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André Álvares de Almada

**BRIEF TREATISE ON
THE RIVERS OF GUINEA
(c. 1594)**

**PART II
NOTES**



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NOTES

On chapters 1-6 (in French) by Jean Boulègue

On chapters 13-19 by P.E.H. Hair

- 1 - Bixirins : pluriel de bixirim. Terme courant chez tous les auteurs portugais pour désigner les marabouts du XV^e au XVII^e siècle. ON retrouve dans ce mot le wolof actuel seriñ : marabout. D'après Th. MONOD (in Valentim FERNANDES, 1958, ¹⁹⁵¹ ~~1958~~) bisserim, bixirim, proviendrait de l'arabe al-mubashshirīn, "ceux qui annoncent la bonne nouvelle", c'est-à-dire les prédicateurs ou missionnaires. De bisserin procéderait le mot wolof actuel de seriñ qui désigne les marabouts. Mais seriñ est la forme wolof apparentée au peul ceerno, pluriel seerenBe, qui ne semble pas pouvoir dériver de al-mubashshirīn. Selon V. MONTEIL (1966, pp. 160-161), bisserin procède de seriñ et non l'inverse ; ce serait le mot seriñ précédé de l'indice de classe nominale bi. Aujourd'hui cet indice est postposé (on dit seriñ-bi) ; il faut donc admettre un état antérieur de la langue où la construction était différente. A l'appui de cette hypothèse, on rencontre plus loin, chez Almada, le mot Benares qui semble bien être la forme actuelle Naar-bi (le "Maure"). De même, on rencontre chez DONELHA le terme Bilebos pour désigner les Lebu (DONELHA, 1977, pp. 128-129, note 206).

- 2 - Guibapiba

1/1

3 - Jalofos. Il s'agit évidemment du peuple appelé actuellement Wolof. Les désignations anciennes sont plus proches du toponyme Jolof (qui désigne actuellement l'intérieur du pays wolof) : "Ziloffi" de A. DA MOSTO, au milieu du XVème siècle, "Guiolofs" des auteurs français des XVIIème et XVIIIème siècles.

1/1

4 - Alarves. Arabes. Les auteurs du XVème et du début du XVIème siècle plaçaient sur la rive nord du Sénégal des Azanegues, c'est-à-dire des Berbères Zanaga (ou Sanhaja), et non des Arabes. Les Zanaga ont été progressivement soumis par les Arabes Bani-Hassan mais, pour la rive nord du Sénégal, ceci n'eut lieu qu'au XVIIème siècle. Ce sont donc des Zanaga que Almada qualifie d'Arabes. Peut-être par une assimilation abusive propre à l'auteur. Peut-être aussi parce que ^{de nombreux} ~~les~~ Zanaga se donnaient des généalogies arabes.

1/2

5 - Fulos Galalhos. Ces "Fulos" (français "Peuls") sont ceux qui, sous le commandement de Tengela et de son fils, Koli, au début du XVIème siècle, avaient constitué un grand Etat dans la vallée du fleuve Sénégal : le Fuuta Tooro. Galalho est probablement la forme portugaise de Gelajo, nom peul porté notamment par le premier chef : Ten-da Gelajo, contracté en Tengela. Il est possible, comme l'a suggéré Teixeira da Mota, que la dénomination de Fulos Galalhos ait pour origine le nom de ce chef (TEIXEIRA DA MOTA, 1972, p. 369). Notons aussi que les quatrième, cinquième et sixième souverains du Fuuta portaient le nom de Gelajo, selon les sources traditionnelles : Gelajo Bambi, Gelajo Tabara et Gelajo Gaysi (ROBINSON, CURTIN et JOHNSON, 1972, Pp. 566-577). Leurs règnes couvrent la majeure partie du XVIème siècle, donc la période à laquelle Almada se réfère.

1/3

6 - Grão Jalofo. En effet, les auteurs du XVème et du début du XVIème siècle ont constaté l'existence d'un Etat wolof s'étendant du Sénégal à la Gambie. (C'est le "royaume de Senega" de DA MOSTO, le "royaume de Jalofo" de PACHECO PEREIRA). Almada nous décrit la chute du "Grão Jalofo". Ce fait dut donc avoir lieu au cours du XVIème siècle. La tradition orale a retenu le souvenir de cet Etat et de sa dislocation, la chronologie traditionnelle (à partir de la durée des règnes) place cette dislocation vers le milieu du XVIème siècle (Y. DYAO, 1933, p. 253). Il y a là une concordance remarquable des sources orales et des sources écrites.

1/4

7 - Lambaia. Lambaye était la capitale du Bawol, située à l'intérieur des terres (dont il est question plus loin). Mais d'autres localités ont pu porter ce nom.

1/4

8 - Budumeis. Pluriel de Budumel : altération de buur-damel. Buur signifie roi en wolof et damel est le titre traditionnel des rois du Kajoor.

1/4

9 - Bomaim Gilem. Buumi Jelen. Cet épisode est rapporté par João de BARROS (ch. VI, VII et VIII), RUY de PINA et Garcia de RESENDE. Un écho en est resté dans la tradition orale (Y. DYAO, 1912, p. 6). Mais il eut lieu sous Jean II (1481-1495) et non sous Manuel I. Buumi Jelen, après avoir gouverné le Jolf au nom de son frère s'était réfugié au Portugal après la mort de celui-ci, et sa défaite devant ses demi-frères. Il se convertit au christianisme et obtint l'aide des Portugais. Une expédition chargée de construire une forteresse sur les bords du Sénégal fut envoyée mais lorsqu'elle fut arrivée sur les lieux, le prince wolof fut assassiné par l'amiral portugais, Pedro Vaz.

1/5

10 - Encalhor. Royaume du Kajoor (ou Kayor).

1/6

11 - Caciz. De l'arabe qissis, prêtre.

1/9

- 12 - Succession. Cette légende justificative de la succession matrilineaire est également rapportée par DONELHA (éd. 1977, pp. 134-135, n. 219). Elle se raconte encore actuellement (enquête personnelle).

1/10

- 13 - Jonões. Pluriel de Jonai. Le lignage royal du Jolof porte le nom de Njaay (Ndiaye). A. Teixeira da Mota s'est rapproché Njaay de Jonai, que l'on trouve aussi chez Donelha pour désigner le même lignage (DONELHA, éd. 1977, pp. 130-131, n. 215). Ceci se trouve confirmé par une tradition orale, recueillie au début du siècle, qui donne les deux comme équivalentes : "Puis ce fut la famille des Dionaye (N'Diaye) qui établit sa suprématie dans le Djoloff..." (monographie du Bawol, par l'administrateur BELLV, Archives du Sénégal, cité par MARTIN et BECKER (1976, p. 453).

Le nom de Jonay se retrouve au Bawol, porté par un matrilineage royal (MARTIN et BECKER, 1976, p. 462) tandis que les Njaay du Jolof sont un patrilineage.

1/11

- 14 - Fez em sua vida e um filho seu rei. En effet selon la tradition, Amari Ngoone, le vainqueur du Jolof, succéda à son père comme roi du Kajoor (Y. D'YAO, 1933, p. 255). Le "Budumel bixirim" d'Almada serait donc Amari Ngoone.

15 - Amad Malique. La succession d'Amari est un des épisodes les mieux développés dans la tradition orale du Kajoor. Il y a une discordance entre celle-ci et le texte d'Almada. Selon la tradition Amari voulut prendre pour successeur son petit fils et neveu Mamalik (qui correspond à Amad Malique sauf le lien de parenté), afin de combiner sa lignée maternelle et sa lignée paternelle. Mais à sa mort les Etats furent partagés entre son fils Masamba, qui eut le Kajoor, et Mamalik qui eut le Bawol. Alors Mamalik envahit le Kajoor, vainquit son père Masamba, qui fut tué dans le combat, puis il fut à son tour vaincu et tué par ses demi-frères (Y. DYAO, 1933, p. 269).

On voit qu'Almada semble ignorer ce conflit et l'existence même de Masamba. Il s'oppose encore à la tradition orale en faisant de Mamalik le fils d'Amari (le Budumel bixirim).

Cependant un témoignage de 1591, celui de l'Anglais Rainolds venant commercer sur la côte vérifie, partiellement du moins, l'exactitude de la tradition orale : il y avait en 1591 un roi Zamba au Kajoor et un roi Amar Meleck, fils du précédent au Bawol (RAINOLDS, 1971, p. 6). On retrouve là Masamba et Mamalik/Amad Malique.

Il semble bien qu'Almada se soit trompé en faisant d'Amad Malique le fils d'Amari. La confusion entre fils et petit-fils n'a rien de surprenant. Mais il serait plus étonnant qu'il ait ignoré ou négligé un conflit tel celui rapporté par la tradition. D'autre part son récit ne rend pas compte de la situation décrite par Rainolds en 1591. Ceci peut s'expliquer facilement si les informations d'Almada sont sensiblement antérieures à la rédaction du Tratado breve (1594), ce qui est probable.

Dans ce cas, on peut proposer le schéma suivant :

- 1 - Mamalik hérite d'Amari, conformément à la volonté de ce dernier et au récit d'Almada. Il s'installe au Bawol et place son fils "Chilao" au Kajoor (l'existence de cet arrière petit-fils d'Amari peu d'années après la mort de ce dernier est possible car le règne d'Amari a été très long).
- 2 - Masamba, fils d'Amari et père de Mamalik prend le pouvoir au Kajoor. Les informations d'Almada sont antérieures et ne rendent pas compte de cette situation. Mais c'est la situation constatée par Rainolds en 1591. C'est aussi le point de départ du récit traditionnel : la tradition étant favorable à Masamba, il n'est pas étonnant qu'elle omette la première phase trop favorable à Mamalik.
- 3 - Mamalik et Masamba s'affrontent, selon le récit qu'en fait la tradition orale. D'après la chronologie traditionnelle ceci devrait se situer dans les dernières années du siècle.

1/11

16 - Porto da Cabaceira. "Port du baobab". C'est sans doute le port le plus proche de l'embouchure du Sénégal où, selon Lavanha, vers 1600, le damel avait un gouverneur ou alcaide (LAVANHA, 1967, pp. 500-501).

1/11

17 - Bala. Bawol Dans ce contexte géographique, seul désigne le Bawol. Broçalo. Saalum. Le titre du souverain sert ici à désigner le pays, "Broçalo" étant la corruption du "buur-Saalum", roi du Saalum.

1/11

18 - Reino de Ale. Royaume du Siin. voir note

1/12

19 - Tacurores. Habitants du Takrur, ancien nom de la vallée du Sénégal. Le terme, que l'on retrouve dans le français "Toucouleurs", était déjà employé par les auteurs précédents mais ce texte est le premier qui établisse une ^{rapprochement} ~~proximité~~ et une différence entre les habitants de Takrur et les autres Peuls. Ils parlent en effet, comme le remarquait déjà Almada, la même langue. Quant à la différence, ici c'est le teint qui est en cause. Sans doute Almada a-t-il été en présence d'éléments peuls particulièrement clairs mais ce n'est pas un critère général. Quant à la population du Takrur, composée d'éléments d'origines diverses ayant adopté la langue pular, elle ne doit pas moins être considérée comme une fraction du monde peul.

1/14

20 - Maçaroca. Petit mil, cf. A TEIXEIRA DA MOTA et A. CARREIRA, 1966, pp. 73-

1/17

21 - Talas. On retrouve ce terme chez Donelha. On pourrait le rapprocher du wolof tal, porter un coup (HAIR, 1967, p. 37).

22 - Taro.

23 - Benares. Probablement le même terme que le wolof actuel Naar-bi désignant les Arabo-berbères, particulièrement les Mauritaniens. Dans Benares, l'article wolof bi, actuellement postposé, précéderait le mot. Nous ~~avons d'autres exemples de constructions de ce type à la même époque~~
~~"Benares" pour désigner les Arabes, cf. X. 114, 117, 123, 124, 125, 126.~~

24 - Favorecerem a alguns reis seus amigos. Ces informations d'Almada sur la politique des Peuls du Fuuta Tooro, comme plus haut ce qu'il dit de leurs incursions chez les Maures, sont utiles pour comprendre l'expansion de cet Etat dans les années suivantes telle qu'elle apparaît à travers un document anonyme espagnol (cf. TEIXEIRA DA MOTA, 1969).

2/2

25 - Animaux. Parmi ces animaux énumérés par Alvares d'Almada, certains appellent quelques précisions :

- les "gazelles" sont en fait des antilopes (et l'animal de grande taille qui, selon l'auteur, ressemble au cerf, est sans doute une grande antilope, peut-être le Cobe onctueux, Kobus defossus).
- les onces sont des panthères d'Afrique (Panthera pardus)
- les loups sont des chacals ou des hyènes.

2/2

26 - Chocas. Coker ("thioker") est en effet le nom wolof de la perdrix. En Sénégal, on trouve surtout la variété Glareola pratincola boweni (P.L. DEKEYSER et J.H. DERIVOT, 1966, pp. 90-91).

2/2

27 - Aves marinhas. Le héron royal (garça real) est probablement le héron cendré (Ardea Cinerea). Cf. DEKEYSER et DERIVOT, 1966, p. 55. La marreca est peut-être la macreuse noire (Malanitta negra)

2/2

28 - Milho branco. Le "mil blanc" est le sorgho, encore appelé ainsi en créole de Guinée-Bissau, par opposition au mil noir, ou petit mil, appelé autrefois maçaroca (TEIXEIRA DA MOTA et CARREIRA, 1966).

2/2

29 - Gergilim. Il y a en cette région plusieurs variétés de sésame dont le sésamum indicum est la plus fréquente. Actuellement l'usage n'en est pas important.

2/3

30 - Anil. L'indigotier est commun en Sénégal.

2/5

- 31 - Jabacoices. A rapprocher du verbe wolof jabaran, guérir (dictionnaire wolof-français KOBES, 1928). Ce terme était employé jusqu'aux îles du Cap-Vert (cf. DONELHA, ~~6~~ 1977, n. 218).

2/5

- 32 - Feiticeiro. Sous ce terme très vague de "féticheur", Almada désigne ici les "mangeurs d'âmes" (dema en wolof, nax en sereer). Cette croyance est largement répandue dans toute la Sénégalie.

2/6

- 33 - Sereno, Porto d'Ale, Beziguiche. Sereno, actuellement Pointe Sarène, est en effet la limite traditionnelle du Bawol et du Siin.

Porto d'Ale, appelé par les Français Portugal, restera le port principal du royaume du Bawol. Il correspond au village actuel de Sali-Portugal.

Beziguiche est l'ancien nom donné par les Portugais à la rade de Dakar d'après le nom d'un chef local (Diogo GOMES, 1456).

L'île est évidemment la future Gorée.

2/7

- 34 - Lengados. Portugais installés sur le continent et servant d'intermédiaire entre les Africains et les étrangers, Portugais ou autres. Ils étaient également appelés Tangomãos. Leurs descendants métis sont souvent mentionnés par les voyageurs des XVII^{ème} et XVIII^{ème} siècles en Sénégalie, en Casamance, en Guinée.

2/8

- 35 - Nhogor. Ce personnage peut être identifié avec Ñoxor Kjaay (Niokhor Ndiaye) dans la tradition orale. C'était un roi du Bawol dont l'héritage revint à Amari Ngoone, le roi du Kajoor qui vainquit le Jolof (Y. DYAO, 1933, p. 260). Nous avons vu plus haut qu'Amari Ngoone peut être identifié avec le "Budumel Bixirim" d'Alvares d'Almada. C'est encore le cas ici puisque Almada nous dit que Budumel Bixirim succéda à Nhogor.

- 36 - Ale Embicane. voir note 44.

- 37 - Dacoi. Désigne en malinke l'antilope cheval (hippotragus equinus). Le nom d'enta était attribué par les Portugais à l'oryx (Aegoryx algaz) appelé lamt par les Sahariens.

- 38 - Alcelia. Ce musc était produit par la civette (civittictis civette). C'était un produit très apprécié en Europe et l'animal est signalé par les premiers navigateurs.

- 39 - Joala. Joal, port situé dans le royaume du Siin, existe encore de nos jours.
- 40 - Cação. Cassan : port sur la Gambie. Donelha explique que les Portugais donnent au chef de Cação le titre de duc parce qu'il vient, après le roi du pays c'est-à-dire du Saalum. (DONELHA, éd. 1977, pp. 148-149)

- 41 - Ganagoga. Ce João Ferreira était donc juif (c'est le sens de l'expression da nação) et son surnom de Ganagoga pourrait bien être une corruption de sinagoga au lieu d'avoir le sens indiqué par Almada. On retrouve ce Ganagoga à travers RAINOLDS (1971, p. 13) et un document anonyme espagnol du début du XVIIème siècle (TEIXEIRA DA MOTA, 1969, p. 58).

- 42 - Vintaquatreno. Etoffe qui a 2400 fils de trame.

