foodstuff, if the natives were to show more interest in catching them. There are morros, red fish very similar in taste to our hake, conger-eels, douradas (catfish), xarras, skate, cacôes, bicas, barracudas which are very tasty, needlefish, jewfish, mullets, chapescabentes called cock-fish (moonfish), hunchbacked and small but very tasty, and guitar fish, similar to mullet but with a saw-mouth and called 'king of the fishes'. Also dog-fish, the least attractive sort, as they are covered all over with spines and have dog's teeth. Boozes, whose flesh is the colour of pork, are very large. The fish-horse (hippopotamus) has hoofs on the left side which make ^avery effective medicine ^{for}haemorrhoids. The hard parts of the head of the booz and the conger are equally good for stone in the bladder. The shellfish include oysters which are excellent in summer, ^{some}being collected from rocks, others gathered in creeks from the younger stems of mangrove as mentioned earlier; also mussels, cockles, larger bribigões, several kinds of shrimps, some of them prawns, others common shrimps, and very good crabs. A great variety of birds make their home in the islands in the sea : pelicans, herons of different kinds, guinchos, and ducks.^(m) All these birds take their food from the sea, some from the rocks, some from the beaches, some from the sandbanks where the others join them. They repay this plenty and generosity with their song, which they utter in flocks morning and evening, cheerfully or sorrowfully, so that their voices are never silent.

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- (m) 'The ostrich and the heron have similar feathers'. 'Secretum : the heron has many feathers, little meat.' Here there are herons in the sea, but on land only ostriches. 'Allegorically, I may say.' Low carnal ones ' 'There are many corporals but no captains. See number

What shall I say of the ports, particularly of the one in the Bay of Serra Leoa, which is so suitable for docking ships? Here the foreigners regularly careen, build and repair their ships. The port gives them refuge by protecting them and defending them from fierce storms, and they repay this by leaving their names as a memento. They carve them on the flat stones and the boulders of the famous Harbour of the Watering-place and on the trunks of trees there. Thus they offer perpetual thanks to the place for the kindness in the aspects of nature with which they were received. /f. 53v/

Chapter 2

About the character of the heathen that live in this Province, so various in name and language.

Given that the name of this entire Province comes from the name of the territory under discussion, let us now deal in the first instance with its heathen population, and after that, with the immediately neighbouring heathen. Both are so (firmly-rooted in their homeland and possess such ancient traditions) that we know nothing about their origins, other than their presence here since antiquity. All of them (have a way of life so characteristic of the land) that we have no reason to believe or state that they sprang from some migratory nation. Those who live in the Serra itself are called Bangués, taking their name from its river [*sic*] because Bangué means 'native or inhabitant of the rock'. The river that circles the Serra on the South takes its name from the people : the better informed and older inhabitants call it Rio Bangué, that is, 'river which girdles a rock or range of hills'. The area of the Serra is inhabited by this nation of savages, and in its flatter and grassy parts, which are extensive in the South, there exists even today at least one village which has never been discovered, and which the military power of the Manes has not yet reached.^(a) From there the natives at times make their way along a most secret path or trail, in order to find out what is happening in another village, which is built beside the watering-place of the Serra, and is called Pinto, because foreigners paint (Port. *pintar*) and carve their names on its rocks and trees. The present ruler (~~of Pinto~~) is Camalatesgo, who is descended from a native family there. The fearful respect these savages have for the conquering (Manes) has made them so careful and cunning that, in order to conceal the path to their secret villages, they walk it backwards,^(b) thus imitating the ruse attributed in Livy's History to Cacus when he stole the oxen. Since they lack the commercial intercourse which the inhabitants of Pinto have only too frequently with all sorts of foreigners, we believe that they wear nothing but the skins of the animals they hunt, which abound in the Serra.

(a) See Chapter 15, 'On the Manes'.

(b) Or all or some of them walk over the rocks in order to leave no foot-prints.

The Cabatas used to live on the South East side of the Rio de Mitombo. The Calus come immediately after them : these are the ^{kind} ~~sort~~ of people who used to live not only /f.54r/ in the Serra but also in the neighbouring country which today belongs to Ferabure. Then comes the previously mentioned kingdom of Mitombo, whose inhabitants are Temenes and all natives, (as well as) Baranas Chinquinas, Subos, Fegnes, Coras, Randacosas, Kerefe, Songoles, and Bias. Finally there is another country which only survives in part this is the land of the Sapes or Casses, who are today ruled and governed by King Farma's mother's brother. Bordering the Casses are the Safragos Limbas. These people, though lacking culture, are more suited to hear the Gospel, since they are so strict in the observance of their matrimonial contracts that they generally pay full respect to (prohibitions on) union between blood-relations. Hence, because they are so strict in this matter, relatives do not live in the same house, in order to avoid opportunities for capsc, and for this reason they have special quarters for any guests who are related to them. They so greatly detest those who eat human flesh that they consider them the only savages : they avoid normal communication with them and they treat them with discourtesy and contempt. Their land is almost wholly mountainous, but very rich. They say there are carbuncles there, since flashing lights are seen at night. The ivory tusks which are available there are in such quantities, and so thick, that no-one is capable of carrying them away.

The Limbas are great stock-farmers, breeding goats, cows and poultry. They are astute and clever, and inclined to be warlike, hence their villages have underground places, in which they live with all the necessities of life when besieged. This is how they have preserved their independence (and avoided conquest by) the Manes.

Two other races of heathen live in these districts. The Boulons take their name from (that of) the land itself, and we know of no other etymology : some of them, called Belo, are natives. The remainder are called Sivi, because they originated from Sivi where Mabangoma or Casses was (located): this is the proper Sape-land. The variety of names indicates the diversity (of peoples)

Before discussing the character (of the heathen), let us deal with the matter of language. There are as many languages as races or nations, each people having its own language, so that the Bangue man speaks Bangue, the Calu Calu, the Sape Sape, etc. But since all of the kingdoms are close neighbours, the language most commonly used today is the native Temene language. This language is learned by the more curious foreigners in order to facilitate their life in these parts. It turns out to be different from all other languages because the nouns do not decline and the verbs do not conjugate. ^{if. Sk. v/} Hence, there is no plural form, and in order to indicate the plural, that is, to speak of more than one, we find it generally necessary to add adverbs. These also serve as nouns; and in this way the verb is also a noun. As an example : for 'to whip' Temene says sapeco, but the noun 'whip' is sape. Thus, the verb serves as all (the parts of speech). For 'to eat', the Sape [sic] says gri, and 'food' is gri or sanaca. Equally lacking are present and past tenses, indeed any tenses at all. As an example : for 'to kill' Temene says crif, and this verb serves (in the same form) for all tenses, so that for the past tense it is necessary to add an adverb, apon crif perem. For this reason, just as the heathen lack the true faith ^{and} in the Christian ^{practice} style, so also they lack the words (in their languages) which would enable them to be taught the faith adequately. Here is an instance. In order to catechize it is necessary to refer to the Holy Trinity, but this cannot be done (literally) in the native language because it is too limited to express deep mysteries. Therefore, in order to teach the faith, to express its doctrines in the native language, and to hear confessions, it is necessary to learn the language. ^(c) As I

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- (c) It is very important to have lessons in the language and become acquainted with it, in order to hear confessions, to take the sacrament and to spread the faith : knowledge of the language on the part of the clergy produces many good returns, such as love of the Gospel by the heathen when they see that we can declare it in their own tongue. This is why St. Matthew wrote in the Syriac or Hebrew language. Those already converted are not silent about their sins when they attend confessions, they confess with more humility and with less fear of being found out, etc.

eventually discovered, native interpreters, unlike Timothy who interpreted for St. Paul, never express what they are translating sufficiently exactly. Furthermore, even the best interpreters here are not capable of explaining what the priests wish them to say, because they time after time misunderstand terms (in Portuguese). Being uneducated, they are ignorant concerning the figures of speech, especially metaphors, which have to be so much employed here; and hence they always say less than the minister of the Gospel intended. For this reason, the first thing to be acquired (by a missionary) is a knowledge of the language, so that he may fully achieve the aim of his evangelical ministry.

Having made this point, let us deal now with the character of the heathen. Nothing tells us more about the benignity of a country than the character of its people, whether good or bad. All the people in this Province are black. Very young children are very pretty, before they grow up their facial features are thoroughly pleasing, but when their faces widen they become less handsome. The faces of most of them are well-proportioned; their eyes are of medium size, but tending to the large; their noses, although generally flattened, nevertheless possess a reasonable shape, and there is no lack of those to whom nature has given slender noses; their mouth and beard are well shaped, and some (beards) are astonishingly full. An example of this is the beard of a gentleman who is the brother of the governor of Serra Leoa : /f.55r/ on the day of his baptism he it, and solemnized it, drawing the attention of all because it covered his whole chest. Almost all of them file their teeth, only for the reason that they think it improves their appearance, and they remove their front ones in order to drink the antidote against poison. Their bodies are strong and bear up well when they have to endure hard labour or hunger. They suffer great hunger for they regularly lack the staple foods. Some of them, as soon as they harvest their crops, use them up at various wake-parties, though they ought to keep a supply for the season (of hunger), together with other edibles. However they meet their needs with mangrove-fruits, with guzanos - which are worms that live in trees near the sea; they damage boats, doing the same at sea as bagabaga (termites) do on land - and with other wild fruits which the country produces; and they also make use of the 'eye' (the green shoots) of the youngest palm-trees, which they call aponc. During this season (of hunger), fishermen keep idleness away,

making fish-traps with which they cover the narrower creeks, reefs in the sea, and small bays, and taking large numbers of different kinds of fish. They sell a good proportion to obtain rice and any other staple foodstuff available, and thus meet their needs. Wine-growers undertake this task (of fishing) more frequently, because they not only need to obtain food but are also less busy (with their regular occupation) at this time of year.

After a child is weaned, it lives in complete freedom. As it grows up, it develops various aptitudes, and no native is found without at least one. (Some become) hunters, of elephants, buffalo, gazelle and other kinds of animals, and then they possess bows and arrows, and spears, made of iron and like ours, being long and a hand wide. (Others become) hunters of smaller game, or fishermen with nets and fish-traps. They are a delightful people. However, what is surprising, apart from the fact that they are not yet contaminated by the filthy vice of Sodom, is that they are keen-witted and sound in judgment.

One could say a good deal about their intelligence. It is shown by the ease with which they learn and (the rapidity) with which they acquire perfect knowledge and understanding of anything they set their minds to. This gift is common to all of them. If the adults do not bring to us their doubts on the subject of the Gospel this is because they do not apply their minds to this matter. Nor, to be truthful, are they interested in the Gospel other than as a momentary and material comfort : they make use of it ^{f.55v} and claim to be Christians in order to share our food and to acquire our friendship and protection. There is and could be no other (response, from them) since they model their life solely on the example of the lives of their ancestors. ^(d) Such people are those among whom ignorance prevails, deliberate ignorance, as the Prophet in the Psalm says: 'They do not wish to hear, lest they should be required to reform'. The only verb they know is 'to take'; the verb 'to repay' does not occur to them. Another point about them is that though they recognise the validity of our religion, they despise it more than the heathen (? normally) do, as I shall recount in due course. Because of their ability and intelligence, some of them have the

(d) See chapters 5 and 25.

gift of artistic imagination, and they carve in wood images of their dead, which they call cerof, and various other figurines which are found all over their boats. The variety of their handicrafts is due to their artistry. Their mats are woven in many very beautiful colours. (They make) bucho, which we use as beds here, out of nachul, a very soft kind of straw drawn out; tofos or large bags, which can be used to hold breviaries, or surplices and other garments, some of the bags being larger than others; tagarras, large wooden dishes in different sizes, of unusual and pleasing design, which are here used at table; spoons made of ivory, beautiful finished, the handles carved in entertaining shapes, such as the heads of ^{animals} birds or their corofis (idols), all done with such perfection that it has to be seen to be believed; betes or rachons, which are round and are used as low seats, and are made in curious shapes to resemble lizards and other small creatures. In sum, (all these show that) they are, in their own way, skilled at handicrafts.

I will refer here to a man amongst them who lacks hands. (e) He can climb a palmtree, cut palmnuts, make oars for canoes - which are like shovels but more concave and with the handle wider - and make fishing nets. This deformed man is so skilful at fishing that he amazed me when I walked along the beach at Tasso with him, and when I saw him laden with fish which he lifted from the stake with his mouth. Another man in the same kingdom has his face flattened, but though blind he greets those he meets and recognises many people; he climbs up palmtrees to cut chaveo (palmnuts), and trades with merchants in the products of the country, cola, rice, etc. When the servants of a Portuguese once met him, they ran away because he seemed to them a monster. /f.56r/ Some say that where the tear-ducts of each eye should be, he has a hole the size of a pepper-grain, and that he sees through these. He himself says that he sees through his mouth.

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- (e) This black has only stumps, no fingers, and he controls the balso, which is the rope with which they climb up the palmtree, by putting them [sic] in his mouth.

They are extremely proud, and equally touchy if ill-treated. If you call them thieves or witches, they are greatly insulted since these two offences are regarded here as beyond forgiveness. They will not put up with the least slight on their own honour or the honour of their kith and kin, honour being something they hold in great esteem since it is the only (virtue) they understand. They dissimulate and conceal their passions when they cannot ^{get their} ~~give them~~ ^{own way.} ~~face-rein.~~ They are only ^{restrained} ~~controlled~~ by cowardice and by fear of ill fame, (that, for instance, which would arise if) they lost guests whom they held in high esteem. If it were not for the checks (on their temper), we might hear of deeds committed by these people even today which would spread terror. Sooner or later (outbursts) are bound to occur. Generally, (however,) they are very mild in manner. Their tears, when shed honestly, would melt the stoniest hearts. Their mildness leads them to give a kindly welcome to foreign guests such as the Portuguese. They respect the Portuguese more than foreigners of any other (European) nation, because of the benefits of their commerce, and especially because the Portuguese come annually to trade in their commonest product, one which only they know how to produce, cola. This trade always brings them more than does the trade with other foreigners, who only take from them ivory and rice, as will be explained later. ^(f) In conversation among themselves, and with all kinds of foreigners, they are courteous. This is more or less characteristic of the people of the hinterland. They are humbler than those from the coast, some of whom, as a result of commerce with Portuguese riff-raff and other depraved people, have become (as untrustworthy as) Indian lascars. Such are the

(f) Their coats-of-arms are fruit trees, all of them, whether kings or lords. There is no room here for the ^{great antiquarian shenan} ~~arrangement made by~~ Minerva, according to poetic fiction, ^{on account of the} ~~whereby~~ the emblems of the gods were trees that bore no fruit: Apollo, the laurel; Jupiter, the holly oak; Venus, the myrtle; Hercules, the ~~poplar~~; Neptune, the pine; Juno, the jupiter. These heathen only care for those who have apple-trees and fig-trees, and they have no broadmindedness in this matter.

inhabitants of Pinto, another Porto de Alc here in the Serra, whose watering-place is notorious for (the visits of) all sorts of pirates, who come there to refresh themselves and to make merry over the fat loot they take from Portuguese ships. This has become so common that, to make a change, a novel occurrence for this Province was introduced in 1612, ^(g) when thirty white men were left here by Captain Lachennais, a Frenchman of Dieppe. They were given shelter and food, and many rich goods were brought to them by all the inhabitants.

They are skilled at collecting from their guests the debts they owe to others. They make them pay up, and then ask (the debtors) for a share of what they have collected. Some of them are so greedy that they buy out the debtor in order to collect the money. Not surprisingly, they boast of acting as intermediaries between their wives and daughters and other men: in this way, they serve any kind of person /f.56v/ who will employ them.

They are particularly suspicious, so much so that if we talk (in Portuguese) in front of them, the less suspicious ask us openly what we are talking about, and the more cunning inquire (from others) behind our backs. Some of them, such as the nobles and those who have been brought up among our people, understand Portuguese, and these listen without saying anything, and then act privately (on what they have heard). Hence, it is necessary for anyone here, as long as he has little experience of the land, to keep a guard on his tongue. The tongue, they say, is the key to men, and on it depends good or ill fortune in life. This gives it an ill name, as being responsible for all evil, for St. James says: 'The tongue is all evil'. A mouth which has an evil tongue is worse than the mouth of hell, since the latter only engulfs bad people while the former ruins good and bad. Hence the tongue is all evil, for it makes men blasphemers, perjurers, liars, rebels, murderers, thieves, forgers, heretics, apostates, traitors, etc. All of which is evil. An evil tongue ^{is capable of anything} ~~can do all this~~, and so it is the evil tongue which does most mischief in Guinea and ^{has destroyed it} ~~causes destruction~~. It provides the motive for the poisoning which affects so many daily and kills them little by little. It is the underlying cause of quarrels and divisions.

(g) Involving Jorge Mendes and Barbosa the Bure.

The natives (like to have notice taken of them and) feel it greatly if ignored. They are masters of the art of preparing love-potions and other medicines to carry out wicked designs. They are expert herbalists, the devil revealing to them all medicinal plants and trees. A bexerim told me, an expert in the art, that this evil spirit had taught him all he knew about medicine.^(h) They do not live in hope, as already explained in Part One when I was dealing with the Bijago. If you do not help them, you are a liar : they make no allowance. However poor a Portuguese may be, they say he wants for nothing. 'Kill the dead' says the savage: 'it's all their fault'. But to confirm what has been said about keeping promises, I will mention what happened when the conversion of these pagans to Christianity was first attempted. Various official declarations were read out, containing great promises, that ships would come (to Serra Leoa regularly), etc. The heathen did not remember, when things went wrong, that the advancement of the faith was the highest interest, but they did remember that no ships came. When the official declarations were not fulfilled, they said 'That's Christians for you!'; and they sold the Portuguese clothing which had been given to them at great expense. This is the way they look at promises here. They do not gamble, indeed they laugh at us when they hear that we have staked and lost a lot of money. It appears that in this respect they imitate the , since they say that to gamble is to covet, and that it is a short step /f.57r/ from coveting to stealing.

They are much given to rumour-monging and gossip. Anyone of them will give much to be the first to bring news. As they gather in their rice, sometimes they seem to do the same with all kinds of lies; for they spread news of a thousand wars which have never even been contemplated. When they travel, they wear their poorest clothes.

(h) Cube , as the devil showed him the medicine to cure Farma the Elder and inspired him to the deed when the herbalist was afraid to attempt it, out of fear of the savage king. See Chapter 5, particularly note .

They say that to give occasion for envy is to invalidate any promise of safe passage. They are generous among themselves, and like to display their generosity, and hence they are poor, since they give away their possessions to their in-laws, parents as well as brothers and sisters, and to the white man. (But) there are a few so mean that they will not give the white man even a cup of water. They do not spit or cough up phlegm when very ill, and yet they have the disgusting habit of eating lice, the dirtiest thing on the head. They normally let their nails grow until they could serve as spoons, and sometimes they use them in order to convey poisons. They place the poison behind their nails and carry it around hidden there, and then let it fall into water or any other drink.⁽ⁱ⁾ They are extremely gluttonous, and to achieve their end are like ants in an ant-heap. They are fond of wine, to an extent which can hardly be exaggerated. Only liquor can turn the son against his father, and brother against brother. Liquor will finish off whatever is attempted in the Serra. With four casks of wine, it could be conquered with the greatest ease; that is, if the people were not so fond of their homes. As for Christianity, what limit could there be on its advance if we distributed wine? They would rush to mass, to confessions, to catechism, to sermons, if they had a drink at each. Wine brings visitors to you, it makes you known, it makes you somebody. If you supply it, it is your best friend. And if you refuse to supply it, it is the worst enemy you can have. You may deny anything else to one of these pagans but if you deny wine, be on your guard, for you will have lost all. Whereas with wine the most difficult tasks and the most arduous undertakings can be completed, without it anything will go badly and the atmosphere will be like a graveyard. They have a great desire to obtain iron objects. They say that this metal fache boga oni because it is so necessary for the maintenance of human life, for instance, (by its employment) in agriculture.

They have no interest in our ornaments and products, but they value remnants of our cloths, which they use as patches on their shirts, sashes, and hats, patching in various colours, much as monks do. Nevertheless, they lack the excessive acquisitiveness of certain heathens in the East, since they only value what is truly valuable,

(i) A form of revenge : he eats and crushes it between his teeth in a day (?), etc.

such as gold, which we assume /f.57v/ that some of them hoard. It is not among the more savage peoples that a set of drinking-vessels for birds would be valued at thirteen hundred or so cruzados, which is what the King of Bungo paid; nor would an old and mended pot-holder be worth one thousand four hundred cruzados here. These heathen always look for value.

They show little curiosity about music and instruments of music. However, they have their own guitars made from calabashes, some with only two strings, others more like a harp, all crudely made as one would expect from them. They have bambalous and various drums large and small; and the lords have trumpets. They are enemies of any kind of secret, and a jealous people. Yet they deserve great praise in that they are so strict about theft.^(j) Goods may be left in the streets and outside houses, and no-one will take them. Nothing goes missing from the churches. They consider immorality an abominable thing. They similarly detest the shedding of human blood, which they punish severely. Because of these two laws, and because the people are fearful of breaking them, this country is normally peaceful. When there are quarrels among the whites, they say to the Dutchman or the Frenchman, 'Go back to sea and stop fighting on land, where the lords value peace'. This is what happened in Porto de S. Pedro in 1612, following some discord which had been sown by a wicked man. The king settled it, pacifying everyone with a proclamation (worthy) of a true Christian and a friend of ours. A proclamation is also made, if anything disappears, and the man who has taken it puts it down in fear. They practice ~~money~~^{money}-lending ^{for a} ^{fixed} period, and if the period ends and the borrower does not return what was lent, the lender seeks interest, saying that money should earn money : raca sonco raca 'goods from goods'.

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- (j) The more 'advanced' among them begin to do this, and the excuse they give for stealing from the whites is that we have no simis, which means the severe punishment which operates among themselves.

Chapter 3

The public institutions of the heathen, including their laws and legal arrangements, and the deficiencies of these.

/f. 58/

To start this chapter, it seems to me proper to begin with the native kings. There were three of these in this Province. The first was a Temene named Massaiare. Those who accepted him as their lord and were subject to him were the Bangues, The Cabatas, the Calus, the Temenes and the Sapes of Turagare, hence he ruled the Serra and Logos. The second was named Massacaeta : he was a Boulon, and all the land which today we call Boulons was under his sway. The third king they called Kemenacai, a Sape king over Sapes : he ruled Mabengoma, or as it is called by us, Casses, a district today exporting great quantities of cola. Although each of these kings was like an emperor in his own empire or kingdom, each village had its own chief or governor.

Now let us discuss the system of succession to the throne. On the death of the last ruler, the kingdom goes to his son; or if the son is incapable, to the dead king's oldest brother, or to one of his nearest relatives. Elevation to the throne and recognition as king proceed in the following way. The heir is sought out at his residence, since he does not care to come forward himself; and when the people arrive they tie him up. At this stage of the proceedings they raise such an uproar, all of them shouting and wailing, not least the king who is tied up, that it makes one laugh to witness this ridiculous ceremony. The king makes his way in this fashion, followed by his wives and children and a crowd of people. When they reach the king's palace and courtyard, they shave his head, and ~~strip~~^{strip} and strike him. Having removed his bonds, they take him to a funco. This is a kind of house, but it is raised up in the air on four poles. These poles carry discs on their upper parts, each disc the size of a large shield, in order to stop rats from attacking the foodstuffs and pieces of clothing they keep there, because, in short, they use the funco as a granary, as a wardrobe, and as a larder. When the leading men have assembled at this place, the oldest member of the Council makes a speech about the succession of the new king and the reasons justifying the succession. At this point he explains to all those standing around that the ceremony which has been carried out was not performed because of any lack of respect for the royal person, but because it was intended as a public lesson for a man who was going to rule other men. Having had practical experience of physical penalties and of rewards, he would deal with his vassals as each deserved, administering true justice to all, and maintaining the law,

without respect of persons.

The natives also have officers of the council called solatequis. These are invested by placing them in a house, and after they have been thoroughly flogged, a puppy is killed at the door where the officer to be invested stands. Then they sound a trumpet^(6.58.41) made of a certain sort of hollow wood, and all the inhabitants of the village assemble. In honour of the solatequis, a great hullabaloo is raised. Each new solatequi is instructed to send for money to pay for the investment ceremony, or if he lacks money he hands over a servant-girl or a son as a pledge. When the money comes, it is handed over to the king, who orders the man to be dressed in the insignia of a solatequi, which is more or less only a single coloured cloth.

They have recognised pleaders or advocates, called arons. Their costume is made up of different kinds of clothing. First, one net-cloth over another, then the skins of various animals including their tails, and over these breeches covered with more tails. Hanging from their necks they have chest-bands of many colours, and they cover their faces with an ugly mask, which has an enormous nose, and which is partly black and partly other colours. An aron begins his speech, gives "tongue", then plays on a freshwater-turtle shell which makes an extraordinary noise. When a case is opened involving bloodshed or adultery with the king's wife, it is normally the aron who introduces the matter and denounces the accused. His insignia is a broom of palm twigs, which corresponds to our mace or wand. With this broom in his hand, the king administers justice in court on the most serious offences, with the solatequis around him, and the advocates from both sides carrying out their duties. Minor offences are tried separately. When parties bring an action themselves, or through their advocates, and advance it to the point of judgment, all of which is done verbally, then if the king turns the broom during the discussion towards the accused or the complainant, this is a sign that he favours that one. But if he turns the broom away, this means reproof and disapproval. Pleas of all kinds are permitted and employed. When the solatequis award the sentence, it is submitted to the king before its execution; and if he does not approve of it, he amends and revises it in accordance with advice from the majority, the whole matter being gone into again with great care. Finally, when the order is given to execute the sentence, if this involves torture the torture is so cruel that it is a miracle if anyone survives it, since they split a tree-trunk and put into the cleft the head of the guilty wretch, with the result that his brains are squeezed out and he dies on the spot. A thief is impaled

at a crossroads so that people will know he was a thief and that he died for this crime. Adulterers are punished with death or enslavement, and witches are treated the same way. Gossipmongers have their ears cut off.

Before going on to discuss the civil government in peacetime, as is appropriate for this chapter, let us first comment on the inadequacy and superstitious nature of their diabolical system of justice. I call it 'diabolical' because normally ^{/f. 59/} the proofs of guilt are obtained by immoral procedures, such as divination, which they call matís.^(a) To discover a thief, they boil water in a pot, and while it is boiling put a hand into it, at the same time naming the villages and the people living in each. If as they name a place the hand is scalded, they believe that the thief lives there. Continuing with the ceremony, they then name the persons (in that village), and when the hand is scalded the person they are naming is the guilty one, and they proceed against him. They have another judicial proof which they call 'proof by snail' or as the heathen call the creature, atínco. They fill up the shell, a large one, with water containing aeban, a special medicine, and the bark of macone, a very poisonous tree whose fruit when crushed makes a paste used to poison arrows. After ceremonially sprinkling the outer part of the shell, they then boil it with its contents; and when it is boiled, they take a straw and draw out some of the preparation, and pour this over a certain part of the body of the accused. They then scrape the skin with a knife and if any comes off, the accused is guilty. But if not, he is absolved, and his accuser is punished.

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- (a) "My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declared unto them: for the spirit of whoredom hath caused them to err, and they have gone a-whoring from under their God", Hosea 4:12. This was the form of divination among the Hebrews. Thus Jerome and St Cyril. For divination among the Chaldaeans, see Ezekiel 21:21. They throw lots, they do not fall as they wish: they should believe that God is not on bad terms with them.

Aebare is another method of detecting the guilty. They take a hen and place in its eye the juice from the bark of aebare, which is poisonous. If the hen is blinded, they go for the poor man, who may be innocent. Another method employs a red-hot iron. Someone is accused of a crime, so they place a piece of iron in the fire, and when it is red-hot, they pass it over the palm of his hand, after first covering the hand with the local oil.^(b) If the iron passes over without burning him, this is proof that he is innocent. The Lord God allows the devil to chastise these infidels thus, as a penalty for their corrupting the natural order with their vices. Hence it commonly happens that when they employ this ritual, the water does not scald, etc. Could anything be more surprising to us than the red-water ordeal?

They have various other forms of divination, but we need not discuss them all. It is enough to comment on those most commonly employed, since by these alone the evil nature of the heathen can be understood. They entertain a malevolent and false belief about their illnesses and physical ailments, for they say, and they sincerely believe this, that God does not send death to them, rather it is their enemies and rivals who are eating them up. When they take to their beds, the first thing they do is to consult Accaron. Like Ocosias, they send messengers to the most famous sorcerers, who put a thousand lies into their heads. The sorcerer, ^{this} ~~is~~ ^{the} servant of hell, puts on the fire a small pan containing a little water. When the water begins to boil, he asks the devil if the sick man is going to die. If the boiling dies down, this is a sign he will live; or if the water cools down, he will die a natural death. But, should the boiling continue, in order to find out if anyone is giving him poison or is otherwise responsible for his death, the sorcerer names the man's relatives. If the water sinks back when one is named, he is not to blame; but if it boils over, they consider that the person named is the guilty one. The sorcerer promptly says: "He is not guilty; but if he is, let the water boil even higher to show us!" If it does this, they fall on the poor man, and on the orders of the king kill him or enslave him.

(b) Here they use heated pruning-knives on the neck or the thick of the arm nearest to it: they first anoint the part with oil. The Jalofo run it over the tongue.

There is yet another ordeal, that of the bier, which has been already mentioned. On a bier they bring either a man who is ill, or the clothes of a man who has died, and they proceed through the village. Unhappy the person towards whom those conducting the ordeal direct the bier, often out of hatred or revenge! They attack his house on the instructions of the judicial authorities, and against all true justice, seize his whole family, killing them or selling them, and plundering the family completely.

The red-water ordeal is another of their forms of inquiry. They boil the bark of macone, then seat the accused in a public place and give him this poisoned drink, which kills only those who have no-one to help them. As I have stated elsewhere, immediately after the person has drunk a calabash of red-water they give him a calabash of plain water to drink. If the accused expels the macone in one vomit, they consider him innocent. But if otherwise, he dies lamentably. The relatives of those who have to submit to the ordeal help them to prepare for it. Most of the accused vomit the poison before it can do them any harm, as a consequence of their taking antidotes beforehand, antidotes such as gold-dust, the most commonly employed, or oil. They consult beforehand a sorcerer, to find out the right moment to take the poison, and sometimes they try it out on slaves or hens. So those who have the means thus escape the effects of the ordeal. But those who lack means sometimes poison themselves in order to avoid a miserable and shameful end, both for themselves and for their family. The red-water ordeal is the ordeal most commonly employed. To sum up, all these means of proof are contrary to natural justice and have no rational justification. Only a voluntary confession can be a just and sufficient reason for a condemnation. The savages make such confessions during their illnesses, when they freely admit their sins, since they believe that by doing this they are absolved. An instance of this occurred in the Kingdom ^{/f. 60/} of the Serra in 1612, when a witch who had fallen ill admitted that he was indeed one, and that the corofins had brought him to this state because of his witchcraft and because of his great sins. The king ordered the family to be enslaved.

So much for their judicial practice. As regards wars, the original inhabitants used to have them, since the devil and envy always stir up wars. On another point of their civil administration, the heathen do not have one special fair, since the land only provides

general trading. The inhabitants are all farmers. There are no ploughs here: ^(c) all farming is done with hoes which have the blade fitted through the handle. Machetes are made the same way, with the blade fitting in the wooden handle. They also possess bill-hooks. The men cut down the thick forest, but first the women cut the smaller trees. Where they sow one crop they follow it with a different one, funde (hungry rice), macarras, cotton, etc. Before they can sow they have much to do, since the success of the crop depends entirely on the thorough burning of the previous bush. If it happens to rain at this season of the year, it is bad for vassals and lesser kings : in due course they must have ready a tribute of rice for their rulers, and also other commodities which they have undertaken to deliver through agreements with all kinds of people. Among the natives are weavers. Some of their looms are different from ours and operate by hand (? rather than foot). Their use is confined to making repairs as need arises, and only those employ them who have least commerce with us. Their work is worth a few pennies. Their blacksmiths are very good. This craft is a solemn one, since the nobles prize it and some practice it themselves. They have tailors among them who work in their own style. Their shoemakers make very ingenious bandoliers. As for masons, they all know how to build their own houses. Some of them are hunters, fishermen, and dyers. They have so many crafts that in time of peace they lack little or nothing in the way of skills to provide all those goods required for general subsistence, either by the natives themselves or by foreigners. But the kings and foreign governors are to blame for the land being impoverished, since they pride themselves so much in being in charge of it, and since their sons, brothers and relatives are so troublesome to the natives that for this reason they neglect and abandon their crafts. If we manage to obtain a little fish, wine or meat, we have to do it secretly by night - so greatly do the inhabitants fear those greedy crows! /f. 60v/

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- (c) Bogoto. For their crops and harvesting them, they have a society of workmen, bogoto : all the officers direct the labour of many workers by playing drums in the construction of Jata's tabanca.

Chapter 4

The domestic institutions of the heathen, their lifestyle and customs

Their towns and villages are normally established far from the sea. Apart from these larger settlements, they have small ones called chicals. These they make use of during the farming season and they correspond to our farmhouses, although they lack all the fine points of ours. Their houses are square. The roofs rise roughly in the shape of a pyramid so that their villages resemble the tents of an encamped army. All of the houses are covered with thatch or poche, (taken from a tree) from which wine is drawn and which provides the thinnest and finest nachul used for tofos and various small personal ornaments. The houses are decorated by being plastered with common clay. The more particular among the heathen have an odd kind of bench running round the house, to make it stronger, and they whiten the house with oystershell. Apart from the ordinary apartments in which they sleep, almost all the houses have an area like a little yard or a gossip's corner: these are called cabres, and are within the house and are shut off by the same door. They are used by lords as court-rooms and places of audience in relation to matters of minor importance.

As for the furnishings, (being mainly mats) like the female sex they all give a man an opportunity to sin. They have tagarras to eat from, four (? kinds of) mats, colegas, colmas to sleep on, some cotton (cloths), a bow and quiver, and some spears. And to sustain life, they always keep a little rice and some oil, those who can manage it. The colegas, which are made from the tara (raffia) from palmtrees which is also used for godenhos (baskets), are employed as trunks by all those natives who as yet are not up to anything better. Kings and lords have larger dwellings and rooms for guests. What they hang on the walls of these houses is only a seepho, that is, a spike or black sword with a hook at the end on which they hang their bow, etc. Their binte or execution blade - they call this weapon their staff-of-arms - acts as a safe-conduct throughout the lands of a king for any person to whom he gives it. Their carpets are skins of various animals, such as goats, antelope, etc. On these skins they seat their closest and oldest friends when they come to visit them, but mats and colmas are good enough for ordinary people. Kings and lords welcome guests /f61/ very generously in their fashion, but (the guest's) purse has to pay for the feast is offered wholly out of self-interest. They bow to good white money : "Come over here ! " : and this is how things generally go on here. Self interest makes its appearance in all sorts of colours.

After birth, children are brought up with all the indulgence the land permits. They consider those children the finest and most devoted who are

the worst behaved and who the most ready to apply themselves to sensual vice. They have no understanding of the need to punish such children. rather They would deprive themselves than restrain their children, hence these children are the most intractable and least disciplined. If the children are to receive the Faith, God permitting, in many cases these stems need to be uprooted from their natural base. In idolatry they need no lessons from their parents or superiors, because they make such good progress in it (unconsciously) that instructors are not necessary. In fact they are all wicked because of excessive indulgence, and because of lack of sound instruction and good upbringing. All of them are liars, cheats and sly concealers of truth. This is the fruit of la vita dolce. When they are children they wear a narrow length of white cotton cloth over their private parts, and even when they grow up and wear breeches they retain this piece of cloth. The women dress decently, wearing cloths of different kinds, some of which they have had woven (locally), and others they have obtained from the Portuguese.

This is how families are ruled. Their basic subsistence comes from the products of the land. Sons and daughters support themselves when they have their own house. But since their resources are limited and they have many children, and sometimes some of them are illegitimate, they suffer great hardships. Men accept as their children those born to their wives after they have given them to other men, as I will explain later. Hence at the end of March or April the poor children wander off through the villages, leaving their fathers and other relatives who care nothing for them, and seeking their mothers and brothers and sisters, with the result that until they find their own home they do badly for dinners and suppers. No-one here buys them clothes, they have only the black dress nature gave them, which they tear when they climb palm trees, clear the forest or do other tasks.

Now let us discuss their lifestyle and customs. Since they all lack Christian moral principles, it is hardly surprising that they also lack the highest principles of human behaviour. However they do not lack natural morality. When they get up, they greet God in their own fashion, and they ask him for the good things of the temporal life, such as health. But as regards their soul, they have so little concern for it that it is as if they had none. When addressing kings they employ various courtesies, as I shall shortly explain. Among themselves they use the expression atuao, meaning "Bear up ! " More important people they address a /f.61v/ different way. They put their elbow on the ground, and they use the same expression atuao, or else lonta, meaning "Your Majesty". They do this

when addressing kings and chiefs, and certain Portuguese whom they consider worthy of public respect. As they carry out this courtesy, they normally touch the ground with their elbow, or else they strike the palm of the right hand on the chest, in which case they merely make a gesture with the elbow, pointing it towards the ground but not actually touching it. When they employ the greeting atuao, the right arm is held out and the fist is clenched. When they meet a person of higher standing on the road, they step aside and let him pass. Those who wear string caps made of macome and certain other fibres, take them off when greeting a person. When a chief or a notable or some other person of standing visits a king to whom he is subject and subordinate, and if he has been delayed and has not seen him for some days, he appears before him and strips off his shirt, then he throws himself on the ground, chest downwards, and his arms extended, and he turns on to his back in the same position. This is done as a sign of acknowledgment of vassalage, in order to dispel all suspicions of rebellion, such actions indicating that he is a slave (to his superior). However those who are kings or independent great lords themselves, when they visit their superiors, remove their shirts and greet them with lonta, but do so squatting. Their superiors give them the polite greeting that is their due, and seat them near themselves on animal-skins or on mats. Other visitors are given a different place, further away; if they are chiefs or governors, on a mat, but those who are not rulers, on the ground, like the common people. Before the guest says his "Bear up ! ", he sits down, then makes his greeting. Women make their greeting seated. These heathen consider women to be privileged, and they say that women own/bear me

I have spoken of their household furnishings. The men have swords and shields: some of the latter are like large wheels and are made of matampa. For use at table, the richer sort possess basins, and Flemish tankards for drinking from. The most important kings have more polished manners and use plates. Beds are of straw. They use furnishings made from straw as mattresses: such are their colmas, which are like long narrow mats and are made of a certain soft reed, resembling our boinho but thinner. Other mats are made of bamboo drawn from shoots of tara, and godenhos (baskets) are made from this. They also use the buchos I have described. A fire general serves instead of a blanket, since they never sleep without one, not only for the heat but because it keeps off ^{the} snakes, which commonly share the house here. For their dress, they prefer Moorish shirts, as already stated, worn with breeches with many pleats, resembling (our) men's drawers. To travel in, they have shoes like sandals. They wear their hair braided.

These people make little use of finery, except with the children, when they hang strings of glass beads around their hips, and crystal and coral, etc., around their necks and arms. Men and women wear gewgaws made of

these natural materials. All of them usually carry metal rings, of Moorish brass or tin, on their fingers. Their trunk, face and limbs are marked with a thousand pictures of snakes, lizards, monkeys, birds and so on. When they present gifts, these gifts turn out to be a miserable cock, or a mat, or a bucket of rice or salt; and with these for bait, they deal with us as first-class usurers would. If it were not like this everything would be ruined. They say that a cock is the most suitable present, and they use these in their sacrifices. As well as braiding their hair, they shape it into a thousand elegant patterns, shaving it with knives and leaving portions to form various shapes, some oval, others like half an orange. Some of them look like monks. In sum, the sight of their heads provokes laughter. Their teeth they always keep very clean. They draw out their eyelashes and say they do this in order to see better. They eat any kind of food, but it seems that they prefer those with a strong smell, for they never salt anything, not even meat, even when all of it has been smoked. They use these (? smoked meats) in their ciga, a dish like a selada, cooked in oil. They are exceptionally greedy when it comes to eating meat of all kinds, and for pork they would sell themselves. They behave most kindly to those who are sick. They do not employ blood-letting, saying that it is bad to lose what is vital to life; however those educated in our ways do this. But they use scarifying, and various medicines in the form of herbs and health-giving plants, which they boil in wine or water and either drink or wash the body with; and they have powders which are used as ointments.