- 43 - Búzio. Signifie littéralement buccin, mais il s'agit de cauris que les Portugais apportaient des Indes (F. MAURO, 1960, p. 396). Il est à noter que les premières relations n'en mentionnent pas l'utilisation en cette région et que DA MOSTO précise même qu'il n'y a aucune monnaie

- 44 - Jagodim. Au XIXème siècle, ce titre n'était plus porté par les chefs de villages. Mais il existait pour certaines fonctions plus importantes.

- 45 - Reino do Ale Embicane, Barbecins. Le mot "Barbacin" est une corruption de buur-ba-Siin, roi du Siin (Sine). Il est employé dès A. DA MOSTO pour désigner les habitants du Siin, et aussi les Sereer (Serères) en général. Cet usage se perpétuera encore chez certains auteurs français du XVIIIème siècle. La confusion entre toponymes, ethnonymes et termes de titulature n'a rien d'exceptionnel dans la littérature de voyage.

L'expression de "royaume d'Ale Embicam" n'est employée que par Almada et Donelha. Ce dernier écrit Ale Embisan Jufo et attribue ce nom au roi. Il est identifiable avec Wali Mbisan Juf, dans la liste traditionnelle (DIOUF, BECKER et MARTIN, 1972, pp. 761-763).

- 46 - Guepo.

- 47 - Sãobirão. Ce pourrait être le fruit du Pupartia birrea (beer en wolof), très répandu dans le Siin et le Saelum, et dont on fait une boisson alcoolisée.

- 48 - Jaxao. Jaxao (Diakhao) est restée la capitale du Siin.

Le port de Palmeirinha, francisé en Palmarin, existe encore au nord de l'embouchure du fleuve Saloum.

Il est plus difficile d'identifier Guindim et Gomar. Ce dernier toponyme peut être rapproché de la presqu'île de Sangomar, au nord de l'estuaire du Saloum.

4/1

49 - Broqalo. Altération de buur-Saalum, roi du Saalum. Le titre est utilisé pour désigner le pays.

4/1

50 - Obediencia. Cet autre roi sereer qui dépend de celui du Saalum est difficile à identifier car le Saalum comptait de nombreux tributaires.

4/1

51 - Tabasouins. C'est le Talaski, nom d'origine berbère donné en Sénégambie à l'ouest de ~~la~~ al-Kabir. On peut observer que le Saalum était plus islamisé que le Siin.

4/2

52 - Barbacins, Jalofof, Mandingas. En effet le royaume du Saalum était pluriethnique et comportait des Sereer, des Wolof et des Malinke.

4/2

53 - Jagarefes. La forme actuelle est jaraaf. Dans le Siin et le Saalum le Grand Jaraaf était un des deux plus grands dignitaires, choisi parmi les hommes libres (l'autre le Grand Farba étant un "captif de la couronne"). Dans le Saalum, il y avait aussi un jaraaf pour la minorité wolof. Les informations données par Almada concordent donc avec la situation plus récente. Par contre les chefs de village qu'il appelle plus loin jagodins portaient eux aussi le titre de jaraaf, au XIXème siècle.

4/3

54 - Lagatir Balhana. Balhana est la forme portugaise de Bajan (français Badiane). On trouve dans la liste dynastique traditionnelle (ERICAUD 1962, p. 160), un "Lat-Tilor Badiane" qui aurait régné entre 1551 et 1560. Notons que Lat est l'abréviation de Latir et qu'une forme plus ancienne Lagatir est possible. Le successeur de ce roi est Wali Buum. On retrouve le Buum d'Almada. Notons enfin qu'en un autre passage (ch. I), Almada dit qu'il se trouvait en 1576 dans le Saalum, ce qui correspond à peu près au règne de Wali Buum, dont il fait le roi régnant "aujourd'hui". (Il faut sans doute comprendre "aujourd'hui" comme correspondant à la date de ses dernières informations et non 1594).

4/8

55 - Judeus. C'est la première description des castes artisanales.

V. FERNANDES (début XVIème siècle) avait fait référence à la caste des griots, les comparant lui aussi aux Juifs. Cette comparaison ne repose évidemment que sur le statut d'infériorité sociale.

56 - Meca. Parmi les localités historiques du Saalum, aucune ne porte ce nom. Ce toponyme est peut-être une conséquence de l'islamisation (La Mekke).

4/10

57 - Arvorea. Cette coutume, valable seulement pour la caste des griots n'a pas totalement disparu (cf. MAUNY, 1955, pp. 62-76).

4/11

58 - Terra. De nombreux tumulus existent dans toute la Sénégambie.

4/14

59-Buquinegues. Toute cette titulature était encore en vigueur à l'époque de la colonisation, mais pas toujours et pas partout avec la définition donnée par Almada. Les titres de farba et jaraf (jagara^{af}) pouvaient désigner selon les royaumes, et parfois dans le même royaume, des fonctions très diverses. Jagodi (écrit plus haut jagodin) devenu maintenant jawdin ou jawriñ, ne désignait pas partout les chefs de villages, seuls certains portaient ce titre. Bigeo semble correspondre à bitew, titre porté dans le Siin et le Saalum par l'adjoint du Grand Jaraf. Buquinegue (bekaneg dans le dictionnaire KOBES) se traduit bien par valet de chambre. Quant à alcaide c'est bien sûr un titre d'origine portugaise, sa fonction étant une création due au commerce atlantique.

4/16

60 - Tambacumba. Ce fruit est toujours appelé ainsi en créole de Guinée. C'est l'Aphania senegalensis, new en wolof, daaf en sereer. Les Français lui ont donné le nom de "pomme du Kayor".

4/16

61 - Canafistula. Le canéficier du Sénégal (Senjeñ en wolof) est le Cassia sieberiana. Sa racine est toujours employée comme purgatif.

4/16

62 - Alfarroba. C'est le nom de la caroube en portugais. Mais ici, ce mot désigne certainement le fruit du Parkia biglobosa ou Inga senegalensis (ul en wolof, nété en manding) à qui les Portugais ont attribué le nom de la caroube. Cet arbre est encore appelé faroba en créole portugais. Au XVIIIème siècle, Michel ADANSON le décrit sous le nom de farobier (1757, p. 94). Le Parkia biglobosa (mimosacée des régions soudanaises) est pourtant différent du caroubier, ou Ceratonia (césalpiniacée des régions méditerranéennes) ; mais comme celui-ci, il a des gousses dont la pulpe est comestible. En outre ses graines sont très employées dans les sauces.

4/16

63 - Arvores grandes. Il s'agit évidemment du baobab (Adansonia digitata) qui fut appelé calebassier jusqu'à Michel Adanson qui voyagea au Sénégal de 1749 à 1753 (voir R. MAUNY, 1951). La pulpe du baobab est toujours consommée.

4/16

64 - polões. C'est le fromager ou bombax. L'étoffe décrite par Almeida l'est aussi par COELHO.

4/19

65 - Socano camate ; Le terme de camate (Kamate) est souvent mentionné dans les textes européens du XVIè au XVIIIème siècle et traduit généralement par "diable", ce qui n'est qu'une interprétation. Le mot n'est plus en usage actuellement.

5/1

- 66 - Reino. L'emploi du mot royaume pour la Gambie est assez approximatif. Comme l'indique l'auteur lui-même la majeure partie des régions riveraines dépendaient de l'empire du Mali qui s'étendait bien au-d de la Gambie, tandis qu'une certaine partie de la rive nord de la Gambie appartenait à un roi indépendant, celui du Saalum.

5/2

- 67 - Ferões. C'est le titre malinke faren : chef, gouverneur. Les chefs de province de l'empire du Mali avaient sous leur autorité les "rois" des populations soumises.

5/6

- 68 - Cãosans.

5/7

- 69 - Lala. Fleuve, en malinke. Mot passé dans le créole de Guinée.

5/7

- 70 - Lagartos. Il s'agit évidemment des crocodiles.

5/8

- 71 - Parin. Il s'agit du Faren du Gabu, qui restera jusqu'au XIXème siècle le chef le plus important dans les régions occidentales de l'ancien empire du Mali.

5/10

- 72 - Melor. Localité mentionnée également par Coelho qui la situe entre Casão et Jerume, c'est-à-dire à l'ouest de l'actuelle

5/10

73 - Sutuco. Voir note 77

74 - Alemame. Al Imam. Ces religieux pourraient être des Jaxanke, groupe d'origine soninke, spécialisé dans les fonctions religieuses et installé principalement à Jaxa dans le Bambuk (région du Haut-Sénégal, République du Mali).

5/11

75 - Dolo. Nom malinke de la bière de mil, répandu dans l'Ouest africain.

5/11

76 - Cola. C'est la première mention de la noix de cola dans les descriptions européennes de la côte de Sénégambie et de Guinée.

5/12

77 - Sutuco. Sutuco et Jagrançura étaient déjà indiquées par D. PACHECO PEREIRA (1506-1508) comme des places du commerce de l'or "A 150 lieues de son embouchure se trouve une contrée qui s'appelle Cantar et il y a là 4 villages dont le principal se nomme Sutucôo qui compte 4.000 habitants, un autre Jalandoo, un autre Jabanoo et un autre Jamnan Sura" (1956, pp. 63-65). Sutuko est porté sur les cartes du XVIIIème siècle et il existe toujours une localité de ce nom, dans le Wuli (actuellement en République de Gambie).

5/15

78 - Mandimansa. L'empereur (manse) du Mandé ou Mali. Nous avons donc ici, à la date de 1578, un témoignage sur l'existence et la puissance de l'empire du Mali qui se disloquera quelques décennies plus tard.

614

- 79 - Passo dos Fulos. Ce "Passage des Peuls" figure sur les cartes du XVIII^e siècle ~~entre Kuntour et de Kuntaur~~ ^{en amont}. Quant à l'épisode, il concern une page importante de l'histoire sénégalienne.

Le manuscrit de Porto indique quatre-vingt à quatre-vingt dix ans et le manuscrit de Lisbonne cent vingt ans, ce qui laisse supposer que le second est plus récent et apporte une correction en situant l'épisode à partir de la date de rédaction tandis que le premier se basait sur la date à laquelle l'auteur avait recueilli l'information. Cette invasion devrait, en ce cas, se situer vers 1474. Donelha raconte le même épisode (avec le passage de la Gambie et la défaite devant les Beafad) et le situe vers 1460 (DONELHA, 1977 pp. 153-159, n. 274). C'est sans doute aussi la même invasion qui est rapportée par J. de BARROS (1552, L. III, ch. 12) qui situe sous João II (c'est-à-dire entre 1481 et 1494) l'entrée de ces Fulos dans l'empire du Mali. Mais Donelha et Barros donnent un nom différent au chef de l'invasion : Dulo Damba selon Donelha, Temalá selon Barros. Il n'y avait pas nécessairement un chef unique dans un épisode de ce genre qui fut autant une migration qu'une conquête. Temalá est le Tengela connu dans la tradition orale comme conquérant du Fuuta Jalon (ARCIN, 1911, p. 63), tandis que son fils Koli aurait conquis le Fuuta Tooro au terme d'un retour vers le nord (SOH, 1913, pp. 22-23). Sur ce sujet, cf. TEIXEIRA DA MOTA, 1969.

618

- 80 - Farim d'Olimansa. "Olimansa" signifie roi du "Oli", c'est-à-dire du Fuli, royaume malinke situé sur la rive nord de la Gambie en face du Gabu. C'est dans ce royaume que se situe Sutuko, qui était la place principale du commerce de l'or dans la Gambie.

619

- 81 - Cabopa. Mot d'origine temné, passé en créole portugais de Guinée pour désigner le Mitragyna stipulosa (cf. DONELHA, 1977, n. 66).

82 - Sal. D. COMES (1959, p. 2) signalait, en 1456, une production de sel dans cette région. On peut l'obtenir par évaporation naturelle dans de petits bassins.

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NALU. The Nalu were first recorded on maps of the 1480s ('os nalus' on the coast South of 'bugeba' and 'bisegi', toponyms on Rio Balola, on two Venetian portolans in BM Egerton 73, reproduced in KAMAL, tome 5, fasc.1, plates 1508, 1511). In corrupt forms, the ethnonym persisted on maps up to the eighteenth century. In the 1500s, Pacheco Pereira referred to the River of the Nanuus and its inhabitants of the same name (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.32, p.74) : the river was either the Cacine or the Cumbidja (FERNANDES, p.170). All the rivers between Rio Balola and Rio Nunez are small and difficult of access because of sand-bars, and partly for this reason were not well-known to the Portuguese. Almada states later that the Portuguese had no direct trade with the Nalu c.1590 (13/3,13/5), and he blames "greenhorns" who went into a Nalu river many years before. This "little river" is perhaps the Cumbidja, but if so, Almada seems to have no knowledge of the larger Cacine and Componi rivers further to the South. Dornelas had no more to report on the Nalu than that they were ruled by Farim Cocali (which may have been incorrect); and he stated that there was no regular trade by sea with the coast between Rio Balola and Cape Verga, "but the launches of the tangomaos trade some blacks, wax and ivory from port to port" (DORNELAS, ff.16,35v). In 1606, Father Barreira reported that the Nalu stretched along the coast from the Southern point of Rio Grande (Rio Balola) to where the Baga began, including Rio Nunez, and the Portuguese had no trade with them (BARREIRA, p.168). In 1627, the Spanish compiler Sandoval noted that ships did not sail up the rivers of the 'Kingdom of the Nalu' and that trade was only through the Beafada (SANDOVAL, lib.1, cap.11, f.39v). Half a century later, Coelho said that between Tombali Point and Rio Nunez the inhabitants were Nalu, but that the Portuguese had no contact with them in their ports because of the sand-banks; however, some contact was made via the creeks on the North bank of Rio Nunez. He noted that an English sailor had penetrated up one of the unknown rivers (COELHO 1669, pp.56,59,88/ff.47,49v,76v). Dutch seventeenth century sources had nothing original to say about this section of the coast. In the English version of his text (prepared between 1688 and 1713), the Frenchman Barbot remarked that South of the Rio Grande the coast was "frequented by none but the Portuguese of Cacheo and other adjacent colonies of that nation, driving a coasting trade thither in sloops and barks, commencing at Osnalus [sic] "

(BARBOT, p.93 : the French version of the 1680s omits mention of this coast, p.81). English and French sources in the later eighteenth century made brief references to the Nalu of Rio Nunez (MATTHEWS, pp.11-12; GOLBERRY, 2, p.228; AFZELIUS, ff.2/136v, 242v); as did Caillie in the 1820s (CAILLIE, pp.227-240/153-162). Today, the Nalu occupy areas around the lower parts of the Cumbidja, Cacine, Componi and Nunez rivers (HOUIS 1950, p.28; TRESSAN, map 8; TEIXEIRA DA MOTA 1972, map of the Cacine-Cumbidja region and reports of J.P. Garcia de Carvalho and A.B. Morais Trigo, pp.288, 305-6). But they are still little known, as witness the trifling ethnographic literature on them.

13/1 ... mui diferentes na linguagem...

....very different from them in language...

NALU LANGUAGE. Having stated that the Nalu and Beafada languages are very different, Almada later asserts that the Nalu, Baga and Cocolin "understand each other" (13/6). In contradiction, the Spanish compiler Sandoval states that the Nalu and Beafada "understand each other" (SANDOVAL, lib.1, cap.16, p.64). But as regards the Nalu and Beafada languages, Almada was right, Sandoval wrong. Nalu and Beafada are separate languages and only very distantly related (SAPIR, p.47). Hence, it is unlikely that they were interintelligible to any useful extent c.1600.

13/1 ...as mulheres pelo rosto.

...the women on their faces.

NALU DRESS AND FACE-MARKING.

Almada's description of Nalu male dress does not appear to be repeated in later literature. But Sandoval confirmed the Nalu face-marking, "lines fairly deep and close, above the nose, covering the whole brow" (SANDOVAL, lib.1, cap.16, f.64); and later in the seventeenth century, Coelho mentioned marking of the brow for both sexes, and nose-piercing (COELHO 1669, p.59/f.49v). On nose-piercing, see the note to 15/5. Earlier Almada described body-marking among the Jalofo (4/17). In the 1780s, the dress of Nalu women of all ages was said to be "a thin slip of cloth passed between the legs" (MATTHEWS, p.108).

13/1 ...bons e serviçais.

...well-behaved and useful.

NALU CHARACTER. The shorter text of Almada says that the Nalu are "intractable and savage...But their young men can be tamed and become good slaves" (Appendix III, 8/2). In 1606, the Nalu were described as "very wild" (BARREIRA,p.168): and in 1607 as "very warlike" (BRÁSIO,2nd ser.,4,p.276). In the eighteenth century, a French source called the Nalu "intelligent and gentle" (GOLBERRY,2,p.228).

13/1 ...trazer os grandes.

...transport the large ones.

IVORY AND MATS The shorter text of Almada states that only the smaller tusks were traded, the larger being presented to the king (8/2). But later in the present text he states that some of the tusks traded weigh more than one quintal (roughly one hundred-weight, or 59 kilos) (13/3). Much earlier, in the 1540s, it was reported that "the little rivers" between Rio Grande and Sierra Leone produced "many tusks of ivory" (FONTENEAU,p.332). In 1582 it was said that River Nunez produced only dyes (ANDRADE,p.106); but in the later seventeenth century Coelho reported that many slaves and a small amount of ivory came from the Nalu, via Rio Nunez (COELHO 1669,p.59/f.49v; 1684,p.207/f.41v). The 'beautiful mats' mentioned by Almada may not have originated with the Nalu, but with the Kokoli : Dornelas spoke of "the fine mats we call Cocali mats" and said that Farim Cocali ruled the Nalu (DORNELAS,f.16).

13/2 ... e dão ao rei...comem eles. ...give the king...eat the rest.

ELEPHANT TRIBUTE. Almada earlier reported that the same parts of the elephant were given to the King of the Casangas (9/23). The shorter text of Almada states that the Nalu king was also given the longer tusks (8/2). In the 1500s, it was said that when an elephant was killed in Sierra Leone, its flesh was sent to the king, who ate it with the elders in front of an idol (FERNANDES,f.129). At Cape Mount, every second elephant killed was presented to the king (DAPPER, p.396/26). In Europe, it was of course common in feudal times for certain animals, birds, or fishes to be reserved for the use of kings and nobles, and in attenuated form the right has been preserved by the British monarchy up to the present day. But in traditional Black Africa, this form of tribute was probably as much a religious act as a declaration of property rights.

13/2 Nesta terra... com ele morto. Many elephants...upon it dead.

NALU ELEPHANT HUNTING. Almada later states that elephants were killed in Rio Nunez the same way (13/8); and he earlier described another method of elephant-hunting employed by the Casanga (9/22-3). The earliest description of elephant-hunting in West Africa was written in the 1460s (CADAMOSTO, pp.44-5,67-70). In the 1500s, elephant-hunting among the Mandinga and at Sierra Leone was described (FERNANDES,ff.111,136). Later references to elephant-hunting at Sierra Leone are given in a note to 15/8. In the late eighteenth century, a French source claimed that the Baga of Rio Kappachez hunted elephant (GOLBERRY,2,p.241). As Rodney has pointed out, guns were not normally used in this area for this purpose till the very end of the eighteenth century (RODNEY,p.156). Early in the present century, the Nalu were

13/3 O rio...em barretas piquenas, The river....small bars...

TRADE AND LEAD. Since the Portuguese are said to have no regular direct trade with the Nalu, Almada must be referring either to the trade via the Beafada, or else to the occasional trading experience in the river in earlier decades. The import of lead is puzzling : what use for the lead had the Nalu?

METEMPSYCHOSIS. A spiritual relationship between men and particular animals is a common belief throughout Black Africa. In West Africa, the 'clans' among the Manding and neighbouring peoples (e.g., the Kono and Temne), whose names are used as surnames, have each a taboo relationship with a particular animal (McCULLOCH, pp.55,89,90). Again, belief in the transmigration of 'souls' between men and animals is fairly common (PARRINDER, p.139). The belief that a witch can assume the shape of an animal is still widespread. Less common is the belief that other individuals can, for certain social purposes, assume animal shape. For instance, in Sierra Leone during the present century, activities of 'Human Leopards' and other animal-societies have been regularly reported, though the exact nature of the belief behind the activities has not been adequately investigated (McCULLOCH, p.38). It may be suspected that the dialogue about metempsychosis reported by Almada represents only a garbled or simplified version of this delicate aspect of traditional Nalu belief.

RIO NUNEZ. The name 'Rio do Nuno' was given to this river probably in the late 1460s and has persisted to the present day, though latterly in the corrupt form 'Rio Nunez' (TELXEIRA DA MOTA 1950, pp.192-3). In the 1500s, trade in the river, in ivory and slaves, was mentioned by PACHECO PEREIRA (liv.1, cap.32, p.74) and FERNANDES (f.127). Later descriptions of the river and its trade were given by DORNELAS (ff.9v-10) and by COELHO (1669, pp.58-60/ff.48v-51). Navigational directions for this river were given by FIGUEIREDO (ff.45v-46) and by Coelho. According to a French source, in the later eighteenth century remains of Portuguese settlements were to be found up this river, and ~~may~~ "descendants of these first conquerors [sic]", though by now more African in physique than European, lived along its banks (GOLBERRY, 2, p.227).

BAGA. Almada states that the Baga also occupied Rio da Furna, probably Rio Kappatchez (13/13), and as far South as Cape Verga (13/12) or Rio Pongas (14/1). Dornelas located the Baga in Rio Nunez and "near" Cape Verga (DORNELAS, ff.9v-10). Barreira however stated that they lived along 18 leagues of coast, between Rio Nunez and the Iles de Los apparently (the reference is confused), especially in two rivers where they traded with the Portuguese, the Rio Nunez and the 'Faruma', i.e. Furna, and in three rivers further South (BARREIRA, pp.168-9). Sandoval stated that they occupied the mouth of Rio Nunez and twenty leagues up on each bank (SANDOVAL, lib.1, cap.1, f.6v). Almada is the earliest source to record the ethnonym 'Baga'. But in the 1500s, Pacheco Pereira mentioned a people called 'Capes', i.e., Sapes, apparently in relation to the coast between Rio Balola and Cape Verde; and Fernandes mentioned "peoples called Capeos, although these are a mixture of many other races", who lived somewhere South of Rio Balola and North of Sierra Leone ("in this land there is much iron, but it is not as good as that brought here from Sierra Leone") (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.32, p.72; FERNANDES, f.125). It is possible that in the early sixteenth century the Baga were known to the Portuguese as 'Sapes' (on this term, see the notes to 15/6). Whether the Baga lived in the Rio Nunez-Cape Verga district before the later sixteenth century or not, they have certainly lived there since. Early seventeenth century references are given above. In 1669, Coelho said that "all the inhabitants of Rio Nunez" were Baga, that is, those at the mouth and on the islands on each side for a distance of two tides upstream (COELHO 1669, p.58, f.49v). English and French sources at the end of the eighteenth century referred to several groups of Baga, including the Kappatchez Baga who lived between Rio Nunez and Rio Pongas (MATTHEWS, pp.12-13; AFZELIUS, f.2/46, 2/64, 2/138, 242v; GOLBERRY, 2, p.241). According to a recent study, on the Rio Nunez c.1800 "the Baga occupied the mangroves, the Nalu inhabited the swampy shoreline of the middle river, and the Landuma controlled the grasslands above the extent of inundation in the river's upper reaches" (MOUSER, p.5). For the modern distribution of the Baga in this area (the name is applied to several ethnic groups which are to a large extent culturally homogeneous, but at least one of the groups, the Baga Foré, speaks a language largely unrelated to the languages of the other groups), see HOUIS (1950, pp.26-27), TRESSAN (p.163 and map 8) and PAULME (1956, p.100, giving figures of population). While the earlier sources from Almada to Coelho agreed with post-1700 sources regarding the location of the Baga in this area, they disagreed

strikingly on the situation further South. According to the later sources, the Baga also occupied sections of the coast South from Rio Pongas as far as the Kalum Peninsula and the Iles de Los. But several earlier sources stated that this coast was occupied, wholly or partly, by various peoples whose names are not recognised today. (Following notes will discuss these obsolete ethnonyms in detail). A further curious feature is that the English sources at the end of the eighteenth century were convinced that the Baga were the traditional inhabitants of these Southern coasts, but that their area of occupation had recently been reduced by a Susu advance from the interior (WINTERBOTTOM, pp.5-6; AFZELIUS, f.2/20v 2/46). It is true that this section of the Upper Guinea coast was little known, either to the Portuguese or to later Europeans (e.g., the Dutch, cf. RUITERS, p.282/56-7), and their ignorance may explain the discrepancy. It seems likely that the obsolete ethnonyms referred in fact to the Baga, or rather, to sub-sections of the Baga (for instance, the 'Calus' were probably the Kalum Baga). It is possible that the name 'Baga' was not originally a self-name, but a Susu term applied to all coastal groups encountered (which might explain why it covered the Baga Foré who speak a different, 'non-Baga' language). It is also likely that the Baga never occupied more than a thin fringe of this coastline; and since it consists of swamps and islands perhaps they never occupied more than unconnected sections, in which case the Susu advance may have been exaggerated. But that the Baga once stretched in some fashion from the Rio Nunez to South of the Iles de Los is strongly suggested by the fact that the true Baga languages (omitting Baga Foré), together with their neighbour to the North, Landuma, are closely related to the Temne language of Sierra Leone (DALBY 1965; HAIR 1967, pp.50-52). It is therefore unlikely that the extent of the coastline on which the Baga languages were spoken was less before 1700 than that recorded in more recent centuries.

KOKOLI/LANDUMA. Almada has little to say about the Cocolins who "live behind the Baga in the interior" (end of the paragraph). He mentions them again in 13/4, and again compares them (and their neighbours, the Nalu and Baga) with - and hence distinguishes them from - the Sapes; and later he does not include the Cocolins in the list of Sape nations (15/6). The earliest references to the ethnonym were in the 1500s, when Pacheco Pereira recorded that "the Jaalungas have no places on the coast but live in the interior, and there are other blacks in this land called Guoguoliis"; and Fernandes stated that "a people called Chocholijs neighbour Buguba...they trade for merchandise in the interior" (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.32, p.76; FERNANDES, f.126). A century later, Father Barreira noted that "the Souzos and Cocolis live above the Nalus and Bagas" (BARREIRA, ^{P. 169} ~~f.27~~); and in 1625, Dornelas referred to "Farim Cocali who is ^{ruice} over the Nalus. This is a land of great trade in gold, but we do not go there because it is far in the interior" (DORNELAS, f.16). In 1627, the Spanish compiler Sandoval stated that twenty leagues up Rio Nunez lay "the chief town of the Spaniards, called Cagandi, where the Portuguese have great trade with Farinlandama, and [the] Cocoli who always offer to exchange many blacks" (SANDOVAL, lib.1, cap.11, f.40, and cf. lib.1, cap.1, f.6v). Sandoval considered the Cocoli to be 'Zape'. In 1664, Brother André de Faro said that the inhabitants of "the kingdoms" of Rio Nunez were called "Landomazes" (FARO, p.44/f.27). In 1665, a Spanish missionary referred to a kingdom in Sierra Leone as that of the "Coellas [i.e., Koya] and Cocolis", but this unique reference to Cocoli at Sierra Leone was most probably an error (ANGUIANO, pp.113, 119). In 1669, Coelho referred to the "Cocolins and Landimas who neighbour the country of the Rio Nunez" in the interior, with their kings Farim Cocolim and Farim Landima : the Cocoli traded with the Beafada. At Kakandi, three tides up, Capuchins lived and the English had a trading post (COELHO 1669, pp.56, ³⁹82/ff.47, 50, 72 ; 1684, p.206/f.41). Knowledge of the interior seems to have increased during the seventeenth century, but declined again in the eighteenth. English sources c.1800 stated that "the Nalloes, the Bagas and Lantemas" were the inhabitants of Rio Nunez, but had little to say about the latter (AFZELIUS, f.242v). In the 1820s, Caillié⁴ described the "Landamas and Nalous" of Rio Nunez (CAILLIÉ, ¹²⁷⁻²⁴⁰ pp.153-162). According to nineteenth and twentieth century sources, the Kokoli are the Northern section of the Landuma, and live today in tiny dispersed groups some 60-100 miles inland (■ TRESSAN, map 8; SURET-CANALE, p.67). The remaining Landuma, numbering probably

less than 20,000, live on the middle reaches of Rio Nunez ~~(Muniz)~~. It seems likely that the Landuma area was much larger in earlier centuries, and that the Kokoli extended to the middle Nunez. For further references, see HAIR (1967, pp. 47-8, 65; 1968, p. 63, n. 24). The Landuma have been little studied by ethnographers or linguists. Among the early sources, only Faro commented at any length (on arrow-poison and obsequies), but it is possible that he confused the Landuma and the Baga (FARO, p. 44/f. 27-27v).

13/6 Estes negros andam vestidos...calcões. The blacks dress...
drawers.

BAGA DRESS. Later Almada describes the dress of the Sape inhabitants of the Rio Pongas - the men wear cotton smocks and breeches, the women dress "in cloths" (14/3) ; but he fails to describe the dress of the Sapes further South. In the 1500s, Fernandes remarked that the peoples who neighboured Sierra Leone, apparently beginning at Rio Nunez on the North, had the same dress as the peoples of Sierra Leone : elsewhere he said that the inhabitants of the region South of Rio Grande "sometimes wore breeches of goatskins" (FERNANDES, ff. 125v, 127). According to Coelho in 1669, the Baga men wore "cloths down to the ankle", the Baga women two small leather pieces behind and before (COELHO 1669, p. 58/f. 49). In the 1780s, generalizing about the dress worn by males between Rio Nunez and Sierra Leone, an English source described it as "a loose shirt without a collar or waistband, and very wide sleeves, with drawers which reach about the middle of the leg" (MATTHEWS, pp. 109-110). But in the 1820s, Baga men were said to wear only a loincloth, and women only a strip of cloth between their legs (CAILLIE, pp. 162, 165). The picture is not clear. Perhaps fashions changed.

LANGUAGES. Almada later repeats that the Baga and the Sapes "understand each other" (13/12). What exactly was meant by "understand each other" is not clear; possibly in this case Almada only meant that they communicated through a lingua franca or third language. What is certain is that the languages today called Nalu, Baga and Landuma (i.e., Kokoli), are not today all inter-intelligible; and it is almost certain that the same was the case with the earlier forms of these languages in the sixteenth century. 'Baga' today connotes a number of languages, one of which, Baga Foré or Mbungulish, does not appear to be related to the others, but is very probably related to Nalu (SAPIR, pp. 50-1). The remaining Baga languages - four or five of them - are fairly closely related to each other, and also to Landuma, to the extent that it seems likely that in earlier centuries speakers of any of these would to a large extent "understand each other". But speakers of Nalu (and Baga Foré) and speakers of Baga-Landuma languages do not today, and most probably would not 400 years ago, "understand each other", to any useful extent. Thus, if Almada was attempting to describe inter-intelligibility, he was broadly right about Baga and 'Cocoli', but wrong to include Nalu. The Baga-Landuma languages form part of a wider related group, which includes Temne; today, speakers of Baga-Landuma-Temne languages would probably to some extent "understand each other", and the inter-intelligibility was probably greater ^{400 years} ~~four centuries~~ ago (and possibly comparable to the position of Portuguese and Spanish). Thus, when Almada asserted that the Baga, 'Cocolins', and 'Sapes' "understand each other", if by 'Sapes' he meant primarily Temne, and if he was talking about inter-intelligibility, he was almost certainly right. But when he included the Nalu he was wrong. Also, if he intended 'Sapes' to have the widest of the senses in which he used the term, then there can have been no total inter-intelligibility, and he was again wrong. But in the present context, it does look as if he used 'Sapes' to mean only the Temne, that is, the Temne he knew, the Scarcies Temne. The use of 'Sapes' in this limited sense fits the remark that the Baga-'Cocolin' and Sapes lived "far apart", whereas the remark is nonsense if the Baga-'Cocolin' are included in the 'Sapes'. The most charitable conclusion is that Almada's comment on these African languages can be understood to be informed and correct if interpreted in a particular way - provided that his reference to Nalu is excluded.

13/7 ...mais chegada ao mar.

...nearest the sea.

DYE-PLANT. The dye-producing plant on the Cape Verde Islands was the lichen, orchil. Export of the dye was of some importance in Atlantic commerce of the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and contributed to the relative prosperity of the Cape Verde Islands. For the history of the rise and decline of the industry and trade, see DUNCAN (chapters 8-9, especially pp.191-192). Attempts to identify, through the records of the High Court of Admiralty, the English privateer which in 1592 seized a caravel whose cargo included a barrel of dyestuff, have not yet been successful. But for English privateering c.1590 in general, and for English captures of a Portuguese vessel travelling from Guinea to America in 1592, and of another travelling from Santiago to Lisbon in 1595, see ANDREWS (Introduction and pp.189,328).