To bring this chapter to an end we shall discuss their abominable custom of cabondos, women of a nefarious kind. Someone goes to one of their villages to deal in cola, rice, etc. He selects his host, who parades in front of the trader his whole household of women/wives and tells him to chose one. If he says that he does not want a woman, no more happens and this puts a stop to the thing. But what man does, and shall we praise him if he does ? If he wants a woman, he is given one, for all purposes; and they are content to accept this, out of self-interest. For apart from the normal expenses, as ^(f. 62.) long as the trade goes on with the woman's parents and relatives, and until he leaves, the poor 'son-in-law' pays up - because he clothes the 'father-in-law' and pays very steeply for these devilish arrangements. If it happens that after saying he does not want a woman the guest takes one from a neighbour, they attack and rob him. And if after taking one he goes off with another of those he was shown, his own woman reports him. All the children that wives of these panders have by those men to whom their husbands give them are accepted by the husbands as their own, without any fuss. Since profit is made by being a pander, men prize the role, to the extent that they will go long journeys and endure great hardships (? to offer their wives). Such fathers do girls here have, etc.

Chapter 5

The little attention these heathen give to the true faith and their limited understanding of it : the variety of their idols and their peculiar superstitions

Although in all their diabolical sacrifices these heathens begin by invoking God and do not deny Him, Satan thus giving their false superstitions the appearance of legitimacy, yet the whole of their behaviour is so earthly and sensual that it clearly demonstrates that these savages have little understanding of the truth. They have so little knowledge about the creation of the world, of the globe, and of their own soul, that they marvel at those who do have knowledge of these. They know nothing of the life of Christ Our Saviour and of His most blessed Passion. No news has reached them of the glory of the blessed or the punishment of evildoers, no news even of God Himself, as a heathen called Tora who later died a Christian once said. Speaking to the Portuguese, to whom he was a good friend, he said : "Ah, gentlemen! God passed through our country by night, and for this reason we never come upon him here. We believe that he has deserted us". About the Virgin and all other heavenly matters, they know little or nothing. When a chief saw a picture of Our Lady, he went right up to it and stared at its eyes. The savage was charmed by these, because it seemed to him that they followed him wherever he went. His great concern [f.63] was about the rear side of Our Lady : not being able to find it, he said : "God help me! This woman has no back! ". Another heathen, seeing the Virgin with the Child in her arms, and on the other side of the altar a picture of the Saviour holding the globe in his hands, asked if this was her servant, since he imagined that the globe was a shield. However, when a good Christian explained to him the Mystery of our faith, he was satisfied.

The heathen here are less advanced than the Japanese. Their questioning of us demonstrates their intellectual curiosity, but they know so little about any spiritual things that they laugh at us when we speak to them of religious discipline, of fasting, of prayers, or of the keeping of festivals. As regards the other life, they have the same attitude towards it as to this life : they believe that one will be powerful there according to the weight of possessions one takes there, thus measuring the eternal by the temporal. What is worse, it seems to them that they will spend eternal life living just as they do now. So when their parents or children die, they say that God has come to fetch them. When I asked

one of them where God was taking them, he said it was to a lower place. I replied that what he said was true, since the centre of the earth was the abode of evil spirits and the destination of those who obeyed them, for instance those who were not baptised and who did not carry out holy works. In this way the enemy of the human race maintains the blindness of savages who scoff and mock at all who teach them concerning the law of salvation, for in their ignorance they care to know no more than the law of their own appetites. He puts such fear into some of them that when we speak to them of Heaven, they say that they do not wish the devil to torment them at death as he always does Christians, as we saw when D. Pedro, our king, died, and suffered trials and agonies at his passing. Hence they offer us their children, but flee (from baptism) themselves as if it were an evil thing. When any are converted, they are converted to our property and our temporal interests, and not to the Lord and the yoke of His most holy religion. In this way the prince of darkness has kept these savages for so long in a multitude of sins and in great ignorance of their true salvation. The whole of Ethiopia is so thoroughly fenced in and fortified (in its ignorance) that we might call it the Castle of the Sleeping Beauty, within whose walls all creatures rest and sleep.

These heathen are much inclined to follow the example of their parents, ^(a) and they say: "I tread the way my father did, to complete life's journey". From this belief arises their unwillingness to listen to the details of our faith; and possibly they believe that we will deceive them because we are foreigners. For this reason I have always held that little /f.63v/ can be hoped for, as regards the spread of our faith, from the adults. Yet their support is essential. Children imitate the example of their parents in the practice of ceremonies and superstitions. By these practices they hope to propitiate that merciless spirit of evil, rather than the true God. Yet the Lord is such a friend to us that he never allows the devil to go so far that His creatures lack enough light to distinguish the evil one's tricks. But it seems that even in this respect these heathen have failed to deserve His divine bounty, so widely has the enemy corrupted the customs and good nature of all of them, so thoroughly has he disarmed them in the face of all kinds of vice, so completely has he closed their eyes to matters of heaven and

(a) See Chapter 18.

eternity, while (in contrast) they are so lively and skilled in temporal things. As I have said, they are blinded to such an extent that, like lunatics, they notice nothing. Hence in their illnesses they are all so stubborn that they ask the agent of the devil to tell them what will happen to the sick man. Just as we, in our toils of life, resort to prayers, masses, religious discipline and so on, similarly they resort to all kinds of idolatry, and they make sacrifices and offerings to their intercessors, who are their dead. They believe that these wicked spirits, who never ceased to offend God when on earth, can carry any matter before Him in heaven.

All of them act in accordance with the words of prophecy in Malachi, chapter 3 (verse 14) : "Ye have said, It is vain to serve God: and what profit is it that we have kept his ordinance?" These are the words of the wicked. Thus, as they have no hope (of salvation), it seems to them a very hard thing to undertake of their own free will a Christian and virtuous life which goes against their inclinations. This blindness fully merits the tears shed over the Hebrews. If you had known, in your day, his peace and his benefits, things which you must do without! "Peace, peace, when there is no peace" (Jeremiah 6:14). "All peace is lacking for the man who does not know the peace of the Lord". Their false ideas are strengthened by what they see of the bad Christianity of our people out here, the licence of their very corrupt lives; the bad example they set in not keeping feastsdays and vigils, and in eating meat on these days with great abandonment^(b); and their sensual behaviour;

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- (b) Inns filled with flies and smoke, where the hostess is full of anger, so that the traveller flees. The consciences of these people are such that if they try to examine their inner self they find this so completely depressing that they give up. All of them get their reward, dying without having received the sacraments for seven years; thus they pass away. "I am not a prophet, nor the daughter of a prophet, but what I thought was true has happened" (Amos 7:14, misquoted). "May he stay in Alexandria in the family" of Pedr' Alvares and the captain of his ship 'Lorelho'.

and from this, they conclude, "Our way is a better way". When they see that things go better with a bad man than with a good one, they immediately throw this fact in the face of those who are virtuous. "What have you to say about So-and-so? I see that he has a better house, he is richer, and so on". They do not understand those ways of the Lord which are beyond our comprehension, so that even when circumstances would permit it, He does not always chose to bring the wicked to the end of their voyage and the harbour of death. This prosperity (of the wicked) often /f.64/ leads to great carelessness and disastrous ruin, which is what the devil intends. And now what shall we say about their idols?

As I wanted to obtain accurate information about the idolatry of these savages, I summoned a man who used to be a distinguished member of their clergy but who is now a convert to our holy faith. I asked him various questions, and among these asked him to reveal whether they had any idol dedicated to God.^(c) He replied that they had. "It is a very beautiful and nicely-shaped stone", said our Christian. "We keep

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- (c) This idol is peculiar to the Moris. Cube told me that the devil had appeared to him and had squeezed his upper arm, so that his whole body shook with fright. I ask him, what is the matter? He says nothing. Go back, fear not, if you want to serve me I will make you a great herbalist. The devil showed Cube various herbs, and made him so distinguished that he gained for him a good number of souls. This spirit always went about with Cube. Farma sent for Cube in order to cure him, Cube was afraid. The evil angel tells him: "Fear not and go, for today you will achieve power over the king." So Cube went, and to the great amazement of all, cured the king within 4 days. While there he carried out various tricks in front of his hosts, through the skill of his devil. This evil spirit gave Cube a pebble so that he could invoke him, and then the spirit hurried to him. When I enquired, "Since you know God is omnipotent and the Creator, why do you call on this created thing?", he replied, "Father, the spirit told me to name him first, and God after him". Arrogant spirit. Cube threw the pebble into a container with water to perform the cursed invocation, and gain knowledge of anything he wanted to know. "If the pebble floats", said the devil, "do not be content; but if it sinks again, this is a sure sign that

see that village is a village.

(c) (continued)

what you are seeking will come true". This form of consulting the future, see. The pebble is the chief devil. They have given to any More the faculty of being bana, and all have a pact with the devil, and see him in material form. They believe that the Corofins can obtain favours for them from God; they give them everything so that they can gain a share and learn to know the future.

it in the courtyard of the houses in which we live. Before placing it there, we throw rice and salt into the hole where it is to be put, and we anoint it with oil". The heathen go to this stone when they need help, believing that they can obtain it in this way. They offer it cola, which is part of every sacrifice, and rice, and fowls whose blood they spill over the stone. The hunter brings meat there, the fisherman when successful, in his fishing (brings fish) : in sum, they all go to it to seek a happy and prosperous outcome for their labours and for all their activities. Everything is offered except wine. They say that wine upsets the idol, and instead of sending people help, it deprives them of it, for (they say) no good can be done by anyone when he is carried away by drink. Their intercessors are idols too, for instance the images and portraits of their parents, children, wives, brothers, and so on. There is such a collection of these images that they have to be seen to be appreciated: Some are hewn out of blocks of wood with skill, and show the face and other features : others are only hacked out of similar blocks in a single blow. Some are sculptured on small stones or on rocks : others on the hills built by the lesser ants. They bring slaves and other possessions to consecrate to these idols, and they do this with such an amount of ceremonial that, if slaves are consecrated, it instils in them so great a fear that even the more sophisticated among them never dream of escaping (thereafter). This is because they believe that they will be eaten up by snakes, leopards, etc, which is what the heathen masters have drummed into their heads. Cotton-trees and various other trees are also idols. Near these trees, they place small vessels containing water, together with broken bill-hooks, axes, hoes and spears. All their worst tools they offer to their idols. When the farming season begins, and they wish to cut down the forest and burn it, and to sow their crops, they go to the idols to ask for their favour. When the crops are growing and turning yellow, they hang bundles of ears of corn, in niches as a thanksgiving, in the same way as we give thanks to the saints. Some idols they place in water and give them a bath, treating ~~them like~~^{these} dead things /f.64v/ just as they did the persons they represent, when ~~these~~^{they} were alive.^(d) There are idols dedicated to fire,

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- (d) And other idols they drag about with a rope round their neck, flogging them repeatedly, expressing their anger with the idols when they fail to help them in their needs. And after flogging them, they offer them a meal of rice, or whatever is at hand.

(d) (continued)

Other idols they submerge in water, and in their anger they leave them there for a couple of months or a whole year. Fila Camala had a rice plantation at Sabencha in the Serra. He brought his idol here on the prow of the canoe and in the water, after dragging it through the mud. Then he gave it food, and tied a sash around its head. Although in some districts here, as on the Windward coast, they do not go to such extremes, not by a long way, and they instead respect the bundles of sticks (which are their idols), as I said earlier, each heathen keeping his at home, yet beyond Saba Corve, when they go to their farms, they take them with them and bring them back. Miguel de Figueiredo.

so that it will not burn down their villages. Here in this country we have the same Athenian altars as are referred to in the Acts of the Apostles (17:23). The blacksmith has his own idol, and so on. The niches and little huts in which they keep their idols are tidier than many chapels of the true saints in Europe. To sum up all these heathen possess a portrait of their devil, in their house, in their room, in the courtyard, at their door, in the clearings and fields where they grow their crops, on roads, at the sources of streams, in ports where they labour, and in their hearts: all (their idols are) devils.

Such is the custom among all the heathen in Ethiopia. Though I did not make specific mention of it in the first part of the book, it must be understood that this is the case. In addition, they dedicate certain localities to the idols, and there they worship them with more show. These localities are certain islands within the Province. There is one near where the place the Portuguese live, which is called Camassono Island. This is a seminary for devils, and I will be saying some striking things about this place. Before the conquest by Orago, this island was used by the natives : afterwards it was entirely Tora's paradise, etc, etc. Today it belongs to the heathen who live near it. The devils appear here in various guises, sometimes in the form of great storms at sea around the island. During a great storm, these spirits of evil spoke to some young men who were sheltering in its shade : "O neo neo," that is, "be off with you! " Other young men who went ashore saw the footsteps of a strange being and were afraid. The devil was and is venerated here. The King of Sierra Leone had implored me to go to him to hear his confession, and I did this. On the return trip, the young men said to me, "Father, let us go to the island! " I had wanted to see all sides of the island, because of the greenness of the trees and the way they made the sea seem more beautiful, in return for which the sea filled their branches with shellfish of different kinds on which people here live. The devils were so surprised by the visit that they remained stupefied.

To deceive these savages and to confirm them further in their adoration, the devils employ an astonishing trick: the sea appears to be covered with canoes, etc. The savages are astonished by this quite novel sight and imagine that someone is making war on them. Following this vision, the evil spirits scream and shout : "We want to leave here, for the Fathers are destroying us". This is what those say who had not already fled aboard ship from the island, in tears. This is how it

appeared to be to the ignorant savages. They rush (to the devils) with offerings and sacrifices [f.65], they promise them obedience, renewing their pacts with them, so that they will not leave them. A certain chief told his superior, a king who was already a Christian, about this event. The king listened, and the reply he gave was this : "Then I was right when I told the Fathers that the corófins were weak". And he began to laugh at this news. The whole story became known, because the same devil then entered into a woman, and when it was asked what had happened at Camassono, it replied : "What else could it be but us? Your neglect in looking after us will bring you great harm". These savages have such confidence in their devils that they imagine and believe that devils can do what they like without licence and permission from the Supreme Lord. When the waves rise high as they pass near the island, the heathen throw into the water the fruits of the earth and other goods they are carrying in their boats, to appease the devils.

When Father Baltasar Barreira and I went to see the island, we stayed there some time resting, until the tide allowed us to go on to other Christian parts. It happened that I fell ill, and later the heathen said that the devils of Camassono were taking vengeance on the Fathers. One of our Christians, who believed that this was so and that the corófin wished to kill me, promptly made an offering to them, saying : "Pay no attention to the Fathers, they do not understand 'country matters'". What they did was not done out of contempt for you. Do not kill a man who is already frail, that would be unworthy of you." And so on. God chose to restore health to the Father : the Christian spread the news and told a certain Portuguese about the cramene and the offering, saying "When Father Manuel Álvares fell ill, it was I who sent a cock to Camassono, and he was immediately cured".

About this time the young men went to the island to collect honey from the trunks of trees. Two years later, when Father Sebastian Gomes was ill, a swarm of bees made its way into a chest in his house; and the heathen said that the devils of Camassono had sent the bees there, because the Fathers had eaten some of that honey. So much for the Christianity of this people. They are more deceitful in everything and more ready to excuse themselves than it is possible to believe. It is wonderful to see how they speak like a holy hermit when their heart is so far from heaven and heavenly matters.

What shall I say about their forms of divination? They employ them in all matters of moment, ^{18.65.1} as already stated in the chapter on 'the weaknesses of their system of government'. Satan enjoys so much credit in this field that certain relics of the spiritual edifice of the church militant, that is, the lançados (run-aways) and tangomaos, employ these forms of divination themselves, and encourage others to do so, to the great scandal of the faith. But as fast as the devil works to sow tares among the wheat, there always grows, even among the bad crop, a greater quantity of the good, which the Lord plants and preserves in His holy fear. And hence there are some who are pressed to resort to divination when they are ill and yet refuse with a wholly Christian spirit.

What progress can be made without proper weapons, seeing that the baptised Christians are the most effective weapons against the faith, being more heathen than the heathen themselves? What service to the faith can a man render who sells to savages his own Christian servant-girls, so that they may be sacrificed to heathen practices? How can a heathen king gain a better idea of our teachings when there are so many persons who disparage them (before him)? In the end all will be revealed at the great day of judgment and final account. What a great deal will then become known about Ethiopia and about the weighty offences against the Lord which took place there; about the unjust way in which so many innocents are reduced to slavery; about the secret acts of robbery which consume so much of the possessions of those who have died, reducing many widows to tears, and to the great prejudice of many orphans; and about those other matters which happen mostly behind the shut doors of these fugitives from justice! So many restitutions never fulfilled, whereby some poor man suffers. So it is, so it always has been, where justice is lacking, ^(e) and where might is right.

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- (e) Oroncio, the distinguished mathematician, mapped the world and its situation; he did this by first sketching a heart on the paper, and (everything went) inside it, for everything has its place inside the ambitious man. "Vere ita est" "How true!" Accurately illustrated from the Temples in Egypt, whose exterior, according to Anaxagoras, could not be more sumptuous; when I reached the principal altar, I drew back one curtain, then another, but (behind these) you find a cat, or a monkey, or a snake.

As stated above, the heathen here consider that no-one dies naturally. If a man falls ill, they invariably say that he is being eaten up. The servant girl of a Portuguese, who is still alive today fell very ill. An old woman was in the house. The people said that the poor old woman was the cause of the death of the sick woman, and the reason why ships did not come to the port; and they ill-treated her until they killed her. Some of them have another superstitious idea, to the effect that if they touch certain substances they will die. For this reason, if they see any ivory in the forest they leave it there without touching it, since they consider it their soul. Others when they eat the flesh of antelope will not touch the skin or hair. This (taboo) is followed in relation to anything the devil cares to indicate to them. Should they happen to touch these things, and should they (later) die, they blame the death on the touching.

Now let us discuss their famous idol, f.66 which they call Manemane. It is the most revered idol among these savages, since they have great faith in it and a very great belief in the speed and generosity with which it provides for their needs. It consists of a mound of stones, together with some leaves which are tied in a bundle. They offer to it all the normal objects of sacrifice, but always present an object of iron first. They offer this metal for the following reason. When they make the long pilgrimage (to the idol), it is always because they seek vengeance for some injury; and since an object of iron is the normal instrument of vengeance, they never fail to bring one. When they arrive at the locality, they make their offering and address the stones for some time, stating the aim of their pilgrimage: "So-and-so has treated me badly and has done me a wrong. Kill him. Here is a capon for you, etc. If you kill him, I will know that you love me and take care of me. If I see that what I wanted has been done, I promise that I will bring you a puppy or a goat". Should the enemy die thereafter, the pilgrim^(f) believes

(f) Female pilgrims or nuns of the oracle Toa were in the village of Sertua of the Logos. A duck, entranced, falls from the sky and they kill it. Then Ferabure, King of the Logos, dies, and they say that he died because they killed the duck.

that the devil has been obliged to carry out the vengeance, because of the offering which was made to it; and then he fulfils his vow concerning the puppy, etc. But if he delays in doing this, and falls ill, he says that the devil is eating him up because he has not kept his word. These oracular idols are always in solitary places. The man who has made a complaint to this devil lets everyone know about it, so that the guilty person is warned that he must hasten either to seek pardon or else to repair the wrong, doing all that is required to be done. From this devil, they seek health and other temporal benefits, such as success in farming, in hunting, in fishing, and so on.

To conclude this chapter, let it finish with the idol Obei. This is a bundle of twigs, called malilas here, fastened together with matampa. The bundle is placed on some little forked sticks, with macone bark underneath, and a firebrand soaked in oil is placed on the ground. This idol is employed to collect debts due to creditors, and masters use it to recover slaves who have fled from them. The person who is owed a debt, or whose slave is in someone else's possession, comes to the priest in charge of the rite, and explains the case to him. He replies: "Very well, I will communicate it to the devils. Lift the brand and put it underneath". If the brand goes out, the bexerin says: "You will recover your black (slave) or your debt, since the devil favours you". If the bundle falls apart through the cord snapping, they consider the matter entirely resolved: either the debt will be paid or the debtor will die. Should the debtor fall ill, or an accident happen to him, he instantly rushes to pay. If he scorns the rite, and afterwards dies, they consider /f.66v/ that his death is entirely due to this; and no more is said about the debt, which is not sought from the heir. They say that what is given to the devil cannot be recovered without great peril, and they act accordingly. This rite is called cenar. There used to be a bad Christian in this country who made use of this rite. When he could not gain possession of a slave woman from another man, he sought out a heathen priest. The debtor paid no attention, and died; and the slave in dispute was soon in his possession. But the same thing happened to the savage, who was run through by two spears (and died). The Lord permitted the devil this confirmation of credit in their superstitions, in order to punish the run-away (lançado) from the grace and friendship of God.

There are other kinds of idols here, which we shall discuss in the following chapters : these are oracles of superstition. So that I shall not have to repeat information about Camassono Island, I shall recount here the foolish things the heathen say about it. The first is that it can move around. They have convinced themselves of this because of certain headlands which conceal it : on the return voyage, the savages say that the island approaches them and moves out from the land at will. And also because of its famous, very white rock, which is Camassono himself, the lord of the Sad Island. It is white at times because of the birds (which live there) - not that they admit this! They imagine that in the season of flood waters it disappears and goes to visit another rock which they call its wife, and they name Napurana. This lies on the edge of an island called (generally) Caracore, or more correctly, locally, Papel, the name of the village on the island. So when the waters appear to cover this rock - although they never cover it/^{so}completely that we fail to have warning of its presence - they say : "Camassono and Caracore have gone elsewhere". They think the same about the rock as about the island, that it can move. All this (nonsense) proceeds from the same causes : sheer ignorance on the part of some of the heathen, and malice on the part of the more sophisticated. For the latter encourage, while themselves totally disbelieving, their stupidities, their dreams, and their deceptions, which are more incredible than those of the Pythagoreans. So much for chapter 5. /f.67/

Chapter 6

The idol and oracle of Benle and Togma, and the nature of this superstition

Benle and Togma are the forms of idolatry practised by all the heathen in this Province. Benle is the more exclusive society. Togma is wider, and is subordinate to Benle, and both have as their minister Grand Benle, or Canglo, this being the name of the chief priest.^(a) The idol or oracle of these cursed societies is a sheaf of palm twigs, sprinkled with the blood of a puppy or the blood of hens or cocks. When the blood of animals or birds is poured over a bundle of sticks, it has the capacity to invoke Togma. If any member of these societies falls sick, they hurry to this church of theirs, whose only priests are Canglos or Benles of either sex. Women who are priests of Benle are called Bale. These officers of the society kill puppies over the idol, and sprinkle it with flour. Then they go into the forest to eat the same foods, which they take with much wine. In this way, the cramenel and sick-offering are completed. The Togmas and Benles proceed in almost the same way in their sacrifices and other rites. But they proceed in a totally different way when it comes to deaths and burials. The Togmas die in the villages and are buried there : they build houses over the grave, and the members take with them all the precious things they have treasured. Often they have kept them for their burial-day, since they believe that the other life will be just like this one. But the Benles follow a different procedure, as we will show later.

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- (a) The Togmas take special names when they make their profession and accept the rules of this accursed society, and if they are called by their former names they feel themselves dishonoured.

Translator's note:

ares, being convinced that African socio-religious cults are diabolical imitations of Christian religious orders, uses the terminology of the religious orders throughout this chapter. The translation does not retain of this, but instead uses the terminology of modern descriptions of these African societies. Thus, 'congregação' is translated 'society', etc.

In order to become a member of this false society and to be called a Togma, circumcision is necessary, for all members, women as well as men. In order to join the brotherhood, they bring puppies or hens. The Benle takes infant boys in his arms and makes a sacrifice. Normally he spills the blood of the sacrifice as he holds the child, sometimes he does this before he holds it. Once this has been done, the child has gained admittance. Females gain admittance in the same way, after which they servants of the Benles. But this (ceremony) is not strictly necessary, /f.67v/, since they can become Togmas without it. These societies have no officer deputed to admit to the society new recruits and novices, since any Benle can do this. He may undertake the task of admitting newcomers to this form of superstition, provided he first has permission from the chief priest, who is called Benle Bana, that is, Grand Benle, the Superior of both societies. Those who follow the rule of this society must not eat hens unless they have been cooked by a member. Once when one of these false monks entered my house, I offered him some chicken, but he absolutely refused to accept it. However, if we offer them any other sort of meat, or any other kind of food, they do not refuse it. They refuse chicken because it is a special rule of their superstitious code. Yet if one kills a hen and gives part of it to the Togma to cook, they will not in this case refuse it. On the other hand, if they have not cooked the fowl themselves, they will not even eat rice or anything else which has touched the broth from the fowl, so punctilious are they in the observance of their rule.

Now let us discuss the Benles in more detail. All the members of that family are circumcised. More worthy of note is what happens when they are ill. A Benle may fall ill, just like a devotee of any other religion. When this happens they carry him off into the forest, and the priests immediately consult the devil about their brother, wholly by way of divination which, as already stated, is commonly done in cases of illness. If they believe that he is being eaten up by witches, they discover by divination the person responsible, and they leave no stone of his house standing. If the accursed consultation with the devil indicates that the illness is mortal, they call together the brothers or any other relatives of the sick person who are members of the same society, or if these are lacking, other (unrelated) members; and they kill the sick person with blows, the members driving sharp pieces of iron into the head of the victim. They do this whether the sick person is a man or a woman. When this does not kill the victim, they redouble the blows. They consider it improper to nurse him or help him with restorative medicines or remedies. In fact, the reins of life of the poor man can only be slackened or tightened by the Lord who gave him life; but this they do not care to believe,

deceived as they are by the devil. The same thing happens to the female Benles: the sisters of the society kill them. First they let the relatives know that they are going to kill them, by using a procedure /f.68/ that we also use in our countries, that is, summoning witnesses to the drawing up of a will. After the member is dead, they attend to his funeral and burial.

Now let us discuss, first the burial of the archbishop and Superior General, and this will in turn inform us about the burial of the ordinary members, since this is carried out in almost the same way. Speaking of the archbishop, it must be explained that when any Benle dies, whoever he is, the archbishop if present in the village immediately goes to him; and if the archbishop is living elsewhere and can reach the place overland, he comes there. But the rules and statutes forbid him to come by water and in a boat, since they do not permit him to travel that way with his magic potions. When this leading member of the society, its archbishop, himself dies, the other members seat him, naked, on a wooden chair of native design. To this he is securely fastened by means of straps and bands tied round the chair, these being covered with intertwining greenery from a tree called nangua: but his face is left visible. The bands are of nachul, and they circle the spot where these grasses are intertwined. The dead man remains in this position for five days, and during this time a Benle dances around with an Aran, which is a ferocious mask, made of wood and painted in various colours, as I have stated elsewhere. He is dressed in a costume of nachul, shaped like a skirt, which stops above the knee and is finely woven in many colours. He has a sword in his hand, with which he makes different thrusts and movements, with great abandon. He does this whenever he has permission from his Aran, the mask which covers his face, and which has four eyes, two in front and two behind. The Benle who is in charge of the ceremony, with his face coated in rice-flour, approaches the dead man as he sits there, and strikes him three times, running his sword through his body. Then they set to work to bury him in the forest, where this is always done, not in the village.

Only male Benles can attend the rites: this burial is a special occasion, and female Benles cannot attend. The dead man is buried in a grave dug to the depth of about two feet. It is only burials of this society which take place without lamentations. And they (? the dead) take nothing with them. The whole occasion turns into a feast, with eating of puppies, goats, hens, etc. The burial is accompanied by all kinds of shrieks and screams, by feasting and dancing, by music and drumming. All that is lacking is tears. When it is over, they all leave the village, (sic), their bodies covered with flour. The Little Aran leads them, wearing his

mask. He gets this name from the mask, because a mask of this kind is called aran. But this one has only two eyes. Behind him comes the Great Aran, marching with great pomp /f.68v/ and ceremony and holding in each hand a drawn sword, with which he makes a thousand thrusts and wild movements. When the procession has left the forest and reached the village, various wild dances and movements are made in the arrifal, that is, in the central open place, and music and mock fights are performed. All of the Benles may see these happenings. (But) they attack those who are not Benles, and chase them back to their homes. When these buffoons go about naked, as they are in the habit of doing in the secret places of the forest, anyone who comes across them and falls into their hands is in trouble. For they consider it an abomination to be seen with nothing on, and they go about wearing only the same straw decorations they wear when they bury their Great Aran or Superior General. Men as well as women, they cover their faces with dust or flour-paste, and all of them carry in their hands at this time brooms made of palm canes, which they employ in making their gestures. Once the feast in the village is ended, they return to the forest where they lay down their festal ornaments. If anyone of them, moved by natural affection, wishes to lament for a dead Benle, in the way customary with the Togmas, he can seek permission from the Superior, who will give him permission if he pays for it.

Benles do not make use of (the ceremony of carrying) biers round the villages in order to discover who has 'eaten' a dead man, and hustling the bier wherever they fancy. Some of their archbishops, that is Great Arans, are important enough to be responsible for whole groups or kingdoms. The form used for the burial of these most important people is the same as that for the burial of all other members of the society. They take with them only objects woven from nachul straw. When a Great Aran dies, he is succeeded by the eldest of his brothers. If there is no-one of his own family to succeed, one of the other members of the society takes his place.

The terms Benle and Cangulo are titles and imply rank, like our term 'Archbishop'. These people have no fixed feast days. According to the number of deaths they have in a year, whether more or less, they have that number of feasts. If a Benle dies in the village they burn the village to purge this great sin, since they consider that an inhabited place in which one of them dies becomes and remains polluted, as it were. To avoid this, they carry members into the forest when they are ill. There is no other reason for this belief than that the devil so instructed the founders and inventors of this diabolical society. /f.69/.

Chapter 7

The offerings of these heathen, and the society of Menas

As these barbarians are extremely superstitious, and find omens in dreams and in any of life's happenings, they try in all manner of ways to propitiate their intercessory spirits. They rise very early in the morning and go to the open place where the idols are sited. Each person takes a gift according to his means, and they generally do this before sun-rise. They take a basin or caro, and put water in it, and salt, which they consider a substance of great value; and on top, they put cola, which is used in all sacrifices, some of the nuts white, some red. On the ground nearby they place a round stone which they always bring with them when they come to these cetecas. Then standing upright and facing East, they hold the offering in their hands above their heads, and begin to repeat, "Cru cola camu", meaning, "God, here is your cola ! Give me health, money, rice! May I kill (many) animals! May no-one do me harm!" All these demands are for material benefits. When the offering and the prayers are completed, they leave everything there. The offerings are sometimes so substantial that even black (slaves) are offered, something which Farma of the Logos has been known to do. They normally leave before sun-rise, because always the ceremony takes place and is completed before then, and the stone remains behind as a token.

The offerings belong to the first taker. The savages go away pleased with themselves and very confident that they will receive what they ask, because it seems to them that God will be grateful. If things go well with them afterwards, they say that God likes them and has accepted their cola. But if the opposite happens, they immediately utter a thousand absurdities, saying that God wishes them ill, as a Christian once said to me. If Our Lord did not prize so greatly our naming of him as the Merciful one, this (human) timber would burn today in hell: the same God has given it and continues daily to give it many blows, in preparation for the time when he will cut it down, to deliver it to the eternal flames. Their sins and the sensual excesses of their lives they take no account of. The public ceremony of cetecas is more especially practiced by kings and lords : the inferior sort perform the rites in the street, at their doors, and they always place the stone beside their offering. Those (acquaintances) who call on them (at their houses), to give them /f.69v/ their daily greetings, eat the sacrificial cola they find there. Cocks, etc., are offered on this occasion : anyone who cares to remove them (afterwards) does so, although pagans and the Christians who imitate them have some misgivings. But those who know what goes on, remove from their own idols whole capons and quarters of goat-meat, which will after all only go bad soon. Often God permits

those who make these offerings to find a remedy for their ills, for instance, those blind in one eye recover their sight, and so on; this is done as a greater chastisement, by impressing on them their ignorance, a point they do not grasp.

Now let us come to the second subject of the chapter. It is an age-old custom among the natives that when their daughters reach the age of ten or twelve years they put them in a training-school for their superstitious creed. Tangoma, who is the Superior, chooses for its location a secret place in the forest. Here the novices stay three or four months, secluded from all social intercourse and contact, even with their own parents. Such an ape has the devil become (that he imitates the monastic novitiate)! During this period of time, the master of the school occupies himself in teaching the girls the rules of the society and other ceremonial matters. It appears that to teach^{them}/like this is enough to enable the devil to make them believe all these lies. The rules are unclean, as all their practices are. The first lesson is to give words a new meaning. Hence, when these cursed nuns afterwards speak to each other, 'stone' means 'wood', with the result that they can only be understood among themselves, and what they say cannot be understood by others or learnt by them. The devil has always encouraged and still encourages this sort of secretiveness among his own, and it has been the cause of the ruin of great edifices of sanctity. Apart from the male guardian, the girls have an abbess (or female instructor). From the time they begin this infernal exercise, the novices wear nothing. As their parents cannot visit them because of the strictness of their seclusion, they arrange for the girl to be provided with what is necessary, their servants placing whatever they bring at the door of this inferno. The girls do not come to collect it, because they consider it an abomination to be seen during the period of this dreary institution, especially by their parents or relatives. So the master takes care to have the donations collected, and he divides them among all the pupils, in keeping with the rules. The master's name means 'deprived of both sexes', and indicates the great purity of behaviour practiced by the whole group during this period. The nuns are called Menas. Each year they number fifty or sixty. During the period of seclusion, the signal for meals is given with a drum, this being sounded for lack of a bell. The same happens at the time of their baths, bathing being a practice much followed by all categories of the heathen. /f.70/ Sounds of great feasting and of dancing to music can be heard coming from this place: this indicates, as I said above, that the master teaches them through songs, and they reply to him in the same way.

When the period of instruction is over, and the Menas have graduated, they have progressed so much that the master has confidence in their observance of the rules, and he sends them away from the infernal monastery. He leads them away himself, guiding them to the open place in the village, with great festivities as they go along. At the open place, a large crowd awaits the procession. Among the many people present are the parents of the nuns, who attend in order to identify their girls and take them home. Between the place of seclusion and the open place, the girls process basfully and decently, their eyes almost covered either by a round cap shaped like a coif, or in some cases by a red hat; and in their hands they carry whisks, a little bigger than our brushes because they have longer bristles and are not finished as (a) neatly. And, to conclude, each girl leaves dressed according to her means. Feasting goes on in the open place for three or four hours, and then the girls are handed over by the Superior to their parents. These poor people weep with great joy when they take away their daughters because they believe that they have been improved, when in fact they have been depraved. Hence one cannot detail the cursed rules of the society, because all of them relate to sensuality and beastly behaviour. In this way the Mena is brought to her parents' home and dwelling, in the midst of a great hullabaloo, and then she is dressed up as finely as can be managed. The Menas reassemble on certain days and repeat the rules to each other, in order not to forget them.

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- (a) Before villages are founded, they make a medicine called toa and place it on a post and near it some wild plants which in time grow large. This ceremony is carried out by women when kings or lords go to war or are in some danger: they sleep and live near these places (? where the toa is), which become for this period almost places of pilgrimage, and here they seek from the corofins success or good health for their lords.

After handing them over, the Superior returns to his own home. They all pay him very generously, and they thank him for his instruction. Thereafter, these worldly nuns respect him, and throw themselves at his feet and kiss them. The girls leave the school with new names, in the same way as we give new names at confirmation, and anyone who refers to them by their old names incurs severe penalties. Their new status gives them licence to carry out vice, but they must not do this in the forest, or in a room without a fire; and they are very particular about this. If they happen to break the rule, and then fall sick and die, it is said that this is the reason. When one of them dies, she is buried by the diabolical sisterhood. If in ignorance any man happens to pass by the 'monastery' during the ceremony, and falls into their hands, they emasculate him. This almost happened to João Loucão, who by chance went that way, but as he was known to Farma the Great, King of the Logos, and was a good friend of all his people, they spared him. (f. 70v/)

Chapter 8

Circumcision and various other ceremonies of the heathen, and their wakes and funeral rites.

The devil has made himself an instructor of moral rites and of means to salvation here, in order to give their superstitious practices his own colouring. The practice is to circumcise boys during the first eight days (after birth), but those that are not circumcised in this period are still circumcised later.^(a) No special person is appointed (to carry out the circumcision), and it is done by whoever can most successfully undertake it. Mothers give their children regular baths until they are six months old, and after that bathing becomes a habit with them. They all keep jars of water at the doors of their houses, and into these they drop white pebbles, two or three of them, together with bones of darim. They say that they put them there so that their male infants will be courageous and not effeminate. The stones represent their dead (ancestors).

Two days after the birth of a child, to the mother's house comes the relative who alone has been entrusted to carry out the following ceremony. He takes the baby boy and places him on a shield which is lying on the ground, then he sprinkles cola on his head. When this has been done, the man in charge of the rite gives a yell, and a crowd of armed men, who had been awaiting the call, leave their homes. A great hullabaloo follows. But those (Portuguese) living there are warned beforehand, to prevent them taking alarm, and they are told not to rush out, because this is a ceremonial rite involving (the heathen's) corofins (gods) and idols. When the baby sees this crowd of armed men, what can it do? Once the performance is over, the man in charge gives the baby back to its mother. They do this in order to find out how much spirit the child shows, and in order to give it a training in courage from the very beginning of its childhood. Girls are not tested this way, for they say that since females lack the organ of courage, it would be a waste of time to apply the means of developing it.

However, when they reach the correct age they are sent to their initiation class, as described in the last chapter. It seems that this children's ceremony corresponds to our confirmation, although this comes at a later age. I say this because some people call the ceremony "preparing or arming novices".) e d o n f n q e l u r

(a) This is the normal period, after two months because of the sickness common in the Serra and the district around.

Something may also be said here about their forms of penitence. These pagans have two kinds of oral confession. One is the confession made by women, /f.71/ as labour approaches, the other the confession made by all categories of persons when on the point of death. Here the devil, in order to be more welcome, has dared to introduce nothing other than a counterfeit of our sacrament (of penitence)! The wretched women make their confession in a form so wide and truthful that one is astonished. The devil has persuaded them that a successful labour depends on their admitting their sins and misdeeds. So this they do, recounting in front of many witnesses what they have done since their last confinement, not only referring to their immoral acts but even naming their accomplices, in sum, confessing all the sins they have to date committed. If after the confession the labour proceeds successfully, they attribute it to the confession; but if it goes badly, those standing around say that the woman has concealed (something). And if after a successful labour the baby then falls sick, they attribute this (also) to an incomplete confession. The devil makes these women so fearful and so blind that they cannot keep silent^(b) no matter what the ill-deed has been, since there are so many occasions when, if things go badly, others will blame them. If the women are ashamed to confess by word of mouth, they pick up pebbles and by counting these out indicate the number of times they have misbehaved.

The confession made at the hour of death is different. A pagan falls ill and his condition worsens. He is not known to have committed any obvious sins. But the poor wretch has committed some misdeeds secretly, including some which are not known to anyone else. Feeling himself in the agonies of death, he makes a voluntary confession, which they call bantine, and in this he states what he has done. Hence he believes that he dies with a clear conscience and in good standing. This happened in the case of Tora, a great magician, who on taking leave of this world openly admitted that it was he, after God, who was the cause of the serious illness of the King of Serra da Leoa, whose native name ~~was~~^{is} Ferabure and his Christian name Philip. This confession being taken as true information and proof of his ill-doing, there were immediate discussions as to the penalty which ought to be laid on the dead man's family.

(b) This is general throughout Ethiopia.