NUNEZ DYES Later Almada says that inferior dyestuffs were obtained in the neighbouring Rio da Furna (13/13); and earlier he described a different sort of dyestuff used by the Jalofo (2/3). The dyestuffs and dye-trade of Rio Nunez were not mentioned by the earliest sources, so may have developed during the sixteenth century. In 1582, the trade of the river was reported to be "only in cakes of dye, like pastel, which the ships carry as their cargo to Rio de São Domingos : the blacks use it to dye the black cloth which is used as currency in the other rivers of Guinea" (ANDRADE,p.106). Dornelas stated that the chief trade of the Baga was in dyes, which were sent to S.Domingos; while Father Barreira asserted that the Rio Nunez dyes were the best in Guinea, (DORNELAS,f.9v; BARREIRA,^{p.163}~~p.167~~) ^{and that} ~~In the 1600s, five~~ ^{In the 1600s, five} ships loaded dyes in Rio Nunez annually (~~CARREIRA 1968,p.36~~). In 1635 it was said that the dyes of Rio Nunez were sent to Cacheo and there used to barter for foodstuffs (CARVALHO,p.350). In the 1660s, Faro mentioned dyes, and Coelho said that each package of dyestuffs measured two palm-spans long by one wide, and that one ship carried 30,000 packages (FARO,p.44/f.27; COELHO 1669,p.60/f.50v). The English Royal African Company was interested in exporting dyestuffs and reported in 1688 that Rio Nunez "produceth nothing but the Indico weed" (KUP,p.93). Almada later says that the best dyestuff was brought from the interior (13/13): it was also brought to Rio Pongas and is discussed in a note (14/3). In the 1780s, the Nalu grew indigo and cotton and made fine coloured cloths (GOLBERRY,2,p.228). In 1796, a chief in the Rio Pongas who claimed Portuguese extraction gave the botanist Afzelius "the blue dyestuff which he called tinta" (i.e., the Portuguese term) : later, Afzelius saw in Susu country "the same dye stuff as in Rio Pongas and which they even use here for the same purpose, they call it Guaree" (AFZELIUS,ff.59,87v). The term appears to be Susu garé 'indigo dye'(LACAN), which may be applied to *Indigofera* spp, or to *Lonchocarpus cyanescens* 'Local indigo' (DEIGHTON). The latter plant has been reported from Rio Nunez : it is a "woody, climbing or straggling shrub" when uncultivated (HUTCHINSON and DALZIEL,I, p.523). The description might fit Almada's plant. The trade in dyes from Rio Nunez came to an end at the beginning of the present century (CARREIRA 1968,p.19). For accounts of indigo dyeing in other parts of West Africa today, see BOSER-SARIVAXEVANIS, and BARBOUR and SIMMONDS.

NUNEZ IVORY. For ivory in neighbouring rivers, see the notes to 13/1 and 14/1. In the 1500s, Pacheco Pereira noted that Rio Nunez had "much ivory", and Fernandes referred to the ivory-trade in the river and to ivory-carving in a wider region (the vernacular terms supplied may be Landuma or Temme, see HAIR 1967,p.52) (PACHECO PEREIRA,liv.1,cap.32,p.74; FERNANDES,ff.125,127). Dornelas^{and Barreira} gave ivory as one of the exports of Baga country (DORNELAS,f.9v^{; BARREIRA, p.104}); and the ivory trade on Rio Nunez was noted in 1635 (CARVALHO,p.350). The trade seems to have expanded during the seventeenth century, perhaps particularly after the English established a trading post there in the early 1660s (for reference to English trade after 1680, see KUP, pp.51,93,98,105). In 1664, Brother André de Faro, who travelled from Rio Nunez on an English ship, mentioned the trade in ivory and reckoned that every day one elephant was killed on the river or in the interior (FARO,pp.44-6/ff.27v-28v). In 1669, Coelho stated that little ivory came from the lower river but much from the interior, that it was the best ivory in Guinea, and that the English exported 300 quintals (15 tons) annually (COELHO 1669, pp.58-9/ff.48,50). Almada later states that the caravans from the interior, which had previously come to Rio Pongas, after the Mane attack on the Susu (c.1560) came to the Rio Nunez and Rio da Furna (15/3, 18/8) : these caravans probably brought ivory from the deep interior. In the 1680s, the French were buying ivory on the Rio Nunez from Fula (CULTRU,p.254). For a description of a Fula trader exchanging ivory for salt on the coast, see WINTERBOTTOM (p.171). In the 1780s, ivory was still obtainable in Rio Nunez "in considerable quantities" (MATTHEWS,p.11, cf.GOLBERRY,2,p.228). In 1830,it was reported that parties of Fula still came regularly down Rio Nunez, to exchange ivory and other goods for salt and beads (which they head-loaded back in 60 lb.bales) (BELCHER,p.283).

13/9 ...irem chatinar;

...to bargain with them.

In modern Portuguese the term 'chatinar' means 'to deal crookedly', but in the sixteenth century, when the term was derived from an Indian language, there was no imputation of dishonesty. Describing a caste of merchants in Malabar, Barros wrote : "These chatins have a genius for trade and are so sharp in their dealings that our people ...use the term 'chatinar' to mean 'to haggle' "

(BARROS

13/9 ...que eles possam matar.

...have been able to kill.

BAGA HEAD-HUNTING. Almada later says that the Baga of Rio da Furna behave in the same way (13/14), and a reference to "contests with the heads of the dead" among the Sape may refer to the Baga (14/6). A very similar account of Baga treachery and head-hunting was given by DORNELAS (ff.9v-10); and another contemporary source called the Baga "cowards" (SANDOVAL, lib.1, cap.11, p.40). But a few decades later Coelho said that the Baga were brave, and that alone among the blacks of Guinea they never used treachery but always gave their enemies warning of coming attacks (COELHO 1669, p.58/f.48v) ! In 1796 an English slave trader complained that the inhabitants of Rio Nunez, the Nalu, Baga and Landuma, were "always armed with swords or commonly secret knives which they are ready to use at the least offence. They are so impertinent that they come to the table, take wine and drink it out. And if they are not permitted they will attack you openly..." (AFZELIUS, f.241v). An account of the Baga in the 1820s did not mention head-hunting (CAILLIÉ, pp. ²⁴¹⁻²⁴²162-7).

13/10 O principal trato... búzio grosso. The chief trade of the land
....cowries.

NUNEZ IMPORTS. Almada's list may be compared with the imports reported in the 1660s : "cloths, especially cotton cloth from the Cape Verde Islands, some iron, all the products brought by foreigners, salt intended for the Susu, and cowries which are used all over Guinea but especially here" (COELHO 1669,p.60/f.50). In Almada's day, the dried goatmeat and the salt came from the Cape Verde Islands (BARREIRA,f.1v. ; DUNCAN,pp.169-171,184-190).

13/9 Suas armas...de um palmo. Their weapons...hand-span across.

BAGA WEAPONS. According to Coelho, the Baga used "very large iron spears with a short handle", and in the interior, the Kokoli, Landuma and Susu used poisoned arrows (COELHO 1669,pp.58-9/ff.48v-49,50). A contemporary described the arrow-poison of the Landuma (FARO,p.44/f.27). In the early nineteenth century, the Baga had large shields of elephant hide (CAILLIÉ,p.²⁴⁷/66).

NUNEZ GOLD AND SILVER. Almada concluded that small quantities of these metals came from Baga country. The search for gold was of course a recurrent theme in Portuguese accounts (cf. RODNEY, pp. 152-4). In the 1500s, Fernandes mentioned gold as one of the products of the region; but Pacheco Pereira said it was only available in small quantities and was exchanged for "cornalines, yellow and green beads, tin, kerchiefs, brass bracelets, red cloth and barbers' basins" (FERNANDES, f.125v; PACHECO PEREIRA, lib. 1, cap.32, p.76). Dornelas^{and Garreira} asserted that the gold obtained in Baga country came from the Susu in the interior (DORNELAS, f.9v^{; GARREIRA, p.169}); and Almada later speaks of this Susu gold (13/13). In the 1660s, Coelho referred to ambergris in Rio Nunez, but not to gold (COELHO 1669, p.58/f.49). In the 1680s, the French brought gold from the Fula of Rio Nunez; and a century later, a French source spoke of obtaining in this river "a little gold from streams" (CULTRU, p.254; GOLBERRY, 2, p.228). ~~But English sources of the late eighteenth century, and later sources in general, have nothing to report about gold (or silver) in this coastal region, either local or obtained from the interior.~~ In 1830, it was reported that the commodities brought to Rio Nunez by the Fula of the interior included gold, in rings weighing from one to ten ounces each (BELCHER, p.283).

NUNEZ SLAVES. According to Almada, the slave trade on the coast between Rio Balola and Cape Verga was of very limited extent. The Nalu sold slaves only via the Beafada (13/1, 13/5), while the Baga only bought slaves (although in the previous paragraph Almada stated that the Portuguese "up to the present time have not attempted to gain from this land commodities other than slaves"). Dornelas said there was no direct trade by sea, but tangomaus brought out some slaves, wax and ivory (DORNELAS,f.35v). However, in the 1500s Pacheco Pereira said that there was "much trade in slaves"; and Fernandes, apparently discussing the same region, gave exchange rates for a slave, prices having doubled over an unstated period of time (PACHECO PEREIRA,liv.1,cap.32,p.76 ; FERNANDES,f.125v). In 1627, Sandoval stated that there was often great trade in slaves up-river, with the rulers of the Landuma and Kokoli (SANDOVAL,lib.1,cap.11, p.40). In the 1660s, Faro included slaves among the exports of Rio Nunez; and Coelho stated that many slaves were obtained from the islands in the river (FARO,p.44/f.27; COELHO 1669,p.59/f.49). In the 1680s, the French obtained large numbers of slaves from the Fula (CULTRU,p.254). Nalu slaves were recorded in Mexico at the end of the sixteenth century, also 'Zape', but apparently not Baga specifically (BELTRAN,p.116/298). In the 1780s, it was said that the Nunez was "formerly a place of great trade for slaves and ivory, but the slave merchants now take a different route" (MATTHEWS,p.11). In 1797, it was reported that "the Bagos who inhabit the country along the sea coast between the Rio Pongas and Rio Nunez do not sell slaves. They employ themselves in making salt with which they buy ivory from the Foulahs and goods from the traders in the Rio Nunez. When one of their own numbers is sold, they take the utmost pains to recover him, but with their salt as produce, not with slaves" (~~Macaulay Papers~~, MACAULAY, journal-entry for 9.8.1797, and cf.AFZELIUS f.2/26v). Almada's assertion that in his day the Baga bought slaves is puzzling, since it does not seem that they had any extensive employment for them ; perhaps they only bought them as domestic slaves.

13/12 Os mantimentos...vinho das palmeiras. The foodstuffs...palmtrees.

NUNEZ FOOD. In the 1500s, Pacheco Pereira described the foodstuffs of the coast between Rio Grande and Cape Verga as "rice, milho, and other food-producing plants, as well as meat and fish in abundance" (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.32, p.76 ; cf. FERNANDES, f.125v). In 1625, Dornelas said that the food of the Baga was "rice, funde, mangrove (cured), fish, oysters, palmwine and other fruits and vegetables, in large quantities" (DORNELAS, f.10). At about the same date, Sandoval stated that the Baga were "great raisers of hens, which they eat themselves and which supply provisions for ships going up the river" (SANDOVAL, lib.1, cap.11, f.40). In the 1780s the Baga of Rio Nunez were said to "raise vast quantities of poultry" (MATTHEWS, p.12); and the Baga of Rio Kappatchez raised fowls and stock (GOLBERRY, 2, p.241).

13/13 Putazes...e armas de frechas. ... and for bows and arrows.

PUTAZE CARAVANS. The caravans of Putazes are mentioned again in the next chapter, in relation to Rio Pongo : see the note to 14/3.

RIO DA FURNA. The Rio da Furna was mentioned in the 1500s by Fernandes (FERNANDES,f.127), and the name appeared on maps until the eighteenth century. But it was not regularly or exactly recorded (it is not in FIGUEIREDO, for instance), no doubt because the coast between Rio Nunez and Cape Verga was not ~~regularly~~ commonly visited by the Portuguese, as Coelho explained (COELHO 1669,pp.60-1/f.51). In his later text, Coelho added that the river known on this coast was called the Rio do Cabo da Verga (COELHO 1684,p210/f.42); and Almada later states that the river is "near" Cape Verga. If the reference to Cape Verga is to be understood in a strict sense, the nearest stream to the North is the small Kumba River; but it is more likely that the Kappa~~chez~~ River, further North was the one intended (cf.FERNANDES,p.169,n.160). The name 'Kappa~~chez~~' appears to have been introduced by the English in the eighteenth century (cf.MATTHEWS,p.12 'Cappatches').

13/13 arroz...donde o não ha.

rice...where they have none.

NÚNEZ RICE. Almada mentions the cultivation of rice at almost every point on the Upper Guinea coast he discusses (2/2,3/8,5/5,6/3,9/6,10/6,12/4,15/8,16/12,17/5). In the 1500s, Fernandes similarly recorded wide cultivation of rice, and noted the season of sewing at two points (FERNANDES,ff.114v,137v). Pacheco Pereira, who failed to record rice North of Rio Grande, included it among the foodstuffs of the coast between Rio Balola and Cape Verga (PACHECO PEREIRA,liv.1,cap.32,p.76). In the 1660s, Coelho stated that the rice carried away from Rio Nunez was taken to the islands at the mouth of Rio Pongo, where it was exchanged for salt, because the islands had no foodstuffs of their own (COELHO¹⁶⁶⁹,pp.58,61/ff.49,52). Rice cultivation between Rio Nunez and Rio Pongo was noted towards the end of the eighteenth century (MATTHEWS,pp.12-13; GOLBERRY,2,p.228; AFZELIUS,ff.138,141v). According to one of these sources, "about the Rioponges, they have three rice harvests in the year ; one crop from the hills, and two from the plains which they overflow [i.e.,flood]" (MATTHEWS,p.56). Rodney links the export of rice from Rio Nunez with the cultivation of swamp rice (RODNEY,pp.21-2). For a detailed description of rice cultivation among the modern Baga of Rio Nunez, see PAULME 1957.

NUNEZ SALT. Salines on the estuary of the Senegal River were recorded as providing salt for West Africa as early as the tenth century (LEWICKI, p.). It seems likely that there was a salt-industry and a salt-trade on other parts of the Guinea coast from pre-European times. In the 1500s, Pacheco Pereira referred to the exchange of salt for gold by the Bullom South of Sierra Leone; and Fernandes referred to the exchange of salt, rice and slaves for gold in the region of the Rio Grande (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.33, p.82; FERNANDES, f.124). Almada describes salt-making on the Gambia River (6/11), as well as among the Baga, and generally among the Sape (15/6). Dornelas also referred to salt-making, by boiling, among the Baga (DORNELAS, f.9v and note); a later seventeenth century source merely stated that salt could be obtained in Rio Nunez (COELHO 1669, p.58/f.49). Around Cape Mount in the early seventeenth century, salt was made "not by drying in pans in the sun, but by boiling in kettles or basins with great labour" (DAPPER, p.412/42). Salt-making among the Baga was again noted in the 1780s and 1820s (MATTHEWS, p.12 ; GOLBERRY, 2, p.241; ^{MACAULAY} ~~Macaulay Papers~~, journal entry for 9.8.1797 quoted in previous note; CAILLIE, p.^{242/}163). According to late eighteenth century sources, the process on the coasts North and South of Sierra Leone involved not the direct boiling of sea water, but the boiling of a solution containing the crust of salt deposited by the tides (MATTHEWS, p.37, cf. RODNEY, p.18 ; and a better account in BM Add. 12,131, "Watt's journal of his visit to Furry Canaba's", ff.63v-64). Baga women make salt today by this method (PAULME 1957, p.274).

OATHS AND ORDEALS. Although judicial trials among the Sapes are later described (14/6), Almada does not refer again to Sape oaths and ordeals. He earlier described oaths and ordeals among the Wolof (3/4), Casanga (8/6), Banyun and Brame (9/16,9/18,9/31) and Biafada (11/6,12/12). Ordeals among the inhabitants of Sierra Leone, especially the 'red-water' ordeal, were described in detail by **ÁLVARES** (ff.59-60), and by many later writers (e.g., **OWEN**,p.55; **MATTHEWS**,pp.125-6,129-30,133-5; **WINTERBOTTOM**, pp.129-133 ; **AFZELIUS**,ff.69-97,244v-251v - 'also very common in Rio Pongas'). For ordeals among the modern Temne, see **THOMAS** (pp.81-2).