Another form of confession enters into the judicial process, and this is the one which is uttered when people are put to the torture. They also have religious censures here, which are called cenar. If anyone steals anything from someone else, if (for instance) he keeps a slave who has fled from his master, the injured party goes to the person who controls the operation of the censure, to ask him to provide a means of getting his goods back. He does this in the way described above when I was discussing Obel and Manemane, and this is called, "sending the debtor to the devil". If after a cenar has been directed against him, no ill comes to him he is considered to have been innocent. But if the opposite happens, it is all attributed to the censure, /f.7lv/ and everyone flees from him. However, if he seeks pardon and arranges to satisfy the injured party, they absolve him by saying certain words and by sprinkling him with a little water.^(c)

Another form of cenar is more a prohibition. This form is used in connection with crops which are about to be harvested. Near the crops, these in control of the cenar fix, on sticks near the crops, straws which have been sprinkled with cola, and no one then dares to touch the crops. This practice of leaving bundles of straw (as a magical deterrent to thieves) is commonly employed for the protection of the possessions, farms and fruit-trees of these pagans. Sometimes the bark of trees is used (instead). These objects are employed here by the savages as a means of protection and a guard for their property, just as in Europe we use sworn (watchmen) and vineyard-men.^(d) Here, since the savages are more fearful of the power of these objects, if a pagan or a (Portuguese) resident leaves a village or a kingdom for any reason to go to another, leaving behind his funco, or house, containing belongings or foodstuffs, it serves to keep anyone from touching them if he places on them a tortoise-shell sprinkled with cola. In times of epidemic, they hang up the pods of a certain kind of long seed which they tie together with malila and rub over with cola. To conclude, for any particular threat they have special objects which they use as (magical) agents, such as straw, etc. They do this all over Ethiopia.

(c) Called mafua.

(d) Sworn men and vineyard-men of the Serra.

Although in the chapter on the Banhus I have already described the improper matrimonial contracts of the pagans in Guinea, and the abuses which are associated with them, it occurs to me that, since another point must be mentioned here which was not made previously, I ought to state what the position in this Province is regarding this matter. It is almost the same. All these pagans make use of a go-between (in forming marriages) on one side or the other. Husbands use wives and vice-versa. Thus, a man who wishes to take a new wife speaks with the oldest one in his house and asks her if she would like to have as companion the woman who is sought. If she says yes, immediately she (?) goes to the house of the father of the young woman. A present is taken and the matter discussed with him. At the end of the discussion a request is made for his daughter. If the daughter is willing, the present is then given to the woman's father. The response is carried back to the black matchmaker and if he is happy with what has been achieved, she returns with wine, an axe and a cock, and seeks out the maid and instrument of hell whom she has served as a go-between. Such contracts are neither natural nor binding, hence any time that the new 'housekeeper' wishes to return (to her father) she does so, pretending she is ill in order to leave her husband. She tells her own go-betweens and companions about her desire to return, and they always take her away, acting in their capacity as wives. If it happens that in a moment of anger her master sends her away, he immediately informs the household of the woman's father /f.72/ that she has left. Knowing that she will be there, he sends someone to look for her, or goes himself. The father-in-law asks him why his daughter has left. She then says whether she wishes to return to her husband. The decision regarding a good or bad ending to the affair depends on the 'housekeeper' herself.

I have already spoken about cabondos. As well as these improper matrimonial contracts, there is another one, the only one which is a true one. It is called canane marriage, which means marriage by 'word', this being the meaning in the native language of canane when pronounced with a long final vowel. These contracts, when they employ them, are, I am told, binding. This is according to our understanding of the chapter "Gaudemus de divortiiis", since the first wife has the right to claim hers is a true marriage by the law of grace, should her pagan husband be converted by her. We know of no form of marriage which is binding here other than this canane contract, since it so binds the woman that she can never leave her husband and logically he can never leave her.

Now let us discuss the practice of funereal lamentations or wakes. This practice is very common in the Province. The wakes follow a death : this normally brings tears and grief, and as these pagans have a tender disposition, their weeping greatly affects all those around. When someone dies they immediately send the news from the village where he died to all the villages where his relatives are to be found, that is, where they actually live. These relatives are very numerous. For instance, King Farma had 72 sons and 52 daughters, whose living descendants, so the boast is made, number today more than three thousand. And Fatoma of Mangue, King of Faima, who is now aged one hundred and twenty, has 150 children, male and female. However, as regards this large number of children, it must be pointed out that many of them are the father's in name only. Men accept as their children those whom their wives conceive and bear, (including those begotten) by men to whom the wives are given as cabondos (hospitality concubines) or, in the case of kings, those born to the wives who are given as a favour to vassals, relatives and friends. As a result, and since their wives are numerous, which is normally the case with kings and great lords, because they employ them on the farms and their labours supply the household with food, it can never be accurately stated how many of these men's children are actually theirs. Nevertheless, as the children are many and as they live dispersed among various villages, it is necessary to announce the death (of their father) in all these places. As soon as those carrying the news of the death reach a village, all the inhabitants begin to weep as if the dead man was a native. /f.72v/

His sons and other relatives immediately leave to attend the burial, and each one brings whatever he can afford to the funeral party; gold, if he has any, cotton cloths, basins of various kinds, coral beads, drinking-vessels, crystal, etc. When they reach the village where the dead man lies, as well as saluting him from afar with heart-felt weeping and other signs of grief, they enter the village uttering loud cries, which increase as they meet the concourse of people who have come to welcome them. When the son sees his dead father, he strips off his clothes and throws himself on the ground, calling out a thousand pitiful things which move the hardest heart to pity. Note that if the dead man was a king, the news is taken to his superior, who goes there himself or sends permission for the burial to proceed (in his absence). Sometimes if the superior lives far away, the poor corpse lies unburied for three or four days while they await the message. They never celebrate the funeral rites of anyone, however humble, without his superiors being informed.^(e) The deaths of great lords and kings are not

(e) When the kings of Cape Mount die, their deaths are not revealed until a new king has been appointed and accepted.

revealed for several days, to prevent disturbances. When important people die, they sacrifice human beings, as was described when discussing the Island of Bussis and Bissau.

Ordinary people are buried with less ceremony, but the mighty are buried in the following way. They dig a deep hole in the earth, capable of receiving as well as the body of the deceased the bodies of those other persons who are buried with him. The burial of others is done to celebrate the dead man's victories (in life), if he was a king or a general, so that his triumphs are perpetuated at death. Or, as is more commonly believed, (the others are killed) to serve him in the other life, as can be seen from (later in) the chapter. There would have been much of this at the death of Tora if he had not been a Christian. When the grave is dug, they carry the corpse there, finely adorned with all the personal riches which the dead man was able to collect during his lifetime for this very evil use. They cover the grave so skilfully that the earth does not touch the dead man; and at the summit of the vault they leave a hole through which passes all that they throw down on to the mouth of the poor wretch. They place there certain gifts, such as food and wine. Over the tomb they erect houses, and decorate some of them with cloths and beautiful mats, or sometimes with even finer ornamentation in quantities related to the wealth of the king. What I have just described applies in general to all Guinea, so what will be the amount of ornamentation on the tomb of a king of Bussis, or of any other king with that king's pride? If mice and other creatures consume the cooked foods and spill the wine left /f.73/ in these places, the parents, children, or other close relatives who did this service to the deceased by providing these delicacies, are filled with joy. But if nothing happens, they are saddened, and say that the dead man does not care for them since he rejects their food. They then make sacrifices in order to learn why he rejects those that are his friends; and after that they start again, bringing fresh delicacies. If the mice eat these, the matter is settled.

Great kings they bury by night in the beds of creeks which penetrate to the hinterland, in the mud so to speak, or in fresh-water streams, after the flow of water has been diverted into another course. (They do this) because of the riches that are buried with kings, riches taken from the goods which are brought to the wake. Others say that they are buried in these places so that their followers, not knowing where the grave is but knowing that it is in soft soil from which (the dead) could easily be recovered, will (be encouraged) not to go to other kingdoms. After the burial the grave is filled in and the stream returned to its bed. On these occasions they divide the possessions (of the deceased) into three parts. One part he takes with him, another is spent on the funeral and wake, and

the third is used to provide suitable dress for the mourners. When the period (of mourning ?) is over, this (? dress) is handed over to Lobo, that is, the individual in charge of the wake and the burial of the dead man. Others say that part of the possessions is applied to works of piety.

When the division of the possessions and the burial are completed, the wake begins. This consists wholly of eating and drinking excessively, and holding great parties at which they beat drums and bambalous and play other musical instruments. They claim that the corofins (spirits) in the other life enjoy this, and that they say: "I have someone who remembers me and laments for me!" ^(f) In the period before the burial, they keep up their dancing and their jousting display in front of the corpse, as we saw when Tora died, when they said a thousand vain things about the dead man, that he was this or that. Afterwards, the noise is so great for the space of eight days that no-one can sleep by night or day. ^(g) They all go about bare, with (only) their private parts covered; they have their heads shaven, and carry sticks in their hands. They look like madmen. Their custom is to shave off their hair as a sign of mourning, just as very melancholy/noble women do in Europe to give undue expression to their feelings (when they lose) what they have greatly loved.

(f) "Arri-det locus Alexandri ab Alexandro" (

), Lib. 3, c.7. For heathen wakes, see Barradas, lib.5; Coperio, cap 14; St. Luke, cap.8 (v.52 "they all wept and bewailed him") and especially St. Matthew, cap. 9 (v.23 "the minstrels and the people making a noise") : note the minstrels.

(g) The ^{male} ~~Manima~~ gashes his arms when lamenting; the women scratch themselves, and drink from puddles on the ground, or from dish-covers; they go about bare but decent, and on their hands and knees like dogs.

They gird around them dried banana leaves, and they bind more round their brows, which they also do to check headaches. They hang round their necks collars of nachul^(h) in various colours. This is how the women mourn. The men, as well as /f73v/ shaving their heads, which both sexes do, but the men shave them more severely, make bracelets of matampa, very beautifully woven, as many as six of them, some of which they place high up on the right arm and some on the right foot.⁽ⁱ⁾ The food of all during this period is bananas and mafafas, which they eat from the left hand. This they do for about a year. They sleep on banana leaves.^(j) Thus, until they leave off mourning they eat no rice, meat, or fish. This is the first wake, called the burial wake, which lasts for eight days. The second wake comes a year later, and ends the mourning. If the dead man was a king or great lord, many people gather for this, and it resembles in every way the first wake. Then they cut straw and dress up in their best, and in this way the period of mourning is brought to an end.

When a king wishes to have a feast and give a banquet to his nobles, he calls it a wake for his ancestors, and he invites to it all his grandees. Sacrifices to the devil are made at this time, by killing goats, cows, etc. or even human beings, as Fatema, King of the Boulons, did when he had a young girl killed. She performed a dance, beautifully dressed, and then was killed, in order to demonstrate the great power of this barbarian, as if power consisted only in the performance of acts of tyranny. However, some of these kings are better disposed, and are unwilling to agree to such abominations. This was the case with Sacena, uncle of King Philip of Serra Leoa, who said that those he had already killed during his lifetime were enough. Farma the Older, King of the Logos, also forbade human sacrifice,

(h) Both of nachul and a sort of black pepper.

(i) And some on the neck.

(j) They sit on the ground.

order to spare the life of a great lord, the son of his lord Feramacera. In our day, Tora, though a Christian king, would not agree to do this. His wives wept with joy when they saw that, by the mediation of the priests of the ^{Society} ~~Company~~ of Jesus, God had granted them the favour of (continued) life. They lacked words to thank heaven for its blessing. But this custom (of killing others at burials), this evil practice, used to be ^{so} common here that the slaves of a certain Portuguese man, when they saw that their master was dead, began to wail. When asked why they had burst into tears, they replied that since they would not survive long now that their master was dead they were lamenting (their own deaths) because they had no-one to do it for them. They believed that the Portuguese would follow the same custom as infidel savages; they imagined that we practiced the same nonsense and foolishness as these savages, and would, like them, measure out eternal acts in terms of the transitory occurrences of this life. Whereas only the sum of virtues and the riches of the spirit matter, not material things as they imagine; since it is certain that where Sovereign Good manifests itself, nothing can be lacking. In the possession of this is abundance; while its loss leads to /f.74/ final loss, that is, to a legacy of eternal torments, earned and acquired, in this life here, by abominable commerce in vices and turpitude. For (Justice) is an attribute of Divine Bounty as much as is Mercy. So much for the wakes and related superstitions which are the normal practice among the heathen of Ethiopia. Now we shall speak of the state of the Province before the conquest by the Manes.

Chapter 9

The state of the Province before the Conquest

What has been said above makes clear the position regarding the moral and judicial practices of the heathen. Now let us say something about the contradores (the officially-licensed Portuguese traders) of the Province, who form the particular subject of this chapter. They used to deal in the common goods which the country provides, as can be seen from what was said in chapter 2. They had houses here which they used as their trading-stations,^(a) and numerous praseiros; and they directed their shipping at sea. The ships provided the trading-stations with goods for exchange, such as bracelets of bronze, which today are discovered in large quantities under the ground, where the natives used to hide them or bury them with their dead, and (also) bracelets of copper, tin and alloy and all other kinds of prohibited apparel. And with these goods (as imports), they not only carried off most of the products of the country, but they obtained a great quantity of iron from the country of the Logos where it was smelted. In order to carry on the trade with greater security, it is said that they built the tower^(b) which stands on the road to this kingdom (of the Logos), whose ruins we find today in this place. Others tell a different story, believing that this style of fortress or castle was built to protect the lives of a particular captain and his soldiers who were once shipwrecked in these parts by a great storm. But the truth is that no-one, not even the oldest among (the inhabitants), can give the true history. They used to carry off slaves, which were sold at that time for small cotton cloths worth between one and two cruzados. The procedure was this. They took two sticks and brought them together so that one of these cloths fitted between them, then they placed (the sticks) /f.74v/ against a slave and piled up (cloths) until they reached his head, on which they put a better cloth. And thus they obtained the slave.

(a) Deals with a trading-station. The oldest was Magarabomba.

Afterwards came Mitombo, the best in this Province.

(b) As a trading-post.

It was a time of peace. Such wars as occurred were solely the fault of those who dwelt there, and were on account of adulteries, murders and witchcraft. The weapons of war were large spears with long shafts, and fire-hardened pointed sticks. They had no knowledge of archery or poisoned weapons. They used shields of buffalo hide. In general, while this people lived in independence, they prized their agriculture and commerce, although they never held markets. If the Portuguese had commercial associations with them, so too had the pirates, (in this case) and evil associations, since they took enormous plunder on this coast from the ships which the trading-stations sent out laden with large quantities of very rich goods.

So that it may be seen how things were, and how much wealth there was in those times, more even than in the age of gold, I will now describe the rich life of a captain called João Afonso, who had his home at Mapanche, a very pleasant town located in Mabengoma or Casses. This man lived in such prosperity, so well-provided with everything, that there was little or nothing of prosperous life in Europe which he envied. How different things are here today! How strikingly has the former state of happiness and sufficiency passed away! This man not only used to send many ships to sea in the course of his business, putting his heart and soul aboard them, for heart and soul are to be found in the objects one loves, as the saint said, but he also possessed much property on land, including a large quantity of gold stored in pots. Whereas I formerly instanced him as an example of the richness of the land, what I am going to say about him can be taken as a warning that one should scorn all material things, one should neither yearn for them, nor possess them with excessive passion, since they cannot preserve any man from total ruin. (c) João Afonso, at the height of his prosperity, but like the rich man in the Gospel (d) who was raised up only to fall, because of his (false)

(c) "He that trusteth in his riches will fall" (Proverbs, 11,28)

(d) The rich man has no name : "There was a certain rich man..."(Luke, 15,1). The poor man has a name, "Lazarus". The rich man without mercy: hell; the rich man with mercy : the Kingdom of Heaven through charity; Heaven, because from its influence he receives the earth : "without form and void" (Genesis, 1,2).

confidence in impermanent things, gave a banquet to his captains. Since this wretched man prided himself on being an Epicurean and peradventure was one of those referred to in Scripture, "the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play" (Exodus 32,6), and in these countries an Epicurean reputation is always cultivated, temperance had no place at his table and the food was too much even for gluttony. How many delicacies did wickedness put on show! Dishes of pride and vanity appeared, and with these things the guests inflated the vainglory of João Afonso. They praised his magnificence, his liberality, his splendor, how different from the banquets of so-and-so where only /f.75r/ the meats of avarice were served, and so on. And how could the dish of sensuality fail to be provided by João Afonso, there in Guinea where turpitude cooks the meals and serves at table? They praised him for his neat service and the charm of the servants. So different is your Grace's (they would say) from the service at such and such a captain's, where ~~his~~ guests sit at table never knowing when they will have to abandon it to escape the grimaces, shrieks and ill-humour which persist the whole meal through, and at his table dishes of wrath are more often served than the foodstuffs of the country. What surpasses the delicacies and meats of the devil is the backbiting which surrounds them, the commonest dish and the least boring, the plague of Guinea : this is the sweet at the meal.^(e) Whatever the number of delicacies, there is none more tasty, none so savoury, as this vice, which is so unworthy of a Christian.

All these dishes appeared at João Afonso's table as well as the more common ones. What graces then could be found in the banquet?^(f) Those

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- (e) Pliny. The vipers of Arabia are not poisonous : they bite and do not kill; they breed in the shade of the balsam tree, and are content. But we, though brought up in the doctrine of Heaven, are more wicked.
- (f) The rich man of the waterwheel, with eyes covered draws water from riches, not for himself but for others, and they suffer hunger. See St. Bernard.

who lack a sense of grace cannot convey one. Disaster came on all. João Afonso had the worst fall, as could be expected of a madman. He wished to be considered God on earth, he who had traded the true God for a god of gold. I myself do not doubt that this insanity was much encouraged by liquor - that liquor which was the cause of the most disobedient of Noah's sons seeing his offspring so greatly cast down, and which the sage said would make a man deny and lose his faith. João Afonso asked his captains this question: 'Gentlemen, what do you think of my good fortune, and of the gold and other riches I possess?'^(g) It is difficult to kick against the pricks. The guests of João Afonso were well acquainted with his folly and extravagance. They did not defer to him as he expected, since God did not permit it. They replied pertinently, because they knew that he excluded God from his affairs and that only a fool would ask this question.

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- (g) D. Bernard. To possess gold: burden, to love it; filth, to leave it; it distresses and torments (D. Bernard, Serm.1 Ann. Sanctorum). They cannot hide from him the name of trade. "And knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor and blind and naked" (Revelation,3.17: see also in Luke 12). Thus he died in the hospital of Santiago Island. Gold. All precious things, like gold, silver, gems, pearls, etc, these for God. On the road to Hell and nearer to it than Heaven he hides these things like a sweeper (?). He only leaves Heaven in sight of man. And the heavens only try to supply what God hides from him, which is : "their tongue walketh through the earth" (Psalm 73,9),"whose belly thou fillest with thy hid treasure" (Psalm 17,14). Like dogs searching for a bone in the dust. Thus João Afonso. I am not surprised because they always go about together, like Saints Cosmas and Damian, Mouro and ouro (Moors and money). The sun creates it in darkness, shapes it there, just as you seek out dark places for badly made things. He hints strongly about riches, speaks ill of them, but everyone covets them. See Matthew 6, 24 and 28 and the commentaries : "No man can serve two masters....And why take ye thought for your raiment?"

The reply did not please him greatly. As if imitating the weather at Mapanche, he vomited his venom. Here is João Afonso on earth and God in his heaven : nothingness making itself lord of even less, cosmographer of the Most High, taking as its patrimony what is God's alone : and in God's kingdom the nothingness of João Afonso was less than negation, since he was a son of wrath. Then divine justice, which is slow but sure, began to take vengeance on our rich (fool, who became) rich only in misery, both at sea where he lost all his ships, and on land with the arrival of the Manes. This is the present situation. /f.75v/ The heathen offended the divine bounty, the whites were 'whitened sepulchres', a description which they deserved because of the ruin of the Church. Some of them cared for our religion so little that they needed a label on them reading 'Christian', just as in olden days painters (put labels on figures) because their pictures were so obscure and gave little indication of their subject. The whites who least fear God are so boorish in swallowing the heathen spirit of evil when they get here, that one is less shocked by pagans than by this scum of the earth. These genuine outlaws appear to chose these deserts, like a modern Cain, not in order to repent from their sins but in order to gain full licence and freedom to offend Eternal God, by every possible foul behaviour and irregularity of life, being truly slaves to sin, with as many masters as there are vices.^(h)

What shall I say of the woes, of the pains and the travails of these people? What they suffer is difficult to believe. The days they spend in Guinea are like a preparation for the day of eternal (suffering). If they have one good meal, they have three hundred bad ones. Continually in need, they exist under barbarians who are so cruel that they dine off human flesh. Of their spiritual position one might say what was said in another case :

(h) "Having their conscience seared with a hot iron" (1 Timothy, 4,2).

So licentious and free that they already bear the mark and seal of Satan, fodder for his cattle. They pay for it. "And ugly and painful sores broke out on the people who had the mark of the beast" (Revelation, 16,2). Thus God punishes them, drowning some, etc. Who will preach to these?

'How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger!' (Luke, 15,17). To speak of their souls, these are so much neglected that they seem like men without them, for they live with the thought of salvation deep buried and forgotten.⁽ⁱ⁾ They pay the price when they die in the forests. Nothing else can be expected of Christians who spend their lives like a vine in the midst of a great moor, deprived of all tending, and exposed on all sides to the depredations of animals. Soul without the hedge and circling wall afforded by the Cross, how can you hope for the Lord's mercy at the end, when you live in disregard of it, not responding to it with the sweet fruit: (of good living) but with fruit entirely bitter, (anticipating) hell fire eternal? How poorly these wretches understand what the Saint said about our spell of life, that we have no purpose in living other than to live for eternity. When they die these unhappy ones truly experience what St. Cyprian declared: "He who lives as if he will never die does not deserve to be comforted at his death by the recollection of Divine Mercy, whose aid he has refused during life". They will remember to their discomfort what the Prophet said, "that the insolent one who pronounces the name of Jesus as he dies is barking like a mad dog, so that he angers Divine Justice /f.76r/ rather than appeasing it. And what says Job, chapter 7 : "You who live in sin, will God hear you ?". This then was the state of things before the Conquest. These were the rewards of the devil, his pensions, and the interest he paid. Thus we can say with reason that it was less to punish the loose living of the heathen than to punish the faithless living of these false monks that the Lord sent to this Province the harsh rule of the Manes.^(j)

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- (i) All are disdainful and ungovernable. "And makest men as the fish of the sea" (Habakkuk, 1,14). Worse than lions and tigers of Hircania. The fish alone is untamable, it can never be domesticated. So they finish up in the sea of guilt in which we live. How far beyond this are all those to whom the words of the prophet can be applied : "And the suckling child shall play on the hole of the asp and ... on the cockatrice' den" (Isaiah, 11,8). Purity, the mortification of vices, does not appear well-favoured to him : this is to put a hand into "an asp's hole and the cockatrice' den", to take delight in labours for the sake of Christ Our Lord, and they do not live in these deserts for this reason.
- (j) The complaint in the Apocalypse referred to all : "Thou hast a name that thou livest and art dead" (Revelation, 3,1). They lived such heathen lives that they were Christian only in name.

Chapter 10

The origins of the Manes, the fertility of the land, and the character of these heathen

The whole stock of Manes originated from Mandimansa. This is a term in the Mandinga language, whose meaning is mansa 'King', Mandim 'of Mandim'. Apparently the King of Mandim takes his title from the kingdom of Mandim only, as a king may do from his chief kingdom.^(a) (But) Mandimansa is the universal lord of all Ethiopia, according to the common tradition. His name is so respected that when any of his people hear it, they immediately behave with the same reverence, though expressed in their own way, as we do when we hear the Most Holy Name of the Son of God. And they are even more fervent in their reverence, though only to a mere mortal man, than we are to the true God. Mandimansa had two brothers younger than himself, Jalomansa and Telomansa. With these two he shared his great empire. To the first brother he gave the Province of the Sousos, which has already been discussed : he gave him a bow made of cane (as a symbol of authority) to undertake the conquest which was entailed. As a result, the jurisdiction of the first brother extended as far as Mina. To the second brother, he gave the land between the Gambia River and the borders of the Moors. Mandimansa retained for himself the Mandingas, the Fulas, etc., and many other Provinces. All the peoples in this land of Ethiopia today are subjects of the descendants of Mandimansa.

The richness of the native lands of these heathen is such that one might spend one's days there comfortably, and the same is true of the other lands which have so far been mentioned. They have no lack of food-crops and cattle, and there are large numbers of wild beasts. In parts /f.76v/ there are gold-mines. One of the most famous and best-known of these is the one at the renowned town of Tumbo Cotum. I will mention that I heard about this one from a trader who is fond of collecting and recounting information, a man of wide experience who is very curious to learn about the districts he visits. He has lived a long time in Ethiopia. While he was trading in the

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- (a) He says that the kings who possess salt are greater than he is, although they are his subjects, for he eats from their hand. The salt comes to him from Gambia, Geiba and the Sousos, etc. Now his arrows and bow of state are said to be made of pure gold.

Gambia River, he met a Mandinga merchant who had his hair so full of gold that when he shook his head the precious metal tinkled.^(b) The scholar was amazed. He engaged in conversation with the merchant, and as he knew the ways of the land, and had some theoretical knowledge of the language, he gradually learnt from the stranger what he wanted to know. He asked him where he came from, and he replied that he came from the renowned City of Gold. He asked him about the trade there. At this point the stranger told him what follows. "Since you wish to know, and since you have already gained some knowledge of the richness of the land from the indications of it you have seen hanging in my hair, I will tell you all about it in detail. Tumbo Cotum^(c) is the most important settlement of all those now possessed by the descendants of Mandimansa, and the richest in his whole great empire. Few people live there. The houses there, and the town itself, are only swept on Fridays; and the post of sweeper is held by a jagarefe who belongs to the family of the great emperor. The amount of gold thus collected is sent to the imperial household, after the jagarefe is paid, and after the inhabitants have been given their share."

This was the account the Mandinga gave, and he added that all the gold came from this town, and was shared out among the various provinces by the Mandinga merchants, the most important merchants in Guinea. Hence it is believed that all the gold of Mina comes from this place, and the gold of the Sousos, and the little gold which reaches this Province of Sierra Leone. The kings of Portugal have attempted to gain this trade, but have given up because of the great difficulties caused by the distance between the gold-producing land and the sea-ports. The same can be said regarding the

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- (b) It is common to carry gold in the hair, while dressed in an old shirt and breeches, because of robbers along the way, for instance in Farin Cabo, which is the frontier of the Soneques, who come to this district to attack all of Mandimansa's boats.
 - (c) It is said that the town of the woman who supplies the Manes with medicines is the true land of gold, her dishes being cast in this metal, and everything else this great minister of hell employs. The idol in its niche of gold stands in the shade of a great poulan (cotton-tree). They offer gold to it. When the sacrifice is complete, they throw the metal into a very fast stream which runs at the entrance to the place.

strangers from the North, who got as far as launching on the lake which surrounds these people a boat furnished with the necessary provisions : they had brought the boat overland, in pre-fabricated wooden sections. The same might be said about Lodovico, who was killed by the Manes at Cape Mount, because they were jealous of the fortress which they (? he) had on land for the construction (? of the boat) although they had earlier given him permission (to build it). He and his people went up that river for seven or eight days without catching sight of anyone, and then they returned. Those who have been there say that when the people (of the gold town) make their sacrifices, they throw large quantities of gold-dust into the water; and that the niche in which their idol stands is entirely of gold. /f.77/ This is what we know about the habits of these heathen. (d)

A doubt commonly expressed concerning the empire of Mandimansa, which ought to be answered, is this. It cannot be that ^asuch vast territory is subject to him, since many lands in it have no king, and the only rulers in these are those who have most power. To this my reply is that one cannot argue from a lapse in imperial authority, when others have seized power or are in rebellion, as we see happening in the States of Flanders. This is the reply to anyone who poses the question. Any other relevant point omitted here we shall deal with later.

Now let us speak of the character of these pagans. As it has so much in common with that of the natives, there is little to say. However inasmuch as there is some difference between them it will be best not to be silent about it. Their facial features are generally agreeable. In build, they are tall and well-proportioned, though the women are slighter. Their faces are marked all over with scarifications, made by means of hot irons, giving a thousand pictures of lizards, fish, gazelle, monkeys, elephants and all other kinds of animals, insects and birds. A Mane with his sculptured

(d) All the dishes belonging to Mandimansa, this Emperor, are of gold.

The women wear such large gold massucos in their ears that in order not to tear their ears they support the rings with tapes.

face and his forehead arrow-marked looks like an olive with its top cut off and for this reason slaves from Mane country are worth little. They pluck their eyelashes, in order to see better, as they claim. They pull out their front teeth, two above and two below, in order to swallow the antidote to poison : so subtle is the poison employed that the moment it touches the body, the jaws of the wounded man are locked and his teeth cannot be opened, hence the removal (of the teeth) is necessary. As soldiers, they are amazingly skilled in all military matters. They employ bows and arrows and spears. They introduced among the natives the use of the bow, and the whole art of employing poison. In the mechanical arts they practice more than one craft : they set most value on the craft of the blacksmith. In intelligence and mental agility they far surpass the natives.

They are not lacking in ability, and it is a mistake to suppose that it is lack of ability which inhibits them from putting to us their doubts on religious matters. They find our religion so reasonable that they call those true Christians who practice their faith most strictly 'Gods'. A king of theirs said about a certain priest : "The padre is God. Who can do what he does? He scorns all we love to do. How then can we become Christians ? " No doubt all of them would be excellent Christians if they could only have, as well as the preaching of the Gospel, the good example of the hermits of these deserts. But some of these (i.e. the Portuguese), instead of being like St. Anthony, live worse lives than the heathen here, (e) ^{ET} and they serve only to bring about the ruin of the new edifice of faith. They breathe foul air over the newest and most tender plants in the garden of this new church, and these, being most delicate grafts, lose their potential to grow and to rise upwards, and to produce true fruits. These

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- (e) King Farma. A most wise example. He wanted to make a display of himself, when his people were at hand. He appeared in a costume embroidered all over, wearing his crown or royal hat, and a torn black smock over the costume, and then said : "Who is there among you who is less than a servant? I am the king, etc". The example caused consternation.

(stunted plants) may be said to be rather like the ascetics of Guinea^(f) : when the Fathers come to gather them they find them bad and so leave them alone, even though they mimick (the Fathers).

Hence it comes about that if the Christians say to the heathen, "Tomorrow is a fast-day", they reply, "Will you be fasting? ". They say this, because if the so-called Christians of this land invite them to help in violating a fast, the heathen come more rapidly than they do if invited to help in avoiding the sin. If it is to do something to offend God, no-one ever claims to be unwell or too busy ! One of these false holy men came to see me one day. It was during Lent. He said to me : "Father, your reverence should not confess a certain Christian, because he 'keeps' a servant-girl". The Christian came to hear about this, he told the king, and the latter came to my house and said : "Father, A. told your reverence, not to confess P. because he keeps a servant-girl; but he himself keeps many, so who taught him to play moralist? " And so on.

They are enemies of all secrecy. They can conceal only their hatred. They are unhurried in their actions, and staid. They have nothing of the Hebrew in them. Their behaviour is a continuous pretence, giving nothing away. They are completely two-faced, a race with double hearts. They conduct themselves towards strangers with such cunning that the only way to know what they are after is to ^{understand} take the exact opposite of what they say. They have so little interest in good faith and common truth that it would seem that these virtues have not yet penetrated to these parts. Only those who are poor live among them in security. When they travel they often behave even more badly. They are the inventors of poisoning in all its forms. They administer poison in tobacco, in cola, in water and in wine,

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- (f) Ascetics of Guinea, to whom cannot be applied the words of Isaiah, 11 (verse 8) "The sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp", since asps and basilisks are never challenged by these : labours, penitence, fasts, love of Christ. Holy men do not live in these deserts, so serpents have power over them : "They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain" (verse 9). No can the further words of Isaiah be applied to them: "Dust shall be the serpent's meat" (65, verse 25). The serpent's dust is the support of the good man ! This refers to the custom of these savage nations who used to bring up their children on coarse food, without giving them treats or cossetting them. So the poets imagine Hercules was brought up by his tutor, who gave him tiger milk and lion's marrow, and refused him any more delicate titbits, in order to make him fierce and brave, etc.

carrying the poison behind their finger-nails : they put it on knives, which they bury, leaving the dangerous part of the blade sticking up above ground. They are extraordinarily envious and self-seeking. The person who is the most generous is considered by them the best, whether he be black or white. None of the heathen in Guinea can take a man for what he is, rather they measure him by what he possesses. The more you give them, the more they think of you, that's all there is to it. They keep their eyes on your gifts. Joao Loucão, a native of Chaves, a gentleman, said to King Farma when Brother Francisco Pereira, the brother of Pedro Álvares, sent him a measure of wine, a gift always appreciated by the savage:^(g) "King, wash your head, God will give you great rewards." The ignorant king replied : "And what will He give me if I wash my head ? ". The Portuguese was astonished at the limited illumination of the tyrant, and so he noted the reply, in order to tell me about it.

Their love of gain /f.78/ leads them to blame their witches for deaths, and to invent a great number of tyrannical practices, as already stated.^(h) It leads them not only to steal goods from ships which run aground on beaches, but also to kill the crews, as happened in this Province in 1609. It leads them to pretend to have wars against each other, solely to see if as a result they can get some benefit out of us, since they claim that they abandon their vengeance for this reason, as happened in 1612 with the Casses. Those who understand these farces laugh at them, for what they most want on these occasions when they revile each other is to learn our views. As they are all in fact one party, in this way they measure our attitude towards them. It is necessary to be cautious and to avoid putting oneself in the hands of such a people, for they are very clever at squeezing one dry. When there are serious

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- (g) Father Francisco Xavier would give nothing to catechumens, so that the bonzos would not be given the opportunity to say that people were converted to Christianity by bribes.
- (h) In all this they are different from that Pythagorean pagan who, having bought shoes on credit, was bringing the money the next day to the man he owed when he was told on the way that the shoemaker had died. Overjoyed, he returned home with the money, but then he was assailed by scruples. So he hurries to the home of the dead shoemaker and leaves the money there, saying: "Tibi vivit qui aliis defunctus est", that is, "Money, you have an owner". At home Tobias heard the bleating of the kid and said: "Numquid ablatus est?" It is stolen property, woman. What belongs to others cries out, however well hidden.

motives for war and they have to fight, because of popular pressure and to avoid public scandal, they visit each other by night and eat together, although in daytime they seem like (competing) wolves. And thus they say that they are lions who never sleep at night ! When one thinks that something has been settled with them, it has not even started. They say of themselves that they are like the fire in a pile of rubbish, which seems to be dead yet continues to smoulder.

They are very punctilious, and they particularly pride themselves on being so where the succession to the throne is concerned, since they will not consent to admit other than legitimate sons of free parents. If a woman in child-birth mentions the name of a slave, these people are so blinded by hatred of this bad blood that they kill the child, in order to prevent it from inheriting under any circumstances. This is the reason why Fangrafare, our friend, the brother of Farma, was excluded from the throne, as he was the son of a slave woman; and so he has been wandering around for many years in foreign lands, suffering great hardships, and distressed in his person.

All of them are generally very clean, as stated above. They are very polite and discreet, in their own way. They are never boring in their conversation, which is always conducted most courteously. One never sees a Mane spit in public, or cough up phlegm. But some of them are given to the disgusting habit of swallowing lice from their hair. No-one can surpass them in pretences and dissimulation. On this subject, I will relate a famous trick that Tora, our great friend, played on the French when he was still a pagan. The savage had a difference with an uncle of the king who today possesses Sierra Leone, by name Sacena, and he asked the French to help him against his adversary. They gave him their word that they would do this. As a sign of [f.78v] gratitude he gave them a gold bracelet. In return he asked them to use their guns to halt the enemy canoes and disperse them, if they appeared. But they did the opposite, by taking aim at two of Tora's canoes and killing those in them. The savage remembered this treachery. A few years later the French returned. The king brought slaves to his town of Papel and placed them on the beaches in fetters, telling them to cry out and pretend that they were being offered for sale. But instead of doing this, they fidgeted with their ropes and bonds. Tora went to them and touched their eyes with red malagueta, which are a kind of pepper, making them utter such wailings that the French were persuaded that they were offered for sale. The strangers landed, their captain accompanying them. The men in ambush came bounding out of the forest and attacked the enemy, taking the captain prisoner. They seized so much loot that the bracelets [sic] were compensated for, and they gained more than

they could have got from Sacena.⁽ⁱ⁾ No-one harms them without having to pay for it. The natives of Guinea regularly and commonly say that the whites are like flies: despite the danger of falling in, they are always attracted by honey.

There have occurred some striking incidents involving Portuguese : if they had not been warned, some of them would have had a shorter span of life. But however much the chimes of the tongue peal out of tune, however many the grievances of our people against the heathen, since the latter are above all lovers of gain, as long as there are things to be given them they forget all. And so they say : "Kill my father, but give me money". I was talking one day with one of the Mane:^(j) he was angry with a Greek for having spoken rudely to him, and he told me that he had spoken with the emperor about a way in which he could take vengeance on the foreigner. This made me smile, because all this talk was bluff, intended to make the quarrel known, so that someone would tell the other party about it, in the hope that he would then pay up. The Mane then said to me: "Father, A. is very rude to me and gives me little; but Simão Vaz was rude and gave me a lot".^(k) All this arises because they are narrow-minded and weak, like all those who lack illumination and the knowledge of true nobility.

(i) Thus they take great offence without reason. In the time of Farma, his (? family) seized a ship and killed the crew. It happened that later the treachery was avenged. Farma said that it served them right and that fathers should not lament for sons who had learnt what it was to sing with someone else's money. And Mabare, Farma's wife, who knew only of the treachery, and was in labour, burst apart. For Compita, King of the Logos, who tried to kill Bartolomeu André, see chapter 15.

(j) Alexander.

(k) Red cola, the long malagueta, is the sign given by executors for debts between individuals. When kings make a display of ~~themselves~~ their possessions and show themselves to their people in public, over their damask smocks they throw a common native one.

They say that the tongue reveals the man. They therefore esteem greatly those who say little, and they say that much speech hinders counsel. They think more highly of a kind word than of a large gift, and they say : "What is the use of my receiving a great deal from you if I do not gain your goodwill /f.79/ and your satisfaction, ?". They call this 'seeking harmony', a thing very necessary in Guinea, where the savages see everything in terms of Yes or No, so that you often have to face them with an appearance of goodwill and a smile on your lips - even when you are laughing at them inwardly. Those who are prodigal with words, and therefore give little thought to what they say, they esteem little.⁽¹⁾ They especially dislike chatterboxes, and similarly they dislike those who are given to drinking more than is necessary. As collectors of alms for brotherhoods, there are no better, although this is done by the humbler among them. No collector will miss an opportunity, once he has overcome his timidity, whether he be high-born or humble. Such are all those who only remember you when you benefit them or when they seek something from you. So much for their character. Other aspects may be found in the chapter which discusses the same subject in relation to the (native) heathen of this Province, etc.

- (1) But they are fluent in our way of speech, for they lie copiously and pride themselves on legacies of vice; yet when we mention our (religious) truths, they call them lies.

Chapter 11

The numbers of the heathen, and their various names and languages

The number of the Manes might be said to be well-nigh infinite. Of those that live in this province no exact estimate can be given, because of the intermingling between this nation and the natives. If we limit the estimate to the true Manes, then they are few in number, so few that it seems that the race is on the way to extinction. Those today found in the Province may number [].

We call the Manes by various names, corresponding to the various tribes. Some are called Queis, and these are the most noble. Others are called Accare, others Acbaran, others again Aperme. The Queis are in possession of (the lands of) the Boulons and Casses, with (the support of) a whole variety of soldiers with different names, such as the Bombos, Cubales, and Kerefos, although the family (? of Queis) is itself more limited (in extent). Except the Bombos, these all came in the party led by Balunca or Jelonfa, /f.79v/ the father of Filamangue. Accare (family ?) is in possession of Serra Leoa with (the support of) their Colas and Borgos, etc. And Bangues ... Farma ... [garbled] Acbaran (family) with their Canes, Randacousas, Taras, Tangas, and Coras, to whose family the king belongs. Aperme is (a family) of little consequence : we do not know of any conquered group which they brought. Tora was of this stock, since Aperme means half-slave, half-free. These are the kinds of people who today inhabit this Province.