RIO PONGAS TOPONYMY. 'Rio de Pichel' (Tankard River), appearing first on the Benincasa map of 1468, was probably the earliest European name for Rio Pongas. That the river was little known to the Portuguese during the first century of European contact is suggested by the failure of the early roteiros to mention it, though Rio Nunez was noted, and by the fact that Pacheco Pereira wrongly located it North of Rio Nunez (PERES 1952, pp.10,53-4 ; PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.32, p.74, cf. FERNANDES, pp.169-170, note 161). The name 'Rio das Pedras' (River of Stones) appeared first on Canerio's world map of 1502 (STEVENSON), and was recorded, together with the older name 'Rio de Pichel', by FERNANDES (f.127). Possibly in the 1500s the two names denoted different mouths of the Rio Pongas ; but by the later sixteenth century the earlier name was disappearing. A century later, 'Rio das Pedras' was itself in turn disappearing. In the 1660s, the missionary Faro referred to the 'Rios de Deponga', and Coelho referred to the 'Rio da Depomga' and to a village of Depomga, from which perhaps the river took its name (FARO, p.116/f.87v ; COELHO 1669, p.61/f.51v). In 1678, the English called the river 'Rio D'Punga', and in 1684 an English map gave the form 'Pongo' which/^{since}the eighteenth century has alternated with the variant 'Pongas' (KUP, p.98 ; Fitzhugh map). Navigation into the river was first detailed by FIGUEIREDO (f.46v). The 'Barra de Seaca', 'Barra de Sumpama' and 'Barra de Gazellas' recorded on two pre-1700 maps appear to have been mouths of the river, later known as 'Sand Bar' and 'Mud Bar' (COSTA, p.797, map, said to be from the end of the sixteenth century; Fitzhugh map, 1684). The etymology of Deponga/Pongo/Pongas does not seem to be known, but the toponym almost certainly derives from an African term, though there may have been some assimilation to Spanish pongo 'I put'. One Susu name for the river, Ra-Ponka (LACAN) may derive from the European term, since another Susu name, Bangalan, has an (alleged) Susu etymology (SAINT-PERE, p.29). Alternatively, it may derive from a Baga term : all the true Baga languages have a nominal prefix da- , and this might explain 'Deponga' as well as 'Ra-Ponka'.

14/1 ...ilhas...dos Cagaçaes.

...the Islands of Cagaçaes.

CAGACAES. From the Portuguese vulgar cagar, 'to cack, defecate'. When English seventeenth century sailors called another group of West African islands 'The Shitten Islands', the name referred to the whitening of rocks by bird-droppings; but in this case, the reference was presumably to the muddy terrain. Almada is the earliest source to record the toponym. The reference in the account of the 1592 voyage by LE BLANC (p.31, 'Cagasia') is suspect: the account was not published till 1649, and some of the material is taken from Du Jarric (1614). The name continued to appear in texts and on maps up to the eighteenth century. A roteiro of 1635 referred to ivory from the islands and from a 'Porto Cagaçais' (CARVALHO, ff.200v, 197v, pp.99, 101). The coastline around Rio Pongas has been described as follows: "Larges estuaires encombrés d'ilôts, plaines vaseuses, visqueuses, où l'on enfonce jusqu'au genou lorsqu'elles ne sont pas recouvertes à perte de vue par les tristes palétuviers, la Basse Côte mérite son nom. C'est le paradis des moustiques et crabes" (PAULME 1956, p.98).

14/1 ...se entendem e comunicam.

...understand each other and
communicate.

SAPES, TAGUNCHOS, BAGA. These two elliptic sentences were perhaps intended to convey the sense of there being three coastal peoples South of Cape Verga, the Baga, the Tagunchos, and the Sape proper (i.e., the Temne), in that order. Note the reference to 'kingdoms' of the Sapes; also, that the Baga are again treated as non-Sape. For fuller discussion of 'Sapes', see the note to 15/6.

AMBERGRIS. Ambergris, a wax-like substance voided by sperm-whales and found floating in tropical seas or on beaches, and used in perfumes, was earlier mentioned by Almada as a product of the Jalofo coast (2/8,2/13) and of the Bissagos Islands (10/6), and later he includes it among the products of Sierra Leone (19/1). It does not appear to have been noted in West Africa by earlier sources. Dornelas mentioned it only in relation to Rio Balola (DORNELAS,f.35). In 1606, Barreira noted that ambergris was occasionally found on the beaches of the Cape Verde Islands (BARREIRA,p.162): and other Portuguese sources c.1606 refer to ambergris found on the Bissagos Islands and along the coast of the Sierra Leone region (BRÁSIO,2nd ser.,4,pp.217,277). In the 1660s, Coelho stated that ambergris was obtained on islands in the Rio Nunez and was sold by the Portuguese to the English; and also on Tamara or Amber Island (probably Matacong Island, see the note to 15/9). At the latter place, "fifty years ago" a Portuguese made a fortune by buying a canoe-load of ambergris from the unappreciative African inhabitants (but lost it again by extravagant living, pretending to be a marquis and losing at cards to the English) (COELHO 1669,pp.58,69/ff.49,59). Ambergris was bought at Sierra Leone in the 1660s and 1680s (VILLAULT,p.49 ; BARBOT,p.102). References to it in later sources are uncommon.

...the blacks of the land sell.

PONGAS TRADE Early sixteenth century sources had nothing to say about trade in the Rio Pongas, which may have only developed as a result of the activities of the Portuguese mentioned by Almada in the next paragraph. However, in early 1564 a Portuguese contract vessel was seized in the river by John Hawkins : the episode was not mentioned in the English account, but according to the official Portuguese complaint, the ship contained ivory, wax, gold and some 200 slaves (HAKLUYT, pp.525-6; PRO, S.P.70, vol.99, ff.10v, 15v, 34-34v - for the context, see HAIR 1970). Dornelas and the Jesuit missionaries failed to mention Rio Pongas, though Dornelas noted that the Baga near Cape Verga traded in dyes, slaves, rice, wax, ivory, cola and gold from the Susu (DORNELAS, f.9v). In 1635, a roteiro stated that ivory, cola, gold and slaves could be obtained at "the port of the Cagaçais" (CARVALHO, ff.200v, 199v). In the 1660s, Coelho, while admitting that he had not himself visited the coast between Rio Nunez and the Iles de Los, nevertheless described the trade in Rio Pongas in some detail. At the village of Depomga, there was much trade in ivory and white cloth, and a little gold, all from the interior : the Susu "carry the ivory three or four days' journey, charging little for the carriage, and they also carry the white man on their backs for the same period, making use of a neat device which causes him no inconvenience" (COELHO 1669, pp.61, 63/ff.51v, 53v). But in 1723, Rio Pongas was said to yield "only negroes and a few teeth" (RODNEY, p.168). It would seem that before the later eighteenth century trade was less intense on Rio Pongas than it was on Rio Nunez. In the 1780s, slaves and ivory were brought down this river by "black merchants" (MATTHEWS, p.14; cf. GOLBERRY², p.241). Although Almada's wording is ambiguous, it would seem more likely that the products bought on the islands came from the interior, rather than from the islands themselves.

RIO PONGAS PORTUGUESE. A toponym on a late sixteenth century Portuguese map of the 'Rivers of Guinea' records the name of Bento Correia (COSTA, p.797, map, 'Barra (?) de Bento Correa'). It is curious that such a large settlement of Portuguese should have been overlooked, or at least ignored, by the Jesuit missionaries of the 1600s. In the 1660s, the Capuchin missionary André de Faro visited a church built by whites in the Rio Pongas, and Coelho stated there was a church in the settlement of whites in the village of Depomga (FARO, p.116/f.87v; COELHO 1669, p.61/f.51v). By the 1780s, the settlement and the church had disappeared, but on the lower river "the principal people call themselves Portuguese, claiming their descent from the colonists of that nation who were formerly settled here, though they do not retain the smallest trace of European extraction...They also profess the Roman Catholic religion; and are visited once or twice a year by a priest from the Portuguese settlement at Bassou...yet the most enlightened of them are merely nominal Christians" (MATTHEWS, pp.13-14). One of these, ~~was~~ ^{AFZELIUS} Emmanuel Gomez, a Black, son of Emmanuel Gomez, a native of the Rio Pongas, and of some consequence as Head Man of his Town, was educated in England" (cited from a 1789 official paper in ~~Afzelius~~ ^{AFZELIUS}, p.159, note to 31v; and cf. f.59v).

PUTAZES, SUSU. As in 13/13, Almada links the Susu and 'Putazes' and later he refers to "another nation of blacks called Souzos and Putazes" (15/6) ; but he offers no explanation of the term 'Putazes'. Dornelas referred separately to Farim Soso, whose "name is Farim Concho" and who ruled over "the Conchos, Sozos and other nations"; and to Farim Caputa who ruled over the hinterland of the Baga (DORNELAS, f.16_r). The latter may have been the same as the 'Farim Puta' mentioned by Álvares, who had this name because he belonged to "the Putazes who are more or less Sousos". He was the Susu king who routed the Mane, and he was under Farim Concho, ruler of all the Souzos. Elsewhere Alvares described the Susu facing the Mane as "Sousos and Putases" (ÁLVARES, ff.88v,133v). The term 'Putazes' does not appear in later sources. These Portuguese references are vague and to some extent ambiguous, but taken together they suggest that the 'Putazes' were a section of the Susu. The etymology of the term 'Putá' is not known (the suggestion in HAIR 1967, p.255, that it derives from 'Futa' is unconvincing), but 'Putá' could easily give rise to 'Caputa' in any of the Mel languages (i.e., especially Temne, Bullom or one of the Baga languages) by the addition of the common prefix ka- : this may indicate that Dornelas collected his information from a Mel language speaker. The ethnonym 'Susu' was first recorded in the 1500s by Pacheco Pereira, who said that this people lived 15-25 leagues inland from Sierra Leone (he also said that they came to trade on the Gold Coast, but this was presumably a mistake, and he meant the Manding). But he also mentioned the 'Jaalungua' who lived in the interior, South of Rio Grande, near the Kokoli, and had a king Jalonmansa (Manding mansa 'king') : the district probably was the one known, perhaps only after Fula immigration, as Futa Jalon, and the 'Jaalunga' may well also have been Susu, particularly since a section of the Susu living in more recent centuries to the South of Futa Jalon have been known as Yalunka (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.32, p.76 ; cap.33, p.84; liv.2, cap.5, p.124). In view of statements made in the late eighteenth century to the effect that the Susu had only recently moved into the Rio Pongas district (AFZELIUS, f.2/20v, "they lived formerly more to the South" ; WINTERBOTTOM, p.5), it is noteworthy that Almada describes the Susu as "bordering the Baga in the hinterland" (13/13) ; and that in the 1660s, Coelho said that the Susu were above and

beyond the Landuma and Kokoli who neighboured Rio Nunez country, and stretched from Rio Nunez to Sierra Leone (COELHO 1669, pp.59, 88/ff.50,76v). Thus, while the Susu may have moved down Rio Pongas towards the sea, it is doubtful whether they have moved North in recent centuries. Before the late eighteenth century, they were not well known to Europeans, presumably because the attractions of coastal trade had not yet drawn them to form settlements on an otherwise unattractive coastline, among thinly-scattered Mel-language-speaking peoples. The most intense recorded contact with the Susu by Europeans before 1750 was Father Barreira's 1607 visit to the kingdom of Bena (apparently on the upper Melakuri and Forekaria rivers, see the map in HOUIS 1963). This was reported in GUERREIRO (1611, liv.4, caps.2-3, ff.223-231), and hence, ^{via} through Du Jarric's translation, the Jesuit account supplied virtually all the information on the Susu in the compilations of the next one hundred and fifty years, by Davity, Dapper and Barbot. The relationship between the Susu language and other Mande languages, especially Manding, was only discovered in the nineteenth century. Sandoval's statement that Susu "es la casta de los Mandingos corrupta en Zozo", whatever its exact meaning, can hardly refer to the linguistic connection (as suggested in HAIR 1965, p.45 : SANDOVAL, lib.1, cap.11, f.40).

PONGAS SALT. Almada does not state where the salt was produced or how it reached Rio Pongas. But Father Barreira, travelling to Sierra Leone in 1606, put into a port North of the Iles de Los, called Pogomo; and there met a Greek trader who "was loading up with salt, which the people in this place make artificially by means of fire, and which is worth much in these parts" (GUEIRREIRO, 1607, liv. 4, cap. 8, f. 149-149v). 'Pogomo' was later regularly given as the name of a river, not Rio Pongas but most probably the Dubreka River (cf. FIGUEIREDO, f. 47v), sixty miles to the South. Salt-making in this district (along the 'Dymby' and 'Dania' rivers, i.e., the Brameia and Dubreka rivers) was noted in the later eighteenth century (GOLBERRY², p. 242). Salt-making to the North of Rio Pongas, and generally among the Baga, is discussed in a note to 13/13. Thus, salt was made along the whole coast. In the 1660s, Coelho stated that the salt which was sold to the caravans arriving at the lower Rio Pongas came from two sources: some was locally-produced, on the islands in the Pongas 'delta', the remainder was imported from Cacheo (COELHO 1669, p. 61/f. 52). A Dutch source c. 1620 described part of the Portuguese coastal trade in imported salt: Santiago traders loaded their small vessels with salt from the deposits on Maio and Sal islands, at no expense, and traded it in Sierra Leone for gold, ivory and cola, which in turn they exchanged for slaves on the coast North of Rio Jeba (RUITERS, pp. 281-282/55-6). No doubt the trade to Rio Pongas in imported salt was conducted on similar lines. In the 1780s, it was said that "the natives of the sea coast will not permit the import of salt in European vessels, because it would interfere with the only article of their own manufacture which they have for inland trade" (MATTHEWS, p. 146). Writing two centuries earlier, Almada stresses the role of salt in the trade with the interior conducted on this section of the coast (13/3, 15/6). He previously notes the demand for salt among the Fula of Senegal (1/23), and the trade in salt from the Gambia (7/11); and he later asserts that some nations in the interior never see salt (15/6). Dornelas noted the Susu import of salt; and Father Álvares listed salt first among Susu imports (DORNELAS, f. 30v; ÁLVARES, f. 133v). Coelho gave salt as the only product sought in this district by the 'Jagancazes' from the interior (COELHO 1669, p. 61/f. 52). In the late eighteenth century, salt was one of the main

commodities carried up-country in Fula caravans. It was exchanged for an equal measure of rice on Rio Pongas, and was carried by the Fula either in "small bundles surrounded by many imbricated leaves" or in very large baskets carried on the back (AFZELIUS, ff.2/19v, 2/40, 2/94, 2/104; WINTERBOTTOM, pp.8, 171, the latter reference based on RHO Watt's Journal, entry for 7.2.1794, Rio Nunez; also cf. CAILLIÉ, p.171).

For the argument that "salt was the most important item fostering contacts between the littoral and the hinterland", see RODNEY (pp.18-20).

14/3 ...panos...

...cloths...

CLOTH. Almada earlier refers to "white cotton cloth" brought by the Susu/Putazes (13/13); and Dornelas referred to Susu export of cloth (DORNELAS, f.30v). Álvares stated that the white cloth which the Susu traded, pieces of which were called cates, was made by the Susu themselves, that is, by their women (ÁLVARES, f.133-133v). In the 1660s, Coelho said that white cloths called cates were traded in Rio Pongas (COELHO 1669, p.61/f.52). For a reference to cates later, in 1699, see CARREIRA (1968, p.38). The nearest term in Susu appears to be kha-sé 'bleached cloth' (LACAN) : the Manding derivation suggested by Carreira is unconvincing (CARREIRA 1968, p.86).

14/3 ...traziam dos Fulos,

...obtained from the Fulos,...

FULA CLOTH. Almada later says again that the Fula export cloth to the coast (15/6).

14/3 ...da Serra Leoa pera o sul;

...from Serra Leoa to the South;

COASTAL DYE TRADE. Almada appears to be stating that Portuguese and African traders carried the maroque by sea from Rio Pongas to the rivers of the Sherbro Island district. Presumably it was not carried by sea to Sierra Leone and further North because it could more easily reach there by land, direct from Susuland. The use in the Sherbro Island district of a dye brought from so far away does not seem to be elsewhere recorded. (In the 1680s, the English were attempting to set up indigo plantations in York Island, off Sherbro Island, DAVIES, p.221). Of the three potanymys, 'Bagarabomba' and 'Toto' are given later, in a list of rivers of the coast (15/8). Though the rivers are not exactly located, the position of the two on the list suggests that they lie South of Sierra Leone. For discussion of the identity of the three rivers, see the note to 15/8.

14/3 ...pela lingua da terra maroque;

...in the language of the land,
maroque;

DYES. Earlier Almada stated that the dyestuffs produced on Rio Nunez and Rio da Furna were not as good as those brought by the Susu from the interior (13/13). In 1627, Sandoval referred to trade up the Rio Nunez with the Susu in "dyes like indigo, the chief trade of the land" (SANDOVAL, lib.1, cap.11, f.40). The 'grass' or dye-plant called maroque which came from the interior was presumably different from the dye-plants of the coast (which were probably *Indigofera* spp. or *Lonchocarpus cyanescens*, see note to 13/8). The term has not been identified in Susu: it may have been a coastal name, but though the prefix ma- indicates in Temne the fruit, seed or liquid products of plants, the term does not appear to be Temne (DEIGHTON).