As regards language, each has a very different one and they are as varying as the races. The Queis have their own language, and so on. The same applies to the soldiers. Apart from these commonly-used names, the Manes bear the cruel and hateful name of Sumbas, which means 'eater of human flesh'. If this name given to the soldiers, while they are such, is a fitting one, it is not because they eat human flesh in their native lands where, as I have stated, there is abundance of foodstuffs. But this practice is a military regulation, and they are most careful to observe it. In my view, it was their most powerful weapon of war, which spread terror and made their victory easier. What army, however large and strong, can fail to behave in a cowardly fashion when it learns about and witnesses such a novel and inhumane spectacle? A Sumba would seize a baby from its mother's breasts and before her eyes cut its throat, then by tearing out its guts and stuffing it with rice, and laying it in burning coals as if it were a pot, yes, I repeat, in burning coals, he would obtain two dishes,

the rice, cooked within the belly of the child as in a pot, and the roast meat. What dire cruelty, what tyranny! The original Sumbas were not content to eat this extraordinary meal themselves; they also recruited eating-companions, because they wished to have soldiers of spirit. Thus they made those they conquered eat flesh, and those who refused when invited they killed as a punishment. It was their normal custom to take those who were fattest, even if they were the kings or lords of the conquered people. If he made a good meal, that was enough. The malice of these savages reached such a height that if they happened to take any of the women who had been captured for themselves, when the fancy struck them they would send them to bath and on their return kill them and have them cooked.

One must add that all this was a long time ago, and much has happened since. Still, I will mention two or three incidents which have occurred in this Province and which are frightening. The first involves Sambalate the Cruel,^(a) son of Feran Messera, whom I will describe in his turn. It seems that Sambalate acquired a taste for human flesh even when in /f.80/ his mother's womb, at which time ~~that~~ he passed into the power of Farma, to whom he was presented by his father as a mark of the great affection Messera felt for his slave, on account of what he had received from Farma, as will be described later. Sambalate was born in this Province. When he was old enough to have two wives, a native brought his daughter. The Sumba accepted her and thanked him for his present. At a later date, this poor father-in-law came to see his son-in-law, but he was drawn there more because he missed his daughter. What would Sambalate do to mark the occasion of this visit? He devised a cruel dish, the most cruel that had been heard of up to that time. He killed the wife and served her to her own father when he came to see her. When the banquet, which had been entirely at the expense of the father-in-law, was concluded, the man asked his Sumba son-in-law to let him see his daughter. Sambalate replied: "A fine time to ask this! After you have just eaten her, how can you ask me to let you see her?" The native was overwhelmed by the reply and left completely heartbroken. Sambalate's cruelty was so much the cause of envy on the part of others that once, when a pagan was killed in the country of Farma, Mundufare, his brother, who was present, asked the king for permission to eat the raw heart of the dead man, so that he would be given the name of Sambalate. The king replied that he would if Mundufare

(a) Sambalate, King of Macosse, and married, so rumour says.

would add three blacks (? to the meal). This is what happened, and I was personally acquainted with the gentleman. This business occurred in 1601 and he died of small-pox in 1612. It did him no good to eat a human heart.

A heathen of this Province was judged and found guilty of being a witch. He was taken before the king so badly cut to pieces that the king was astonished. He ~~was~~ asked why they had been so cruel to a living man and they replied : "Father, we were just taking our portions". To punish them for their cruelty the king forbade them to eat the man. Here in this Serra the king gave me a Dutch child, to whom his vassals had fed the flesh of the child's compatriots they had killed, and the child was to die (too), the hair having come away from a large part of his head. At the present time they are much given to bragging about which parts of the body are tastiest, and they say these are the palms of the hand, the soles of the feet and certain other parts. When they discuss the matter they do so with great gusto, openly pointing to those parts of the body which would make a delicacy. Nor do they blush to indicate those persons who seem to them most suitable for the stew-pot, indeed they treat human flesh as we treat the meat of /f.80v/ cows, sheep, etc. And they eat great quantities of it today. At Cape Lopo Gonçalves,^(b) beyond Mina and Calabar, there are slaughter-houses for human flesh and the trade in flesh is so common that the heathen peoples of these parts sell each other. Sometimes the traders who go to and fro in their canoes, if they happen to seize some of the heathen and have no other use for them, take them to be dismembered at these slaughter-houses. (Another atrocity is this.) The young shoots of palm-trees were used as cabbage by the Sumbas, thus killing the trees and causing destruction in the districts they conquered, since these trees are

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- (b) Cape Lopo, Calabar. At Calabar there are slaughter-houses in which anyone whom the heathen or the Portuguese do not want for the (slave) trade is killed : they only want the best, and when the sellers become tired, they kill and sell those rejected. This can be observed. Here they greatly value the horns of animals, such as cows and sheep.

of the greatest importance to Ethiopia. This practice is detested by all sections of the heathen, and it is because of the natural detestation it arouses that the Sumbas keep it as it were buried, and keep various other (? practices). Here they are called Manis, but in other parts (of Africa) Jacas, as I will explain in due course.

Tora loved the Portuguese much. He had entrusted his famous Island of Caracore, today the Island of St. Peter, to a native governor. This man dishonoured the servant-girl of a certain Portuguese. When Tora learnt of this, he called the governor and asked him why he had ill-treated a possession of his guests. The poor governor let slip these words without thinking : "These Sumbas always have to show they are our masters! " Word reached Tora, who concealed his feelings, but called his grandees and prepared a banquet, during which he purposed to kill (? and eat) the governor. (But) the guests pleaded so strongly that he spared the man's life, and he was deprived only of his post and his liberty, as the penalty for his offence. Yet however much they deprecate the custom nominally, however much they try to convince us of this, they retain the evil practice of (cannibal) feasting. And those who have lost the habit have done so less through their own moral will than out of shame, the shame having developed as a result of their commercial contacts with the Portuguese.

The Randacousas^(c) are especially partial to this dish (of human flesh) and in order to obtain it they penetrate into the forest to attack those who go there to work, for instance, to cut down palmmuts. If anyone dies without an heir, they dig him up to eat him, stinking though the body may be. They fight with spears and always travel in the vanguard, being supplanted only when the war-fences have been erected (?) /f. 81/

(c) Randacousas. Also the Casses.

Chapter 12

About the government of the heathen, the elevation of their king, and their war medicines.

The domestic customs of this people are those normal among the natives; they have borrowed almost all of them from the natives. (But) their public affairs are conducted ^{partly} in ~~part~~ in a different way. They have their own form of procedure in legal causes, and their own councillors (or judges) who are normally those who are the oldest and who are governors of settlements. In either civil or criminal cases, the party is cited, and sometimes comes in custody before the court, which is composed of funcos. The case is conducted verbally before the king, and he decides the justice or injustice of the plea viva voce. If he has to give sentence, officers see to its being carried out. The symbol of his judicial power is a bunch of straw shaped like a brush and fixed to the head of a wooden pole: this is carried by an officer. When he reaches the village where he is going, he conceals the symbol. He orders the Council to assemble, the Council being composed of all the leading persons. The man accused is arrested, and proceeded against according to the established procedure, in the way described when the government of the natives was discussed.

Succession to the throne is on the lines usually followed by the Manes, although the Manes have no right or title here other than by conquest. The elevation of a new king follows this procedure. ^{The man} ~~He~~ is summoned, if away. When he reaches the town of the principal king, he retires into a house. The consultation begins concerning the new king, with the lesser kings and chief nobles (present). After taking a vote, a proclamation is made to the effect that the notables have agreed to raise him to the throne, to crown him and to present him with the royal insignia. He is brought out of the house and is publicly presented by a chief, who holds this office, with the royal insignia: a shield which belonged to the dead king, his bow and quiver. Then he is shown, by this chief, the drums and trumpets. He is dressed in a fine smock, and given a bandolier with his scimitar and binte, an instrument of execution, and then the royal crown, which is a cap. Finally, he receives a military baton, which corresponds to the sceptre as already stated: this ^{is} a token of regard and safe-conduct for all those in their lands to whom kings give it. ^{There is} ~~This was~~ the way in which Farma, King of the Logos, was enthroned. Dressed in a brocade smock, his cap is made of nachul (raffia), worked in a thousand colours, and underneath this, which is his crown, he wears his own cap. After being presented with his insignia, / f.81v / the

king takes his bow, and walks back and forward in front of all present. for a short period Borea: drums and trumpets are sounded. There is great festivity and cheering. But he orders them all to be silent. ^{if} When he is an important king, he stands and addresses all his people, and asks them if they want him as their leader. They reply that they do. Then he says that he will act justly. When the ceremony is over, banquets follow, with expressions of gratitude to the new king. The participants make their farewells and return to their villages. I am not speaking here of the procedure of succession when it is by right of inheritance - though this is the normal system among the natives. As regards the political system and other customary practices, these are the same (for the Manes as for the natives), as already stated.

Now let us discuss their war-medicines, which are many and have different uses, as we will see. The devil has taught these heathen about certain powders and herbs, etc., which they call 'medicines'. For a king to give these to his son is to give him the right (of succession) to his lands. With these monkey-tricks, the Manes have deceived the natives for many long years. They make up these mixtures, and afterwards place them in a cloth hanging from the hairs of an elephant's tail, together with twenty-one little bells. If a rat or another small animal or the wind makes one bell ring, however little, they say that this is an indication of a forthcoming war: hence, they call these war-medicines. When an elephant or buffalo is killed, they take the hide from its head, they cut a root of melila and the bark from the root of poulan (cotton tree), and they add oil to all ^{of} these, and roast them. This makes a powder, which they place in a small bag made of camozel skin, and ~~this~~ ^{the bag} they carry ^{on} their wrist like a bracelet. Each ingredient is a symbol of power and might: the elephant, the buffalo and the cotton tree. They say that the elephant makes way for no-one: and so they believe that it will be the same with them, because the powder is made from elephant hide; since hides can defend elephants from death, it will not fail to give the same benefit to whoever has them. Similarly, the tall cotton trees cannot be cut down by matchets, (hence, its bark protects man from matchet-strokes in war).

The devil has further revealed to them a herb which has such natural power that where this is, there can be no hostilities or outbreak of war. But those who carry this herb will conquer all their enemies by its power, since they will be seized with fear. So that the Enemy can induce them to believe further in this false medicine, he teaches them to pray as they make it. They go into the forest and gather the herb, and with it in their hand they say as follows: "O Lord, you who created this herb

and gave it the power that those who carried it cannot be defeated but emerge victorious; grant, O Lord, that this may be the case with me". / f.82/ Then they chew it, and sprinkle it over an elephant's tail or a horse's tail. This medicine and other medicine has enabled them, with the Lord's permission, to make such great conquests; this is what they say.

Now let us say something about the source of the ingredients. They obtain all of them from a certain Mane woman, descendant of the Mabete family, about which I will be speaking below. She lives, with other women, in a large town in the province and original kingdom of Mandimansa. No men live there, although each woman has her own man who comes to her at fixed times. When he arrives, he waits, and she sends for him and keeps him with her for a certain number of days, after which she sends him away, accompanying him as far as the place allowed by the rules of her own society. If a husband arrives or departs during daylight hours, he is veiled so that no women there should recognise the husband of another. These women spin and sew. They have little rice, but large quantities of different kinds of vegetables. Those who provide for them are only peasants, and only one of these may approach this lady. He is like a head porter, or like a personal ambassador freshly arrived from other parts. A person who has come there to procure medicine^(a) from the lady ~~her~~ first speaks about ~~it~~ in the village which lies a good stone's throw away from the larger and privileged settlement. The porter makes his way to this place and to the house of the herbalist, and reports that a certain man has come to obtain such and such a medicine. Then he sends it to the man, after having received the payment.

(a) This woman offers and makes the medicines, after first invoking the favour of the idol.

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I have stated that there are various war-medicines. Some are waili medicines, which make such a noise that a commander who uses them in war makes those who intend to oppose him have cowardly hearts. Another kind are wind medicines, which make an arrow fly with speed to wound the enemy. Another kind provide an enchantment, so that when a commander prepares for battle and discusses with his men, the enemy do not hear the sound of his drums: this medicine is put in the ear. Siti is the medicine most commonly used by the Manes. They take a cow's tail, roll it up, and apply to it a certain herb, then they name the most courageous persons in the village which they wish to capture; and all of them come to surrender. Then there is the celebrated medicine Keke. On a fire made of certain herbs they heat a small iron bar, and they place it in the ground. If those who are making the war are going to be defeated, the iron will not penetrate the ground, nor will it enter it however hard it is hit but will leap out. But if they are going to gain the victory, / f.82v / the opposite happens and it penetrates immediately. When the battle comes, the arrows (of the enemy) fall around this iron, without hurting anyone.

The medicine core is famous. It consists of tails of elephants, dogs, antelopes, and cows, placed in a piece of iron like a manacle and bound to an iron chain called Julgo^(c). When they decide to carry out the ceremony

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- (b) They wear this around them. A man who carried the medicine and boasted that his life was safe, lost his life when his head was cut off, at the time he most trusted the medicine.
- (c) Others carry a wrought-iron bracelet, and when they lose anything they ask the bracelet to find what has been lost, as we ask St. Anthony. A Portuguese lost a black woman, then found her. As he despised their invocations and hellish oracles he mentioned the matter (of the loss) to his host. (He said:) "You will find her soon, have confidence in your oracle." The Portuguese replied: "I have already found her, so that you may understand that God alone gives and God alone takes away."

cola and the blood of dogs and hens are sprinkled on it, and many eggs are broken over it. They have such faith in these sorts of things that they believe that if they have them they have help and remedy for all their necessities. And so if they want rain they address this medicine, soaking the animal tails in water and raising a cry towards heaven. They do the same if they want the sun, or health, etc. And if the devil does not reply, they say that their medicines have done him harm, and responsibility falls on their (medicine) woman, for each king keeps his own who is called the King's Medicine-woman. These women enjoy such privileges, and their husbands are so jealous, that while they hold this office, they may not accept or receive anything (direct) from the hands of a male native. If any man tries to give them anything, they must put it on the ground, from which the wretched woman picks it up and takes it. Nevertheless, they can accept anything from another woman, for they say that a female, who does not make war, cannot spoil medicines or harm adversaries. Only these women can eat with the king any kind of meat or bird, except a cock.

I shall conclude the chapter by describing the nebrina medicine. A village is approached by those bent on war. A fog then arises which prevents one man seeing another, and hence, God willing, the attackers have the victory. (But) this did not happen to Messera or Gaspar Bure, the chief of Pogomo, however much he believed in this medicine. The enemy whom these savages attacked were few in number, but the medicine was no help at all to him. When they heard the sound of the attack, the defenders rushed up so fiercely that poor Bure, in order to save his life from the hands of the Calus, fled with such haste that he lost even his shirt.

The vessels in which they mix these potions are made of the horns of animals. No one can claim to be a grandee if he does not own a fine, and elaborately twisted ram's horn. These are the infernal reliquaries of all the kinds of Manes, who arrived with these goods; and the native heathen when they received them paid for them with the money of idolatry, which the Manes themselves did not see in such a light because they are a warrior people who are more interested in the art of war. But today in this Province it is all one. /f.83/

Chapter 13

Reasons for the impact of this army of Manes, its marching order and its ceremonial

Mandimansa gave the bow (of command) to Sampos, whose general was Feraguira, and to Farma, who were Manes of the coast. He gave another bow to Manomassa, who gave it to Fera Messera, who was from the interior. Farma conquered on the sea coast (the ?) Kerefo, Cubes, Cubales, and Apermes : Tora was one of the latter. Feraguira gave all the territory extending from the Kerefos as far as Serra Leoa to Mabete as a dowry, because he gave him his daughter. Mabete was one of the Manes. Ma means 'lady', bete 'the white Guinea garden-egg plant'. His descendants today are those who receive tribute (from) the provinces and countries which the Manes possess. I have dealt with this point first, so as to make reference to the army and to the ruler from whom the generals received their command. I have mentioned Fera Messera for a reason that will appear later. Now I can deal with the subject of the chapter in more detail. The initial reason why this people migrated was, they say, because there was no room for them in their own native land.^(a) They left it to seek out new lands and to discover new horizons, so that they could expand. (But) whoever is acquainted with this people and knows their courage and their desire to immortalise themselves will affirm that a second reason was their thirst to extend their fame, and without doubt this was what caused them to take up the difficult undertaking of discovering new worlds. Either reason is credible. The starting place for their army, the point at which this people emerged on their march, was the Cape of Good Hope, at 34° South,^(b)

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- (a) The conquest by the Manes, their lengthy journey, and the labours of this people brought out and revealed the natural valour and noble spirit of all of them, in their determination to extend the fame of their name, but together with this, the greed of their leader.
- (b) More or less.

and they conquered as far as 3° North, destroying the Congo and attacking Angola in the time of King Bernard, when Queen Catherine was ruling Portugal. They proceeded to devastate the whole coast and the neighbouring kingdoms, leaving behind them, in residence in the towns, a sufficient number to hold them, with no fear of rebellion on the part of the conquered, since they had killed and eaten the leading citizens and put in their place their young sons. /f.83v/ These, after seeing what had happened to their fathers, were sufficiently instructed in how they should behave in matters of government, and in loyalty (to the Manes).

Wearying of his conquests, Fera Messera ordered a large settlement to be founded in this latitude of 3°. The place was wild and not very fertile, and for this reason the Manes obtained food from certain neighbouring towns and districts. The kings and chief lords of these places, seeing that the army was becoming greedy for loot, decided to put it to siege, siege by hunger, which the native heathen call in their language dor. The most effective course they could find was to sabotage the Manes' agriculture, and to this end they sold them (as seed) rice which had been cooked. The Manes made their farms and planted the seed in the earth, but the response was slight. They were surprised at this novel state of affairs and endeavoured to find the cause. In order to learn the complete truth about what had gone wrong, they seized one native, and threatened to kill him if he did not explain the mysterious events. The black could not keep a secret and told all. The poor heathen recounted what his betters had done - the penalty incurred by those who ignore the words of the Saviour: "The servant knoweth not what his lord doth" (John 15.15). The lords had made a mistake, and this mistake was inevitably the cause of great trouble for them, as will be seen. Fera Messera was incapable of delaying his vengeance. He invented new forms of cruelty to deal out in full to his enemies. He ordered his own bow of bronze, a short one like those seen today in Serra Leoa, to be placed in a public open place; and he had a proclamation made in the name of Messera to the effect that whoever was bold enough to kill and eat his own mother in public view would not only receive great riches and many favours but would also gain the glorious title of commander-in-chief of the conquest from then onwards. For three months, more or less; all hearts in the army, hearts normally so courageous, pondered on an announcement so contrary to the dictates of the law of nature. But a Nero can always be found. Such a man was

was Farma. He was a vigorous young man of great ambition, and widely recognised as such. He was seized with the desire to obtain the title already he saw himself stepping forward, and in his mind's eye he laid hands on the bow. He was ready to do it and was held back only by his lowly status, which always discourages action. But evil has never lacked tenacity, and so to no small extent it was with Farma. He opened his heart to a man who was a close acquaintance of Fera Messera stating that as soon as he knew that he had gained the attention of his captain and lord, /f84r/ there would be little delay in the completion of his task. The confidant went away to consider the matter, and told Messera. The latter was so pleased that he renewed the proclamation, declaring that its terms applied to anyone serving in his army, of whatever status or rank. At this period, Faire (who became Farma) was a drummer, a post of consequence in the army which is normally allocated to nobles and those of particular courage, who when they leave this post may as a reward take up the bow. Faire's doubts were dissolved (?). The conclusion of the proclamation meant the end of the life of the savage's mother. He laid hands on the bow, held it up respectfully, and did not know where to put it. He sought out his mother, and killed her in the open place publicly, with all standing around to see the pitiful spectacle. Faire tore out those entrails of his mother which had borne him, and in absolute cruelty cooked that heart which had suffered so much on behalf of the savage. The voracious wolf sliced off those breasts which had lovingly nourished him and amputated the hands which had cared for him. Then on the spot he made a diabolical oath, never to lay the bow down.

He was treated by Messera with all the caresses and gifts the latter could bestow, and then as a token of his affection and a reward he gave him one of his best-loved wives, who was pregnant, declaring that she would be a companion for his journey during his conquests. 'If she bears a son - as in fact happened, the son being Sambalet the Cruel, already mentioned - you will give him all the lands you gain, and will recognise him as your king and supreme lord. If she bears a daughter, you will divide the lands between all your children, passing on to them the duty of paying tribute'. It is generally held that he further gave him, as a controlling influence (?), his own sons Bofio and Bere Bere, in order to satisfy any doubts he felt about his Faire, for no-one can

have confidence in a servile heart. Their presence did not last long, since in the war which Farma had with his captain Sacena, one of them died paralysed, and the other died from poison.

Now I want to explain how it was that Faire advanced himself to the extent that he gained a name as famous as that of the general Farma Mane, a name already indicated; and that he became as remote from those of inferior status as any general born to the rank, and unlike one born of common stock. And in turn we shall speak about the real reasons why Messera remained (in Gofa). As for Faire's (new) name, Xere Ira, father of Bogo, King of the Casses, took one of his 'Faire', that is, a linguist or cassane in the native tongue, /f.84v/ and made him King of the Cubas, giving him with the kingdom the name of 'Messera' as a token of authority.)

Faire's lord, (the original Messera), carried away with anger, gave his Faire the name of Farma, Mande Mansa's first general and the companion of Feraguira, thus compensating the more pointedly for the injury because it came from the other general. Fera Messera was Mandamansa's general in Gora. After making his conquests, and ^{because} ~~since~~ he felt old and very weary, Fera Messera gave his Faire the bow of command, as a reward for the good services he had received from him, and awarded him the advance guard in the hinterland. To Mareco, father of Fatema, he gave the sea-coast. In keeping with the dispositions and plans of Messera, the army of savages came marching on, under the command of two generals.

Now let us discuss the second point of the chapter, the military order and ceremony of the army. These were exactly the same as in Messera's army, or to put it more pointedly, in the devil's army, the military standard being an image of his people and the standard-bearer a virgin savage youth. The youth carried the wooden idol which was a cubit in height, and covered all over with amulets and war-medicines. The savages had so much confidence in these devilish inventions that there was not one of them who dared to fight without them: for they believed that they afforded absolute security of life, as duly mentioned earlier. The infernal idol hung from the neck of the standard-bearer in a halter, and he supported it and carried it with the utmost respect and reverence. With this cursed reliquary and without swaying to either side, this officer led the great horde of savages. This multitude from hell marched on in this fashion, destroying all it could. Not one savage turned back nor even looked round, out of fear of the captain who followed at the rear during these conquests, with his

strap made from booz fish. This is his lance (?), so that these captains are more executioners than (military ~~affairs~~ ²¹⁰), etc; and thus the soldiers suffer. What it would have been to see the destruction wrought in that town which had been the cause of Messera's new strategy! How completely they carried out the oath they had taken to be the burial ground of their enemies! The battle was the most terrible and frightening that could be imagined. (See,) now they clash and break down the stockades! Bows were pulled, arrows shot, spears thrown, all so fiercely that in a short time not a stone was left standing. And first they terrified /f.85*/ the enemy, by throwing over the walls the bones and skulls and sections of flesh of those they had conquered on the way and in weaker towns, where they had spared neither father nor son. The wolves hungry for vengeance had swallowed them up. So much for the military order and ceremony of the army.

Now let us speak of the order they kept when the conquests were over. But let us begin with what they did immediately before a conquest, acting without ritual or superstitious practice, for though this has already been touched upon, now is the proper place for it.

When the army reached a district, if the town did not surrender they established a camp for all sections of the army : this was the normal practice. (Next) they seized the gates of the town; ^(c) and when the natives saw what they were doing, they (normally) surrendered at once. Such persons the captains treated with all humanity. But those who delayed surrender had to do the same in the end, submitting not freely but being forced to do so. The captains smiled, and they ordered the king, the officers of his council, and the judges to come to them. When they arrived, they immediately stripped off their smocks and stretched themselves out on the ground. As a token of subjection, the Manes placed a foot on the neck of each, and they put the king in stocks or chains. They ordered his oldest son to come with all his father's gold and precious possessions and as much as possible of his goods. Then in front of the prince his father was beheaded. The Manes established the prince as king, and handed over to him the officers and judges of the dead man. At this point, they made a speech to him about the attention and exactitude that obedience to higher rulers called for, - and his observance of this obedience was

(c) A method of securing the conquered lands against attempted rebellions.

greatly aided by the cruel spectacle they had carried out as a warning, while if he fell short in anything they promised him rewards for those deeds of his which merited them. Furthermore, for greater security they left in their forts a sufficient number of their own men to frustrate any disturbance or uprising. The generals went on their way with so little fear or expectation of rebellion that they left behind their own sons, real or putative, as was explained when funerals were discussed.

The fathers entrusted their sons with the obedience of the new kings, whom they threatened with severe penalties if they failed to carry out their obligations in any respect. Nor were the sons to fail to treat the kings and lords with all respect and delicacy, as their fathers requested them, saying that they should pay attention to them as if they were actually their sons and as if the kings were the higher rulers of their lands. The Manes took away as soldiers /f.85v/ those who were the most powerful and vigorous. The ones who remained were always those with the least capacity for ill-doing, since the Manes had made a meal of anyone who had improved himself. Such people have normally few cares, while the rich man can never be at ease. Hence the saying in the Gospel about the rich man: 'Soul, thou has much goods laid up', etc. (Luke 12.19). So much for the second matter of the chapter. I omit many other slighter happenings which followed these conquests, since they are not as relevant for this work, which only deals with the more substantial matters and those in which there is more that is worthy of comment.

Chapter 14

How the savage army attacked the Congo and what happened thereafter, up to the time that the Province of Serra Leoa was conquered.

In the time of King Bernard, as mentioned above, and when her Most Serene Highness Queen Catherine was ruling Portugal, this horde entered the Province of the Congo, devastating those towns and villages which were least prepared and least strongly fortified, with typical cruelty. They spared neither mother nor child, but sliced up the latter before the eyes of the former, and anointed themselves with the innocent's blood. They held up limbs or other parts of the body to their mouths and ran their teeth across them, in order to inspire greater terror. This was their normal practice during this journey. What it must have been to see this multitude of enemies screaming! What emotions, what quantity of tears, this wretched spectacle would arouse!

The king was distressed to discover how limited were the forces at his disposal to rescue his people. But affection finds a way. Affection, and also fear, induced him to send an envoy to Portugal in all haste. King Bernard sent him relying on the royal splendour of a kingdom so Catholic that it would never fail to help him. /f.86r/ As soon as it was known what the envoy sought, ships of the fleet were ordered to be fitted out and made ready. In due course the fleet reached this Province and was received as if coming from heaven. The Manes learnt of this Portuguese aid, but their army was not intimidated or discouraged since it believed that no power existed which could prevail against it. The battle took place, with thundering of guns and whistling of musket-balls, and a shower of arrows from the natives. Now both victory and life itself were being lost by those whose unmeasured ambition had sought to prolong each. When the Manes realised that their expectations were being dashed, however many councils of war they held, in a conflict where they previously had had the better of it, they decided on peace. They promised to be at complete peace with the natives, and to remove any suspicions about their future intentions, as a token of peace they promised to take wives in the country. The Congos accepted this agreement, which has continued valid, so that many of the Manes are today keen Christians and friends of ours, and those who have not yet merited this grace from the Lord have lost their own name of 'Sumbas' and are called

'Jacas'. Our conquest of the Congo made them so fearful of us that in Angola they changed their attitude to the Portuguese. They stated that they only wished for Portuguese favour, and they settled themselves in this region; and a section of them sought the waters of holy baptism. Here they are called Jingas. But there are always rebels in the two provinces who take refuge in the interior, which is very prejudicial to trade, by sea as well as by land, for the rebels in the Congo attack and seriously loot ships which are sailing to those parts where this savage race has made its home.

/f.86v/ When they had been driven off from the Congo, the Manes continued their march, devastating whatever they could. Mina and its castle put up great resistance to them. They had no knowledge of our artillery there. They saw from afar the towers shining white, and they imagined that these were (merely) the dwellings of the Portuguese. Desire for plunder led them on. The whistling of shot and the rumble of guns they took for a thunderstorm. Recollecting the shot and what had happened there to the Manes, D. Pedro used to say that no-one could overcome the Portuguese. Some state that the losses of the army at this point were such that Farma had to reassemble it. But the most knowledgeable affirm that on this occasion Farma (? general for) Messera, uncle of Ferabure,^(a) and Mareco, grandfather of Fatema, were both there, these two being the coastal generals.

After this trouble at Mina, they attacked the neighbouring provinces until they reached Magarabomba - which I have not mentioned before, since it virtually forms part of the patrimony of Serra Leoa and is under the same command. Like the whole province it is an area made up of islands, and it has abundance of the normal products, cola, ivory, and an amount of gold which is collected there. They conquered the Sapes and Boulons of its Tausente Island, who were called Xoi or Civi. Sacena was the coastal general for Mareco^(b) and Xere Bogo. Maro, father of Sertua, a relation of the King of the Serra, was captain of the advance guard for Sacena. Thus they attacked our renowned Leoa (liones), but not even this name could persuade the

(a) Or father, a nobleman of great valour and spirit.

(b) Or rather, for Jomaore, since Mareco died on the journey.

savages to leave it alone. Many persons moved away from these famished wolves, fleeing their claws and hooves. The more spirited natives took refuge in the Island of Cabano, which today serves as the wine-cellar of the district for the neighbouring peoples of the Serra, but then was a fortress where Boulons, Calus, etc., performed heroic feats, slaying great numbers of that savage race. Its capture was the most costly action of the whole conquest, and the blood of many of the enemy was spilt. The capture led to Tora being immortalised, and was the occasion for his promotion from drummer to king, in recognition of the courage with which he conducted himself during the battle. His booty was the island itself (won by) a conquest which was one of the most glorious during the whole journey. (c) Mareco awarded it to him, in recognition of the very heroic feat of his drummer.

Some of their conquests I shall not mention, since they were all of the same character. Other conquests which they attempted we shall discuss later. But because these were less successful, they settled in the Serra, choosing it as a home for life. For the Sumba and for the descendants of this loathsome tribe, the locality seemed ideal, that is, well-suited for this scum who act according to merely what they see and feel. But it would never seem so to anyone with a refined soul, anyone who valued eternal life. Such a one, I believe, would with reason be saddened by even the happier aspects of this desert, the most evil desert in the world. (d) Only souls lacking finer feelings could accept exile here. But to be fair and give each his due, a pot which has once held a foul smelling liquid, however faint the smell, never loses it. Now let us discuss, as I promised, the campaign of these savages against the Sousos. [f. 27]

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- (c) Fierce looks were here insufficient to intimidate the natives. The wild men came, they fought gallantly. Finding themselves beaten off, the Sumbas sent to say that there were still axes (? to be tried), and soon handles would be broken.
- (d) Considered the most evil.

Chapter 15

The campaign of some of the Manes against the Sousos and what happened during it

Farma greatly desired to penetrate into these kingdoms. When he had conquered them, all this meant little to the swollen heart of the savage, on whom weighed the conquest of the hinterland. His captains nevertheless attempted to conquer the Limbas, but were not able to gain the desired victory over them. This came about because of the support of a pagan Souso, their neighbour, which was of considerable importance to the Limbas. Because he was very powerful, this made a great difference to them; and in recognition of the benefit received and to repay him, they became his tributaries. Although Farma did not gain the upper hand in this campaign, he did not lose heart and several times renewed the attack. But he was always driven off and chased away by the savages. When they got close to him, they marvelled at the way he could make himself invisible, for the devil gave him the appearance of a tree-trunk or some other object.

So much for Farma's role. Now let us speak of Xerebogo and his brother Bolo. After they had become masters of Mabengoma they discussed the conquest of the Sousos. A decision was taken and their army marched as far as Bena. Massacander, the king (of Bena), was at this time occupied with the circumcision of his daughters. The gluttony of these heathen lacks no degree of preparation and all their solemn occasions turn into celebrations of this bogus virtue. (But) the Manes, who are (themselves) voracious, had the advantage here, for when the Sousos saw them they fled from the town, so great was the terror the fame of the Manes' cruelty had spread throughout all these Provinces, the fame that they had tails (i.e. were devils), because of the of fire in their mouths, that is, the (red) cola (they sucked); and with (more) reason, that they were cannibals. It seemed to the Sousos that they would be torn to pieces, and they did not halt until they found themselves in Lambare. Meanwhile the Manes became masters of the feast in Bena, and of the royal palace, where they were amazed at the skill of the subjects in raising stock and at the abundance of foodstuffs. After the Manes had supped the refreshments and inspected the loot they had been able to seize, they settled down and established a /f.87v/ camp about a league outside the town. Here they built a strong stockade next to a stream, and then set to work to bring the water within the stockade. But Xerebolo, the brother (of Xerebogo), hindered them by his loud talk, promising himself the victory. A proud heart considers itself master of everything.

After the Manes had settled in, the Sousos returned to Bena. The king sought assistance. Two chiefs, his vassals, came immediately to him, with all their people, and so did Faritigão. They fell upon the poor Manes, who were even more seriously harmed by thirst, since the whole fruit of souls that was lost (at this stage) perished from this. The combats lasted two or three days and during this time poison played a part in the battle, for the wretches who sought a draught of water in the streams also gained a draught of death, being killed by the various poisons which the Sousos had thrown in upstream. Thus the lives of many were cut short. All the Manes would have remained there if it had not been for the sympathy of an important lord, who was himself half Mane and therefore related to them. He advised and begged them to withdraw that night, otherwise, as the number of men and soldiers (opposing them) was on the increase, they would be completely wiped out. The Manes did not hesitate, and took flight in the middle of the night. The Sousos, awakened by the noise and the tramping of the enemy, realised that the Manes were in retreat. They attacked, capturing some and killing others. Xerebogo was a fat man and his feet had been skinned all over; as he was unable to move an inch himself, his men carried him on their backs until they regained Mabengoma. This is enough about Bogo's (attempted) conquest.

Now we shall discuss the troubles endured by Jomabaon, lord of Caiambre, which he had left for another town of his. He was a youth, and Furgana, his vassal, governed the land. The Sousos made their way there to buy salt and cola. Jomab's [sic] people seized what a Souso had brought to exchange, and when the merchant asked for it they told him to go to another place, and on his return he could bring a case. He went to do business with Sempeboni, and laid a complaint at his town of Catimbile. Sempeboni straightway ordered Jemab to see to it that the goods were given to the merchant. He despised the Cassanes. Eventually the Sousos returned (to Jomab's country), accompanied by the man who had been plundered, who reclaimed his goods. But he was ill-treated. He said that the money that is five [garbled] so that they should see what they were doing: they had to beat up the poor merchant. Jomab happened to have a large dog, like one of our mastiffs, a sort which the Fulas bring there. He gave it the name Ramu rarongosa..., which means in our language, "Mine is bitter, anyone else's tastes good", or (translated literally) "Yours (sic) bitter ...". When the Sousos made their way there, they heard the name (being called) /f.88/ and saw the dog run up, and were astonished. Jomab was hated (by them) and the hatred called forth such ingenuity that it only took the change of one letter (of the name), the letter D, to bring a thousand changes on the wretched Mane, the severest of which was that he

was changed from life (to death). It so happened that nothing was of more concern to Jomab than to humble Calamatamba (, a prince of the Sousos). At this period of time, Calamatamba (also) bore the name of 'Damu'. So Jomab calls his dog Ramu, and his enemies change the R into a D (when they tell the story on their return to Susuland). What followed? Massancander (, the Souso king,) attacked the poor Mane (Jomab) in order to defend the honour of Damu, the prince and heir-apparent to the kingdom, who has today inherited it on the death of his uncle. Massancander attacked with such fury that he overwhelmed the town and its people, his men shooting so fiercely that the arrows touched each other as they passed through the air.

But a man of spirit with a generous heart is not overcome easily. At first Jomab made a great slaughter of his enemies, so shattering their courage that they lost confidence in their capacity to gain the victory over the savage, and they wanted to abandon the contest. (But) Massacander would not agree to this, being overcome by passion at the thought of the disrespect shown to his nephew. He was furious and said that his army had never previously proposed such a thing in his presence, and now he must risk his own life in the battle, adding that if he lost it there, the victory would be considered even more his own. To die for honour's sake is compelling, because the only persons who can live without honour are those who have never had or understood honour. Then he prepared a new strategem. He ordered blacksmiths and axes to be assembled, the blacksmiths so that arrowheads could be heated and made red-hot, which when shot into Jomab's town set it on fire; and the axes so that other soldiers could then seize them and set about breaking down the stockade. Iron and fire did their work, and Jomab alone escaped from all the destruction. He sallied out armed, after slaying his wives, and disappeared from the eyes of all. Full of despair, he sought refuge in the deepest thickets of a forest where melancholy triumphed over him. In this solitary place this state of mind gained the victory over the generous heart of Jomab, whom no force of arms had been able to subdue. The Sousos found him there, dead, some days after the defeat of his forces.

To complete the chapter and to conclude what happened to Xerebogo, there is no need to conceal the extent to which the Mane army penetrated into the lands of the Sousos. The point it reached was Mount Tosadam, which belongs to the Fariboro, Manga Bauri. Up to this point the heathen abandoned their towns for fear of the army of savages. The Manes established their camp in order to /f.88v/ fight the multitude of different peoples which assembled here, peoples who came from the coast as well as

from the interior, from the interior, from the Bagas, Calus, Dagunchos and Sousos. The Sousos and Putazes took counsel together on what course of action to follow ; and what emerged was the decision to fight, and they did this. They immediately attacked the wretched Sumbas, and with the help of Farim most probably killed almost all of them; and if any escaped, they made their way back to their Serra (Leoa). A little while afterwards, all their opponents returned to their lands and ^{their} towns in the hinterland and on the coast.

Although the wars which the Manes, for various reasons, had between themselves call for discussion in a different section, there is no reason to linger over a description of them here, because they were all of little consequence, as generally are quarrels between persons who have close ties of affection. I will only mention the one which Macareco had with Xere Ira, King of the Casses, in which Xere Ira was killed. The savage Sumba tore from him his beard, which today is in the possession of Bale, Macareco's grandson and emperor of the Boulons. The death of Xere Ira was attributed to a musket ball fired by a certain Portuguese. The Cassel entertained a great hatred for us, saying that the grave of their king should be sprinkled with the blood of a white man. And even today in this kingdom all (of our people) are pestered by thieving.

I will not be silent over the war which Sacena had with Farma at Lamaia, when he destroyed many villages and put the savage himself to flight. Sangrafare, the brother of Farma, will be discussed, and his treachery against his brothers when he craved for the kingdom. But as this treachery had no support and was unsuccessful, since it met to such an extent (only) complete affability, we also may regard it so (?) It would not be reasonable to discuss at this point the follies of Sangrafare, who was such a great enemy of ours that, in his eagerness to seize the goods of those who moved into these parts, he said, apparently seriously, that all those already living here ought to be killed, so that the new-comers would find no-one who could warn them about the way of life here - and, not being warned off, there would be more arrivals. Sangrafare paid thoroughly for his fanaticism and his ill-feeling towards our people, and has today been overthrown. His physical appearance is such that from head to feet it displays the contents of his heart, which is full of dissimulation, however much some may doubt it. In every respect he is brother to Combita, the would-be assassin of a noble Portuguese^(a), whom he wished to kill only

(a) Bartolomeu André.

because he longed to grab the greater part of his home. /f.89/ But however hard Combita strove to gain wealth, the Lord revealed his intentions to a friend of the Portuguese, who hastened to warn him. And so the savage was frustrated, without his discovering from which direction the warning had come. Combita died like a beast in the forest, when he took refuge there on his way back from Cangra, pursued by the natives against whom he had waged war.

It is convenient at this point to discuss the famous battle of Lamaia, which took place between Sacena, uncle of the king who today holds the bow (of sovereignty) for Serra Leoa, and Faire or Old Farma, the chief of this (Mane) conquest. As already stated, Mareco was lord and captain of the coastal region. Part of this, the part we more strictly call Serra Leoa and the district around, fell to the lot of the father of Fera Bure. Sacena, uncle of Bure, because of certain misdeeds considered reprehensible among the Manes, fled from the coastal region; and as he was still a young man, he sought the protection of Farma. He lived with him until he removed to a place lower down and nearer an arm of the sea, a place today called Lamaia. When he was settled there, many people from Magarabomba came to join him. At the same time a noble lady, the chief wife of Farma, left her lord and put herself under Sacena's protection. It is a custom among the Manes that if anyone flees into their lands for refuge and seeks their protection, the fugitive must reveal the truth about his misdeeds; and should he be deceitful in what he says they hand him back. Farma approached Sacena in a most courteous way and asked him to send back his wife, but Sacena did not respond to the embassy. Then Farma called Cremone, his general, and explained the matter to him. As soon as he had heard the story, Cremone attacked a village belonging to Sacena with such fury that he destroyed it. Those who escaped brought news of Sacena's situation to their master, and later (Sacena's people) attacked a more important village belonging to Farma, where they killed not only many of his subjects but also some strangers from Europe.

Farma was enraged and fell on Sacena with a large force. But since ill-considered and precipitous actions never have a good result, poor Farma suffered a disaster, losing many men, to such an extent that, in the great confusion, the savage had to flee himself. He was not seen for several days, during which he lay hidden in the forest in great secrecy. As a result all his people took him to be dead and began to discuss the succession to the throne. In his hiding-place Farma learnt of this popular feeling /f.89v/ through his spies. At the end of a space of time he

revealed himself to Mabomba, his most responsible and influential wife. He summoned his court on the spot, and when the members of his council saw him they were astonished. He straightway sent a message to Sacena, to say that he was marching against him. Sacena sought help from his superior, Farma Xere, who arrived with many men. The two opponents built facing stockades, and each day they saluted each other. From his stockade King Farma continually watched the enemy camp. He brought to a raised place, from which Sacena himself could be seen, one of his (foreign) guests, a mulatto, and he ordered him, under threat of death, to give him the help of his musket to settle the quarrel, his plan being that Sacena would lose courage when he heard the shot whistle by, this being what normally happens in these parts. And thus he (? the mulatto) came to possess one of these (? muskets), being a cunning man who knew how to retreat (?) by employing arrows at the right time (?) : (he was known as) occipanta, meaning "leopard of the wood".

At the very time that Farma placed his 'Bernard' at 'Atalia' (i.e. in ambush), Farma Sere (Xere), dressed elegantly in a cloak, was busy performing his sacrifices. Seeing Farma Sere (within range), Bernard said (to King Farma): " do you wish me to kill him ?". Farma replied : "No, that would be a treacherous act and one foreign to the art of war". Farma cleverly divided out among his captains the various points in the enemy stockade and did it with such skill that no-one could escape. Sambalete and Cremona broke into the stockade around Maba Sant'Iago (?). All the defenders rushed out and Farma ambushed them. It was wise of Farma Sere to throw himself at the feet (of Farma), as did Sacena. Today this town has again grown in population.

At this period, the king who now owns the Serra was a child, and his father confided him to Sacena. At the father's death Sacena succeeded him, as he was older than the boy. It is said that when this battle was over, Sacena and Farma made an agreement never again to fall out with each other or to bear the bow against each other. As a token of this agreement they killed a sheep and ate it, each keeping a horn for himself as a symbol of concord, together with a stick anointed with the sheep's blood, which stick still exists today. In the present year, 1613, Farma informed D. Felipe that he need have no fear that he would attack him. Farma was supporting Fatema, King of the Boulons, who, in alliance with Farma and the Sousos, was attempting to destroy the Casses, a group whose major element is of the family of the king of the Serra. And so it happened that the Casses came off complete victors, and they fell upon several of Fatema's villages and destroyed them, throwing him into great confusion,

etc. /f.90/ In chapter 2 of this History we discussed a certain race of heathen who live in the lowlands of the Serra, a district which the Mane conquest did not reach. The reason for this was that these lowlands were not cultivated by savages at the time of the conquest. Those who lived there later were captured by Sacena as a result of his early victory at Lambaia, and he sent them to the Wild Islands. From there, they fled to the Serra where they lived several years as rebels, owing obedience and submission to no man. Accepting the punishment (of their exile), they all began to emerge (from the Serra), so that today most of that region of mountains and barren places is empty of any kind of people. The ruler of what is called the Kingdom of the Serra, pondering on the truth of what he was told (about this exodus), put the matter to the test in 1612. When he prepared forces and despatched spies, he found that all these people had made their way to other lands.

Continuation of the History of the Serra

Chapter 16

The arrival of the Manes in East India and how their army was routed

Desire for the precious stones and other valuables of the East induced this barbarian army to make its way in that direction also. Devastating all as they went along, they reached Mombasa, the most important fortress belonging to the crown of Portugal, after the fortress of Mozambique. They did great evil there, and ate a great number of Moors and Kaffirs. They were on the point of taking the fortress, and if the Lord had not protected it, this would without doubt have led to the East also suffering under the harsh rule of these savages. After God, it was due to the singular prudence of Admiral Tomé de Sousa Coutinho. He had been sent by the viceroy with a great fleet of pinnaces and galleys against the Turks, who with five ships had come from the Straits of Suez and passed through the Red Sea, down the coast of Arabia. Arriving by chance at Mombasa, he not only plundered the enemy, but seized the city from the Moors. With the aid /f.90v/ of the King of Melindi, our great friend, since it was he who treated D. Vasco da Gama with all the marks of affection when he was in course of discovering India, as the Histories tell, with his help and with the help of his Mosungulos, the Portuguese attacked the Manes or Zimbos, this being the name the Manes passed themselves off under, during this journey. The Manes gained no advantage this time from their war-medicines, from their archery, from their rattan shields, which are so large that they cover the whole body, or from their eating of human flesh which inspired terror in more cowardly hearts.

All these advantages were as nothing to the courageous spirit of our Portuguese soldiers. They marched on the savages, they hurled themselves on them. The blood of the enemy ran in streams. Some were mortally wounded, others fell dead on the spot. So that they might be turned into complete cowards, and to mock their savage grimaces, they were anointed with their own blood, and their own flesh was pressed against their teeth, that flesh which was more savage than the flesh of Hyrcanian tigers. Such was the ruin of the wretched Zimbos in this place. Thus there fell on them the hand of the Most Powerful : all of the 200,000 who had held the fortress were killed by the Portuguese soldiers. The fortress again became part of the patrimony of the kings of Portugal.

Now that I have mentioned the Mosungulos, I shall explain what sort of people they are. All Kaffir-land is subject to the King of Melindi. When the Mosungulos are young, they wear very strong helmets made of clay: they sleep with them on their heads, and they anoint their bodies with the same clay. The superstition of this people is striking. If they kill a man in

battle, and wish to be promoted to knighthood by their commanders, they cut off the dead man's genital organ and swallow it, and then vomit^{it} up before their commanders. The commanders strike them on their helmet with a sword, and in this way promote them; and they enjoy the most esteem in the army. They dry out the penis, and display it in all the ceremonies associated with their promotion, and in their marriage ceremonies, so that it is virtually the mark and insignia of their knighthood. When they die, it goes with them. Such are the Mosungulos. /f.91/

The state of the Province after the conquest, and how the members of the Society of Jesus entered the Province

At the end of a journey lasting ten years, for the conquest took this length of time, the soldiers, tired by their long march, chose this Serra to settle in and to lead the way of life which this group still maintained after 75 years of continuing peace, during which they have adopted in their entirety the customs of the natives. They trade with all kinds of foreigners, acquiring basins, cloth of different kinds, beads^(a) and salt - their own being limited - and the merchants take away cola, which is very valuable, ivory and the other rare and scarce goods which, as I have said, this country produces. For it is fertile out of malice, its most common product, which is available at the expense of finer goods of altogether greater value, that is, the human soul.

The world, the flesh, and the devil, the first with its falsehood and lies, the second with its vileness, the third with its idolatry, have made this place a hell on earth. The Society of Jesus found the Province in this state in the year of Our Lord 1605. Having disembarked at its chief port which today we call the Port of St. Michael, the Society began there and then to direct the earliest rays of divine illumination and the splendour of the Gospel faith so that they aroused the interest of the savage king. Here the glorious Archangel, in honour of his true master, and as if repeating the honour given to himself when his angelic name was given to the port in which the holy Society had first landed its heavenly merchandise, went into battle with the licentious Goliath, the prince of darkness. The ambassador of heaven (sc. Barreira) had great confidence that all these kingdoms would respond with great and very joyful acceptance of the living and true faith in view of the very certain and almost infallible signs of its progress. The apostle counted among these the very fervent desires of Bure, which he was able to attribute to the happy progress of the religion of the Saviour. These were his hopes, based on these early and important foundations /f.91v/. The Lord showed himself liberal towards Bure, this being the name of the tyrant. The Divine Spirit touched him with very great power and impelling vehemence, to as great an extent as the padre could incite, so that he displayed extraordinary fervour which astonished the

(a) Precious stones from the East, alaqueca and brandil. And cosouro which the heathen use in their gewsgaws, hanging it from their necks, and from their hair and beards, as Old Farma used to do.

Apostle. Now the king did away with idolatry, now with sins of the flesh, now with everything which offended the dictates of natural and divine law, and all this without his being even a catechumen. He appeared true master of both laws, his fervour being more by nature than by grace. But in his fervour he did not recognise so easily that it was necessary to have first much divine illumination and much experience of the character and inclinations of the heathen. I do not wish to go further into the inner secrets of this (? man) since one can easily deduce them from what has been said about the good and bad inclinations throughout this Mane Province.

A short time after the padre's arrival at the port, the whole Province already shared the fragrance of his virtues. The news of the Apostle's fortunate arrival was spread not only by public report but also by his holy life and heavenly teaching. The savage perceived the odour, he followed it with great astonishment, he saw the saintly pilgrim, he listened to him, and the harmony of his divine words so touched him and appealed to him that he was completely overcome. What need be said of the signs of spiritual happiness manifested by the savage when he saw a portrait of the Saviour's mother? The padre brought her as his prisoner in the best sense, as a sure guide and explorer of the roughland and wastes of infidelity, confident that she would open doors and take possession, to provide for the adoration of the true God. The signs were so multiplied in all the kingdoms that the savage, after being penetrated by the deep force of holy inspiration, did not know where to receive the divine ambassador or when he would be bathed in the holy waters (of baptism), as he himself said. He did not wish to lose the happy opportunity, while recognising himself unworthy of such a good. Already people had begun to plead (to the padre) and the king made himself the chief of these. Already he said to himself, "Who has sent the padre to my lands? Who made him stay in my ports first? I must go to him: I will beg him to cure me". Holy words, yet I do not know, whether, here in Ethiopia and in view of its character, they came from the Holy Spirit or from that famous idol which is surrounded by the ignorant in serras and at courts, that is, self-interest, so artful (a deceiver). /f.92/ So spoke Bure, who, even if he was deceiving the padre, could not conceal his most secret thoughts from that Lord who is the true overseer of all such and the divine miner (who penetrates the depths) of our souls. Whatever a man may say, however he may behave, to whatever extent he pretends to be holy, even if he disguises himself to the maximum of his ability, the curtain which he employs to hide his true image cannot possibly cover it so completely that it prevents the All-Powerful from drawing it aside whenever He wishes.

I have digressed here so that those who have a taste for such things can learn the true nature of this Janus. His intentions being such as only Heaven could discover, he decided, when kneeling before the true God, to consider Him as his father and lord, and to turn his back on the errors of idolatry. Bure kept his calculations to himself. The pilot raised the anchor; but the ambassador arrived, and the king begged for holy baptism. The padre considered it a heavenly manifestation and welcomed it with great joy. The king came himself and declared his change of heart. If he had revealed both (? faces) he would have benefited more from the change. In the end the man did not gain what can only come from the divine court of judgment. The padre deferred to him entirely, believing that in this place had been won the first victories over hell, by the intervention of the Queen of Angels, and that here there had been planted the roots of the first divine mustard-grain of our faith. The holy traveller was not deceived, for when strength of arms did not issue forth from Bure's frail tower, it doubtless did from other towers of greater power. What extremes of devotion the savage carried out after receiving holy baptism! What speeches he made exalting our holy religion! He spoke of the Lord's miracles, he recognised the sacred Gospel as the masterpiece of the centuries. He was turned from Bure into Philip, which means 'the warlike one, the warrior'.^(b) He defied labours, hunger, thirst, torture; and he promised so much that it seemed that his one aim in life could never be other than to serve Christ Jesus. Faced by this testimony, who would not have believed it? The padre rendered thanks to the All-Highest for revealing so much of Himself to an idolater. He decided to instruct him in the mysteries of the faith. This success the apostle considered the most refreshing reward that the country could offer him in the course of such a pilgrimage. (f. 92v/

(b) Philip the warrior, or the horse-lover.

Chapter 18

The apostle catechises the king and instructs him in the matters of our holy faith

No heathen, whether savage or Moor, is harder to convert than the one, who when confronted, lacks the weapons of rationality.^(a) Hence, in matters of faith and the Christian religion, one must believe that he who possesses these weapons is always better placed to attain to the hope of advancing to the heights of Goodness and Grace.^(b) From lack of these weapons it comes about that the Moor and the Turk resist with the sword the light of the Gospel and keep to the dark doctrines of their barbarous sect; that the heretics, with their pride and fleshly licence, extend so widely the abominable vice; and lastly, that the Jews, who in ancient times did not believe unless they had miracles, in order to justify their refusal to believe at the present time can only shelter behind the unbelief and blindness of their fathers and their ancestors. To this last group of unbelievers I compare the idolatry of Ethiopia and its peoples. In everything they follow the example of their forefathers, so that, just as all of them are one in the flesh and in understanding, equally so they consider themselves obliged to conform to the same pattern and to copy each other in their beliefs. Although miracles have considerable weight with them as arguments for Divine Power, example always prevails. Everything they have in abundance, except the curiosity to learn about heavenly things. Let us supply them with the necessary instruction which, as it is about the principles of our holy faith, can be a great consolation to all of them, and for some of them a remedy against the importunities of the enemy, who, as Prince of Darkness, attempts without scruple to lead them astray in everything. Proceeding thus and sustained by the divine favour, we gradually disperse the darkness of understanding of this people, by correcting their nonsensical beliefs about the other life. Now let us speak about the Author of Life.

The rest of this chapter, and all^d chapters 19 and 20, represents a general exposition of Christian doctrines, lacking any specific references to Guinea and is therefore not translated. The translation resumes at f. 103.

- (a) Teaching of Father Lucena of the Society. Dispositio (? testament) of Father Manuel Álvares of the Society, 1612.
- (b) Chapters 18 - 20.

Chapter 21

The origin of the idols and various forms of idolatry

From all that has been explained so far, it evidently follows that there is but one true God, whose divinity only the ignorant deny, or falsify by multiplying. For if God cannot be a non-existence, as St. Athanasius pointed out, so to multiply the divine essence is the same thing as to deny it. Before discussing idols, let us examine the reasons why men create many gods of various kinds.

Just as the light of a single candle can seem like many lights to eyes which an overflowing humour has relaxed and disordered so that they have lost a little of their natural balance, in the same way idolaters have divided into many lights that single eternal light which illumines all creation, under the influence of their ill humours. These are the evil sentiments of greed and covetousness with which the devil enlarges and confuses our senses, to the extent that, though they see that the heavens and other domains could not have created themselves nor given life to other bodies, yet they are unwilling to recognise a single universal cause and prefer to imagine that there are as many gods as there are natural species (a) hence, one creator of lions, another of horses, another again of water, and so on. The poets seized the opportunity to concoct fabulous families of gods with which they filled their books and convinced the world.

As to the origin of idols, although these derive from various first principles, the chief one is the great love which some children have for their parents and some parents for their children. According to St. Bonaventura, when Belo, King of the Assyrians, died, his son Nino, who succeeded to the kingdom, had a statue made which resembled his father in every way, so that he would be consoled by the memory which it aroused when he saw it. He thought so highly of it that any criminal who took sanctuary beside it, however grave the offence, was spared the penalty. The respect shown by the king was followed by his subjects, and the same thing happened when other statues were erected. ^{f. 103v} The honours and sacrifices made to these

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- (a) The gods of the heathen were recognised more by their ill-deeds than by their names : Quorum crimina sunt noxiora quam nomina. (their crimes are more noxious than their names). Jupiter was known for his adultery, Venus for her dishonest living, Bacchus for his insobriety. Hence the Athenians possessed a statue of an Unknown God, who was not recognised as God because he was holy, pure, and abhorred sinning.

idols increased, as if they were being made to God Himself, who is always so jealous on these points that he forbade the Hebrews, His people, graven images and any worship of those they had.^(b) At a later date, idols copying these ones were taken from this kingdom to other kingdoms and no less revered; and since different languages were spoken in the various kingdoms, the idol which was first called Belo came to be called Beel in one place, Baal in another, and Baalim in a third. The devil sometimes spoke through these statues in reply to questions, when God permitted it. In this way the whole world was filled with different errors, the most serious of which is to think that God is the work of man's hands, a belief which can only be held by those who lack any understanding.

This cursed ignorance spread among the heathen of this Province, as already stated. Although they do not give the respect due to God to all their idols, yet it is a great affront to Him that they see any good in such feeble objects or imagine any power they have. I maintain that the Creator suffers a greater injury from these savages than from those who worship the Sun, the Moon, and so on, for these objects of worship are nobler ones. But in a piece of wood shaped so badly that it evokes disgust, or in an anthill (lit., a tower of bagabaga) of coarser material, etc, where can one detect the vision and word of God, His feeling, understanding and will, His Providence, or even His power since (the wooden idol, for instance,) cannot save itself from the bagabaga which eat it up and destroy it? Only ignorant beings could consider as their Creator and Supreme Cause an object which is very far from drawing its existence out of nothing, which very obviously is the product of common matter and of its inventor and shaper, whom the idol might reasonably consider its creator since he gave it shape and form, aspects which God (as essence) is free from, together with all other material qualities. To sum up, everything is seen the wrong way round. From this blindness there grows up the greatest error of all, the failure to recognise the True God; and since the nature of that blindness and the form it takes has now been shown, let us go on to discuss how we ought to recognise Him. /t. 104/

(b) Deuteronomy, 4 [vv. 16-19].

Chapter 23

Superstition and the aspects of this false devotion

Superstition is a vice which denies God his true honour, or gives Him false honour; or when it gives Him true honour, does not do so the correct way. To take an example. When the honour due only to God is given to his creatures, such as the devil, the Sun, the Moon, and so on, then this robs Him of His honour and denies Him it. A further example. False honour is given to God when the sacrifices of the Old Law are offered to Him, because they no longer have meaning since the death of Christ Jesus. The same applies when attempts are made by infidels or by any (heretical) sect whatsoever to offer Him ceremonial devotions; or even to offer any exaggerated form of devotion or honour contrary /f.106v/ to the customs of the Church. Superstition of the first kind has pestilential aspects and derivatives, which can be reduced to five in number : the first, idolatry; the second, magic; the third, forecasting the future or divination; the fourth, vain observance; the fifth, maleficium or evil cursing. Let us discuss each in detail.

Idolatry is giving to a false god the honour due to the true God. So idolatry is worship of an idol. Magic is an inordinate power to perform supernatural things. Supernatural actions can be performed two ways, with God's help or with the devil's. The latter way constitutes magic. To make it clearer, it must be noted that no man, however much of a magician he is, can bring about by himself the results of this art. All the results are the devil's work, at the request of the magician. Magic has no power over demons, however much magicians may pretend it has in order to deceive the ignorant. It is true that among the malign spirits are those who are controlled by other spirits and required to obey humans. The magician makes two kinds of pact or agreement with the devil. In the first, a solemn one, the enemy of the human race appears, seated on a throne, (before the magician himself, or anyone else who because of this spirit has lost anything. But normally, as we learn in the Histories, intermediaries are used here. The agreement involves a negation of the divine precepts and sacraments and of all respect for God. When the man has done his part, the devil makes his offer, promising favours, riches, etc. The other special agreement is by tacit invocation, as they call it, when the magician attempts to do something by modes and means which cannot bring about the intended effects, either by their own (natural power) or by any supernatural power. For instance, by pronouncing strings of meaningless words. Or when they trace shapes and letters, making not a cross but ovals, squares or triangles. Again, when they make mixed-up statements, such as that Christ had fevers. Or again, in imposing conditions which have no connection with

the aim, as when they carry about with them words from the Scriptures written on a scrap of paper, or herbs collected on a particular day or at a particular hour, etc. But normally a new agreement is always invoked and rarely does the magician depend on the repetition of a particular invocation without such a new agreement.

By his nature the devil has much power and knowledge, but he acts in only three ways. First, /f.107/ by moving an object from one place to another, for instance, by transporting a snake from its normal place to a place where it has never been seen, indicating that the devil has great power over the lower elements (of the natural world). This transportation happens so quickly that great distances are covered in the blinking of an eye. The second way is to achieve novel effects, not by personal intervention, but ^{by} secret application of natural causes, while hastening their action. As the devil knows the nature of stones, herbs, animals and all things in the world, their properties and where they are to be found, he can make a tree grow up in a brief space of time, by stimulating the seed and other necessary factors; and he can do the same with fruits and animals. Very often he cures the sick, by applying secret medicines and entering their bodies to drive out ill humours. Furthermore, he can deceive the senses, by presenting actual objects not in their normal appearance but in strange forms, and thus he makes us see lions and other animals which he shapes in the air, after first convincing us of their reality. Working in another way, he disturbs the senses so that they do not detect external influences, and man's imagination is excited so that it seems something is present which is not, as happens in dreams. If persisted in, it is heresy to believe that the devil can do all these things without divine permission, since he can only work with the permission of the Creator (Book III, Kings, chapter 18 [I Kings, 18 : Elijah and the prophets of Baal]). This may be deduced from what happened to Micaiah before King Ahab : "I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of [all] his prophets" [I Kings, 22:22].

Now let us discuss divination, the announcement out of time of events which in the order of nature cannot yet be known about. To learn about events by invoking the devil, is that divination? Neither man nor the devil can know the predestined fate of the good or the punishment of the evil, nor what depends on man's free will, these being future contingencies which do not yet exist. The same applies to those things which are hidden in such a way that man cannot know how to discover them at the order of the evil spirit; and if he tries it is the measure of his malice. The devil can surmise certain things which have not yet been done by men, through his experience of man and man's tendencies, so that he is aided by the subtlety of his nature. Also it is by the revelation of the Good Angel, when God permits

him to reveal things to the devil. He is able to say what illness you are going to have and if you will die from it or what building is going to fall, because he knows /f.107v/ from the inside the causes of misfortune and its secrets. He knows the timbers and stones of palaces and the faults they have and he reveals what must be done about them, and he can warn us about plagues, eclipses and storms, through his knowledge of science and astrology. In each way that the devil is invoked, there exists a special form of divination. Prestigio is to invoke the devil through images. When we hope to learn about secrets in dreams, this is called divination by dreams. Necromancia is when the evil spirit enters into a dead body and speaks through it. If he enters into the body of a living thing, that is Pitonisa (pythonisso). Divination by the stars and celestial bodies is Geomancia; by indications which appear in water, Hydromancia; by indications in the air, Aeromancia, in the fire, Pyromancia, and in the entrails of animals, Auspicio. Anyone who consults these evildoers, these diviners, is excommunicate. Astrologia is divination by the movements and locations of stars; Augurium is by the howling and calls of animals; ~~and there is~~ Auspicio by the calls of birds. Omen is divination by what another man says by chance or for some fortuitous reason; Guiromancia is by body marks and shapes.

As for Astrologia, it cannot be denied that by it one can learn about natural effects, such as eclipses, rains, etc; and also the humours and inclinations of men, since the stars influence our human bodies. In three aspects its use is forbidden. First and above all, to gain knowledge of the mysteries of Grace and matters which depend on the divine will. Secondly, to gain knowledge of matters which depend on the free will of the individual, by assuming that certain things are bound to happen. This is untrue, since neither the heavens nor any other created element can constrain the free will of man, and what comes about can be altered by many factors. However it is not evil in itself for anyone to wish to gain information about a contingent matter or one free to change, provided that it is recognised that there can be no certainty. But if the assertion of an astrologer, based on the system he follows, is taken as a certain forecast, that is evil and corrupt. In these instances, one is tacitly invoking the devil, by employing a means of gaining knowledge which is (without his aid) incapable of providing it.

Augurio and auspicio are sometimes licit if they relate to matters that animals and birds predict naturally, as when bats flying far from houses announce fine weather, or when diving-birds leave the sea to signal a storm. However if the matters are outside their power or beyond their instincts, then it is illicit. /f.108/

Now it is time to discuss the drawing of lots or batis, as performed by the heathen of Serra Leoa. There are many different kinds. The first, divinatoria, employs stones or pieces of wood in order to gain knowledge concerning hidden matters or the future. This is always an evil practice. The second kind, divisoria, consists of drawing lots in order to learn what will happen to someone: this is licit, when it is not intended to seek information from the devil but merely to select from random possibilities about the future. The third kind, consultoria, is in order to know what to do in a future circumstance. If done in expectation of action from the devil it is very wrong, for one should not expect nothing from him. But if it is in expectation of being God's will then it is licit. For instance, two persons are equally in extreme need, and I can only help one : in this case I may consult God as to which one it should be. This is the case stated by St. Augustine, "When human means easily applied are not available, it is for God to decide", Div , Tom.2,Q.95,art.8. See Tolet in the Summa ad primum praeceptum Decalogi, where he gives examples. But it is necessary that this should be done reverently and not for profane reasons.

With regard to vain observance, this occurs in the tacit invocation of the devil, when men seek by this to employ devices which lack the inherent virtue to bring about the desired effect. An infamous example in this category is the notorious practice of multiplying prayers and fasting; when done in order to acquire scientific knowledge, this is as if knowledge could flow into one. Similarly the curing of headache and various other disorders of men and animals by pronouncing certain prayers. Stopping bleeding by the use of vain means, such as saying nonsense words or ridiculous words, normally involves invocation of the devil. In this case ignorance prevents it being a mortal sin; but after being warned, it is just this. However if such prayers are free from all evil intent and are said out of devotion, this is not evil. But it is best to follow the practice of the Church and say the Pater Noster and Ave Maria. Accidents come in here : if one steps out of the house on the left foot and stumbles, if the cock crows as one leaves by night, if one dreams about an unhappy event. Ignorance alone excuses wickedness in these and other similar beliefs : if one goes to sea on a Thursday, etc; if one carries false relics, or even true ones in certain circumstances, as if the Gospel was written on blank paper. Similarly when false results are promised : he who dies in sin while fighting in the war, and so on. People of this kind rely much on their

relics /f.108v/ for such results, etc, as for instance when they are persuaded by Mandinga bexerins in Ethiopia about the value of false amulets, which either have no trace of good in them, or else possess so little holy virtue as a protection against evil, that they are more likely to attract evil and to be the chief cause of the successive ills which befall those who rely on them, as sufficient experience demonstrates. Now that this has been said about vain observance, let us now discuss maleficium.

Chapter 24

Maleficium and its forms, and a brief note on the power of evil spirits

Maleficium is the art of doing ill to others by the power of the devil. The ways in which the ill is done are called malefices. They can be divided into two sorts. The first is amatorio. It is employed in order to generate sensual feeling in individuals, so that they will wish to perform the sexual act with certain partners and will refuse to do with others. This gives rise to strife between married couples. This art is widely employed among the heathen of the Serra, using love-potions, and they are skilful at it. They concoct potions from different herbs, and it is sufficient to carry these around with them in order to be loved, not only by women who lack self-control but by those who normally possess it very strongly. The second sort is venefacio or poisoning. This always results in evil. When it is applied to someone, it kills him or makes him very ill.^(a) How frequent this is in Ethiopia! How many deaths result! How many incurable illnesses develop sooner or later, bringing poor pilgrims to their death! I have known one man, who, although he was young and strong and of a healthy appearance, was so damaged by the cursed poison that, as well as turning him into a cripple, it forced his mouth to make contortions and grimaces that it was astonishing to witness. Today in Guinea there are districts and villages where this vicious and diabolical art reigns, and in which reside those who are suspected of practicing it. How much evil these provinces contain! How little fear of God and recollection of life eternal! One day the Lord will reveal that it only took a whim to result in a life being snatched away, or some poor wretch losing his capacity to continue living. What greater cruelty or tyranny! And although our Ethiopia is a hard master, it bewitches those who serve it closely, so that there is rarely one of these who deserts it.^(b) Once

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- (a) Incurable diseases, which no natural medicine can remedy.
 - (b) However religious he comes to appear, however many evils he speaks, like Alipio of the Logos, and comedies "as in the Confessions of St. Augustine". When he reaches here, he would be always Alipio, greatly bewitched, etc.

one has served it, neither hard words, nor daily troubles, nor blows and other ill treatment, unworthy of civilised man, nor the deaths (around one) are sufficient to release a man from the lordship of this very great tyrant. On the contrary, even if one has sweated away for twenty five years in its service, only the end of life itself prevents a man from returning to look on its face. Is this not astonishing? I am shabbily treated all the time, and yet I seek excuses, pretexts, dodges, in order to serve it, (and this) at bodily risk. It is not the risk to the soul I am considering, for those who love this dungeon can have no soul. Could there be worse blindness and ignorance? Solomon spoke truly when he said that the world is full of fools. (c)

Let us continue our list of physical ills. Maleficium also causes sexual sterility, as stated in the canonist's chapter "Concerning frigid and maleficium". As far as maleficium amatorio is concerned, it must be noted that devils cannot control man's will. The imagination and fancies of man can only be set moving by feeling, which is controlled by the will. Beauty makes the partner appear more lovable and also excites the sexual appetite. But the will always remains free, so that the devil can only persuade and cannot constrain. "He can bark but not bite", as St. August put it. Maleficium does not work by itself. Evil spirits do it all, introducing men to poison, or working at their plea and request, but with God's permission.

The other sort of venefacio, which harms things, destroying vines and trees, tearing down houses in storms, and killing animals, is completely the work of evil spirits, on the demand of the poisoners. These wretches are such miserable beings that even when they want to do evil they cannot /f.109v/ do it with the help of their masters. They pay dearly for this service, in that when they make images of wood or other material and beat them or stick pins or needles into them, so that the poor wretch feels the blow or the torture in those parts of his body where the image is ill-treated, the feeling of pain does not come from the image which the witch so treats but from the devil who, by imitating the action, subtly carries out the same on the human body. The truth is that the devil deceives the poisoners themselves.

(c) "The number of fools is infinite". And what a heavy burden is a weight like this.

In a certain republic, a scholar committed a crime worthy of death. Since he was useful to the state, he was sentenced to perpetual conversation with an ignoramus.

These are very wicked vices and practices. There is normally a pact or agreement with the devil, as I said was the case with magic, although magic may not result in evil doing. The magician claims, as his principal aim, that he can employ the skill of the devil to carry out miracles and learn about occult matters, as already stated. But these witches do nothing but evil. If they mingle sacred or blessed materials in their potions, their act is heretical. Like robbers, they are obliged to repair all the damage they have caused. This is a very grave sin. If the person afflicted by maleficium appeals to the witch to relieve him by committing another maleficium, he sins grievously. Cajeta, under 'Maleficium', in Sylvae.

In one of the Cape Verde Islands there were two women skilled in the diabolic art. The devil never tires, he is always finding new ways in which he can be worshipped. So it was in the house of the Jolof woman. In the apartment properly dedicated to rest and repose at night, she entertained him, the enemy of all peace, seated on his throne in fine robes. In his place she kept a large bowl of water, around which a number of candles were set burning on special days. This wicked woman began to organise a novitiate of poor girls, all of whom she consecrated to the devil. When those girls that seemed to her most suitable passed by her door, she asked them to have a word with her. This they did in innocence. She went on to ask them about their lives and what comforts they enjoyed, although their form of dress showed how very poor they were; and with various yarns she persuaded them, telling them that her only aim was to bring them respect, and that they would lack nothing if they agreed to conform to her principles. /f.110/ What individual would poverty not throw down and reduce to idolatry? The Jolof woman so harried the poor girls that she obtained their consent, and thus their souls and bodies for the evil spirit. She acquired so many followers this way that the devil saw himself well repayed by his devotee. When each girl submitted and joined the group, the first thing the woman did was to order the novice to enter straightway into the infernal room; and then one after the other they came to recognise the devil in this form and to reverence him. After coming into her power these 'nuns' lacked nothing, for she dressed them like the finest women in the island, who now accepted them, although previously, because of their poverty, they had not noticed them. This wicked woman once pressed one of these innocents whom she thought less drawn to this religion, pointing to the example of those who had already professed it: "Daughter, have you not seen how Sebastiana has prospered, how she is admired by Mr. So-and-so?".

Gain or the hope of gain concludes everything. The poor girl did not resist further but went upstairs and entered the room. There the Lord permitted the novice to see the foot of the abominable host. She invoked the most holy name of Jesus and the enemy disappeared. The Jolof woman was greatly upset. "Daughter, you have driven away my master!". The girl replied, "A master who has feet so ugly that his toes are the claws of animals cannot be a good master. For my part, I am not willing to serve him." As the diabolical sorceress was losing the initiative, she praised the enemy and tried to make the girl love the infernal spirit. She recounted the status of her nuns and the happiness they enjoyed. "Do you now know Miss X? Who do you think arranged her friendship with Canon you-know-who? Or fixed up this girl or that girl with Francisco Y? Or that other girl with Father Z? And those of them who today are decently married, how do you think this was done, if not by the guest of my soul? These daughters of mine keep me alive." What could the innocent novice do? On feast days the entire scum of the island danced around the dish and its burning candles, worshipping the enemy of the Lord. When the feast finished they all left, after each woman had gone alone to speak to this master of filth; and during this time, what went on was nothing other than abominable vice between the nuns and the guardian of hell.

This was on regular days, Tuesdays and Fridays. All the nuns wore a sash of /f.110v/ woven cords which was small and tight, the size of a hair shirt. This business continued for seven years. The girls were able not only to appear very beautiful but to obtain from their masters whatever they wanted, since they occupied the best apartments in their houses and were mistresses of their hearts. There was another diabolical woman who did great evil in this island, a renowned sorceress, who by the proper art was recognised and arrested. She was burnt, and when the fire was consuming her whole body this creature of the Lord made haste to touch her secret parts, which caused great astonishment, since even animals are loathe to touch the abominable parts. Enough has been said about this final daughter of superstition.

Now let us say something about vampires or witches. These women become such mainly because of their gross practices with the devil. The evil spirits transport their bodies through the air and, by taking over the bodies of any males, they practice sexual acts and all kinds of diabolical vice with the witches. Sometimes they are transported in imagination only, but they always have a pact with the devil to carry out many wicked and sinful things, and seldom do they practise witchcraft

without falling into error and committing heresy. Although it may seem to us that they can change their bodies into those of animals, such as cats, etc., this is not so. It is only that the devil confuses our imagination and deceives us in what we see. So that witches can enter houses in order to kill children and do other misdeeds, the devil first opens the doors and windows for them.

Since I have said enough about the power of the devil to illustrate the work of this evil spirit, I will conclude our catechism with an interesting problem, which is, whether the enemy can bring about conception and birth in any species without a previous sexual act. The problem is not easy to solve and has given rise to lengthy discussions. The problem turns on whether or not procreation can result from union with the devil. See St. Thomas (lib. 2, d. 8, q. 1, art. 4) and his Quodlibet (6, art. 8/6); Cajetan; Abulens (q. 6, cap. 6, Generes); Camperius; Cantipratenus; Caesarius; The Master of Coimbra (lib. 1, Generatio et Corruptio, q. 10, art. 3); Nicholas Hererico in Tobiam; Del Riu (lib. 1, q. 15) Resolutio de Magia; Malleus malleficarum (p. 2, q. 1, cap. 4); Johannes Laurentius (Analecta, lib. 4, de natura daemonis (sic)); Luis Molina (part one of his St. Thomas, q. 50). These all say that procreation is possible this way. And they instance many who were engendered by evil spirits called incubi: Molina; Del Riu (loc. cit. and lib. 6, cap. 42, sec. 9/3) /f. 111/; ^{R.M.} Vincentium (lib. 21, cap. 30); Serar of Coimbra; Johannes Laurentius (Ana, loc. cit.). They say that Martin Luther came into the world this way: Genebrarius (lib. 4); Johannes Cochlaeus (Analecta, loc. cit.). Also Mohamed, the God of the Turks, and Shaka, the famous idol of the Japanese. The farmer throws seed on the ground, seed which is not his, and it produces green shoots, ears of corn and the grain. Why should it be that, if the devil scatters human seed where he wills, generation will not follow? Especially since he knows the right time to apply it, and can carry it in a moment from one place to another, at the exact time that he sees the woman is most ready to conceive: Cajetan (ay. 11/4, sec. 6). Pereira says the same (cap. 6, Genesis) arguing the point with much erudition. And Abulens (q. 6, D) holds that, without having intercourse with the evil spirit, a woman, who is a virgin and intact, can, during sleep and without knowing it, introduce into her genital organ something which causes generation, and therefore without copulation can, as I have already said, bring about conception and pregnancy. See Del Riu (lib. 1, q. 15, Magii Diquis (sic)). See Annotationes ad Tolet. (lib. 5, cap. 13, under this and under 'Bestiality'). Curious people can look up in these learned writers what we leave out

here. Dealing with heathen and savages, we only desire to treat these matters in a suitably crude way.

As regards the other Commandments, there is no need to linger over them here since they deal rather with moral matters, and it will be sufficient to refer to them en passant. It is certain however that the heathen will acquire a perfect understanding of and respect for them when they know them. In any case, it is not such matters which demand long argument before they believe them, but rather the doctrines of the essence of the Divine Essence, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the birth of Our Lord, the mysteries of Our Saviour's life, death and resurrection, etc. These doctrines call for all one's patience, many times over, (in teaching them). But the individual who will be ministering the Gospel will make up for our deficiencies here, and will at the same time correct any errors the book may contain; for, being our own work, it cannot have the perfection which could only be conferred on it by the perception and authority of those who are expert in these matters, who would give it their expertise and reputation. /f. m. v./

Chapter 25

The state of Christianity in the Serra

When the padre had sufficiently instructed his catechumen,^(a) he bathed him in the sacred waters and gave him the Christian name of Philip, as already stated in chapter 17. New fruits are always valued. Thus it was, as regards the man^{of} religion and his teaching, on the part of this heathen and of those other heathen who followed his example. Each day the fervour of the idolaters increased, to such profit that over the land there was wonder, and from the sea could be heard nightly the divine melodies of the holy doctrine. Apart from the ordinary services of the church, confessions and spiritual exercises were regularly held, from a widespread desire to profit and benefit souls. The Lord confirmed his religion with various miracles, curing the sick by means of the ministrations of the preachers of the Gospel, making the paralysed and the feeble walk, giving life to those who were living without hope, and lastly drawing certain persons from the jaws of death,^(b) as may be seen in the letters from this mission. King Pedro or Tora himself experienced this miracle, the Lord postponing his (final) hour and by His secret discretion slackening the reins of life for two months, until they were again tightened with final force, as I witnessed on 28 January 1610.

As Christianity was proceeding in the right direction, a storm blew up which swept it off course in such a way that I was left impotent, and it brought in its train what still operates today, the new influence of I know not what evil eye. The storm was so disastrous that it overturned all, unsettling so strongly the feelings of the heathen and the new Christians that I hardly know whether there was one left who was not weakened; with the result that those who dissimulate and pretend that they remain the same will never be able to convince anyone in this way of their spiritual health because one has ceased to believe in it. All of them practiced, and had always practiced, a form of Christianity which concealed pagan ceremonies, for they only showed themselves Christian when in the sight of the padre, while in the Lord's sight they were worse than heathen. I do not deny that there are in the Serra today, and have been always, many whom the Lord protected like lilies among thorns. Yet from this place there proceeded so much evil that, though (we have faith that) even in these barren lands God won and the devil lost, it is possible today to entertain more than a single doubt that what happened was the opposite.

(a) "A notable and curious head".

(b) Miracles by which God confirmed the Gospel.