CARAVAN TRADE. Earlier Almada states that the Susu or 'Putazes' arrive "in caravans of 1,000 or 2,000 men" (13/13). Here he adds that the Putazes formerly came to Rio Pongas, but shifted to Rio Nunez, further North, because of their fear of the Mane (who were advancing Northwards from Sierra Leone). However, when discussing Sierra Leone later, he states - "these Souzos had abandoned the trade which they formerly carried on in this land and had made their way to Rio Nuno [because of the Mane]; but now they have returned to undertake trade in the land, since these Manes are now like natives..." (18/18). On the same argument, one would have expected the caravans to have returned to Rio Pongas by the time Almada wrote. Whether the Susu caravan trade was with Sierra Leone proper (i.e., the peninsula and river) is open to doubt : since there is no other evidence that Susu caravans penetrated so far South, it is possible that Almada was using the toponym in its most general sense, and was perhaps referring to Susu trade with the Scarcies Rivers. Dornelas, who obtained his information from a tangomao who lived on Rio Nunez, stated that the Susu came from the hinterland to this river "to buy salt, cola and other goods in exchange for gold and cloths" (DORNELAS, f.30v). Álvares mentioned Susu who came to the Kingdom of Caiambre, probably on the Scarcies, for salt and cola (ÁLVARES, f.87v). In the 1660s, Coelho reported that the caravans which came to Rio Pongas for salt belonged to the 'Jagancazes' from the kingdom of Mandimansa, and that they also went to the Jalofo coast and to the Gambia ; but he also said that ivory was brought from the land of the Susu in caravans, because of the dangers of attack from Fula bandits (COELHO 1669, pp.8,12,23-4, 59,61/ff.6,9-9v,19,50,52). For the 'Jagancaze' or Diakhaké, a trading section of the eastern Manding, see CURTIN(1971). In the 1780s, Matthews termed those who brought slaves and ivory, and also cattle, goats and sheep, down the Rio Pongas merely "black merchants" (MATTHEWS, p.14). But a decade later, English sources spoke of long-distance trade from the interior down all the rivers between Rio Nunez and the Scarcies Rivers as if it were entirely in the hands of the Fula (AFZELIUS, ff.238,2/19v,2/39v-42v,2/67v-68,2/94,2/104-104v,2/125 ; WINTERBOTTOM, pp.170-171). If the Susu were really superseded in this trade, it was presumably due to the Fula conquest of the Futa Jalon (RODNEY 1968).

14/4 ...se resgate algum ouro.

...some trade in gold.

GOLD AND OTHER PONGAS TRADE. Almada elsewhere refers to gold being brought to the coast by caravans (13/3,15/6) ; and he says they bring bows and arrows (13/3) as well as cloth and clothing, and dyes. Dornelas stated that the Susu obtained gold from a white people far inland (DORNELAS,ff.9v,30v). Barreira referred to Susu gold : Álvares said that it came to the Susu through the Fula and Mandinga, and added that the Susu exports were ivory, cows, goats, slaves and rice (BARREIRA, ^{p. 169} ~~f. 2v~~; ÁLVARES, f.133). In the 1660s, Coelho said that the 'Jagamcazes' brought gold to Rio Pongas from the interior (COELHO 1669, p.61/f.52). For the gold trade on Rio Nunez, see the note to 13/11. The gold which reached the coast probably came from the Upper Niger region, and the Susu were therefore only middlemen.

14/4 ...vestidas com seus panos.

...dressed in local cloths.

PONGAS DRESS AND WEAPONS. In the shorter version of Almada, this statement about dress appears in a chapter on Sierra Leone (Appendix III,9/7), and seems therefore to relate to the Sape in general, and not merely to the Baga of Rio Pongas. Hence it is discussed later, in a note to 15/17. For Baga dress, see the note to 13/6. Baga weapons were described in more detail in 13/9 : apart from spears, swords, and bows and arrows, the Baga carried wood and reed shields.

14/4 ...bacias de latão e sal.

...brass basins and salt.

PONGAS IMPORTS. The list of trade-goods suitable for the Rio Pongas may be compared with that given by Coelho eighty years later : salt, iron, "and all English goods, especially coral, daggers, hats, pots and kettles of white metal, horses' tails, little bells and hand-bells, and cowries" (COELHO 1669, p.62/f.52).

takes it away.

SAPE HOSPITALITY. The substance of this paragraph appears in the shorter text (Appendix III), in 9/11. The shorter text makes it clear that the customs described here and in the rest of this chapter are those of the Sapes. Almada has thus moved on from a description of Rio Pongas to comments on the Sapes. As defined at the beginning of the chapter (14/1), and later (15/6), the Sapes are all the inhabitants of the coast from Rio Pongas to Sierra Leone. Nevertheless, it would seem that 'Sapes' is not always used in this wide sense, and that what is said about Sape customs in this chapter refers primarily to the Temne, particularly the Temne of the Scarcies Rivers, who were the people of the coast best known to the Portuguese. That hospitality to a white man in Sierra Leone extended to the loan of a wife, who would be both servant and concubine, greatly impressed Europeans. Dornelas stated that 'these wives are called cabondos' (DORNELAS, f.14). Álvares, as a celibate missionary, condemned the "abominable custom of these infernal cabondos", but repeated Almada's point, that the guest who refused a cabondo and then pursued another woman of his host's household would be severely punished (ÁLVARES, f.62). The custom might be considered more realistic than generous, though Coelho reported an incident when a Portuguese demanded, and eventually received, a king's favourite wife (COELHO 1669, p.67/ff.57v-58v). The term cabondo cannot be identified in modern Temne, but it is just possible that there is some connection with Bundu, the female initiation society: thus, the chief's wife responsible for ceremonies relating to the initiation of girls is termed saj-kabondo 'mouth of Bundu' (Turay). As regards the children born as a result of these arrangements, it is normal in traditional Black Africa for all children of a woman, whatever their biological paternity, to belong to the legal husband. "Because marriage is regarded as primarily an institution for procreation, arrangements are often allowed for the introduction of a 'proxy father' to beget children who will be accounted the legal issue of an impotent husband" and in certain other cases - though none of the modern instances seems to include hospitality rites (PHILLIPS, p.3). Offering wives to guests is of course known in other cultures, e.g., among the Eskimo. That children begotten by white visitors were, however, not regarded as welcome additions to a household is significant. Perhaps they were

considered potential troublemakers when they grew up. Or perhaps the Portuguese showed interest in their children, and the Africans considered it expedient to accommodate this interest. Sexual relations between white sailors, traders, etc., and African women over five centuries have produced a certain amount of miscegenation among the peoples of the West African coast, as is sometimes shown in their physical characteristics; but the relations were not always conducted in the ordered way described by Almada. Thus a list of useful phrases in African languages supplied in a seventeenth century source included the terse statement - "I would sleep with a Girl" (ASTLEY, 2, p. 295).

SAPES. The Sapes, whose customs are now being described, are later said to consist of eight "nations" of peoples (15/6), but of these only the Temne and the Bullom of Sierra Leone, and perhaps the Baga of Rio Nunez-Rio Pongas, were at all well-known to the Portuguese. As noted previously, Almada's account of the Sapes seems to refer primarily to the Temne of River Scarcies. Almada's personal experience of Upper Guinea most probably dated back no further than the 1560s, and he was therefore acquainted with the Sapes only after the Mane invasion of c.1545-1560. Although the arrangement of his material sometimes gives the impression that he is describing at first hand two separate peoples, the Sapes and the Manes, it must be remembered that he only knew them after they had met and after they had begun to mingle, and that when his descriptions are intended to picture the peoples before their meeting, they are based largely on deduction, or on tradition and myth, and are not first-hand. The obsessive interest of the Portuguese in the Mane invasion prevents Almada from clarifying his chronological viewpoint. At one moment he is describing from personal experience (perhaps) contemporary customs of the Temne, at the next he is presenting questionable deductions about their behaviour before the Mane invasions; and often he fails to make clear which period of time he is discussing. However, in our view, and contrary to what has been stated by RODNEY (pp.60-70), there is little evidence that the Mane invasions brought about a wide range of lasting cultural change among the Temne, and this limits the confusion caused by Almada's shifting viewpoint. In the notes that follow, Almada's description of the Sapes, which would seem to relate to the period 1540-1590, will be contrasted with the lengthy description of the Temne, probably supplied by a Portuguese who had lived in Sierra Leone during the 1490s, to be found in FERNANDES. A final general point is that while the Mane invasions c.1550 undoubtedly brought some Northern and Manding influences to bear on the Temne, it cannot be assumed that there had been no earlier Northern influences, and there may even have been earlier Manding contacts. Hence, we should not suppose that any Northern or Manding element detected in the Temne culture described by Almada was necessarily the result of the Mane invasions he recounts.

FUNCO. Almada later described the funco as "the principal casa (house or room) near the palace" (15/1), while the L text adds to the present passage the information that an 'apartment' extends between the funco and the palace. Portuguese alpendre means a 'porch, verandah, lean-to, or shed', but the funco seems to have been none of these, but rather a large open round building, of hut type, connecting at one point with a main building. Father Álvares, though agreeing with Almada that royal coronations took place in the funco, described it as "a kind of house, but raised on four poles which have circular pieces near the top...to stop rats from attacking the foodstuffs and pieces of cloth they keep there : it serves as cellar, wardrobe and pantry" (ÁLVARES, f.58). The non-ceremonial uses fit later definitions : 'Fungo or Granary', recorded c.1700 (KUP, pp.102,109), and modern Temne a-fujk 'storehouse, with grain stored in roof, granary'. (Note the separate term in modern Temne, a-gbongthog or a-punkaj 'verandah at front of house'.) What was apparently a funco was described by the English in 1564 : "In the middle of the Towne, there is a house longer and higher then the others but in forme alike, adjoyning unto the which there is a place made of four good stancions of woode, and a round rooffe over it, the ground also round with claye, a foote high, upon the which floors were strawed many fine mats : this is the consultation house, the like whereof is in all Townes, as the Portingals affirme : in which place, when they sitte in Counsell, the Kings or Captains sitteth in the middes, and the Elders upon the floore by him..." (HAKLUYT, p.527 : this was in the Iles de Los, which were occupied by Manes, but had belonged to Sapes, though these were not Temne). Among the rural house types of modern Sierra Leone is one "where two unequal circular buildings are joined by a covered corridor bounded by two walls" (Siddle, in CLARKE, p.64, diagram) : the writer argues that this type represents a recent stage in the historical evolution of house-types, but it appears to correspond to Almada's house-cum-funco. Álvares further described an assembly hall or patio, within an ordinary house, where councils and courts dealing with minor matters were held, called cabre (ÁLVARES, f.60v). This probably represents modern Temne a-bare 'court-house' : in the 1780s, a burree (probably representing the Susu cognate) was described as "a circular building, open at the sides, near the centre of every town" (MATTHEWS, p.116). The modern Temne court-house or council house is usually a separate open building, to some extent resembling the funco of the earlier sources.

SOLATEGUIS. Almada later refers to the solateguis again (15/2, 15/3). Álvares, discussing the institutions of the 'natives', i.e., the Sapes, called the solateguis "officers of the council" (ÁLVARES, f.58). The term appears to be represented in modern Temne by a-santhaki 'village or section chief' (TURAY). This post admits Islamic 'strangers' into the administrative structure of non-Islamic chiefdoms, though they are excluded from the crucial decisions taken in the 'secret societies' which Muslims cannot join (TURAY, p.20 : a different explanation of the post in McCULLOCH, p.64). This implies that the post is a non-traditional one, designed to accommodate Northern Islamic influences. The term certainly derives from the Mande languages : cf. modern Susu santigi 'chief, councillor, minister' (LACAN). Among the Manding of the Gambia, Dornelas met a "Sandeguil whom the tangomaos call 'duke', since he is the person after the king", i.e., santigi (DORNELAS, f.25). However, this term may ultimately derive from Manding silatigi / sira-tigi 'guide': leader of caravan: title of governor in the former Manding empire, whose chief task was to survey routes and collect tribute from strangers passing through the province: corrupted in Fula into santigi, sandigi, satigi' (DELAFOSSÉ ; cf. DELAFOSSÉ and GADEN, p.292). Álvares further gave solategui as the title among the Susu of the important ruler after the king, the same definition as Dornelas' sandeguil among the Manding (ÁLVARES, f.134). It would seem that both the term itself and its meaning have been modified over the centuries. It is not clear whether it was taken into Temne during the Mane invasions, or whether it testifies to earlier contacts between the Temne and Mande-speaking peoples.

ARONS. Álvares referred to arons who were advocates, and later to the arans who led funeral processions and who "got this name from the mask they wear, because a mask of this kind is called aran" (ÁLVARES, ff. 58v, 68). In the 1660s, André de Faro noted that among the Scarcies Temne there were arans whose job was to dance at feasts, in a costume of feathers and bells, and a mask (FARO, p. 100/f. 73v). The term is represented by modern Temne a-rɔŋ 'human mask worn by masqueraders'. According to information from Turay, the term today refers specifically to the masked messenger of a chief, acting as his collector of dues. The photograph of an aron of the Ragbenle society in the 1910s is given in THOMAS (Plate V): the costume lacks feathers and bells, but it seems that the term refers to any masked figure, and not to a particular role in which a specific costume as well as a mask is worn, as Almada supposed.

JUDICIAL PROCEDURE. This description of the judicial process, including the vernacular terms funco, solategui and aron, was borrowed in the printed Jesuit reports (GUERREIRO 1605, liv.4, cap. 9, f.136v); and from there was copied, with some corruptions, into the standard later compilations (e.g., DAVITY 1643, pp.401-2 and 1660, p.418 ; DAPPER, pp.378/9 ; BARBOT, p.103). English translations of this section of Almada have appeared in KUP (pp.9-11) and FYFE (1964, pp.30-33). Dornelas did not discuss the judicial process : Álvares gave an account which agrees with Almada in outline but not in detail. According to Álvares, the advocate's costume was of skins with their tails showing, and the mask was multi-coloured, with a large nose : the advocate accompanied, or followed his speech with a tattoo on a turtle-shell. In serious criminal cases, the advocate also acted as prosecutor, and carried a broom of palm twigs. Álvares implied that the king decided the verdict, but was clear that he discussed the sentence at length with the solateguis (ÁLVARES, f.58-58v). A century earlier and before the Mane invasions, Fernandes' references to justice in Sierra Leone were unfortunately very brief : "Sentences in relation to all offences are decided by a verbal majority of the elders" (FERNANDES, f.135v). The account given to the English in 1564, apparently by a Portuguese informant, though in relation to the Iles de Los which had just been overrun by the Mane, seems to refer to traditional 'Sape' procedure : "this is the consultation house...in which place, when they sitte in Counsell, the Kings or Captains sitteth in the middes, and the Elders upon the floors by him (for they give reverence to the Elders) and the common sort sitte round about them. There they sitte to examine matters of theft... They consult also, and take order what tyme they shall goe to warres: and as it is certainly reported by the Portingals, they take order in gathering of fruites in the yeers... and this surely I judge to be a very order" (HAKLUYT, p.527). The combination of judicial, administrative and economic functions in the village council is of course a common feature of traditional Black Africa, and Almada's account is perhaps misleading in its failure to mention other than judicial matters. A Dutch account of justice at Sierra Leone, apparently based on personal experience and relating to the 1610s, differs in a number of respects from the view of the Portuguese sources. According to Ruiters, complaints were

repeated to the king in a public assembly, normally by one of the "nobles" - advocates were not mentioned. The nobles attended at will, in varying numbers, and discussed the case at length; and the king's final judgment apparently depended on a consensus of opinion among the nobles. Ruiters was impressed by the procedure : "without a shadow of doubt, right is upheld and evil punished" (RUITERS, pp.288-9/60-1). A detailed Dutch account of the Cape Mount district, probably relating to the 1630s, gave no account of justice, but stated that in council, though the councillors were heard, the king followed his own will (DAPPER,p.406/38-9). All the references except the last stress the importance of the role of 'nobles', councillors, or solateguis ; and they stress the amount of discussion before judgment, apparently in search of a consensus of opinion - an approach typical of decision-making in traditional Black Africa. An account of judicial procedure in the 1780s has many resemblances to the Portuguese accounts: "All cases are tried by the king, assisted by the head men, in open burree or court; and there are a set of men called 'palaver talkers' (i.e., counsellors) who plead on both sides - I have known one of these men speak for two hours with such dignity of action, force and energy of elocution, as would do honour ~~de honour~~ to an English orator" (MATTHEWS,p.79 ; cf.WINTERBOTTOM,p.128). Unfortunately, there is no detailed account of judicial procedure among the modern Temne (cf.McCULLOCH,p.65). A curious feature of Almada's account is that it omits reference to judicial ordeals, which were much discussed by ÁLVARES (ff.58v-60) and later European writers. Almada has earlier stated that oaths were administered among the Sapes as among the Nalu, Baga and Kokoli; and the ordeal by boiling water he mentions was one of those employed in Sierra Leone (ÁLVARES,f.59v).