There were two sources (of evil) /f.112/. The first was the lack of knowledge and will-power on the part of these savages. There can be no desire for improvement unless the understanding appreciates the essence of what it ought to love. The will can only embrace that which the secondary power of the soul presents to it as good.^(c) All the heathen in Ethiopia are servile and they tend to follow Epicurean ways. They believe only what they see and touch, and they are guided only by self-interest. This is the idol on which everything is based in the Serra; so it had to be; twice it was hidden. The infidel savage is lacking in hope; he has lost it. Yet having sight of a vile master, there were afterwards crescent moons; but not having any news of it in 1611 and 1612, they were in suspense, they did not know what had happened to it, whether it had met with a disaster or had been destroyed. Having lost hope of seeing it, they gradually showed us their deceitful tricks, their falsehood, their dissimulation, and the pretences with which they approached in person the Lord's house. Now they no longer concealed or gilded over their deceitful Christianity, so greatly were they involved in their false superstitions and idolatrous rites. What can one expect of pagans who had been bathed, not in the waters of faith but in those of self-interest, other than the brash folly of reopening, in secret and publicly, the grave of idolatry? It was not grace which called them, but self-interest did: it was not the sweet-smelling waters of faith which touched them but the deceitful odour of worldly goods.

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- (c) Bure's marriage. "No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old", Luke 5 [∟: 36∟]. Thus, new people into the faith, little by little. See Genesis 33 [∟:13-14∟], "My lord knoweth that the children are tender, and the flocks and herds with young are with me; and if men should overdrive them one day, all the flock will die... I will lead on softly...as the children [Álvares misquotes, 'cattle'] be able to endure". And 1 Corinthians 3 [∟:12∟], "I have fed you with milk and not with meat", etc.

The heathen in Ethiopia care only for a god of the belly, a god of wine, and for no other faith. To believe otherwise is to deceive ourselves. All of them will become Christians if you have something to give them, but they will be Christians only in name. Teorocofero used to say: "What is a Christian? Water from my land". So it is lacking in respect for the Sacrament to administer it to such people in their natural state, without recourse to force and arms.^(d) Or, rather, without their having contact with true Christians, because from that contact they will gain something. And so that everyone will be convinced, (I say that) none of these heathen normally wants the faith, in the form in which they received it, for any reason other than that of having access to us and hence learning about our affairs and living by our sweat. All are unsteady rocks (on which to build a church). If any one of them is genuinely converted to the Lord, it is due to His great pity and also to the man's being touched within by the light of His most holy religion. So much for the first source (of evil), concerning which it is reasonable that we rely less on apostolic teaching (? and more on practical experience ?), so that those who wish to succeed in similar enterprises may take /f.112v/ this approach.

There is no greater encouragement of evil than lack of illumination in the one who guides; his good intentions lead him astray.^(e) From this spring many ills. Idolatry, lacking knowledge of the heavens, is so incapable of dealing with heavenly things, that however late these are given they always seem to idolatry like a premature fruit. An understanding corrupted by many and various vices, and which only self-interest can arouse, what can give it confident grounds for expectation? He who is baptised solely in order to gain friends and money, is it not certain that even if harvested in due time he will be always an unripe fruit? Who can doubt it? It is good to give friendship and money freely, but not baptism, which should be charged the just price, that is, and always has been, belief in and profession of Christ Our Saviour, without reservation, explicit or implicit, in favour of some false doctrine or rival worship. Can the ark of the Lord share the altar of our soul with the dragon? How can one expect rigour or

(d) Christian communities find force of arms necessary.

(e) It is necessary to know the nature of the heathen, when resort to force of arms is lacking, before awarding in baptism the title of son of the Lord. Missionaries should not act hastily. Experience.

the appearance of rigour on the part of a people so savage that they laugh at anything which goes against the flesh? He who does not know or understand how can he have the will (to act)? Without the conditions I propose, it is impossible to gather fruit among these infidels, in the circumstances when one does not have a nursery of young plants raised under the most tender warm breath of religious instruction. All else is wasted labour, being beyond the order of nature as far as the natives are concerned.

Now let us discuss the second cause of the backsliding of some of our Christians, ^(f) mere bad example. In the barter and trade of Ethiopia, no item is more common than this pestilence in the air. Whatever Cape Verde, Joala, Porto de Ale, and all the other ports may possess in the way of riches they abound in nothing more fully than this abomination. How much there is of this on the (Jolof) Coast! It seems that wickedness presumes to deploy its power here with great effrontery, and with the least respect for heaven. ^(g) Here evil is so embraced that it has reached the point of establishing a school of heresy and the worst ill-doing, killing some with the most subtle poison and leaving others, because they were more robust, incapable of managing their affairs for the rest of their life.

Passing on from the Coast, what other parts have been contaminated with the seeds of hell? Go to Bussis and you will see Christian women sold there to a heathen (king) more savage, cruel and tyrannical than any other. What is worse, some of the women are destined to be sacrificed to chinas when he dies. Who would not be scandalised by this? Who would not consider it wrong to give or sell the adopted children of God for /f.113/ profit to idolaters for the practice of their false religion? See what goes on in the palace of the king! Who has made him a lascarim and one so well informed about the things that happen in our Iberian homeland? Who has told him about sumptuous royal tombs, about caskets for the embalmed? Who offers them to him, who brings them? Who is it that interests him in writing-desks from China? Who is it that has fortified his port for him with artillery - can it be any other than wickedness itself? Who passes on the information to the tyrants of Guinea that in Spain we buy and sell even the graves we are buried in, buying residences for death, fields to till? Who has mocked ancestry? O unhappy Guinea, how full of misery you are because you lack the standard and guide of good example! ^(h) Consider another (Portuguese) who was invited to refresh his

(f) How forgetful all those who have the name of Christian live with regard to its responsibility and cost! This is seen in the example of bad living they give.

(g) Evils are unformed shapes which need labels to state what they are. So dead they have the colours of Christians!

(h) Family tree of hell. Manoel Drago.

soul with the sacrament of confession and who sought to obtain cola and tobacco from his vicar. Who would not be fearful (for such a man), knowing that for thirty years he had not (been confessed) and would thereafter die as a heretic and in total misfortune?⁽ⁱ⁾ I shall not go on (with the list). With such wicked allies, what can be hoped for from conversions, seeing that what makes them increase more than anything else is a good example? With such bad seed, such tares, what corn could survive without the arm of the Almighty? With such winds, in such weather, what torches, even those most carefully lit, could remain alight without the hand of the Lord to shelter them and protect them?

This is the second source (of evil) which I promised to discuss, a source from which evil flows so copiously not only in the places mentioned but here in our Serra, where naturally the force of its currents is stronger inasmuch as they are further away from what might turn them aside and direct them to other regions. But the Lord always comes forward with remedies; and will wound, in order to heal, those whitened sepulchres. However this epithet does not (really) fit them since they do not even attempt to be hypocritical. Evil has no mask here, as is always the case where it is tolerated and finds itself feared, and where it is scourged only by the heavens. To see a man^(j) of sixty who has spent forty years in Guinea completely crippled, and his body so covered with scars of numerous wounds that he looks like a wall full of holes in which birds might nest and lay their eggs, this would astonish anyone.

When he came to confess before me, not having done so since he confessed before Father Barreira seven years earlier, I asked him about the profit he had gained from life; and he could give me no response other /f.113v/ than the signs of great grief. What shall I say about Jorge Fernandes Gramaio?^(k)

(i) "And he clothed himself with cursing like as with his garments, so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones"
[Psalm: 109:18]

(j) Lucas Vaz, a native of Lisbon.

(k) The punishment of Jorge Fernandes Gramaio.

The Lord has been very patient with him. After selling the King of Bussis a Christian slave-woman of his who is today reserved for a sacrifice, as I have stated, on his return to Cacheo from this island he ran upon the Shoals of the Falupos, his ship was wrecked, and he and his company escaped on planks to the shore, where they were captured by the heathen, from whom they were ransomed. What miseries do such people not suffer daily, in life at the hands of the infidels, as their slaves for a term whose length depends solely on the heathen; and at death, as may be believed because it commonly happens here, at the hands of malign spirits, to receive with them the punishment of eternal torments? This could be shown by many examples but I will detail only some more recent ones from our own time.

We award the first place to João Nunes Borges, whom I knew on the Windward Coast.⁽¹⁾ In the year of Our Lord 1610 he came in his ship to the Cagaçais. He had as his pilot Rui Lopes, a native of Fogo Island, who, having second sight, saw that this wretched man was always accompanied by a terrible and terrifying form.^(m) He asked him, "Master João Nunes, do you understand or acknowledge this thing or person who keeps you company?" João Nunes was very upset by this and asked Rui Lopes to cease these pestering inquiries. In this river he fell sick aboard his ship, and approaching death, could find no-one to comfort him except the evil spirit. The pilot⁽ⁿ⁾ visited him as usual but had to leave, disturbed by the frightful vision. On one occasion he repeated his question, to which he got no reply. The visitor was retiring in terror by the prow of the ship when the sick man died. All around were alarmed by what they heard, for as the soul left, a great blow was felt on the sea, with strange sensations on the ship which made it roll severely. All were terrified, and the pilot was so overcome with fear that about a month later, he died in Rio Nunez from the shock.

(1) The punishment of João Nunes Borges.

(m) Jorge Mendes told me that God punished him; and he fell ill immediately after mimicking a padre of the Society, João de Nigris from Italy.

(n) Rui Lopes, brother of Estevão Lopes, of Fogo Island.

Now let us discuss the torments of António Fernandes,^(o) a native of (Fogo) Island, and a wanderer through the thickets of Ethiopia. For his life here he had earned from divine justice the expectation of eternal pains. One night the devil appeared to him in the figure of a duck, with which he exchanged blows but always got the worst. On this occasion one of his companions saw him so exhausted that he was beyond himself. /f.114/ The enemy persecuted him by inventing new forms of punishment, now forcing his hands around his throat to throttle him, now scratching him, now wounding and beating him in the most cruel way, so that it took him many days to recover. The minister of darkness took pleasure in blowing smoke up his nose, which not only burnt him internally but made him bring up a great quantity of blood which poured out of his mouth. All this happened in Bena, in the land of the Sousos. A young man who travelled in company with this wretch, and who told me about it, had his share (of the ^{formidable} spectacle). He said that he himself could not understand how so much ill could come to a man only for sharing the company of evil men, without imitating them. "For", he added, "while I was with António Fernandes I never had a quiet and restful night, night being the time when these things happened. The first night I spent with him a little rat ran over me, back and forward, so lightly that I was quite upset. Another time, as I was supping with him, I was struck heavily in the back from behind, and when I turned I saw no-one. Again, when I was asleep I felt great flames which were burning one leg from the knee upwards : I woke up and uttered the name of Jesus, and the evil spirit who was persecuting me immediately disappeared with a loud bang, and the house was filled with a bad smell like that of sulphur; but when I looked around I saw no-one. One night while asleep I felt something chewing my arm; and waking up I saw the face of a woman who grimaced at me and gnashed her teeth. Another time one foot went cold, so that I could not move it. Another time I was plagued by an ants' nest in my bed, and I felt the creatures biting me through skin and flesh, and various other discomforts I shall not describe. A dog ~~was~~ kept barked when the evil spirit entered. I could never find out from my companion the cause of these ills. He claimed they were the responsibility of the King of Bena, but this was false. Had he said that it was the King of Glory who permitted them because of the murders he had committed, I could have believed this more easily. For the king said to me: "White man also have witch. That trouble of António is from God, who has grabbed him because he has a wicked heart".

(o) A hell of torments for António Fernandes, a native of the same island.

The savage was right, for wherever the fugitive went, the torments of the evil spirits never left him. From Bena he went to the Coast. He laughed when he saw the ships and was asked why : he replied /f.114v/ that the sailors who were moving around the upper works and rigging of the ships were making a thousand gestures and grimaces. When he reached the Coast, he lived there greatly afflicted and oppressed by the devil, and since those who dwell in Porto de Ale could not stand the howling of António Fernandes' guests, or rather his companions, everyone ostracised him, and they made him live apart. Thus persecuted, he lived in sadness and died miserably one night at Cacheu, calling out "Help! " . The next day they found him, without learning the cause of death. The Lord permits evil-doers to collect no reward of their guilt other than continual agony and distress.

Evil-doing does not stop at this. What can be said about heathen from Portugal who consult witches about their affairs, believing that the art and science of an object of creation can acquire what alone belongs to the divine Creator? Those who insult officials of the heathen in order to acquire their possessions by unjust means, when they could recover them by regular process, to whom do these men not appear evil? Some of them lack concern about attending confessions, and show little respect for holy days by working on them. All this ill conduct receives its reward here in death. Some are lost at sea, some are lost in the forests, some find death at the hands of their own slaves.^(p) The misfortunes of our 'monks' could make a litany so long that it would exhaust one to hear it. So that it will not seem our intention to bore and repel with this account those most anxious to read what we write, we here bring to a stop, not charity which prides itself on being without end, but these depressing stories. Let the authors (of these deeds) seek other chroniclers, for such was not our intention, and it was only of necessity that we put in at this melancholy port or quayside.

But to increase confidence in what has been said in our account, we consider that it was very profitable to have made this (mention), in order that those of superior understanding should be warned not to put their trust

(p) Simão Vaz. So it happened to a certain native of Santarem who lived here in great prosperity. He is having a Portuguese in Mitombo killed by a son of Farma. Woodland graft, vineshoot of hell.

in themselves. For it is certain that it is the nature of the land, being fertile, to grow thick woodland, unless it be cultivated with the mattock of the attention we in our small way give to the matter.^(q) Lack of this attention is the overwhelming reason why we today see warbling virtues more fine than old ivory^(?). What makes us doubt the salvation of João Nunes Borges with his cargo of books if not this: his conceit in his own understanding which led him to believe that he could cope with the most subtle figures of rhetoric and the varieties of meaning in the sentences of the great writers, /f.115/ Livy, Pliny, Plato, etc, although he could never understand himself? How can such men give their attention to the most obscure legal writers and yet never grasp Pulvis est, "dust thou art and unto dust thou shalt return" [Genesis 3:19]? How is it that one can meet today in the earthly city those whom the Chroniclers of Salvation call "wise in their day", who are engaged in dreaming about great fantasies^(r) and are carried away by ecstatic contemplation, yet without perceiving (the truth), without acquiring even the ABC of the true philosophy of divine election? Who am I, and who is God? O music divine, O meditation for the most barren place! O bouquet of myrrh for glorious Bernard, bringing such benefit to trade, to the table, to conversation, by night and day, in all seasons!^(s) Happy he who, in the most secluded corner of his home or in public places,^(t) has no company other than the divine fragrance and sweetness of flowers so dainty! He who like Bernard lays them not only across his breast but across the reality of his soul, how he renounces all else, how he despises what is most highly valued here on earth, in order to be sure of gaining the eternal years of the King of Prophets! Nowadays there is no ignorance, so why say more when I am addressing the learned?

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- (q) "Though Coniah ... were the signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck [him] hence". See Jeremiah, chapter 22 [:24]. Rings on the fingers of the All Highest in hell, etc.
- (r) In search of salvation.
- (s) And voyages by sea.
- (t) At sea, on land, elsewhere, if I hear from the cabin, the best picture like those of hell, with which these places are prettified.

The science of material things now fills not only the cities but the towns, the hills, (even) the barren places. In our day there is no ignorance anywhere. The most savage natives of Ethiopia can account for the sky and the earth. No-one who hears me can deny this: I have tested the matter this very moment. I saw an idolater and heard from him deep theology. "The Most High holds all in his hand, life, death, health, riches, honour". How then does it come about that He is despised, that men deny Him, that men sell Him each day in the market place of the world for less than did Judas? How can this be? Do you wish to know? It is because God has entered into the understanding, into the porch of the Temple of Solomon. You will see another man ask the number of the tribe of Israel, and when and why God scattered them, and where they went, and which tribe he brought out of Egypt. You will see the theologian speak of the marvels of the All Powerful, and discuss with great subtlety of exposition and a thousand different arguments the divine attributes and the ineffable procession of divine persons. You will see the canonist memorise /f.115v/ a computerful of decisions and decrees of the sacred councils. You will see the jurist full to the brim with his own code, his Infortiato, his ff., his extravagances, etc. Here God enters the courtyard of the soul, the understanding and the memory. Seek out the doctor or anatomist, search through all civil states, it seems that malice has made its stronghold in the poor soul! You will see it enthroned here in all majesty in the city-dweller, in the townsman, in the learned and in the ignorant. This is the enemy that destroys all, because it has an urge to do this. With this weapon alone, in the same way as if it had an armoury of weapons, it has no fear of being deprived of its unjust possession. But this is enough for those who wanted to know, and it forms a suitable conclusion for chapter 25.

The foundation of the Temple of the holy Evangelist in Farma's kingdom, and the glorious death of Father Baltasar Barreira, first ambassador of the Gospel to this Province

Chapter 26

Discussion of the progress of Christianity and the most remarkable events connected with it

So far in this treatise I have not devoted a whole chapter to the circumstances of the creation of the new church of the Serra, since I considered this a matter outside my plan, my intention having been, as it remains, merely to describe, not those matters of Grace which would be more appropriate in another work, but only the natives of the land and their characteristics, together with those of the ~~(- Portuguese)~~ ^{Scholars} residents. But seeing that it involves little more labour, and since I have been solicited by my dearest friends, who are curious to /f.116/ have the whole story in one piece, it has seemed good to me, in order to oblige them on this point, that I should insert into the subsequent chapters of this History some of the information they seek from me, so that they may seek consolation in the Lord. I will not discuss here the works which the Lord performed between 1606 and 1610, but will limit myself to the years that have followed, and will refer those who are especially interested in the earlier period to the Relaçam anual prepared by Father Fernão Guerreiro of our Society, in which can be seen the information which the religious of our order sent back from these parts concerning what the inquirers wish to know about.

To come now to chapter 26 I have followed exactly the form of the annual report, and I repeat the text of the one entitled, "Annual letter for 1611 and 1612, about the building up of the mission station at Serra Leoa, which Manuel Álvares sent to Father Jerónimo Dias, Provincial of the Society of Jesus".

Although I very much desired last year to write to Your Reverence about the state of the new church, in order to fulfil my obligation and to conform to the practice of recounting the good news of our mission journeys, I was so indisposed most of the year that, each time I prepared to write, relapses made my pen fall from my hand. Today, putting my trust in the Lord that I may be able to complete at least a large part of what I intend to write, if not all, and even though my strength is not very great, I return to the task, which is to reveal what is most edifying of that which by his

grace the Lord has allowed to be accomplished in the midst of the countervailing excesses of the devil. Although the enemy has the advantage arising from the failure to furnish supplies to this conquista, one of his most powerful weapons in his scheme to bring the new tower of the Lord down in ruins, he has still not been able to do enough to bring about its downfall and prevail against its fine soldiers, despite all his fury. I attribute all his attacks to the pride of this hellish Goliath, and to the envy of this evil spirit directed against the Lord's honour, which arose when he saw the new edifice of faith which has been gradually built up in the most powerful kingdom of this Province. That is my first point.

/f.116v/ King Farma had a great desire to see his lands enjoy the same (spiritual) authority as he was told neighbouring kingdoms enjoyed. He let me know this many times, in words and latterly by deeds. For he sent one of his most cherished daughters to our house in the Serra, the house dedicated to the Saviour, so that she might be baptised and might serve me, as a token of the sincerity of his heart. She was brought to me by a Portuguese gentleman who came for the Easter services, and who acted as intermediary in view of the holy desire of the king for better acquaintance, in order that Farma might, as he himself stated, maintain his cause with the padre. When the procession and mass had come to an end on the feast day, the Portuguese gave me the message which the king had fervently entrusted to him regarding the preaching of the Gospel in his land, and regarding the spiritual interest and deep concern of his whole kingdom in respect of Christ. I replied with a smile that I was a labourer with many fields and such delicate crops that any wind might harm them. Who will dwell here and in the other residences, each of which calls for a priest and a lay-brother, men who are holy and humble and true friends of self-mortification? To all of this he replied: "Father, it is so." "Then," I continued, "let us see what is written of the kingdom which had enough to contend with in respect of its lords and their slaves, let alone in respect of the Christians of the land to which I am already in debt."

Farma was not convinced by this reply. He continued to press, and to importune me, with such persistence and such affectionate longing that I did not know how to decide the matter or find arguments^(a) to refute the force of his own. I wrote to the Portuguese to say that I was greatly pleased by the interest of the king; and since we had a mutual interest in the foundation of a church, he should discuss the project at length with the savage, explaining to him what a church was, and what a priest was, and that once a church was established all matters pertaining to Christians, whether natives or foreigners, would have to be under the control of the church and be placed in the hands of the priest, as the true superior in things spiritual and temporal, in just the same way as in other Christian parts where there were no capitães.

João Loucão—(this being the name of the devout intermediary)—carried my decision to the savage, and explained the matter so carefully that he was greatly impressed. To remove any misconception Farma may have had, he said to the king: "If you want the padre in your lands only so that Portuguese vessels will come here, you are acting wrongly, for the padre has no commercial contacts on earth, his business /f.117/ being only to bring heavenly goods and the chattels of divine grace. Father Baltasar Barreira, his predecessor, whom you never saw, first made this point(to you)". Then João Loucão told Farma about Christian priests, and what our intention was in coming to these lands so late in time. He asserted that ~~it~~ was solely through our zeal for the salvation of souls, and that all the padres of our humble Society, including the one to whom he was making his request, considered that all their labours and all the difficulties of the journey to this kingdom were well justified if they could serve him and all his people in this place. This was the business we sought, not trade in gold or silver or those other goods which are obtained in exchange for precious stones from the East. "These temporal goods are not sought by our members, as they are

(a) Syllogism

by the legates of Mohammed, who seek you out only to deceive you and remove valuables from your homes. The padres do not come for this reason. The Lord sends them in order to remove the deep darkness by means of which the devil has wrapped your understanding in obscure light, and to give you faith in the Creator. They come to enrich you with the true valuables of grace and the Lord's favour. This is what a Christian Priest does."

Farma listened attentively to the harmonious utterances of his agent, and he marvelled at the novelty of what he was told about the (ascetic) poverty of the religious life and our (humble) standard of living. In reply, he ordered the man to write to me as quickly as possible, requesting that, as his eyes could not behold me, I would agree that my eyes should enjoy the sight of his lands, so that I might appreciate how wide they were. From me he expected only that I would bring to his lands the divine merchandise which his guest, João Loucão Barros, had told him about at length. He fully understood that these were the best and most valuable merchandise, and that with these nothing else here on earth below could compete, however fine and perfect. He had confidence in the true God, creator of all, ^(b) whom he adored with his whole heart, and who, out of pure love, had given and entrusted to him his kingdom. With God's favour, he still hoped to profit from the divine merchandise.

With these good intentions he began the building of the temple, a construction the finest and most elaborate of all the buildings we have here. The situation is especially pleasing, and is accessible to all the heathen who daily gather in this spot with their goods, since this is the chief trading-place of the whole Province. The chapel lies on the north side,

(b) Domini est terra. (The earth is the Lord's [Psalm 23,1]. Meus est orbis terrarum. Si esuriero, non dicam. (If I were hungry, I would not tell thee, for the world is mine [Psalm 49,12].)

between two shady trees,^(c) and beyond these in the same direction is thick forest and an equally wild circling stream, whose bubbling waters and fierce currents running over boulders make it as attractive as it is (cooling and) healthy.^(d) On the south side, a creek runs round it, in which the rising and falling tides mingle the salt waters of the sea with the fresh waters of the river.

Now we will describe the dedication of the temple. After I had finished hearing the confessions of a good part of the Christian community of the church of the Apostle St Peter, a boat reached me with letters from the Portuguese (up-river). On reading these I took my leave (and set off) in order to celebrate the dedication festival. Everyone was daily awaiting my arrival with great excitement. When the boat appeared, they rushed in a crowd down to the river to meet me, some weeping tears of joy they could not hold back, others holding out their arms to me in expression of their love. These gestures from all on this occasion demonstrated such real affection for our humble Society that I was speechless. From this moment I felt repaid for (the trouble of) my journey merely by the outward manifestations, while as for the more private reward from the Lord, I shall not discuss it here.

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- (c) It produces other natural fruit which here are more tasty to those who have a care for the glory of the Creator than "Food of Christ".
 - (d) Souls the wild boars of the idolaters. A rustic house, in which the leading men also make the dish they enjoy.

With these happy thoughts in my mind, I was led by these gentlemen to the basilica of St John the Evangelist, the sight of which filled me with special joy. I praised the perfection of the building, I thanked João Loucão Barros, its founder, and the other gentlemen for this new fortress, and I told him, without disavowing any of our hopes, that the building enabled me to assure all persons that both spiritual and temporal peace were being preserved. I added: "Just as the King of Poland used to say that the best warriors and the finest army to protect his kingdom were the members of the Society of Jesus whom he had introduced into his kingdom, so your honour will see that with the introduction of membership (of this church) of the glorious Evangelist, the beloved disciple of the Lord Jesus, you can hardly hope for less." Night fell. I do not recall on any journey having enjoyed contentment and happiness in a more spiritual form than I did in the course of this one. It was made thus by the delicate melody of the sweet music of the Christian faith which met me in this village. The master of the music was a Portuguese called Brás da Costa, who out of his charity taught it before the foundation of the church, with great zeal exhorting all to observe the Saviour's law. I found this the best refreshment of all those that the gentlemen provided for me.

The following day the decoration of the altar was finished. A large part of the roof of the church was covered with very beautiful mats. When all was ready, on the second Sunday /f.118/ in Lent I said mass. In order to share in the glory which the evangelist so greatly experienced on Mount Tabor, I chose to consecrate the temple then, to the joy and relief of all those who, with tears of devotion, helped me to consecrate it on that holy day. I placed in it a Virgin and Child which I had brought with me, to incite the adoration of the true God and of herself, from all throughout the kingdom. The neighbouring villages were deserted as the

fragrance of Our Lady reached them. The heathen stood in wonder at the door of the temple viewing the new spectacle : they could not bring themselves to leave and had forgotten where they were. Farma did not yet know of my arrival, although the Lady had already conquered with the divine weapons of her eyes many who sought baptism. But it is as important to refrain from gathering unripe fruit as to give the tree which bears it proper care so that it may bear fruit. From amongst those (who sought baptism) I selected thirteen who were well instructed in the faith and almost all of whom gave good hope of Christian fruits, and I bathed them in the holy waters, while the others were dying of thirst for lack of them. This was the first blow struck by the holy apostle. But to date he has struck so many effective blows that the temple, though the largest of all (in this mission), needs to be enlarged because of the number of the faithful which daily keeps growing. Massa Fogoma, ruler of the nearest kingdom, and a subordinate of Farma, was present at the festival with all his people. Although a man of sober personality and careful judgement, he took note of all and kept his eye on the sacted images. To the right of the altar on a silken cloth stood an image of the Saviour holding the globe in his hand, and the savage asked João Loucão Barros : "Cassane a fo e pago da Sora ?".^(e) Indicating the globe, he said, "Kebinta afo ?", "Is that round thing a shield ?". The devout Portuguese told him what the puzzling figure was, saying it was a representation of Christ in his prime. He was satisfied; and when it was explained to him that the globe was a model of the world, he marvelled at how little his people knew apart from their knowledge of God, and how they^{all} walked in darkness. João Loucão said : "Because of this, God is sending you the padre, to teach you the way to heaven".

(e) Gracious saying.

When the dedication feast was over, an ambassador was sent to Farma to bring him news of what had happened and to tell him that I had arrived. His approval was marked : the messenger could only describe it by the phrase "Farma silo", "Farma smiled", an expression indicating great satisfaction when a person obtains something or is within sight of it - (in contrast to) the Latin term desiderium which signifies the dissatisfaction caused by longings and unassuaged desires. Farma sent me a present the best of all the presents we had been given by these kings. He confided his land to me and declared me its true king, in order that the Lord would permit ^{me} to become king of his heart too. I accepted the gift but it was necessary to declare the spirit in which I did so. All the Portuguese and the other Christians on this occasion assembled most respectfully at the place where I was staying. The ambassador of Farma approached and I explained to him the status of the padres, so that if I accepted the king's gift I did this as a poor man, which was what the Portuguese gentlemen were accustomed to considering me; and hence I possessed and could give (in return) to the savage nothing other than what I had received from God, that is, the power to show him the road to heaven, by instructing him and his people in the of salvation. We practised poverty on earth with great joy because we professed it out of love for Christ our Saviour who, being rich, made himself poor from love of us. The savage heard all this with marked attention, and left to inform the king, very satisfied, and promising to tell him about the obligation to the King of Glory he now bore in return for the singular favour I had shown him in being willing to be his guest, the obligation expressed through a form as extraordinary as that of the sovereign and ineffable mystery of the Holy Eucharist.

As the season when these events occurred was that of Lent, and since there was much to do here, because there were guests from the Windward Coast, and the officers of the ships were not in a position to go to other churches, while the residents were also unable to go elsewhere

because of pirates, I resolved, now that Holy Week was so close, to carry out the offices here. The Vicar of Cacheu came to me for confessions, and he attended all the offices, showing great devotion. The number of persons present was great and the devotion on the part of all greater. On Palm Sunday ^(f) an altar was set up in the crossing of the church and was beautifully decorated, and at this palms were blessed and distributed. A procession followed. A cloth which served as a curtain was drawn back and the verse, "Glory, laud and honour", was recited with much feeling; and everyone made responses with such tears of joy that I cannot declare to Your Reverence the extent of the happiness it gave me. But Your Reverence can well imagine what all were able to feel, on seeing /f.119/ a novel event, so unexpected in a kingdom so wild and backward. On Tenebrae Wednesday, the office was celebrated so perfectly that as far as devotion goes there was little for these barren parts to envy in the services of your parts of the world, where everything incites to devotion. On Holy Thursday there were many communicants. The Vicar was present to lend his authority to all done here, and in his surplice and stole was the first to receive, in complete devotion, the Sacred Body of the Lord.

After the holy sacrifice, we cleared the altar tearfully, and drew a curtain which concealed a pious crucifix standing under a purple canopy with a Calvary scene in the same silk on which are embroidered the words of the Prophets relevant to the history of this holy day. Then a number of candles and small torches were lit. After this we emerged from the chapel and came to where the infant Jesus with the cross on his shoulders stood on an altar. I cannot describe to Your Reverence the amount of devotion and the tears which all displayed at this novel sight. As for me, I can only say that, although the scene is now in the past I am still present in spirit, and this to such an extent that even as I write to Your Reverence I cannot hold back my tears. The temple was decorated throughout in mournful guise, and was circled by beautiful pictures of angels holding the symbols of martyrdom. Only the hardest hearts could have failed to be moved by the sight.

~~by the way in the Church of the Evangelist.~~

About an hour after midday I reached the Gospel. The lamentations which then occurred in the church astonished me. The heathen, on seeing this unaccustomed novelty, stopped and looked at each other. I can say that when I spoke from the sacristy for a fair space of time about the goodness of Jesus and the insults he has received, and then halted because I had completely lost my voice, those present in the sacred temple did not stop their sobbing, their tears and their violent gestures. After the office of Tenebrae, a procession was formed in which four of the leading Portuguese carried a sacred image of Christ in a litter, decorated with great care. The Lord was accompanied by many penitents, who applied discipline to themselves until they bled, some of them fixed to crosses or to pillars, others carrying a cross on their backs. At each stage they sang the Miserere and the prayer Respice. The lamentations and the signs of devotion were such that the king's chief brothers and sons and the other lords who attended all these events were full of admiration.

At this point there arrived here a very close relative of the king's niece /f.119v/, whom the Blessed Virgin had rescued from the claws of a crocodile, as I described in my annual letter for 1611. When she saw me, she showed especial joy arising from her great affection for our holy religion. On Good Friday we held the Stations of the Cross-{the feast of the Crucifixion and the burial of the Saviour}-with no less devotion. On Easter Saturday, when the holy sacrifice was over, we carried a beautiful cross from the place where it had been used on Good Friday to the forecourt of the church and erected it there, while we said the Litany and chanted the Laudate. We conformed to the words of St Paul : "Sicut socii estis passionum _____", ["...as ye are partakers of the sufferings (so shall ye be also of the consolation)", 2 Corinthians 1 : 7] and in case (the worship of) God seemed merely sorrowful and penitential to simple minds, we celebrated the Lord's Resurrection with a feast. But

since the vulgar feasts consist of things which invoke laughter, the reverend vicar out of his goodwill made a figure of Judas which was hung up at dawn on Sunday for all to see, and our most recent Christians approached it closely to convince themselves what it was, as they did not believe it was a statue. Now we come to the procession. Everyone showed great satisfaction. Many muskets were fired. Music was not lacking, nor the sound of that instrument which sends loud expressions of joy to the King of Glory. After the feast, I returned to our House of St Peter, where I heard confessions from the residents and from the Christians of the land, as well as from the guests from the Windward Coast. Then I returned to our church of St Michael Archangel, in the Serra, where I concluded the Lenten duties. Let this also be the conclusion of the first section (of the report), since other matters now summon us.

Night was about to draw the pen from my hand when, to render me sadder, there arrived a youth, who was followed by King Miguel Tora with a packet of letters which Fatema had ordered him to bring to me. Everyone waited with great excitement for news of my beloved Father Baltazar Barreira and his companions. I opened the packet and then, sad to say, a letter which has caused me and this whole Province such pain and sorrow that I cannot describe them to Your Reverence. In my little hut nothing could be heard but the weepings of the saint's friends. Everyone else was silent. Sadly they left, leaving me even sadder, with more reason, although I had to conceal my sorrow at the /f.120/ time in order to console the others. Afterwards my eyes could not be restrained, and the pain and sorrow of such a loss I cannot relate to Your Reverence. There were not lacking others to feel as I did, for the saint was the master of the wills and hearts of all. As for me, I have overwhelming reason to be sad for the rest of my life, since I have lost here on earth a very good friend. This is reason to lament, reason to make me melancholy, since I have lost Father Baltazar Barreira, that saint who mortified himself in every way;

that figure of sanctity; that spirit totally inflamed by divine love, as indifferent to all that is lower and earthly as he was in union with the Eternal, as free from the bonds of earth as he was securely attached to those of heaven; that figure of obedience, who although it was essential for him to leave the Serra in order to safeguard the progress of our affairs on Santiago Island, as our Padre-General had ordered him, dared not do this because the letters (of instruction) had not yet reached him; that very humble soul who asked me many times to tell him what I thought he should do about the journey, repeating the words of glorious St Martin, "Si adhuc populo tuo sum necessarius, non recuso laborem" ["If your people still need me, I accept the toil"]. All these wise cautions were employed only to show me that the doubt he entertained whether his journey would be acceptable to his superiors gave him pain and was the whole reason for his hesitation. To discover the divine will he practised not only the holy exercise of prayer but, at the age of 75, the normal penitential course with such rigour of fasting, wearing of a hairshirt and disciplining of the body that I was amazed.

The obedience of the saint was always in the context of the cross, so that in the eyes of God he might seem improved. I saw him in Angola, I saw him crossing the sea for love of the Lord, then I saw him, between ^{ages} about 72 and 75 living in Serra Leoa, a sterile land where confidence in God can be more faithfully practised. (g) If the Blessed Father Francisco called the Moro Islands the islands of Hope-in-God, I have no doubt that if he had come here he would have given this name to these wildernesses, perhaps with more reason. I repeat that he lived in the context of the cross

(g) St Gregory said of Abraham that he loved his son when Isaac played the (sacrificial) role of Christ more than he did before that; and felt affection for Isaac because he pictured the Lord carrying the cross on his shoulders, represented by the bundle of firewood, even more than he did because he was his own son.

because he always offered himself for lowly occupations which he undertook with enthusiasm and signs of joy, while refusing those tasks which brought honour. But when his saintly excuses could not enable him to escape these tasks, he conformed to the will of the Lord, whom he imitated on this point as far as His Divine Grace /f.120v/ assisted him, in which grace he lived while he bowed his head before the Cross. Our superiors had long experience of this, for when they obliged him to accept the responsibility of being head of this mission, he sought by all means to pass it over to Father Manuel de Barros, his companion. When it reached his ears that the inhabitants of Santiago Island wanted him as their bishop, he said to me,^(h) "I assure Your Reverence that what João Palha has said to me has caused me great pain and has produced in me the desire to undertake the journey which previously I had barely resolved to do". This statement of spiritual self-abnegation truly represented his sainthood.⁽ⁱ⁾ Regarding his poverty I will say this, that when I came to the Serra from Portugal, at my first meeting with him, one of the things which brought tears to my eyes was the sight of the saint wearing such a worn cassock, covered in bright patches of various colours, that I gained a clear idea of the love he had for this holy virtue, in whose arms was born the Creator of the Universe, the Divine Word, in the cave at Bethlehem. His form of dress, outwardly and underneath, was that of a begging-friar and he sought help from no-one with the mending of any of his clothes. He made them all himself, even his shoes, in holy humility. Only very exceptionally did he employ a youth to do what he could do himself. And as he had a great affection for the Holy Queen, he similarly was a great friend of the poor, giving them even the sheets from his bed to clothe them.

(h) 28th May 1609.

(i) All the time that Christ our Lord remained alive on the cross he had above his head, and when he was dead he had below him, the inscription: JESU N.S.J. [N.R.J.], "Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum", John 19:19. Hence mankind is obliged to pay Him honours, even when these are disagreeable to Him, while at another time it is obliged to flee from Him, even when these honours are no offence to it. (?)

I have not mentioned the great expense he assumed for the sake of our Christians in this church of his. He became their tailor and cut out their breeches, and in order to do it better asked professionals for pattern just as in Angola he had sewed caps for the heathen, to gain his keep and support his companions. The Provinces he tramped through speak of his boundless charity. What journeys he made for the conversion of infidels! Our saint was a river of holy water which copiously watered many marshes stagnant with infidelity. The Congo, Angola, the Serra, Cape Verde, none of them can deny it. Joala asserts it, and Porto de Ale, where the Calvinist heretic, a man of learning, feared to argue the faith with this most firm pillar of it, who had provoked the heretic earlier to say that if the padre could convince him he would surrender and be converted to the Lord. Bena asserts it, Bena where this apostle went, at the expense of great labours, out of zeal for the salvation of souls and especially the soul of King Massacande who had invited him in order to bring it to the Creator. How many /f.121/ of those persecuted in the Serra did he not restore to some sort of liberty! How many did he not draw from the jaws of death, bringing them from captivity to freedom!

Here is an instance which was reported to me. A godson was about sell his godfather, for certain specific reasons, some legitimate. This great zealot in the faith leaped on the man like a lion. What things did he not say on behalf of our Christian religion! Did he fear to mention and condemn this abominable act? The wretch was so impressed that he broke the bargain and the slave regained his liberty, thanks to the saint. The padre reproached the same man for his evil way of life, which was wicked and scandalous. He did not come to confessions, and it was necessary to censure him, to make him do this and leave off his evil ways. The miserable wretch, realising his situation and that he was excluded from the number of the Lord's flock, crazily spoke words directed against the saint. He was

told about this, but said with the utmost patience, "It is in the hands of God, He will attend to it". And so it was, for fire struck the man's house and no-one knows even today where the fire came from.

I could say a great deal about his charity for it was very great, but from the little I say can be inferred how much I am silent about. His gentleness was so marked that he once happened to say to me that it was not suitable for us to have a servant in the house since (if we did) we would have to (punish and) beat him. He was so humble that he never ceased to depreciate himself. Once when he spoke of God with such fervour that I was carried away, he said to me, "Padre, Your Reverence does not appreciate how little I know. I have tried to persuade myself that I am a good preacher but I have never counted for much." Thus the saint spoke, even though when he was younger he had preached before ~~the~~ Cardinal D.Henrique. When he wrote papers he gave them to me to look over, and he asked me to correct them as I thought fit; and this happened when he made out an official statement which he gave to Bartolomeu André. Need I say how he behaved during my illness, when the saint did everything for me? It seems to me that he never mortified the flesh more than on that occasion. What doctor visits a sick man with such kindness? What brother would serve a sick man with more fervour than did this man of religion ?