JUDICIAL PUNISHMENT. It may be suspected that the allegation that condemned criminals were bought and put to death, to obtain their skulls and earn a title, relates to the Baga of Rio Nunez - dubiously 'Sapes' - whose head-hunting Almada discussed earlier (13/9). No references in other sources to the buying of criminals for these purposes in the Sierra Leone district is known. In the 1500s, Fernandes declared that among the Bullom murderers were killed publicly, but that among the Temne "all crimes and injuries, including murder, are punished by fines, and there is no capital punishment" (FERNANDES,f.135v). On the strength of this remark, Rodney has averred that, before the Atlantic Slave Trade, "on the whole West African coast, capital punishment was a rarity, in direct contrast to Europe" (RODNEY,p.108). Fernandes did not discuss justice among ~~many~~^{all} of the Upper Guinea peoples he mentioned, but he did refer to capital punishment among the Manding, Flup and Banyun (op.cit.,ff.107,118v, 121), as well as among the Bullom, so that there must be some doubt, both as to whether capital punishment was 'rare' and as to whether the Temne really dispensed with it. Regarding judicial punishments in general, in 1564 the English were told that thieves were enslaved and sold to the Portuguese (HAKLUYT,p.527). In 1582, they were told that the inhabitants of Sierra Leone had "legem talionis, an eye for an eye and a tothe for a tothe : for he that kylleth shall be kyllled, and yf he escape then shall dye the rest of his kyndred : yf anie be in debte and have not to pay, he shall sell all he hathe : at last then ^{he} must be sold himself to make restitutyon... yf a man be taken in adultry having a wyfe, he shall fyne [be fined] for it, but she shall goe free because he (said they) might have had have had ynoughe of fleshlye appetyte with his wyfe, but the woman not of one man" (WALKER,f.208). Ruiters stated that the goods of criminals "deserving death" were confiscated and their families enslaved (RUITERS,p.210/62). According to Álvares, in Sierra Leone thieves were impaled at crossroads, adulterers and witches were put to death or enslaved, gossipmongers had their ears cut off, and some criminals were squeezed to death in a cleft tree-trunk (ÁLVARES,f.58v). Crimes and punishments in Sierra Leone in the 1790s were described as follows. "The cases in which the life and liberty of the accused are endangered may be referred to three

principal heads : which, to use the African mode of expression, are termed, sauce-palaver, where impudent language or 'cursing' has been used to a superior ; witch-palaver ; and woman-palaver or adultery. The punishment of murder is usually left to the family of the deceased ...who may punish the murderer with death or accept a pecuniary satisfaction" (WINTERBOTTOM,pp.127-8). It is of interest that the term 'palaver', which is still employed in Pidgin and Creole English to mean 'discussion, quarrel, complaint, law suit' derives from Portuguese palavra 'word, utterance'. Judicial punishments among the Temne c.1900 are listed in McCULLOCH (pp.24-25).

ROYAL SUCCESSION. The principles and procedures of succession to Guinea 'kingdoms' were commonly a prime interest of early European observers, reflecting the contemporary importance of monarchies in Europe. But of course the observations were biased by the European experience. Almada, writing a decade after a bitter disputed succession in Portugal, has already discussed principles of succession in earlier chapters (1/6,2/4,8/12,11/5,12/7). His present account of succession among the Sapes was borrowed and repeated in print (GUERREIRO 1605,liv.4,cap.9,f.137); and followed in many later sources. A century earlier, in the 1500s, Fernandes commented ambiguously on the political structure in Sierra Leone : each Bullom town had a king and some a "lord of all", while the Scarcies Temme had a "lord" ; kings held council with elders, who could overrule the king. Nothing was said about royal succession, but common inheritance was to the brother and then back to the son (FERNANDES,ff.128v-129,133v). In 1582, the English were told by Portuguese informants that at Sierra Leone "the fyrste wyfe is the cheyfe and her son injoyeth the crown ...yf the kynge dye leaving his sonnes under yeares of discretyon to governe, then he appoyntethe the eldred of his kindred to be his protecteur who shall governe the kyngedome, but yf the kynges sone durynge this protecteurs lyfe come to his yeares, yet he, the protecteur will be kynge durynge his owne lyfe" (WALKER,f.208;cf.MADOX f.38v). Father Álvares stated that the rule of royal succession was to the son, "or if the son is incapable to the oldest brother of the dead king, or to one of his nearest relatives" (ÁLVARES,f.58). Among the Kquoja of Cape Mount in the early seventeenth century, royal and common inheritance was to the oldest surviving brother (DAPPER,pp.405/35,411/42). Late eighteenth century English sources stressed that monarchy among the Temme, Bullom and Susu was 'elective' (MATTHEWS,p.74) : "the rights of primogeniture are not much attended to...the crown remains in the family, but the chief or head men upon whom the election of a king depends, are at liberty to nominate a very distant branch of that family" (WINTERBOTTOM,p.124) - or even, some said, a well-qualified stranger (MATTHEWS,p.75; AFZELIUS,f.2/113). Among the modern Temme, according to the unsystematic accounts available, common inheritance of personal property is to sons, but of family property, especially land, to brothers, and then back to the oldest brother's sons, with uncles acting as guardians for minors. The succession to chieftaincy is usually to the oldest suitable male of alternate ruling kin-groups (McCULLOCH,pp.61,66).

Earlier and later sources seem to agree on two points : that brothers were sometimes preferred to sons, especially if the latter were minors; and that royal succession was seldom automatic, but sometimes depended on the choice of a body of electors.

15/1 queto...as divisas reais.

queto...sceptre;

ROYAL INSIGNIA The term queto, which only appears in Almada, perhaps represents Temne a-gbath 'sword'. Álvares referred to the binto (cf. Susu gbinti 'cutlass' LACAN), a killing-knife, also a staff-of-arms, given by kings as a token of safe-conduct to those travelling through their lands (ÁLVARES, f.60v). Another royal weapon could be a token : "if one go abroad with the kynges spear in his hand he may take up hens, ryce or anything in the countrey" (WALKER, f.182v). In the 1780s, Matthews noted that - "the ensigns of authority of the kings of Sherbro" are an elephant's tail carried before them...or sent by a messenger... But I never observed any such tokens of royalty among the other kings..." (MATTHEWS, n.77).

15/1 ...obedecido e temido dos seus. ...obeyed and feared by all.

SUCCESSION PROCEDURE Father Álvares described the procedure of succession at Sierra Leone in terms similar to those of Almada : he mentioned the capture and whipping of the new king, the coronation at the funco, and the speech of the oldest councillor, explaining the whipping (ÁLVARES, f.58). Referring to a kingdom 200 miles North, Dornelas stated that the King of Guinala was whipped before his coronation "so that he would know what it felt like" (DORNELAS, f.35). This makes it clearer than Almada does that the purpose of the whipping was to make the new ruler realise that his powers of justice could inflict great pain on others, therefore that he must exercise them with discretion and mercy. But there must be some doubt whether this explanation, put forward by Europeans, was the full explanation of this curious ceremony. Later sources do not refer to a whipping. But among the modern Temne, "the man who has been secretly chosen to succeed is 'captured' by surprise by the principal men, who beg him to accept the chieftainship, promising absolute loyalty, as he is expected to show unwillingness to take office" (McCULLOCH, p.63).

INVESTITURE OF SOLATEGUIS. A totally different form of investiture was described by Álvares. The solateguis were placed in a house, and flogged, and a puppy was killed. Public rejoicing followed the investiture, but the new solateguis paid the king for the honour. The insignia of this rank was a coloured cloth (ÁLVARES,f.58-58v). Both Almada and Álvares fail to describe the qualifications of the solateguis and their exact place in the political and social structure. Probably Almada confuses the issue by terming them "nobles" (fidalgos). Fernandes in the 1500s and the English in 1564 had spoken of "elders" who assisted the king and this may have been a more useful description (FERNANDES,f.135v : HAKLUYT,p.527 - but "elders" becomes "nobles" in RODNEY,p.68). They were probably older men, distinguished by prowess in war, or wealth, or other public recognition, and perhaps each represented a lineage or a section of the polity. Álvares' statement that they were invested by being "placed in a house" possibly indicates that they had to undergo the period of ritual seclusion in a special hut which is obligatory for chiefs, sub-chiefs and santigi among the Temne today (McCULLOCH, p.64). Killing (and eating) of a dog is a Temne rite of purification (THOMAS,p.147): it was perhaps referred to in the 1500s - "The Capijs at a great feast kill and eat dog" (FERNANDES,f.125).

CONTUBERIA Occasions on which a spirit 'comes out' and passes through a town or village, accompanied by its devotees, making loud and frightening noises, while the rest of the community, especially the females, are required to remain within their houses, avoiding sight of the spirit (i.e. its symbolic representation), are a fairly common feature of African traditional religions. Among the modern Temne, when the Ragbenle society is in the town, "no woman may see the society ; if she does, ceremonies are necessary or she will lose her nose" (THOMAS,p.78). Among the neighbouring Mende, "the most sacred spirit of the Poro society, Gbeni, 'comes out' only on the most important type of occasion... The Gbeni may be seen only by society members and even they are in danger, if they approach too near to him" (LITTLE,pp.184,246). Those who trespass "may today be initiated and sworn to secrecy : formerly they were killed" (McCULLOCH,p.31). No term in modern Temne has been recognised as corresponding to contuberia, though the shape of the term suggests Temne (cf.akən takeira 'stick for sitting down, name of a charm', THOMAS/2,p.65), and there are possible Temne elements (aj-kantha 'charm to keep witches from farm', aj-kuntha 'witchcraft substance', DAWSON,p.18). It is to be noted that the same term was reported with reference to Sierra Leone religious practices c.1500-"there are certain houses or churches of idols which women may not enter. One idol is called baa [? Bullom ba 'house' PICHLE], another piḡaa [cf: pisa, place where elders meet, f.130 : ? Temne ka-pəs 'big palaver'], another contuberia" (FERNANDES,f.131v). Almada's explanation of this ceremony - to the effect that the active participants were members of a governing class, who used the rite to cower the rest of the population - although most probably a gross misunderstanding of the social dynamics, has contributed to the class interpretation of Upper Guinea history propounded by RODNEY (e.g.,pp.113-114).

FEMALE INITIATION RITES

Earlier Almada described a male initiation ceremony involving circumcision in Senagal (4/17), and stated that the Biafada had a similar custom (12/6). In Senegal, he added, virgins secluded themselves while undergoing scarification and lip-piercing. His present description of female initiation in Sierra Leone provides the earliest references to the practice in this district. (Though his informant showed special interest in religio-social practices, nothing was said of female initiation in Fernandes' lengthy account of Sierra Leone c.1500). In 1616, Álvares described the seclusion and initiation of girls in more detail and probably more accurately than Almada (ÁLVARES, ff.69v-70). He gave the girls' ages as between ten and twelve, and the period of seclusion as one of three to four months (not "a year or more"); and he located the rites in "a secret place in the forest" (not in a single house). He gave the additional information that the girls were taught a secret language. But his account confirmed Almada's with regard to the following points : the instructor an old man (termed, according to Álvares, tangoma); the seclusion from all, including parents; the bringing of food ; the re-naming ; the concluding ceremony, with the bedecked girls proceeding to the arrifal or dancing ground, where they were handed back to their parents; the payment of the instructor. Neither Almada nor Álvares detailed the instruction given during the seclusion, possibly because it was kept secret, but each hints, no doubt correctly, that it included instruction on sexual matters : Almada points out that the girls marry immediately afterwards.

The more general features of this system of female initiation (or puberty rites) are common to the traditional systems of initiation practiced in many parts of Black Africa, some of them up to the present day. In Sierra Leone, the so-called 'secret societies' which control male and female initiation are still very active, and partly because of this their practices have to date been inadequately described. Description of the Temne societies is particularly exiguous (cf. THOMAS, p.151). The main Temne female initiation society, Bundu, is "thought to have derived from Sande, to which it bears a general resemblance" (McCULLOCH, p.69) : Sande is the female society of the Mende, and ^{also} beyond, of the Vai. Informed journalistic accounts of Bundu confirm the resemblance (GERVIS, pp.226-233; LEWIS, pp.145-6).

In turn, Sande resembles the system of female initiation described by Almada and Alvares, as witness the following extracts. The first is from an account of Sande among the Vai, in the mid seventeenth century. "They bring girls who are of age into a specially secluded place in the forest... The Soghwilly or priestess...cuts their hair off...and excises their clitoris...They stay there for three or four months...learning dances and songs... Friends bring arm-bands, beads, bells and other things to adorn them when they come out...When they enter the town, where many people gather as for a holiday, the Soghwilly leads them to the sports-place to dance..." (DAPPER, pp.418-9/48-9). The second extract is from a summary of twentieth century practices. "A girl can be initiated at any age, but must enter before puberty...Part of the Sande enclosure is cleared... On entry they receive new Sande names and discard those given them at birth. Seclusion may last for three to four months... Dancing and singing are also taught... Clitoridectomy formerly took place...The final ceremonies are marked by great rejoicing in which the relatives and friends of the girls join. The girls go in procession into the town... Those who are betrothed are claimed at this stage by their fiancés. Fees paid for the initiation vary..." (McCULLOCH, pp.34-5 : cf. LITTLE, pp.126-7). Since the female initiation among the Temne described by Almada and Alvares greatly resembles Sande among other peoples, and since modern Sande resembles modern Bundu among the Temne, it seems likely that what Almada and Alvares were describing was earlier Bundu. The term 'Bundu' does not appear to be documented before the 1790s (WINTERBOTTOM, pp.139-143, a very vague account); and the term cabondos employed by Almada and Alvares appears to have a different meaning (see note to 14/5). But it is now clear that, whatever it was called, the Temne in the later sixteenth century had a system of female initiation similar to Bundu; and since the Temne system is documented earlier than is Sande, the assertion that the Temne derived Bundu from Sande (quoted above) must be questioned. The name given by Almada and Alvares to the female initiates, Menda/Mena, may perhaps be equated with the name of another present-day Temne women's society, ro-mena (THOMAS, p.151; Turay). Little is known about this society, but it does not seem to be responsible for initiation. It is conceivable that when the ^{initiation} ~~initiation~~ society became known as 'Bundu', the earlier name was transferred to a less important society.

However, it must be noted that Bundu and Sande differ in two respects from the earlier initiation system. The named societies have solely female leaders and instructors, whereas Almada and Álvares both claim that the chief instructor was a man. (The term tangoma, supplied by Álvares, may be the same as Temne tankuma, from taŋ 'lock' and k-uma 'box', 'an officer of the male Ragbenle society who looks after ceremonial regalia' Turay ; but note tangomãas "a lineage among the Temne providing priests" FERNANDES, f.139). Secondly, the modern initiation includes female circumcision (clitoridectomy), which Almada and Álvares fail to mention. Almada at no point in his account of Upper Guinea mentions female circumcision: but Álvares twice refers to it, once among the Susu, and once when he states that the women members of the Benle (Temne ra-gbenle, nowadays a purely male society) must be circumcised (ÁLVARES, ff.67, 134v, 135v). Thus, despite Almada's silence, there was female circumcision in Upper Guinea in his period (for other references in early Portuguese sources, see CARREIRA 1963), and even female circumcision among the Temne. Álvares does not state that female circumcision was carried out in the Benle, and therefore it may have been carried out, as today, in the initiation society - though he does not say this. It is perhaps worth noting that Almada (15/5) and Álvares both state that the Temne carried out male circumcision during early infancy (ÁLVARES, f.70v) : this contrasts with the modern practice of circumcising boys immediately before puberty. It might be argued that, if the system of male circumcision has changed over the centuries in this important respect, changes in the system of female circumcision may well also have occurred. In sum, whereas it is clear that the Temne have practiced female initiation and female circumcision since at least the sixteenth century, the evidence is too fragmentary and diffuse to be sure that the practices have remained unchanged in more than the most general features.

15/4 ...arifal, que é na praça. ...the central open place,

ARIFAL This term (repeated in 15/5 and 18/10) was also given by Dornelas and by Álvares (DORNELAS, f.15; ÁLVARES, f.136). It probably represents the locative form ro-fəl or rə-fəl of Temne ay-fəl 'clearing used for meetings, sports, etc'. Álvares however used the term when discussing the Susu; and his fellow missionary, Barreira, who actually travelled in Susu country, gave the term employed there, with the same meaning, as oufal (GUERREIRO 1611, liv.4, cap.2, f.227v). Nevertheless, Álvares and Barreira were probably reporting the Temne term, rather than the Susu cognate fare, 'open space, meeting-place, etc' (LACAN). This is an example of a vernacular term reported by the Portuguese sources of the period 1590-1620, but not reported by later sources.