Daylight had not yet arrived when he could be seen, either in the church, or visiting his most devout friends, and shedding a thousand tears as if he considered me already dead. What can I say of his great mortifications /f.121v/ of the palate and other bodily senses ? He treated himself as an enemy. He told me that Father D.Gonçalo da Silveira examined him before he entered the Society and the examination went thus. "If you were ordered to go to Japan, would you go ? If you were ordered to suffer hunger and thirst and death itself for the sake of Christ our Saviour, would you do this ?". The saint replied, "Yes". I recall this

because I have often noted the extent to which the padre invoked his Holy Master. And in this matter of the palate, we know that in Sena, a place in Monomotapa, often he used to open his heart to God under certain trees and when he saw on them a yellow fruit with such an unpleasant smell that not even the Kaffirs could eat it, he ate it. I have seen him do the same thing here, when (he ate) food that could not be put on the table because of its bad smell and which I could not eat or at least could only eat in imitation of him, as I tried to do in other matters. But he praised it as if it were fit for a king.

I will relate what happened to the archdeacon of Cape Verde in relation to our apostle. The saint had been to visit him, to discuss with him the concord which it was right there should be between himself and the provisionary, it being enough that the archdeacon had directed against him one unjust sentence of suspension. The archdeacon would not agree with the padre or with the governor, Fernão de Mesquita, when they asked him to abandon the dispute. He would not do what they begged him to do, that is, to give another, more favourable sentence, by which the provisionary would be humbled more and the padre would gain greater honour and credit. As if Father Baltasar Barreira had known of the sentence of death which the Lord had pronounced against the archdeacon, he said to him, "Is Your Reverence sure that you will live to see this sentence (executed)?" The poor man fell sick shortly afterwards and passed into the hands of death. Similarly, for the greater glory of the Lord in the person of His saint, He chastised with a speedy death a citizen of the island who murmured against the saint, saying, "The island is doomed with the coming of this greedy order!". After saying this, this man became our great friend and sent to the padre a fine present, which he was not willing to accept, just as he also refused generous alms which at this date were left to the Society.

One could not expect less from a person who had the strength of vocation possessed by the padre. He fell ill in the Serra two months before leaving for (Santiago) Island and as he was very fond of me, he told me various things and spoke of his vocation /f.122/ in these terms. "A gentleman leaving for Peru visited my father. Because I longed to see these lands I decided to go with him, and off I set. When I reached Seville, Our Lord sent me an inward illumination of a kind beyond explanation. In it he revealed to me the illusions of the world and showed me that my true Peru was not the material one I was seeking but a religious vocation in which I could serve Him. Immediately I resolved to serve Him in the strictest order that existed. I had previously made my confession to one of our padres whom I had told about my journey, and he answered me, "My son, how badly you are spending your life! But when you go, do not fail to take with you two companions, Contemptus mundi (Contempt of the World) and a book called "Despise yourself". I replied that I would. From there I set out for Portugal. At Aldeia Galega my mule-driver absconded because he feared that his mule would be seized by a certain lord. Here I met a young man who told me a thousand good things about the Society, but this religious vocation did not seem to me a suitable one because it forbade intercourse with relatives, and I told the young man this. He replied in the words of the Gospel, "Qui non odit patrem, etc." \sqrt{n} (If any man come to me and) hate not his father..(he cannot be my disciple)", Luke 14:26]. Then I decided to approach the Franciscans and the Society, and whichever order received me first it would be the will of God that I should serve. Thus it was that when I sought out the Franciscans God willed that I could not see the Commissary for several days. And I was received into the Society, the Proposer being Father Miguel de Torres. Father D. Goncalo examined me in the way I have described."

During his illness he fully accepted the will of the Lord and said to me that when it was ordained he should go to Him, he would trust only in the sacred wounds and the blood of Christ Our Redeemer. Only one thing he would wish to raise before God, the progress of his work here and the new Christianity of the Serra. The Serra did not deserve the sacred treasure of his corpse. While here he said to me, that in the Cape Verde Islands he had reformed two monasteries at Vila da Praia and done other services for the Lord, but that it all amounted to little and that he had not been a profitable servant.

Everyone gathered fruits from this holy tree of life. Oh Serra, you have reason to bewail the loss of your Pastor, you have reason to be sad after losing the torch which lit up your darkness! I wish to pass on from this event /f.122v/, but his memory is engraved in my heart so that I can never forget it. After I received the sad news I commended myself during the holy exercise of prayer to his pure soul, seeking that it would intercede (for me) before the Lord, in whose blessed sight he today rejoices, since to a life so perfect the copious mercy of the Lord in Glory could not be denied. I could continue at length about his holy man since the Lord permitted me to learn much from him, but information on saints should be sought from saints. For I am not worthy to say anything about such a great saint without first admitting, as I do, to a boldness in humility, in that what I do is necessary for our consolation and our edification in the Lord.

To return to our Serra and the progress of its Christianity. This has been as is normal in lands which have just been converted to our holy faith, or in others which have been seized with holy yearnings and have been bathed in the sacred waters (of baptism). That is, the devil is greatly resentful. This we experienced in a notable happening some two or three years ago, which I wish to recall at the same time as certain other happenings, greatly to the glory of the Lord, through which

the heathen came to believe in the truth of the sacred Gospel and to discover the mysterious advantages to those who receive it.

The king of the Serra fell sick and asked me to hear his confession, sending a message to an island where I had gone, for the greater glory of the Lord, to confess a man who was dangerously ill.^(j) On this occasion some Portuguese had taken me in a boat. On our return journey I asked the one who steered the boat to take us alongside Camassono Island,^(k) the former seminary of Tora's idolatry. They all rejoiced to have the opportunity to see it and thanked me for what I had arranged, since it also gave them a chance to gather fruit from the trees which fringe its beaches, for while their natural fruit is worthless, the sea rewards the island with coolness which makes it the more delightful, by loading the branches of the trees with a great number of oysters, the most common shellfish here in the Serra. The sun was sinking and we were still a long way from our village. We travelled on a little way, and then the sea was covered with canoes containing devils who all wailed in great pain, repeating the words, "Padre a pom su eno", meaning "The Padre is killing us here". One devil appeared in the form of an old man shouting from the shore of the island and calling to those moving on the sea. The accursed spirits made a show of mocking him and then disappeared. /f.123/ The neighbouring islands were terrified by this happening and not understanding what it was, believed that these were war canoes, bringing war in a form which could not be more dangerous for them. But they were not long kept in suspense. The evil spirit entered into a female heathen, afflicting and tormenting her and speaking in far-away languages. One of their false priests asked the woman what people were those on Camassono. The vain-glorious spirit replied, "We are they. And we have decided to leave you, since the padres

(j) Notable instance, Camassono.

(k) Camassono. An Idol, a rock, the Island is like a temple dedicated to it.

attack us and press so close to where we live that there is no place for us in this land". A happy state of affairs when this is so !

Confused by these deceitful tricks ⁽¹⁾ and ingenious wiles, the people now attempt by sacrifice and gifts to calm the spirits, even trying to make peace and be reconciled with the true enemy (of mankind). All this is what the jealous spirit yearns for, when he sees so many innocent souls intending as his prey being drawn away from his claws. Two or three days later, a chief from the island where the woman lived in whom the devil entered, came to our village of S. Pedro. In great sorrow and affliction he recounted to the Christian king what had happened, just as I have told it here. "Pai Papa obei muna xarafe corofica Camassono coga su achen gane chico Padre a sa peco". "Oh father, oh king, you do not realise that the devils of Camassono treat us as their enemies because the padres attack them." The king smiled and replied to the savage after he had heard him out, "The padres have now good reason to say that (the spirits) are feeble and their power limited and dependent on divine permission. Let us follow the padres since they are stronger than these."

The chief left distressed to see that God had won. This story seemed so novel to me that I did not easily accept it, even though persons worthy of credit told me it. Since the king knew about it, I asked him to have the goodness to repeat it to me, which he did to the letter as I have stated it above. I praised him highly for the Christian response he gave the chief, and told him that God was not the creator of evil things and had not created such devils, who were beings that hated and wished ill to the Lord, in the same way as good spirits adored Him.

"Et adorent eum omnes Angeli ejus". ["And all his angels adore Him",

7 (m) In similar happenings we can reasonably discern the

(1) This is not the first time that the devils, leaving their places they formerly possessed, have taken flight to avoid encirclement.

- (m) At the first moment of the creation of the angels, the Eternal Father placed before it the sacred humanity of Christ that they might recognise it and that the good angels might adore, whose captain was St Michael; Lucifer adored but his followers denied this respect which was the cause of his fall, etc (?)

hand of the All-Powerful, whose Holy Gospel after it has begun to shed its rays of light into sterile wastes of infidelity such as this, will little by little dissipate the thickest and darkest clouds of hell with which they are filled and covered.

Here I wish to report another remarkable happening /f.123 v/ in this island of Camassono. As a Portuguese passed by in a canoe, he approached the land because of a storm and he heard these words spoken on the island, "Neoneo, neoneo", meaning, "Come away". Those who were in the canoe could see no sign of anyone. Another time, marks and traces of the enemy in the shape of an enormous animal were seen on the beach. These malignant spirits make some of the heathen so scared and anxious that out of fear of them they are not willing to be baptised. But many of them have given to God their children and other relatives who cannot help but come forward; and the reason they give is this: "Padre mitafe confi a sapemi rasogo rocoifi", that is, "Padre, I am afraid of the devils who will persecute me when I die".

Quite different was (the reaction of) a heathen woman who, as she was on her way to work, near a spring, received a great beating from the devil and was so badly treated that she could not get up from her bed for several days. This event made the heathen murmur. The woman said that the corofin^s hated the church and were disgusted because those who went to church no longer paid them the accustomed tribute. She asked the Christians for medicine to protect her from the enemy and was given that of the Most Holy Name of Jesus accompanied by the divine weapon of the cross. She was satisfied and lost her fear, and with these efficacious remedies was wholly protected against the evil spirit. Today we hear many heathen invoke the Most Holy Name.

The credit and good opinion of our religion is much enhanced among the infidels by the miracles which the Lord effects among them. A malign spirit entered into a heathen woman of noble standing, the

mother of D.Cristovão de Fatema. She made contortions and grimaces so unpleasant that she scared those around her, and none could hold her when possessed by the fury of the enemy. (The devil left her alone) When a reliquary was hung around her neck, to the great glory of the Lord and the veneration of the holy Evangelist.

As extraordinary was the benefit the King of the Serra received from the hand of the Creator on the feast of the Archangel Michael [29 September] in 1611. For more than a year the poor man had been paralysed by a dangerous disorder. He was very frail when he attended mass on this holy day. (But) he left the house of the archangel with such strength and so improved that not only were we all astonished by the remarkable benefit but he himself announced it, saying, "I have seen God, I have seen the padre, and straightway I regained my health". He continues thus today. A week later he begged me /f.124/ to allow the ornaments and sacred images to be taken to our Casa de Jesu where he was staying, in order that a son of the Grand Baba, to whom D.Felipe is subordinate, who with other Manes had come to visit him at this time, might see the holy objects, the most precious treasure in his kingdom. I allowed this and was accompanied by the Portuguese in two boats. I said mass there, and the most splendid festivals we had seen in this land took place, since these were festivals of the Manes, a warrior people, and worthy of much note. D.Felipe emerged with the best (garb) he possessed in order to see the Lord of Glory in the holy sacrifice.⁽ⁿ⁾ This he did in the afternoon, in the open space of the village, where, in the presence of the Portuguese and of other heathen natives, he gave proof of his strength of mind, together with all his qualities as a good captain. Here as daggers and swords were flashing, the Manes flourished their spears and protected their bodies with large shields made of reeds; their bows were drawn tight and their arrows soaked (?in poison); and they performed other military drill of the kind done by this warrior people. The shouts and battlecries of the soldiers

provided much diversion for the senses and aroused the spirit mightily.

The prince had arrived in a ship whose captain was José Baptista, who had been a novice with me under the supervision of Father Gonçalo Simões. The emotion and tears of the poor man upset me to an extent which I cannot describe to Your Reverence. He did not tire of praising our Society, and he spoke of Father Pedro Lopes, who was rector at that time, and of Father Simão de Sousa. He made his confession here, and received communion with great devotion. He is a true friend of the Lord. He did me many acts of kindness, earning the gratitude for them which it is appropriate to be given by a religious.

During this meeting I had a lengthy argument with a Calvinist heretic about the second person of the Most Holy Trinity, in which I stated a case drawn from chapter 66 [v.9] of Isaiah : "Numquid ego qui alios parere facio, ipse non pariam ? Si ego qui generationem caeteris tribuo, sterilis ero?". ["Shall I bring to the birth and not cause to bring forth ? ... shall I cause to bring forth and shut the womb ?"] All this from my ignorant self, but I relied on the word of the Lord, "Dabitur enim vobis in illa hora quid loquamini, etc" [version of "For the Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say", Luke 12:12]. He conquered, He who said "Dedit voci suae vocem virtutia" [].

The ignorant man was overcome, and two others asked me (to allow them to receive) holy baptism from the hands of José Baptista, who is like a lily among thorns among these Lutherites. I prepared for any eventuality, and gave him appropriate instructions, so that he could administer to them the divine remedy if they persevered in their holy intentions, or could give them it if /f.124v/ anything happened at sea.

With these things accomplished, I left D.Filipe in order to go to our house of S.Pedro, where we celebrated Christmas with all

solemnity. The temple was transformed into a garden which seemed so lifelike that my pen cannot describe it. To the Infant was brought a delightful present of fruits of the earth, among them six citrons, the largest I have ever seen, which were hung up as decorations. Crowds of people assembled to hear the mass of the holy night, and they came to a standstill when they saw the attention given to decorating and arranging the sacred house and the fresh and cool appearance throughout. And those from Lisbon who were there as guests could not find the words to commend the perfection of the whole scene.

When the holy day was over and after I had said the mass of the first day of the Octave, I left for the house of the Sacred Evangelist, to celebrate the festival of the first jubilee. This I will speak about later as I want to refer first to what happened when I met a priest, or legate of abomination, belonging to the Mohammedan sect.^(o) These people are great wanderers, roaming everywhere, and one of them came to this settlement dedicated to the prince of the apostles. He came to visit me and showed great respect and courtesy, which I reciprocated in my treatment of him. He was so edified that he immediately drew off from his finger a ring of gold which he gave to a Christian of the land who had guided him to our house so that I could receive it from this man's hand. I smiled and said to him that the gold which I had come to these distant lands to find, took the form of souls gained for Christ, his own and those of very many infidels. If he offered me his soul for that end, I would accept it with a good will. As for gold I had put that and all worldly things behind me for the love of God; and if I accepted his gold I would break my word with the Creator.

This false priest was astonished, and as he pressed me many times and did not wish to take back his gold, I begged him to do it,

(o) More, a legate of Mohammed, visits Padre Manuel Alvares and offers him gold, which the padre rejects.

without taking offence at me and out of friendship and since he ought not to ask me to do what was not permitted me. He was appeased. When he took leave of me I treated him with every mark of sincere affection, tactics (p) especially effective among savage infidels who, yokels though they are, are only conquered by homely behaviour; and I recommended him to seek from the Lord the illumination necessary for his own salvation. He was a wise bexerim. He told me at this time that the example of his ancestors would with reason keep him brief (?), since he saw clearly how little reason he had for failing to adore the Creator on whose hand depended the course of the whole Universe. Then we made an agreement to close friends /f.125/ until he decided to become my brother by professing the same religion. In all this he gave me great hopes, and I do not doubt that he will fulfil them when the affairs of this residencia achieve that orderly state which other Christian communities had in the beginning and have continued to maintain, and after there has reached here the aid for this kingdom so long and so loudly sought.

Before discussing the jubilee as I promised, I will mention a circumstance which happened in this country about three months ago, involving two Christians who were disobedient to the yoke of the Lord; and together with that, some other instances of the same thing closely related to the first, since each was wholly the result of disobedience of the law of the Saviour. A poor woman, a Christian, worked on a day dedicated to the worship of the Creator. She left home with the intention of sowing crops, foolish woman, forgetting the respect due to the holy day. The Lord pretended (to see nothing) so that the sinner might be the more overcome with shame. On the earth she threw the seed, in which she trusted more than in Divine Providence it seems. In a little while the

(p) Weapons for the conquest of heathen peoples.

seed began to sprout and to appear above the ground in an extraordinary fashion. But the confused creature, not recognising the offence to the Lord, denied Him her humble submission. So the sun also denied her a modest temperature and the crop shrivelled up and died, to the great perplexity of the sinner and the alarm of all, who, when they saw the neighbouring crops increase in size and flourish, understood that it was a chastisement from the Lord. It is not greatly surprising, they all said, that the land shows itself ungrateful and unfaithful to those who are the same to the Creator.

Here is the place to mention what happened, at the hand of our Christians, to a man who had been excommunicated.^(q) A local man spoke to him when he appeared (approaching from) the sea, without knowing that he was an excommunicate. (But) the children learning the holy catechism noticed him and ran to the village to say that the man had come, and one of them had so much presence of mind that he encouraged his mother to seize certain objects which were in the house where the man was to be entertained, and he persuaded her to throw them away. Everyone fled from the wretched man as if he had been struck down by an infectious disease, and no-one would look at him as long as he remained without absolution. This lesson was of use in making him today a keen servant of the Lord, as he shows (in his behaviour). In this simple way all would continue here if the devil had not an excessive number of his false priests in this place, who are real hypocrites, or perhaps I use the wrong term, for here no disguise is necessary and force is tolerated and finds itself feared. And these are the ruination of the spiritual edifice of the new church of the Lord.

But divine justice, slow yet always sure, took care to come home to these evil men. It did this in the case of two of them, by the /f.125v/

(q) Innocence of the Serra Christians.

Lord chastising them severely with an unexpected death on 25 September 1612.^(r) They went to sea, intending to make their way through a strait, the weather being calm; when they had sailed half way, suddenly there rose up a great storm, the sea was covered with raging waves, and all was fury. The winds blew with extreme force and challenged the enemies of the Creator in this disastrous strait where He, acting on His secret judgements, so decisively tightened the reins of life on the men that neither these wretches nor their canoe have been seen again to this day. One of these Christians was baptised in Santiago Island, and a little before I had absolved him from censure and given him a severe reprimand concerning his way of life. But the wretch was so intimate with the heathen and so forgetful of the burden and cost of being called a Christian a common vice of these outlaws who, like the more obscure paintings, need a label or caption to indicate what they are, to such an extent is the image of God erased in these false monks of this place - that it seems that the Lord was distressed by it. His wicked way of behaving as a Christian spoke (for him) in our view; and because of these legates a latere despatched by the evil spirit, I have many times repeated what one of our padres used to say, "It grieves me to see how many offences against the Lord I cannot put right".

To discuss now the holy jubilee and the festival of the day sacred to the beloved disciple. All I can say is that everything was as might be desired. The temple was decorated with all the good things of the Lord, but made more resplendent by the spiritual ornament of so many souls who in complete devotion received the Holy Body of the Lord, by this supernatural means thanking heaven for the singular mercy it had bestowed

(r) Luis Mendes, of Vila Real, relative of Pedr'Alvares Ebriais, died in the sea 23 June 1613. The angel of Luis Nunes da Serra, 23. Alexandre on 18 June.

on them by giving them a new tower of strength and protection in the Holy Apostle. Apart from the true feasts, there were others which the vulgar preferred, involving jousts, music and dancing in the style of the country. The day sacred to Jesus was solemnized with the same state. When the holy catechism was completed, a very striking altar was erected in the porch of the church, where our Infant was placed on his throne, it being His day. When night came, and shortly after the Angelus, torches and other illuminations were lit. Then a curtain was drawn and the circumcised King of Glory appeared.

As well as the normal festivities with which the holy day had been solemnized, it was made especially pleasant by a pastoral dance which was very enjoyable to see. The Portuguese organised it, in company with all the other sorts of Christians, and they later came, one after the other, dressed /f.126/ as herdsmen, to worship Him and to bring Him presents of the products of the land. The captain, João Loucão, a gentleman of a good age, dressed in Moorish style, came singly and he threw himself on his knees before the desire of the eternal hills with such feeling and made his address with such devotion that I marvelled. When he had finished he gave his gift to the Infant, two birds of the sort we call wood-fowl, whose plumage is marked with white eyes. Then followed Brás da Costa, a Portuguese of considerable gentility and a special friend of the poor, who did the same, with such spirit, shedding tears most indicative (s) of his innermost love for the Infant (and) with such kindly feeling that I could not retain my own.

The devotion of the others was no less. When the act of adoration was over, João Loucão Barros came forward with all the various rarities he knew, to thank the Creator, with all the products of nature and art, for His favours to that kingdom (of Serra Leoa) in giving it, as its

(s) Rewarding the gifts of the divine rubies of his precious blood which Christ had pledged since the beginning of the world in the person of Abel the innocent.

father, and as standard-bearer of His most holy name before all, among these savage and backwoods nations, one so close to Him as the Beloved Disciple was.

Such is the account of this first anniversary of the House of the Sacred Evangelist which I promised, and so it concludes. Many baptisms took place, to the great glory of the Lord; a hauling in of the net appropriate to the apostle St John, not from the Sea of Galilee but from the sea of infidelity. But I distinguished some from others, even though the catechumens were disturbed that I refused them baptism. I consider this less a cause for scandal than the alternative, which would be - grant Heaven may not allow it! - if tomorrow we were to see this new edifice of faith cast down. However I have great confidence in the Lord that the blessed soul of Baltazar Barreira will speak for this cause before the complete and Most Holy Trinity, so that it may have the success that he, while imprisoned in this life, desired for it, a success Your Reverence, to whose holy sacrifices and prayers I sincerely commend myself, has the obligation to procure.

From this Serra Leoa and from the House of St John Evangelist.

Manuel Álvares.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1613

For the Provincial of the Society of Jesus

Your Reverence asks me for a copy of the 1612 annual report. But who will write the 1613 report for me? That I may give complete satisfaction, I will collect from the meadow of these churches those of the principal flowers which are most fragrant and varied, in order to make a bouquet, which I will offer in this report, as on a dish, to Your Reverence.

As regards the building of the holy temple of the Evangelist, further to what I said in the ^(a)last report there is much more to write to Your Reverence today, for the divine eagle has taken and is taking so much prey. The activity is the better because it is taking place latterly, when it is normal to correct the mistakes of the earlier work. King Farma set aside a large amount of wealth in order to achieve the fulfilment of his desire. In this matter he seeks his desire with words and with tokens, by giving me his sons to bathe in the holy waters of baptism, and by showing me, indeed convincing me, with a forceful argument of words and deeds, that I could not prevail against him or emerge victor in the contest. Would that the savage did not put forward demands for my agreement! To one very forcible demand I replied that

(a) Rachel had two sons; the first Joseph, that Saviour of Egypt, Genesis 44; the second Benjamin, or Benomi, "filius doloris", "son of sorrow", because she gave birth to him in pain. Jacob called him the son of his right hand, that is, Benjamin; the mother called him the son of pain. The Holy Virgin is this beautiful Rachel. Joseph is "Christus Dominus" "Christ the Lord", sold "trigintas argentis" "for thirty pieces of silver". Benomi is the Evangelist, son of pain, begotten "in monte Calvario" "on Calvary Hill": "Mulier ecce filius tuus" "Mother, behold your son", etc.

I could not agree to discuss the building of a church without first seeing the resolve of that kingdom (of his) with regard to the provision for it. The benefits of our holy faith were not to be bestowed thus cheaply, almost without reason. It is right, I said to the representative of King Farma, that friendship and money should be given freely, but not holy baptism, which rather has its own just price. This price is and always has been belief in Christ Our Saviour, and acknowledgment of Him whole-heartedly, and without secret reservations or open attachment to false doctrine or false worship. How can there be room on the same altar for the ark of the Lord and for Dagon? I added further that if I founded a church with (only) good intentions, that would not excuse me from blame, /f.127/ for it was certain that there was no greater peril or more obvious opening for evil than lack of light in the guide, or good intention in the one who leads others astray. And I said that a single church was enough when there was only one shepherd. Just as the man who has had his teeth set on edge from eating an unripe fruit is afraid to pick another before it is ripe, so I began to withdraw from the importunities of the tyrant. I see that he pursues me like a pack of dogs, and I am thus forced to respond to his cries. The holy temple^(b) was founded, etc. See the 1612 Report.

What promises did I make him of favours or of temporal gains? As I recollect, I only made him the most divine offers, only the broadest and most certain offers. The man who petitioned on behalf of the king reported it to him in this way. "Oh king," said this devotee, "the padre can only bring and give you what he has received from God. This is (the power) to show you heaven, and through the doctrine of the Lord to

(b) The chapel is on the north side, surrounded by a fast-flowing stream, so that the whole of the sacred site is almost an island, thus enabling the Divine Eagle to provide here also in the Serra an image of (the island of) Patmos, etc.

rid you of the darkest shadows of hell with which the devil has clouded your understanding so that you do not believe in the Creator. Your intermediaries in these (sic) can only be his priests of the Society of Jesus, when you agree that under these conditions the trade in divine merchandise should be set up in your Kingdom." At this point he told him what padres are; and explained to him about religious poverty, which is served for the best reason in the world, because those who profess it do so out of love for Jesus Christ. And in order that he should be better understood by the idolatrous savage, the king's petitioner repeated to him, "If the commerce and trade in souls is established in your land, the padre will come here with others who are his brothers. Our padres are not like the legates of the Mohammedan sect who only want the wealth of your kingdom, and are really ambassadors for the lies of the false prophet." And so that there should lack nothing needed for the material foundation of the edifice, he explained to him what a church was, and how the administration and government of the Christians had to proceed on the orders of the padre and of no one else.

Now the idolater cries for a church, calling "Church, church." It was founded three years ago; and I have already written how the Holy Evangelist cast his net, etc. After the Divine Royal Eagle built its nest here, /f.127v/ did Farma persecute anyone? Did he (ever) break his word? The Portuguese masters, their servants and their possessions, are (now) safer in the town centres and market places of King Farma than in the most heavily defended fortresses. Then what shall I say of the (sanctity of the) legacies of the dead? The very arrifals of the savage are securer for these, so safe are they in them from being taken by the greedy, than they were in the hands of the most scrupulous treasurers for the estates of the dead.

To reward this Christian community for the music of the holy catechism with which I was one night received in the village, I spoke about these favours of the Lord. The king of Poland took pride in writing to his supporters to the effect that his best army for securing any kind of peace in his Kingdom was the Society of Jesus, which he had introduced there. "See, my most loving children, in the society of the glorious Evangelist what is there to fear? And what is there that cannot be hoped for in the way of favours? He drank them at their spring, and because it is a spring of grace, will he not share these favours with much grace among his own people, always giving the most to the most devout."

What must I say of the love which this idolater shows towards us? What has he not offered me daily from his kingdom, seeking to persuade me to make my residence in it, by offering me a larger house so that it may be gladdened throughout?^(c) The tyrant already promises so much in relation to himself that he is almost persuading us that he will very soon be converted to the Lord, and thus a great (new) area of trade for spiritual goods will be opened up, for which this great empire will be the port of call.

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- (c) During the visit of the Portuguese in 1614, he gave them his young son to hand over to me, and he said to them that he valued the House of the glorious Evangelist which he owned in a little corner of his kingdom more than his whole empire, etc.

Let us speak of the prey of the Divine Eagle. The objects of prey are so numerous as to be astonishing. Every day he takes (fresh) prey. Today he took two very important persons, giving us Dom Sebastião, much loved son of King Farma, yesterday he took Dom Gregorio, his nephew. And although the nest of this Divine Eagle is fairly large, it is now necessary to enlarge it as the number of the faithful keeps on growing.

Let us deal with the festivals of the Holy House. See Jubilee 1613. Although important, these festivals were less distinguished, because the Holy Evangelist had not yet cast his nets so successfully in this sea of infidelity. Let us speak now of that great festival of Easter, a suitable subject for this Divine Eagle, St. John, who just as he began (his gospel) with his eyes /f.128/ firmly fixed on the divinity of Jesus, the Eternal Word, so he proceeded, as in a swan-song, singing the age-old and infinite love of that same Word, Jesus Christ, with a tenderness which this great festival of His deserved. For seven years these offices of Holy Week have been performed in this place with great devotion and success, but those of the last few years have reached new heights. What can I say of the tears which were shed when on Palm Sunday we joined in the line "All glory, laud and honour"?

I will omit the lamentations of Jeremiah. Let us come to Maundy Thursday, and consider that divine invitation of the Most Holy Sacrament - "convivium pinguum" (feast of fatness) - when at the table of the Prince of Glory we are to see a hundred souls. The holy sacrifice finishes, the devotion begins. Now tears fall from the eyes of the most devout as they hear chanted "They parted my garments", as they see the ornaments removed from the altar. After this a purple curtain is drawn, and a religious crucifix appears standing under a black canopy, which is suitably decorated all over with the words of the Prophets.

And various large candles are straightway lit. After all this, we went out of the chapel (to?) where an altar stood, and on it our Child Jesus carrying a cross on His back. Oh what a spectacle to bring tears! How the divine Isaac is begging for eyes (which will weep)! (d)
At this point not even I myself can deny him mine, nor hold back the normal tribute so clearly due to his love. And so I can now repeat the "Infantum regina jubes renovare dolorem" (e)

over the inscriptions, the evidence of the tears of the Prophets. If I do not weep for you, a Jeremiah will perform the office, etc.

Let us speak now of the second banquet of the love of Jesus the Good, of that invitation for the grape harvest: "Convivium vindemiae, vendimeavit me dominus" ["A feast of the vintage, the Lord has gathered me a harvest", Isaiah 25:6 and Lamentations 1:12].

(Note) the hair, the morsels of flesh and of clothing, the blood in Pilate's house, as if the sentence had been given in his favour, up to when the divine cluster (of grapes) was crushed on Calvary. See the Divine Phoenix with the wood to burn it. See the burial of the new Adam^(f). See the solemm celebrations of Easter, with the cheers and salutes of the cannon and musketry to the King of Glory and the capture of souls. These are things belonging to yesterday and today. Let the envious speak, let them caricature the sons of Ignatius as much as they wish because "sive morimur, domini sumus /f.128v/ per infamiam et bonam famam" ["As long as we live we are the Lord's, through ill report and good report", conflation of Romans 14:8 and 2 Corinthians 6:8].

(d) Obedientia Reginae.

(e) Virgil.

(f) Who is followed by various penitents, some bloody, others tied to the post, others with crosses on their backs, others crucified, etc.

Rejoice, Your Reverence, appeal strongly before the Lord on behalf of this idolatrous heathen. Present this divine sheaf to His Majesty; let him be informed about the services of his poor wandering priest, out in these wild places for so many years, and he will know who is pursuing the real enemies of the glory of the Creator and his enemies. Who but the sons of Ignatius could aspire for so long to banish from this province the Flemish, Dutch and French scum? "Per insipientiam dico" / "^{insipientia}In insipicitia dico", I speak like a fool", 2 Corinthians 11: 21 7.

I am short of paper but not short of what to write. On these occasions I have always found the King of Serra Leoa so much in agreement with me that I have marvelled at the zeal of the man who yesterday so fervently adored these pirates and Lutherans, on account merely of that idolatrous vice of self-interest, a vice which so greatly encompasses ignorant men in courts or in the backwoods. These are the happenings of 1614. It is not the place to discuss the Dutch captain, Melchior Baltasar, or the others who finished up here in 1609 and 1610. (Only) yesterday the king aspired to (show his zeal), if (a Portuguese), a son without doubt of the Hebrew race, had not revealed the good king's intention to one of these foreigners who have seized the Serra, warning him to leave the port with the utmost haste if he valued his own life. This he did, thanking the Hebrew for his kind deed in warning him. But Don Filipe (de Leão) showed that he was (truly) a lion, in the punishment he ordered to be given to the Jewish lascarim. For he especially regrets the disaster that befell the ship 'Loreto' belonging to the Reverend Father Frei Francisco, and he affirmed to me that he must take revenge on this unbridled insolence, and was only awaiting the opportunity to do so. Nor does he forget the threats of ⁷²Pedro Limoni, to whom the greed of an enemy of the Society of Jesus revealed the trade of this Province. Father Barreira very much regretted this, as I in turn do even more, for

different reasons. When I learned that (Pedro Limoni) was a Luther and when he was told that it was at my instance that D.Filipe was persecuting him, as it was, he made threats against me, saying that he was going to burn the churches and my person (too). Father Sebastião Gomes is well-fitted to write about this, for he will remember very clearly the occasion when, for fear of this heretic, dawn I took him from our Casa do Salvador, followed by so much labour and such weariness in carrying the church ornaments, and he will remember the poverty of our house in the forest. And in a canoe belonging to the king himself, though quite ill I made my way over to the Island of Tasso, (site of) the chapel of Our Lady of the Conception, /f.129/ which was also ruined by the greed of the spirit of Luis Nunes da Serra when he showed that port to pirates with whom he traded. And this was the reason why Christianity forsook the Island

So that we may describe this good king in one place, let us do it here, and mention the favours he showed to Captain Luis Mendes. The Reverend Father Frei Francisco Pereira sent a ship to this Province (whose arrival) was a great consolation and joy for all here. The captain came to visit me and I received him with all the marks of kindness; and as my residence was in our chapel of S.Filipe, which is nearly four leagues from the principal town, I stayed on for special reasons. Two days afterwards D.Filipe sent for me and placed in my hand the letter from the Reverend Father. The king asked me for guidance as to what should be done so that he might participate in (our) display of affection for such an illustrious person. Then he said to me "Padre, now is the time to thank the Lord for the singular benefit of my own life, whose length he has extended. We have gathered here, and these are my own people; I want them to carry news of the fertility of this divine land of promise, I mean, of this your Casa da Salvador and of the number of sons which Your Reverence has in it."

I was very delighted, and when the day of Nuno's baptism was settled, I sent messages to the Portuguese gentlemen so that they could attend. And the king (sent messages) to his people, so that none of the Christians should be absent from church, nor any of the heathen away from the village, in order that they too might solemnize, with instruments of music, the baptism of his son, and the name to be given to him, a name completely worthy. The king said, "Because of his excellence I have sought this name; not to render eternal Senhor Nuno Álvares Pereira, whose heroic deeds constitute and have constituted the most perfect brush with which Fame on its own account has produced the portrait of a person so illustrious and well-nigh immortal; but to please Senhor Pedr' Álvares Pereira and the Reverend Father Frei Francisco." There were absent from the baptism two brothers of our king, who were also (missing) in the profession of the same faith. The king was angry with them, and called them a disgrace to himself and the padre. On the day of the festival the people gathered together and I ordered the temple to be decorated. However the activities of nearly ninety souls made it so beautiful that the captain and other guests were amazed. On the day of the /f.129v/ Holy Spirit I said mass, which I dedicated to this task, since it all pertained to the Divine Person. I dealt with the mystery of the holy day. D.Filipe was left rejoicing, for he believed that he could already see his hopes fulfilled.

When the holy sacrifice was completed, the baptism was performed to the great satisfaction of everyone. At the sight of such favours, there was especial satisfaction on the part of the king and the godfather and Luis Mendes esteemed them highly. To him I said, quoting the speech from the chapter of Genesis when Jacob received his blessing, "Affer mihim aliquid de venatione tua...." /"Adfer nihi.. cibos de venatione tua", "Bring it near to me and I will eat of my son's venison", Genesis 27 : 25^{Your} Grace has now made a prize of the

wild boar, from which you can make a most tasty dish to present to Senhor Pedro Álvares Pereira, who must value it highly since it is from his own game reserve." How thoroughly the good king proposed to serve this captain and how successfully he was able to do this! And not only he, but all his brothers! The misfortunes of the poor youth were secret judgments of the Most High. Fortunate Nuno, that the Lord in this way gives him in anticipation the gifts of the Divine Spirit! Until now, like a toiler on the farm, he makes do with dry bread and wild fruit for his sustenance: this keeps him doleful as he raises up good muscatel and bastardo grapes, which he can not enjoy until he harvests them. I will note that on the day of the sad harvest Nuno prophesied the disastrous outcome, by continuous tears and expressions of deep concern.

It falls here to deal with another diaster of 18th June, 1613, (the sentence) from that rigorous seat of divine justice on the three principal enemies of Heaven who brought scandal to the new church^(g) One of them had sent many innocents to hell, by inviting them to help him to raise false testimonies for the diabolical army. (He was) so artful that he clearly showed himself a graduate of the University founded by the father of all lies. He was a remarkable spreader of rumours with a mouth more wicked than hell mouth, a lascarim of this king Twice the Lord threatened him, once with a fish bone in his throat from which he should have died, and another time with a bite from a poisonous snake, of the breed of which the Prophet said, "Iniquitatem in corde et corde loquuti sunt." They speak iniquity in their double heart", conflation of Psalms 11:3 and 65:18. He was the ruin of the spiritual edifice as well as of (the chapel dedicated to) Our Lady of the Conception on Tasso Island.^(h)

(g) Paul, Saul, master of Luís Nunes.

(h) Parishioner of the sad parish of illustrious Lusbel. He died without a cross, without light.

The other was a rebel, an Alexander, but not for God nor for his fellow, a man of the brotherhood of the seven deadly sins, over whom the fifth sin held most sway, that of greed.⁽¹⁾ /f.130/ He died in his trade, a suspect in the faith, besmirched by the repugnant infamy of Sodom, a man most prejudicial to this or any other conquista. The third and last made his attempts, moved sufficiently by greed. In sum, this trio was very wicked, being composed of those (described) in the Apocalypse as having the seal of the beast, those who are true disciples of Epicurus. What I have said is enough. One of them still remains; but when human justice fails, as it has until now, divine justice will arrive and replace it.

These men, most beloved Father, are the couriers of slanders and false information. Seeing their own ugliness exposed in the mirror of the Holy Gospel they try, like the ugliest ape, to attack it and smash it. They are whites who remain blank (pages for God's Word). However, it would not be right if we omitted at this point the glorious triumphs of the Lord over these enemies of his, these enemies of the ambassadors of his Holy Gospel. For they were wolves of hell, after whose deaths the little lambs can come to their pastures more safely and less cautiously. Thus we are directing our attention to what enters the meadow of the church of the Holy Evangelist.

Let us discuss the Christmas celebrations. What soul was there, among the more than eighty who attended the first mass of the holy night, who coveted anything of this world below? The temple was richly decorated with what is best in the land, and the roof of the chapel was so splendidly hung with awnings that it resembled the material heavens. There was no lack of perfumes, no lack of

(1) Greed and its portrayal.

censers containing the finest pastille and other fragrant confection. Ah, how much I might have written here! But there is not room on paper for all the soul contains. What shall I say of the music offered to the Baby (Jesus)? Those of his followers who were present served him with the gifts of their art, for they excelled in singing canto de ergão; and they chanted "In Splendoribus Sanctorum" and other relevant verses from Holy Scriptures. Who would not be deprived of speech when he heard another melody, a tearful one, accompanying a sermon on God new-born?

The spiritual celebrations were magnificent. However I shall not keep silent about the celebrations of the common people. Was there a product of Serra Leoa which was not offered to the Child Jesus, as He stood outside the chapel on an altar most splendidly decorated? I will pass over the bananas and citrus fruits with which they made ingenious hanging decorations. Herdsmen arrived with presents. (But what surprised me was to see the Portuguese leader in these parts, like another David, standing before the portrait of the true ark of the Testament, ^{/f. 130v/} scorning the complaints of the profane Nichol. Then he came forward with such signs of divine grace that, though I was myself largely lacking in outward cheer because of ill health, this drove away my melancholy so quickly that I do not know how to explain it to Your Reverence. How well he spoke concerning the oranges which he brought with great care and even more foresight! "Lord!" said the devout Portuguese, as he spoke to the desire of the eternal hills, "In truth, you have so much grace that now you appear as the Son of God. But, Child of Heaven, that you should display such grace on earth! You are ordained to grow up to be a shepherd. Well I understand you, divine pearl from the Father's bosom. Some feeling of distress has exiled you among our mountains." He began to take

out the oranges and he held up a ripe one, "Lord, this is good to eat now, to whet your appetite, Lord." Then he brought out another which was not yet ripe, and said, "In three months time this will be ready for you, if you want it. But your body is sustained by God, however much the divine cloth and most pure curtain of your humanity conceals it, though not from me, Lord." (Then) he took out four or five oranges which had only recently formed from the blossom, and said, "Lord, I come from far away; but I have never wanted to be far from the splendour of such grace and glory. These (will be ready) in two years time." After this, he presented a cola nut and said, "Lord, you know this fruit well, it is from your own land. Your father, the divine farmer, planted it." And of the final present which was some white birds, (he said), "Lord, even where these make their way, all belongs to you." Then he bowed and made his appeal. "Divine shepherd, who searches out shepherds and sheep, do not disown me in my traveller's garb. Lead me after you, so that in the declining years I shall not lose You." Usque in senectutem, et senium Deus ne derelinquas me! [Now also when I am old and greyheaded, O God, forsake me not.' Psalms 70/71, v.18] (And now), before dealing with the celebration of the jubilee of the glorious Evangelist Saint John, I wish to speak of the visit of Cimba Famore, a caciz and false priest of the Mohamedan sect.

This man came to visit a nobleman already converted to our holy faith. He asked him about the padre, implying that he greatly desired to see me, for fame, he said, ^{had} spread through all these idolatrous kingdoms a portrait of me so gracious and so closely proportioned to his tastes that it was impossible that I lacked greatness. Since something sold dearly is always more highly valued, he finished by seeing ^{1831/} me. He paid his visit to me with such graciousness and outward show that this idolatrous priest seemed more

like a guest with whom one stands on ceremony. I found him very discreet. I received him with a glad countenance and he greeted me with such a demeanour and with such indications of real joy both external and internal that I was amazed. He then said that a portrait me as ambassador of the true God was circulating among those barbarous nations, but that to see the original was worth much more. After all this, I do not know what specific quality it was he found in me that induced him to take off a ring made of gold and offer it to me. But how could anyone accept from a caciz what he rejected from the Portuguese? A profitable meeting in terms of the idol of the Hebrews. But not for one who runs from sight of this finest metal, whose scorn makes it tinkle and clang more hollowly. I smiled but also showed firmness. However these people are emotional and excessively sensitive, hence they can only be conquered by benevolence and by tokens of the divine gift of love, a weapon more powerful than any temporal force of cannon or archers in their ports. (So) immediately I added that what I came to seek here in Ethiopia was not gifts but the jewel of his soul, and the souls of so many idolaters. This was my true line of trade, and I claimed only this divine and spiritual commerce. For the love of Christ our Saviour, who being rich made himself poor to obtain my love, I had forsaken gold and all things of the world.

The caciz was amazed; he ceased his importunities and took back his metal. I asked him not to be offended at me, since one should only ask of a friend what is permitted to him. I was already his friend, and would be more so when he desired to make himself my brother by professing the same religion. He was very pleased; and since I had the field to myself, I asked him a question, which was this: what were his views about the Creator? And since he praised Him so much, could he give me some evidence for his belief? "I believe,"

said the false priest, "that there is one God, true creator of all this machinery of nature, who produced it from nothing, and who alone is the measure of all things. I do not serve this great monarch because the example (of others) makes me reasonably forbear (??)". He gave me great hopes for his conversion, which will take place when he says with Peter: "Illic sunt duo gladii Potestatis Divinae et Caesararum." ["Here are two swords", Luke 22:38; "that of Divine Power and that of Caesar"]. As we lack this temporal power here (to punish backsliders), there followed the great chastisement from the Lord which I dealt with above. For the image of the Creator has been so obscured in our 'monks' that, like the crudest portraits of Him, it needs an inscription to explain its significance. The climax of this (? letter) comes at this point and fits ^{16.1314/} what has just been mentioned (I mean) the celebration of the jubilee of the glorious apostle (St. John's day, 27 December) a festival on the fringes of which one of these scarecrows will be seen.

The spiritual celebrities were in no way inferior to, but instead even finer than, those for the birth of the Saviour. The divine Benomi had sought and obtained the support of the Divine Spirit for a celebration with pomp greater than that for the sovereign Benjamin who was born in Bethlehem. I will pass over the detail of the decorations of the holy house. Let us speak of the Divine Eagle's prey, so many souls brought by the Holy Spirit to repentance, with true signs of contrition. While the Most Holy Sacrament was being presented, voices were raised in great devotion: two melodies were sung, a tearful one to the Child, and one to the Holy Evangelist whose words went thus: "The Royal Eagle is John the Holy..." And the later words are (as follows):

"Only today do we remember,
Seeing God in human form,
To celebrate in festivals
He who became His brother.

Born not in Bethlehem
Where there are a thousand joys
And the angels sing
Gloria in Excelsis
But on Monte Moria,
Amid a thousand sighs,
Where the Virgin bears him,
With tender moans."

I have dealt with the reason for this festival of divine action, whose title seems so suitable for the Divine Eagle, since it is associated with no-one (in particular), not even a martyr or some such. It leads up to the festivals after the Lord's birth.

Let us speak now of the popular festivals. The holy temple was full of the splendour of glory, and in the dark of the night was brighter with this than with the various large candles and other lights which burn in it. In the porch of the church was our scarecrow, this being a fair description of (one of) those whom we here call Knapsack-carriers, dwellers in torrid Ethiopia and the mountains of the Serra, people of the fraternity of gluttony and carnality. There entered in Moorish fashion an individual devotee of the holy Apostle carrying bow, quiver and shepherd's bag, (who came) with the title of (office of) ambassador from the Great Jalofe to King Farma. He immediately said that, having smelled in his principal house the fragrance of the Evangelist and having had ear of the celebrations taking place in his temple, he had come to see (with his eyes). Further, if the Evangelist would accept gifts, he brought him an

elephant which he had hunted in the mountains. He entered the vestibule of the church, exalting the glory /f.132/ of the Lord and of his saint, and threw himself down on his knees to make his tribute. When he had finished, he quickly took off his bag and left it for the glorious Evangelist. He sincerely made his farewells and said to the Apostle: "You also are a good hunter; for it is ten years since I was last here, and what was here when I left is not what I can see here now! You certainly know how to catch your prey! Over there Farma spoke to me about it. 'You yourself will see (he said): in my port is a great huntsman, who is still hunting me. For these huntsmen from Portugal are not like ours, who in order to catch the sons, first chase the fathers; these hunt the sons first. They have already taken three from me, and with their aid they are waging war on me; soon I shall fall into their hands.' (The devotee continued,) I firmly believe that you will do all (you intend). These were not all elephants,"

He came out and asked if there was anyone who could give him news of Love of God, for he brought him a letter from a great friend of his, by name Remembrance of God. There was no one who could give him this information; they could only describe to him a dissipated and ruined man whose name was Ipelene Cru. He asked what the name meant, and was told "Forgetfulness of God". When he was given this information he became despondent and said, "It must be him, for I see everything here changed. Take me to him," As he approached him he called out, "Love of God! Is it (just) crying in the wilderness," said the devotee, "here or in any other country? Call yourself by 'Cotrea singa botre mere botre queia.' Friends of falsehood, friends of baseness, this follows. I wager he must be one of this gang, and therefore changed his name. 'Ipelene Cru, papi lentra', can't you see how things have changed and everything is upside down?" The man

shook his head - to what a state has Love of God come! May God forgive the one who writes to you - you resemble the prodigal son! He read the letter to him. For the moral comments on it which the ambassador made, there is no room on the paper. The lifeless (pages of) description (in the letter) preached more effectively and bore more fruit than can be imagined, for God permits kindnesses to be so gratefully received here in order that souls may be prepared to attain the true grace. And it seems that what the ambassador said about the virtue of the Holy Apostle, in terms of his being a great hunter of elephants and all kinds of beasts, the mountain boar and other wild animals, was prophetic.

Already that untamed rhinoceros, King Farma, is leaving the interior; already the power (?) of the divine antidote, that is, the health-giving cole, which the divine John applied to the arrows, taking it from the absolute ecstasy inside the sacred heart of the Good Jesus, ^{/f. 132v/} makes Farma seek his own death, the true beginning of eternal life; already our most dear Son has wounded the idolatrous savage, turning him from a wild boar to a lamb, from a backwoods stew to a courtly dish, a dish fit for Heaven. Such is the new soldier of Christ, Sebastian, whom the divine darts of the beloved disciple wounded, not to kill him but to give him an affection for Heaven and its angels. Let us repeat then to the sacred apostle the words of the Prophet: "Sagittae tuae acutae, populi sub te cadent in corda inimicorum regis." [Thine arrows are sharp in the heart of the King's enemies: whereby the people fall under thee", Psalms 44/5, 57. With this victory the fertile year will begin, which already has acquired and possesses the blessing of divine favours, etc. "Benedices coronae anni benignitatis tuae et campi tui replebuntur bonitate, pinguescent speciosa deserti, et exultatione colles accingentur." [Thou crownest the year with thy goodness; and thy paths drop fatness. They drop upon the pastures of the wilderness; and the little

hills rejoice on every side." Psalms 64/5, 11-127. "The fields will be filled with a greater, more beautiful harvest, etc." The churches and holy temples are swollen with the greater number of souls and (rejoice like?) the little hills. The idolatrous kings will leap for joy; the divine blessing of Heaven will so perform it, etc. that everyone will be enriched and will rise from the real depths of sin to the true heights of Grace, etc.

Of the Province of the Sousos

SINGLE CHAPTER

Of the locality and its wealth, the quality and industry of its inhabitants. Discussion of its government and customs.

The locality lacks nothing in comparison with the most healthy localities in this Guinea; and all of these can with reason rather be envious of it. The land stretches away to the north and it is made very pleasant and delightful, not only by the variety of trees, but also by the abundance of fast-flowing streams which make their way amongst them, their waters breaking over rocks. It is surrounded by mountains and hills in large numbers, with as many valleys. Not only is all the land high and mountainous, with great ranges, but it also has some passes which are so high and steep that they can only be climbed with great difficulty. In some parts the vegetation is so dense and the brushwood so thick that they are impenetrable, etc.

As for its fertility, this is sufficient to sustain life and provide daily rations; the land is suitable for all kinds of seeds. Nowadays it grows rice, milho and funde; and such vegetables as pumpkins, beans, macarras, yams and potatoes. Goats are raised, as are cows, which the Fulos drive, also some sheep, although these are few, and hens. Its wild animals are gazelle, buffalo, pangles, kelimas, which look like a black goat but are bigger, wild boars, porcupines, wolves, lions, tigers, etc. Among the smaller animals ^{there are} various snakes including ^{the} tame ones of Gambia already mentioned, which are speckled in different colours. Its birds include parrots, ducks, peacocks, etc.; and there are also monkeys. Its fruits are manipolos, foles, and two kinds of plums, one kind which is round, like our white plums, and the other kind long, like Saragossa plums.

The common trade is in their white cloths, which they call cates; and in some gold which comes by way of the Fulos and Mandingas; in ivory because there are plenty of elephants; and in a few slaves, the occasional ^{and some} cows, goats, and rice. They buy this merchandise with salt, iron and various other /f.133v/ goods, such as protective clothing, precious stones

from the East, coral, basins, manchelas, that is, seed-pods of a kind with large brigiões, pierced and threaded on a string, 'dove's eye' beads which are greatly esteemed here, and other sorts of beads such as minina and 'milk-curds', marfara, etc. As for the natives, they are all corrupt like the rest: they only care for those who make them gifts, and then they are very grateful. Apart from the ~~normal~~^{general} propensity for farming, hunting and fishing, they are also remarkable traders, an occupation which they practise from childhood. While going about this business, when they have to stay overnight and sleep, they build a hut to shelter them and their merchandise, so that the rain will do them no harm.^(a) The Sousos are wont to suffer much from their toils and from hunger and thirst. A Souso may go three or four days without eating, making do (by chewing) a cola nut. They are excessively mercenary, to the extent that they would kill their own parents for a drop of wine. They need no requesting to go to war or to begin an attack, for they are the first to strike. When they do this on the king's orders, as commonly happens if (his) debtors fail to arrive with their payment, then these soldiers are feasted with a great deal of meat and honey wine; he who eats and drinks at these banquets never turns back, since he knows (? that if he does) he will not bring from the battle any booty other than an old mat.

They are great weavers, hence their regular trade in cates. The women spin (? weave) and help in the fields. And as potters they are famed, because their cooking pots are better than those of any of the other heathen in these parts; this is the occupation which in Ethiopia belongs to this sex. Fine mats are also made here, and other objects of interest. They behave respectfully towards individuals according to their rank. Now let us talk about the government of this heathen people.

(a) They are heathen of great intelligence, astute, treacherous and deceitful.

Amongst them there are major kings called Farins, who are equivalent to emperors, and who are known by the lands they rule. The Grand Concho is called Farim Concho because he is lord of Concho. He is the head of all that Province of Sousos. Great things are told about his household ^{and} its authority and ^{about} its utensils which are affirmed to be of gold, even the arrows of state, etc. (Another ruler is) Tamasso; and Farim Puta (is so-called) because he is lord of the Putas, who are virtually Sousos too. He is the ruler who overcame the Manes, as already mentioned in the chapter dealing with their journey into this province. /f.134/ (Other rulers are) Farim Cancia, etc. Below the emperors are subordinate rulers; the persons of second rank in the Kingdom, and immediate successors (? to the king), are called Solatequis. This position is reached through grades of honour. The Camalongos succeed the Quindes when they die; and the Quindes succeed the Solatequis. Individuals holding these ranks are similar to (our) dukes and marquises. Then come the Catequis, who are captains. Colemanchos are the equivalent of colonels for the Faris; they organise wars. Mangatunala is the ambassador of kings; ambassadors always travel accompanied when they are sent off on any business. (Then there are) Jagarefes of the Faris, to whom all embassies from kings and lords of lower status, in this order, are first directed.

When the guest arrives, the jagarefe receives him and takes the embassy to the Farim. First he makes request to the pages (for entry), on behalf of the guests, then they order him to go in and explain the reason which has brought the king or nobleman. When he has done this, he returns, the Farim having agreed on a time when the king is to appear before him. Next the jagarefe brings the guest accompanied by his men. The Farim goes outside to hear him. When the guest comes before ^{the Farim} him, he does so most respectfully, wearing only his shirt tied round his waist, and bareheaded, as is the common practice of vassals in front of these Farims; and when vassals go before such lords they prepare themselves at once. Thus the guest remains standing, without stirring, and in silence, for about two hours. The Farim remains seated, with (his) bexerim on his left, a privileged position reserved for

the bexerim; he takes his seat on a cow-hide. The Farins who have trade with us possess chairs of state handsomely inlaid with metal and covered with velvet, as Massacander, king of Bena did. If it is a serious matter, the judeu also sits down in front of the Farim and covers his head. These judeus, with their natural loquacity, act as orators and flatterers, and on these occasions as advocates for their guests. The king with the page beside him gives the word briefly, for these lords keep them (? pages, judeus) and bring them for this purpose. Immediately after this, the vassals, who have accompanied them to this place, come out one by one, naked and bareheaded, each one demonstrating his bow and shouting. The king or noble does likewise. Others come out on the Farim's side, and when they have performed the same ceremony, the guest speaks about his business to the Farim, who settles it verbally. The bexerim makes a great speech about this, praising the emperor, or if there is no emperor (present), the chief jagarefe. Once the audience is finished, /f.134v/ the dinner, etc., follows. This is a splendid affair, consisting of produce from the land and an abundance of wine.

In judicial trials the king always participates, and if things proceed without his participation, he imposes punishments most rigorously. These trials are carried out in Ethiopia by oral communications (only). The Court of Appeal or Chamber of Audience is a building known as Funco, which can hold four hundred men, more or less. Here the parties attend in person; but women and advocates because they are prohibited from attending any sort of public or judicial activity. In the presence of the king, the jagarefes put forward the case, for or against; when it has been examined and summed up by the officer of justice, the Farim gives sentence. This is then followed by a sermon from the bexerim.

In the system of succession to the kingdom, the oldest son takes over, if he is capable. If he is not, the dead king's brother comes (to power). This is how Massacander happened to become king of Bena, because Damu or Calamatamba, who rules today, was a minor at the time of his father's death, so the brother of the king of Bena had to succeed (?) Thus the order of

succession is always maintained amongst the eldest sons, and when they die their sons succeed. These cannot be excluded, however many brothers the king may have, for only if the nephews are minors can the brothers enter the succession, or when the family of such nephews dies out. The institution of the king is as normally practised among most of the heathen, donning a red cap is the main mark of the rank. Each person among them, women as well as men, has a house of his or her own, but they only enter these on occasions of duty. They are not as sensual as other heathen. As for matters of domestic regulation, they are just like all the natives of Ethiopia in the upbringing of children, etc. Including abuses in sleeping and other things; but there is no need to speak of these again.

Let us now deal with their customs ^(b) and general dress. The men wear Moorish shirts and breeches. The women wear nothing at all before they are circumcised, except ^{that} all of them wear on their heads caps of cloth or silk, each according to her means; and the men wear the same. Around their waist they wear a string of precious stones from India, hollow and shaped, (such as) unpolished cossouro, brandil, and laqueco. The erroneous practice of circumcision is common to the Sousos, Fulas, Jalofas and Mandingas, and is also the custom in the Serra das Rendacorossas. They also mark their faces and bodies, and some file their teeth. The reason why the women wear nothing is so that the markings on their bodies, /f.135/ which they make in order to appear attractive and dignified, may be seen.

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- (b) Customs. They are courteous and punctual; they do not invite a white man to eat or drink in their homes, unless (the host ?) is a king or nobleman. The others send home anyone they have.

They show great respect to their uncles and older relatives and do not sit down in their presence. When they meet them on the road, they greet them in the local way, which I shall explain, and with their (salutations), guarnacegue, that is, wishing them good-day, and onimarem, wishing them good-evening. They all have personal names. The King of Bena is called Benacobe; this is his surname, deriving from his race and family. The name of the King who was the predecessor of this Calamatamba, his nephew, and who died, was Massacander; (but in this case) the surname was not significant, since only in the Sape language does it mean 'candle'. The real reason for his name is this. As a youth he was called Massa, and he worked for Simão Caldeira of Cape Verde Island, from whom he took the name Caldeira; but since the Souso youth could not say 'Caldeira', his master called him 'Massacander', using an incorrect form of the surname. This (contact with Portuguese) led to the king being a lascarim or man of two worlds, and to his knowing as much about our customs as was known here about the punctiliousness^(c) with which he ran his household. Everything was kept under lock and key, and some things counted, which they had to put up with. He would only trust a certain boy, or the wife who was closest to him, so that in all respects he was a Portuguese, and even sometimes dressed like one; but he did not know how to lay hands on the vestments of faith, as will be explained later, nor how to profit from the holy labours of Father Baltasar Barreira. Eagerness for conversion and great zeal for the salvation of his soul drove the king to open for the first time the forests and dense bush of his kingdom (to the Gospel). It would have weighed well with him today if he had prevented the loss of past goodness caused by (the intervention of) evil spirits; but since Massa Caldeira belonged to their fraternity, at his death they all assembled, to produce such great storms and raise such tempests at this time, that it seemed that everything would be carried^{away} by the winds.

(c) Punctiliousness in this is common; and cleanliness to all the Souso, etc.

Each king has his own particular greeting. The King of Bena is greeted Tambassa Camara, and so are the lords and nobles, men and women. There is also a general greeting, which is Carassa for men and Sacira for women. The greeting of the King of the Putases is iatora. When these people meet each other, before they say these words, they strike each other on the head with their hands, and sniff their noses, as one does when sniffing scent. Then, having first taken off their caps, they take the other's right hand in their own and kiss it many times. The women perform this ceremony squatting; when women hand over anything they do it on their knees, cola, water, etc. When a person brings a message it is not called out from a distance; but the messenger comes up close and delivers it kneeling, /f.135v/most reverently, for he is a figure of dignity, and this can happen anywhere, in the village, on the roads, etc.^(d) Men greet each other with the normal bow towards the ground. When women kneel, it is before a person in authority, to whom they make a bow and perform the ceremony (described), for it is not befitting that a woman should kneel before a slave or a youth.

With regard to their marriages^(e), one should note (the following). As I said, (at first) they wear no clothing; and the women in order to become some man's wife, are required first to undergo the common rite of circumcision. After this, the husband, who has already considered her as his spouse from birth and has each day (since ?) been giving her father (contributions towards) the amount of the dowry, so that the father will give her to him, clothes the woman and takes (her) possessions in one lot to his house. If afterwards the woman rejects him and goes to her father's house, or another man's house, the husband demands from ^{her father or the man} ~~them~~ the amount of the dowry. And once this is paid, the wretched woman is free and without any obligation. But if this cannot be arranged, the adultress herself pays by selling herself to fulfil the contract; and when this happens, the father finds himself without either his daughter or his money.

(d) How they regulate their affairs.

When traders travel, they do not take their wives with them; they carry and cook for themselves. Their superstitions are those common to all the heathen. If daybreak is not clear (?), they will not sow or cut or thresh rice, and will not be guests anywhere.

The circumcision of women takes place at the age of sixteen or seventeen. This is a time of great festivity which counts much as a wedding, because it is after this ceremony that the husbands take the women home and give them four or five pieces of clothing.

There is nothing (further) to say about idolatry; all forms are general. The Souso drink the milk of the Mohammedan sect. Women of the neighbourhood who are about to give birth make confessions in a way not to be approved. Also there has reached here the evil belief concerning those who fall ill, that witches are eating them, as they say. If one of them falls ill and dies, the king puts out a decree that they should all assemble^(f) and bring chickens, each family head bringing his own marked (?) chicken. They take 'red water', and when ten grandees are present, they open its mouth and pour in a few drops, then they release it. If someone dies, they say that there is a witch in that house. Up to three times they will forgive, but the fourth time there is no pardon or remedy, and they punish the culprit with death, as they do thieves also. Before they give the red water to the criminal, they first give it to the chicken; if this dies, they take the matter to the king; then they administer the water in the manner already mentioned.

(f) Having now an advocate of his/theirs (to speak) for and against the party. The party accused in this form: "You, there, turn yourself into an elephant, or a leopard, etc.", until they specify the one to which he is understood to belong. They say, "Turn yourself into a pumpkin". They name all the creatures and plants, and if he happens to fall down as one is being named, they say that he turned into that. If he does not die, he is considered innocent and (? they) pay him.

The burials of this heathen people /f.136/ are without the excesses practised by other heathen; except that each (corpse) has a shroud whose value indicates the wealth of the man. Only when it is the king or some important lord do they put pieces of gold, etc., (in the grave). They do not kill people (to bury with the corpse), and the mourning at the burial lasts one day. ^{Finally,} ~~Lastly,~~ a few (mourners) kill cows, goats and so on. They do not have the distribution ceremonies which the Temenes and the Windward heathen have. Two or three months after the burial they have the final wake which is without as many affronts to God, or excesses, as those of the other heathen peoples. The ceremony among them known as sataga is famous. This takes place seven days after the death of a heathen. All the people of the village assemble at the arrifal; and in front of the king, they make offerings to God for the soul of the dead man, one with rice, another with a rice cake, others with various offerings. After the ceremony they divide out all the offerings among themselves.

They have holy days and feast days, when they do no work; these are Thursdays, Fridays and Mondays. The days of the week have their own names: Sunday, cate; Monday, tene; Tuesday, talleta; Wednesday, aradaba; Thursday, alacamisa; Friday, arajuma; Saturday, simeti. Children are given names according to the day on which they were born. If it is Friday the child is called Arajuma or Sajuma. But they do not use the name of Tuesday, as they consider this day ill-omened, and so call it Bad-day; and their experience is that those born on that day do not live long. This is the belief of the Mandingas.

SINGLE CHAPTER

Of the Journey of Father Baltasar Barreira to this Province, and particularly to the Kingdom of Bena

Men of apostolic faith are like streams of fresh water copiously irrigating the sterile wastes of Infidelity and converting them into fertile fields and green meadows. Mindful of this duty, our apostle, after having worked in the Serra, his most recent vineyard and nursery, long enough to gain a sufficient knowledge of its Christians, /f.136v/ and when he had left there someone to instruct them in the ways of the law of the Lord, took his leave of his tender graftings and delicate seedlings. At the entreaties of the ambassadors of Massacander, and through his great and singular charity for the salvation of souls, he gave priority to another new mission, trusting that the cuttings (?) would respond with profitable works, for a noble and simple heart does not fear deceit. He was especially persuaded that all this would have a good outcome by the fact that the savage (king) had sent to him one of his sons to be instructed in the faith and baptized, and the padre straightway gave him instruction and baptism.

Seeing things this way, he bade farewell to his friends on the first night (of the journey) at the mouth of the estuary, at which point it seems that the Lord began to warn him of what Massacander's word and enthusiasm might amount to. The Lord turned the journey well off course, but it did not appear to the servant of the Lord that it was by His orders, for he attributed everything to the envy of evil spirits, to whose brotherhood the savage belonged, since it is normal for these spirits to be jealous of any conversion by us. The first port on the mainland at which they landed, which was, as it were, a stage-point or gateway for the pilgrimage to Bena, did not receive the ambassador of Heaven with the respect owed to him. A war was under way, and the village became so involved that, when the Lord did not go to their aid there, they all perished at the hands of infidels, almost without trace. From this place, the padre sent out his

(companion). This man could not contain his joy when he saw Massacander adorned with holy relics, thus internally dressed by God, and externally already wearing the Portuguese costume from his Filipe. But when he told Massacander that the apostle was coming here, the king's excitement was even greater. He immediately despatched porters to carry not only the holy images and ornaments but also the padre whom he so much wished to see; and he would entrust him to no shoulders other than those of his own sons, all of whom were also grandsons of Farins. He sent him a horse too. The meek spirit of the venerable old man, whose eyes had in them nothing but humility, wished no such thing; with characteristic prudence he gave thanks for this token of charity and then gave the horse to a noble. Meanwhile the savage was busy with the building of a church and a dwelling for the priest and these were built most perfectly.

When the padre reached the settlement and township of the king, he was received with all the signs of sure affection; his lodgings were not (sic) arranged /f.137/ to accommodate him suitably. The tyrant gave him one of his idols and war medicines, and enjoined him to get rid of these furnishings of hell, without the apostle at that time understanding him. After the padre had paid his visit (to the king) and had declared the purpose of his journey, the time arrived for the first mass, on the holy day of the Lord's Ascension. Massacander wished to find joy in the holy sacrifice and the glory of the Lord. The infidel made his way into the house of the Lord, but from the altar was told to withdraw. He did so balefully, and then displeased the padre by saying to the whites: "How can I be cast out of the house which I have built, and (which stands) on my own land?" With this remark the lascarim had to leave; and the only minister or private secretary the king did have, or ever had, (to guide him in the conduct of relations with other Portuguese) was António Fernandes, whom I discussed in Chapter V! It was due to his influence that the padre suffered all his toils. What sort of good advice could be obtained from a man who, when the king reached his house, said to

him: "What the whites consider as His death is yours"! And afterwards he acted in the spirit of this remark. Satan used this enemy to hinder the conversion of our pagan, and this was all because Fernandes begrudged not having been considered as sponsor for the catechumen.

The padre persevered, putting up with the king's complaints with the utmost prudence. Once and for all he told him that only Christians could enter that place, but that as soon as he was a Christian the church would be as much his as the whites'. He replied: "Well then, Father, baptise me now!" But when it is necessary to pick green fruit, it is as important not to do this (too) hastily before the fruit ripens than it is to cultivate the tree carefully so that it bears the fruit, hence the padre now went on to catechise and instruct the king in the principal mysteries of our holy faith. In fact the king was as far from real Christianity at this stage as he was before the minister (of religion) arrived. He was being and had been previously instructed by his (adviser) António Fernandes, but the King instead of exposing his heart to the Divine Sun, exposed it to the chattels which he had obtained from the Portuguese, by showing off his various pieces of finery and saying a thousand vain things about himself. "What king of the Sousos, what Farim ever came to have, padre, what I have?" A happy visit (?) (it might have been) if Massacander had learned to take advantage of it in order not to lose the divine (visit) of the Lord.

At this point he said that he must be a Christian in his own way. He made much of the religion of the Saviour and denied the Mohammedan sect. He made large declarations, but (only) like a metal bell, so that the fruit of his conversion, when it had been gathered, was a very chancy crop (?). /f.137v/ What could be expected from an embassy and an alleged letter? The king wished to be a freakish sort of Christian, saying that this would suit him. For the padre once said to him, "I cannot admit you into the church unless you burn the idols"; and he replied, "How can I burn my

father and my sons and my wives who are with God?" Then the padre retorted "Your father and all the others you name ^{are} in the company of demons!" At this the King was greatly upset and resented the divine reply. He did much to see if he could deceive the apostle by persuading him that he would rid of the statues and portraits, (but) he sent them to his wives.

There was a great dispute over the many different kinds of amulets and the shirts which had amulets attached all over. The padre ordered the king to put the whole lot on the fire. He asked, "What must I then take to war? How can I suffer the loss of that great sum in gold which these items cost me? I will order them all to be handed over to the bexerim; and thereafter grant me what I wish - bathe me in the holy waters." Already he was alarmed lest the Farim Concho should receive complaints about him, etc. The padre laboured hard to lessen his concern. But Massacander was not amongst those elected to be a true Gideon, and so everything grew worse. Now he paid no attention to the apostle when he told him that his father was in hell; (instead) he turned his back on him. And when a Portuguese, who saw how very discourteously the savage behaved, said to him, "As a king, do you treat the padre so?" He replied coldly, "Mi bai comer (? me vai comer, me go eat), leave that business of the padre alone! All now is coldness, everything has changed! This was strongly regretted by those who wished to be baptised. The priest asked the king for porters, and took his leave of him. (But) everything was delayed first with one excuse, then with another. Now the apostle realised that the king was attempting to keep him in his kingdom because this brought worldly glory to His Majesty. At that moment of time it was God's will that a message should come from the port to say that a ship had arrived from the Windward Coast with a Portuguese on board, a great friend of the king's.^(a) The king then found for this man (the porters) which had been lacking for the padre.

(a) Ambrosio Dias Camelo, our devotee, who also had him carried part of the way to Aldeia Nova.

In this way the Lord delivered him from that great predicament, and he now began a journey in which there were difficulties greater than those on the first journey. The streams were very swollen and the porters were obliged to go on foot part of the way, and since they did not travel willingly now, at each step they put the padre down /f.138/ and would only pick him up again when they felt like it.

On the final (part of the) journey, while the padre was in a hut with the other people sheltering from a thunder-storm, one of the father's houseboys, whom he had left in the Serra, arrived with letters telling of the advent of a companion. From this spot with all speed he dispatched the porter with a letter, so that the fastest possible arrangements could be made to complete the journey. Thus things proceeded most actively, and since there was no boat, Father Manoel Álvares obtained the slaves of a zealous disciple of his in order to transport over land the images and items of holy worship as well as other necessary baggage. When the journey was over the padre did not cease giving thanks to the Lord for the mercy of his favours, which is what he called the labours involved in his unique pilgrimage to Bena.

I shall not remain silent about the complaints of the (image of the) child Jesus on the first journey, for certain savages told me that as they carried him in his casket they had heard Him cry out, to show some kind of feeling of irritation that they should be taking Him to a place where He was to be so poorly received and respected, (indeed) would instead be rejected. In Bena, when the image came into the church following the heathen who

carried the padre, they said, "There you see the Child who cried because, when the padre ate, he did not set him at the table with him."

So much for the mission of our apostle. He was not deprived of the reward, nor was Massacander exempt from the eternal pains which he suffers today, in the company of the evil spirits which, on the padre's departure, he had

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b

as guides for the dungeons of hell, the just place for the malice of such a deceitful barbarian.^(b) He served these spirits in life and found them in death, as they told me, since on the day he died the storms and tempests were so great that it seemed as if they desired to carry off the whole town and all its people to accompany Massacander's wicked soul. The Lord punished his secretary first, as can be seen in Chapter XXV of the second part. The king profited neither from the company of Simão Caldeira nor from his dealings with the Portuguese, who, when they fail to lead an exemplary life, by which alone the infidels can be guided, sometimes serve to discredit greatly the religion of the Saviour.^(c) When we are not exemplary, they use our intercourse with them as an opportunity more for scorn and contempt of our holy faith than for belief in it and affection for it, as can be seen by what has been stated in the present work, in the relevant chapters, where it deals with the necessity for a good example on the part of Christian peoples. /f.138v/

(b) "Onibana officru o Summa" say the idolaters when they see the thunder, lightning and storms on the mountains of the Kings. Thus it happened when Old Farma died; it was a sad day; they say, "Cru usuma cru" "God is angry", etc.

(c) May they carry the padre not only in their hearts but in their arms. "Pone me ut signaculum" ["Set me as a seal (upon thine heart)], Song of Songs [6, 3]. See Exodus [12, 1] : hidden faith was not enough for delivery from Egypt, it was necessary to proclaim the faith publicly by marking the door posts with lamb's blood.

SINGLE CHAPTER

(d)

The various ceremonies pertaining to public

order among the Manes, Calus, Bagas and the

other kinds of heathen in this district.

Let us speak of the poro. This is a set of practices peculiar to

the Manes. It has such secret rules that to date we have no information

about them, and it is almost impossible to find out about the secret from

the very distinguished female (?) (members) of this society whom we have

(? in the church). The 'University' is outside this province, beyond Cape

Mount. The pupils spend four years on their training, during this time

they do not carry arms or inflict wounds. All is peaceful, as the teach-

ing is directed towards keeping the peace, so it suits them to have it

thus. These false religious carry the sign which distinguishes them from

others on their backs, which they have scored with certain marks which resembling

look like large warts. Anyone who touches them on this place incurs the

penalty ordained by their laws, to avoid which there is no connection or

favour more effective than money. And so they say that the poro [?] is

nobody - the wick has no pedigree. It keeps everything here peaceful and

free from common murders and affrays. The professed (members) have their

own private idol. And since this group keeps itself to itself, their

that is, superstitious acts are very secret, their deliberations, their burials,

and their wakes or private obsequies of the dead which those who profess other

forms of superstition cannot attend.

When the officials come to proclaim poro, as they approach the

village they drum on fresh water-turtle shells; and (then) with garlands made

of green vegetation on their heads they go four times round the open place

in the village singing. Then they make the proclamation. Once this has been

done, they hang from a tree the sign of the poro, which consists of a small

whisk, like a brush or a small palm broom, made (in fact) of palm. Next to

this are tied the straws which denote the number of things to be paid (?) criminals which have been incurred as a penalty for breaking the laws.

They have so much respect for the whisk, together with fear of the penalty that in this place where all evil abounds only the evil of murder is no

more than most rare. Those who injure these officers are severely punished as /f.139/ could be shown here through an example. This set of practices is peculiar to the Manes, as has been stated.

In the second place comes the superstitious practice Quelala. It has its own particular idol and is peculiar to the Manes and Boulons. Anyone touching the nose of a man belonging to the sect incurs a fine by the rule. Some of the true langados sometimes treat these people abusively, in order to obtain debts from parties, because they serve as executors of debts. So it happened with one Simão Vaz, a native of Santarem, who said to Tora that if he did not make N. pay what he owed him, it/he was not Quelala. The king did his best to see that his guest was satisfied; the latter then contributed not only to rewarding it (? Quelala) but also to the penalty for the affront. So much for Quelala.

Let us deal now with Quingle. This is a rite of certain idolatrous devotees, who have a place set aside in the forest for the solemn practice of their wicked superstition. Here they have two or three idols. When someone applies to be admitted to this diabolical association, so as to practice Quingle, he goes to the idols with his bow and shoots some arrows at them, then withdraws, leaving his shirt near the idols. He is now greeted by the fraternity with great rejoicing. (But) before giving him membership and graduation, they send him to recover the shirt. He does it by running between two rows of the infernal devotees holding sticks in their hands with which they strike him until they (sic) reach the idol, and the wretched graduation costs him a heavy beating. After this running (ceremony) they give him the 'degree' and he takes an oath not to turn back in war, nor to

decline to avenge affronts. Anyone who says to them, "You are not Quingle", pays for the insult with money. Anyone bearing an amulet (? of) nachul cannot be greeted, and a person who does this incurs a penalty. Usually (wearers) take off this device and speak first. This rite is practised by the Sapes, Temenes, and Logos, as far as the Casses of Mabengoma.

Cimo is another brotherhood similar to this in its superstition. These false monks, with their idol Abol, have their monastery in the forest; and their festival, which lasts for a month is celebrated every three, six and ten years. No (other) person comes to this place. Whoever takes the food (there) leaves it far from the doorway, and the professed cimos come out to get it. They never perform the accursed ceremony without one of the new devotees in this test remaining with the devil, and it is not known what happens to him there, because their acts are very secret and cannot be /139v/ revealed without incurring most severe penalties.^(a) At this time of initiating Cimos it is necessary to keep watch over them, particularly when there is a new moon and they do (?it does) not appear, because then they do a thousand mad things, sometimes when they greet somebody who does not reply to them in the language which they have learned during the month, chasing him to such an extent and so beating him that they kill him. When the time is over they leave the school. And this is necessary because parents cannot maintain sons in the diabolical University (as well as) sons who are not, and because many, in order to become free from the annoyances and severity of these false devotees, profess their rules.

(a) They only say that they left him to the Abol, which is their devil; and in order to reveal it to the mother of the poor Cimo, they break a pot at her door. If they kill a white woman (sic), they say that they have done it to have a good festival.

During this period they go about dressed in skins covered with sea shells and with small bells dipped in rice flour, and with sticks in their hands and outlandish (?) bows. If they kill a white, they say that they do this as a suitable offering to the moon. When they dance, they take on the appearance of a buffalo, (wearing) masks of a human face with animal horns, and they attack with these those persons who go to see them when they come out. Also they bring out half-length wooden figures like women, and amongst these they place a man; he dances with his straw skirt adorned with coral and other ornaments which come from the whites, etc. If during the period of the profession and wrong learning the Cimo meets anyone, they kill him. And if the false monk or monks cannot do this, they hide themselves, and when they go to see their people they do not repeat this because it is a secret. The Cimos of the heathen Calu, Bagas, Tagunchos, Putazes and Sousos, and Cubales are very strict. In Rio de Nuno they do not allow themselves to be seen while they go about as Cimos. The Cimos of the (Rio da) Furna call whites and children to the meal, because the tables are large during this diabolical exercise.

Normally Cimo is like a school or class where one learns a new language. This false doctrine has an idol, and when the students leave their school, where the lesson lasts about a month, they display the idol in the form of some elephants, or of a buffalo with big horns. Besides this main idol, they have various others which are sprinkled with rice flour when the moon is 'dead' and they say that these are deceased because they have died with the moon. They carry scourges in their hands and they perform mischief throughout the village for as long as the moon does not appear. When it does appear, they wash off the paste and say that they have been born. (If) while they walk around in their 'dead' form they come across a white man who knows about their nonsense, and he threatens them with a dish of water, they will not harm him, because they are afraid he may wash them and reveal their identity. And if /f.140/

a white man recognises them, and calls them by name, and laughs, they set about frightening him with grimaces and by shaking their bodies, which are naked. Women are not seen; the men give them a signal with their shouting so that they can hide.

The old men's Cimo has an idol which is a wooden statue of a very black woman, and is called Cimoa. This only comes out when there is mourning for an important person. Its dress is of straw, which shapes (?) a figure with darts as eyes. When this figure is being carved, the man who brings food calls to the one who is making the idol (only) by whistling. Once the idol is finished, they place it on a certain road where there is a spring, in order that the first woman to go there can say that she found it; she runs away in fright, and then it is known what it is. All the old men of the village come together and take the statue to their monastery and to a standing place which they make in the forest near some poulan tree. Horns, drums, and so on perform at the ceremony when they take the statue there. Cimo also has a statue of a wild boar, which is brought to the festival of Cimoa, when it runs after her like a naughty lascar. It is carried by the shortest black in the village.

There is also another Cimo called Ter. Their Ters are small and made of black clay, with faces like those of Sanchos or other ugly shapes, and these are spattered with rice grass. Here they kill puppies, goats and cocks, and sprinkle with the blood the altar and the horns of the animal which they have there. When this has been done, some of them, already gluttoned, go within to chant like cocks, while others wail like children and play their drums. When they emerge outside they do so playing a small tambourin so that everyone (else) can flee (from them). To those half-dead they give poison to finish them off when they are dying. If anyone promises something to this idol and fails to fulfil it, when he falls ill he says that Ter has paid him out and has required his faultlessness.

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