SAPE BURIAL In the 1500s, burial rites in Sierra Leone were described by Fernandes in considerable detail. As regards the actual burial, "their custom is to bury them within their houses. No person is buried by himself, they always bury some animals too, cows, goats or hens, according to the man's tank. His best clothes, his gold and jewels, etc., are always buried with him as well" (FERNANDES,f.132v). In the 1600s, Father Barreira stated that those who were not kings were buried in their villages (GUERREIRO,1611, liv.4,cap.3,f.231v). Dornelas described the burial of Manes (the rites were very similar to those employed earlier for the burial of important men among the Sapes, according to Fernandes), but did not specify the location of the grave (DORNELAS,f.15-15v). Álvares stated that members of the Togma society were buried in the village, but members of the more exclusive Benle society in the forest: his description of burial rites concentrated on the burial of important men, and failed to specify where ordinary persons who were not members of societies were buried (ÁLVARES,ff.67,68,72v). (The custom of burying valuables with the dead is discussed in the following note.) Accounts of burial in Sierra Leone, especially among the Temne, in more recent centuries are not altogether consistent. "The corpse is deposited in the grave, which is hung around with mats, and his most valued clothes and necessities put in with him" (MATTHEWS,p.124). "Every town or village...has a common burial place attached to it, hard by. Children are often buried in the houses of their parents, and people of consequence are generally buried in the burré or palaver house. The corpse is folded in a cotton cloth..." (WINTERBOTTOM,p.238). "The grave may be behind the house, or in the yard or along one of the roads leading to the farm... Occasionally a regular burial ground is in use... The body is dressed in good clothes...In the case of a paramount chief, money is put with him" (THOMAS,pp.119,121).

GOLD BURIAL In the 1500s, the dead in Sierra Leone were buried with gold and jewels, some of the latter being gifts made by mourners (FERNANDES, ff.132v-133). In 1564 the English were told that "the Sapiés have an order to burie their dead in certain places appointed for that purpose, with their golde about them" (HAKLUYT, p.526). Almada was more specific in referring (here and in 16/10) to the burial of gold nose- and ear-rings, and gold bracelets. It is possibly significant that when Pacheco Pereira gave the terms for 'gold' in Temne and Bullom c.1500, the Temne term may have been rather that for 'gold ornaments' (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, caps.32,33, p.82, tebongo ; cf. modern Temne má-bɔŋɔ 'gold' - the plural form tá-bɔŋɔ 'gold things' does not appear to be recognised today; but in a closely related Baga language, tabona 'gold' and tabɔŋɔ 'ear rings' were recorded a century ago (KOELLE) - the latter meaning may have been an error due to a misunderstanding, but it suggests a semantic convergence between gold ornaments and ear-rings). The Jesuit Barreira referred to the burial of gold with kings in the 1600s; and a Portuguese layman living in Sierra Leone said the gold was in the form of bracelets and rings (BARREIRA, p. 176; GUERREIRO 1607, liv.4, cap.9, f.156v; 1611, liv.4, cap.3, f.231v). Dornelas said that the Manes were buried with gold bracelets and rings (DORNELAS, f.15). Álvares followed his superior Barreira in describing how great kings were buried secretly at night, in the diverted beds of streams, so that the gold and other riches buried with them would remain secure. But he gave a more subdued estimate of the wealth buried underground than earlier writers, speaking only of "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" (ÁLVARES, ff.73,74v). His reticence, together with the fact that in the present century there have been no reports of gold ornaments being dug up in Sierra Leone, suggest that the earlier writers exaggerated the extent to which burial of gold took place.

EAR AND NOSE PIERCING

Earlier Almada stated that ear-piercing was carried out by Bidyogo women, and nose-piercing by the Nalu (10/10,13/1); and later he refers again to both among the Sape (16/10). The first Portuguese to visit the coast South of Rio Jeba, c.1460, noted that "all these people have their ears pierced with holes all round in which they wear a number of gold rings, one behind the other; and further, they have their nose pierced at the bottom, in the middle, in which hole they wear a gold ring...And they say that the women of the land, or of men of account in the land, have their genital lips pierced just like their ears, in which they carry gold rings..." (CADAMOSTO,p.76 ; for comment, see HAIR 1969,p.56). The wearing of multiple ear-rings was also reported c.1800 : "in some parts, especially the Rio Pongas, it is the fashion to have a number of holes in the outer circle of the ear, each of which is large enough to contain six or eight small rings: when in undress these holes are filled up with plugs of wood" (WINTERBOTTOM,p.104). It is curious that Almada and his Portuguese contemporaries had little to say about the actual wearing of ear-rings, and nothing about the wearing of nose-rings by the living, either on the part of the Sapes or on the part of the Manes : their references concentrate on the rings being buried with the dead. Almada later (16/10) describes what was worn in the nose as "an ornament like a bridle bit." Dornelas stated that the Manes were buried "with great masucos of gold in the ears and nose encircling the whole face, which is why they pierce the nose" (DORNELAS,f.15). In a marginal note to his text, Álvares stated - "the women wear in their ears such large masucos of gold that in order not to tear their ears, they support them with ribbons" (ÁLVARES,f.77 (a)). This seems to refer to Mane women, though it is just possible that it refers instead to the women of 'Mandimansa', i.e. the Manding homeland, and if so was based on report rather than on observation. In 1607 the English visiting Sierra Leone were presented with "one small ear-ring of gold" (PURCHAS,Pt.1,lib.3,cap.6/1p.189); and a Dutch seaman visiting in 1648 noted that "the tips of their Ears and their Noses were bored through and hung with Jewels" (STRUYS,p.12). In 1788, it was reported - "no gold is found in this country: the little the women wear, as ornaments, is brought from a very great distance (MATTHEWS,p.51). Nineteenth century Baga men wore "a copper ring suspended from the cartilage of the nose, and ornament their ears with several rings of

the same kind. The women have no ornaments other than beads" (CAILLIE, p. 165 : cf. MEO, p. 243). Today, among the Temne and Bullom, ear-rings are seldom worn by men, and nose-piercing is almost unknown, among men or women. The sources, though fragmentary, give the impression that gold body-ornaments were much more common in Upper Guinea in the earlier centuries than in the more recent ones : presumably the supply of gold was limited, and the stock was sold to the Europeans. The term masuco may be compared with modern Temne a-su/mə- 'ring/s'. But since no explanation of the last syllable occurs, it may be an obsolete term, possibly derived from or cognate with Susu masokho-(de) 'to pierce' (LACAN).

15/5 Fazem esta choro...na praça. They perform this wake at...space.

WAKES Wakes, that is, periods of formal lamentation combined with merry-making before or after burial, in Sierra Leone and especially among the Temne, were described by FERNANDES (f.132v) in the 1500s, and at great length by ÁLVARES (ff.72-73v) a century later. The wakes for Manes mentioned by Dornelas seem to be the same as the traditional Sape ones (DORNELAS, f.15v). In the eighteenth century, English writers referred to the wake as a 'cry' (WINTERBOTTOM, p.239). For wakes among the Temne in the present century, see THOMAS (pp.119-121).

SAPE COAST Cape Verga stands in $10^{\circ}12'N$: the Shoals of St. Ann stretch around $7^{\circ}50'N$. The distance between is about 200 miles (320 km.), roughly two-thirds of the distance estimated by Almada. In the shorter version of the text, the distance is estimated more accurately at 70 leagues (Appendix III,9/1.). However, since Almada knows that the Sape extend to Sherbro Island and further South, he is using 'Shoals of St. Ann' in a loose sense. If the Southern boundary of the Sape is taken to be where the Malagueta Coast begins, that is, near Cape Mount (in $6^{\circ}45'N$), then his larger estimate is approximately correct. Cape Verga was given its name on the earliest Portuguese voyage in these parts, and in 1460/1461 Pedro de Sintra also named Cape St. Ann (because it was discovered on St. Ann's Day) : the latter name was extended to the shoals before 1480 (TEIXEIRA DA MOTA 1950). Both Cape Verga and the Shoals of St. Ann have had no other name up to the present day. Only one source before Almada attempted to estimate the extent of the Sape coast : the Portuguese renegade, João Afonso, described the "Kingdom of the Sapes" as extending from 8° to 6° , by which he seems to have meant from North of Cape Verga (and neighbouring the "Kingdom of the Jolof" !) to South of the Shoals of St. Ann (ALFONCE, f.50v).

SAPE KINGDOM Almada's account of the Sapes is in several respects vague, contradictory and confusing (cf. FYFE 1964, p.43); and it has frequently misled modern historians. The meanings he gives to the term 'Sape' are discussed in following notes. The present note discusses the term "Kingdom of the Sapes": were the Sapes organised politically in a single vast polity? Earlier Almada spoke of "the kingdoms of the Sapes" (14/1), "these nations of the Sapes" (14/6), "the kings of the Serra" (15/1), "these kingdoms" (15/4). Other plural references occur later, to various Sape kings who were conquered (16/11), to a battle with a Bullom king in the first land of the Sapes (17/2), to 'kingdoms which formerly belonged to the Sapes' (17/8). Only twice does Almada refer to a single kingdom (here and in 16/8); and it may reasonably be suspected that these were lapses. In general, he sees the Sapes as a number of 'nations' each occupying at least one kingdom. Only one other early source referred to a single overall Sape kingdom: the reference dates from the early sixteenth century, but appears in an account so general and so inaccurate that it has little evidential worth (ALFONCE, f.50v, "le Royaume des Sappez, qui est une nation de Negres": cf. FONTENAU, p.533). Later writers laid emphasis on the divisions of the Sapes. Dornelas listed a number of ethnic groups ('nations') and a smaller number of Mane kings who since the Mane invasion had ruled them; and he stated that - "all the nations mentioned as being subject to the Manes we call in general 'Sapes'" (DORNELAS, ff.10v-11v). Father Barreira listed the ethnic groups North of the Scarcies River, and then added: "The last nation within the limits of Guinea is that of the Sapes. This nation was conquered in 1550 by the Sumbas or Manes. The Sapes begin from the Calus and stretch along the coast to the South of Sierra Leone. The kingdoms which the Manes rule are [four]" (BARREIRA, p.149). Thus Barreira limited the extent of the Sapes and still saw them in several political units. Father Álvares went into greater detail about the ethnic groups, but described broadly the same political situation: however he narrowed the extent of the Sapes even further, equating a single kingdom on the Scarcies with "the land of the Sapes", "Mabemgoma or Casses, the proper Sapeland" (ÁLVARES, f.54, and cf. f.58). In 1664, Brother André de Faro stated that the people of the Scarcies River were "of the nation of the Sapes", while ^{and} the two kingdoms at Sierra Leone spoke the Sape language,

though
and a third he described as Bullom, not Sape (FARO, pp. 52, 60, 99/ff. 34, 40v, 12v).
Finally, in 1669 Coelho named five Sape kingdoms, one on the Scarcies,
three in the Sierra Leone estuary, and one in the interior (COELHO
1669, pp. 63, 64, 87/ff. 53v, 54v, 76). These sources do not suggest that
there was any political connection between the various Sape kingdoms
either before the Mane invasion, or after it (other than that
provided by the tenuous unity of the Mane conquest). Almada himself
lays great stress on the fact that the various Sape nations "never
came together to fight against the enemy" (16/11 and cf. 17/2). There
appears therefore to be no documentary support for the view that the
peoples of the Sierra Leone region ever formed a "Sapi confederation"
(KUP, p. 123). Rodney justly remarks that "Sierra Leone lacked the
elements of a unitary state", and suggests that the unity of the Sapes
derived rather from social and cultural homogeneity : nevertheless, in
narrative of the Mane invasion he refers to the political weakness of
"the Sape confederacy" (RODNEY, pp. 33, 45). Whatever the term 'Sape'
referred to in early sources, it is clear that it did not refer to
any political connection.

SAPES The earliest reference to the Sapes was on the Cantino map of 1502 - "in the Serra Lioa there is much gold...and many slaves, some are Jolof, some Manding, some Sape" (PMC I, plate 5, p.10; section enlarged in TEIXEIRA DA MOTA 1972, plate VII). Mention of the Jolof and Manding shows that the map-maker was ill-informed about Sierra Leone, hence the reference is not proof positive that at this date the Sapes were inhabitants of either the region or the narrower district. A few years later, both Fernandes and Pacheco Pereira termed the inhabitants of the district around the Sierra Leone estuary Bullom and Temne; and when they used the term 'Sape' seem to have applied it, in a vague way, to a people or peoples further North, perhaps North of Cape Verga, perhaps in the interior from Cape Verga, in which latter case they may conceivably have meant the Landuma (FERNANDES, ff.125,128 ; PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap. 32, pp.74,80,82 - for some discussion of the text, see HAIR 1967, p.65, n61). The reference by João Afonso, writing probably in the 1530s, to a vast Kingdom of the Sapes occupying the coastline apparently as far North as Cape Verga and apparently as far South as the Sherbro Island district, may however indicate that during the early decades of the sixteenth century the term was gaining a different meaning and was being applied to a wider area (ALFONCE, f.50v). In 1564, the English were told, presumably by Portuguese informants, that the Iles de Los had been inhabited by Sapes up to the Mane conquest of the islands only three years earlier (HAKLUYT, p.526). It is most likely that the earlier inhabitants were Baga; and it is possible that the name originated with reference to this people, perhaps in conjunction with the linguistically closely-related Landuma. However, Almada and other Portuguese sources after 1590 used the term in a very loose sense and applied it, not only to peoples between the Iles de Los and Cape Verga, but more commonly to peoples South of the Iles de Los, that is, to the coastal peoples of Sierra Leone in both the narrower and wider sense of the toponym. Almada uses the term more regularly than any other source, and contrariwise makes less use of the terms 'Temne' and 'Bullom' to describe the inhabitants of the narrower Sierra Leone than does any other source. While Almada lists the ethnic groups forming his Sapes, he nowhere defines the term. Dornelas however stated that "all the nations mentioned as being subject to the Manes we call in general Sapes" (DORNELAS, f.11v). Unfortunately other sources either disagreed about the extent of the conquest or used the

term inconsistently; and of course the term cannot always have been defined historically, since it was employed before the Mane conquest. Almada, Dornelas and the later Cape-Verdean source, Coelho, agreed that the Sapes extended down the coast from near Cape Verga to at least as far as Sierra Leone : they disagreed regarding the extent of penetration into the interior. The missionaries, Barreira, Álvares and the later Faro, tended to use the term in a more restricted sense, applying it mainly to the peoples of the Scarcies River - Sierra Leone estuary district; that is, to the Temne and Bullom; and Álvares at times appears to apply it only to the Scarcies Temne. It must be added that those sources which generally used the term in the wide sense, e.g. Almada, sometimes also used it in a narrow sense, to indicate primarily the Temne, thus increasing the confusion. If original sources after the Mane conquest applied the term only to peoples conquered or allegedly conquered, derivative sources were less particular : Sandoval, listing the many varieties of 'Zape' (Zape-Baga, Zape-Cocoli, etc), included, in contradiction of Dornelas' definition, the 'Zape-Mane' (SANDOVAL, lib.1, cap.1, f.7). Thus, this vague term was defined by vague geographical and historical criteria, imposed by Europeans : whether it was also defined by cultural criteria, advanced by Africans, is less certain. Though evidence before 1550 is slight, it can be reasonably argued that the term developed as a Portuguese nickname for a varying group of coastal peoples, and reasonably doubted whether the Portuguese had sufficient understanding of the societies and cultures involved for this alien nickname to represent any real elements of unity or even homogeneity in the social, cultural and political situation. It is generally thought that the origin of the term lies in the Fula name for a section of the Landuma, 'Tyapi' (see HAIR 1967, p.69). According to an early nineteenth century source - "The Landomahs are the same as the Baggas and both still call themselves by the name...they bore when Hawkins carried some of them away", that is, presumably, 'Sapes'

a misprint gives 'Saffres' (BELCHER, pp.283-4) : there is no confirmation that any of the Baga ever called themselves Sape. It was suggested above that c.1500 the term may have applied only to the Baga and Landuma, or perhaps only to the Landuma - which would fit the accepted derivation. But if the term had this limited connotation c.1500, it is odd that none of the later sources considered that the Landuma were Sapes. Almada does not include the Cocoli among the Sapes (14/6); Dornelas referred to Farim Cocoli as a non-Sape ruler (DORNELAS, f.10); Coelho mentioned both the Cocolis and the Landimas, but did not reckon them Sapes (COELHO 1669, p.59/f.50); and Faro, speaking of the "Landomazes" noted, perhaps

percipiently, that they spoke a language "almost the same as that of the Sapes" (FARO,p.44). While it is tempting to believe that the term spread along channels formed by African language relationships - from Landuma to Baga, from Baga to Temne, from Temne to other Mel languages (as suggested in HAIR 1967,p.50) - the hard fact that none of the groups speaking these languages employ this ethnonym to describe themselves rules against the speculation.

BAGA, TAGUNCHOS Almada's list of eight ethnonyms refers to five coastal peoples, apparently in order from North to South, two inland peoples and one unidentified people. He mentioned the Baga, Tagunchos and Sapes earlier (14/1). As shown in previous notes, the Sapes were limited by Álvares to the Mane-ruled Temne kingdom of the Scarcies; by Barreira to the coast South of the Calus, that is, probably from the Scarcies; and in the 1660s by André de Faro to the Temne. In this list, Almada is clearly using the term in a limited sense, probably that of Álvares. The Baga, though earlier considered by Almada to be non-Sape (13/6, 14/1), are now included among the nations of Sapes. The shorter text (Appendix ^{III} 7, 9/7) is more consistent, in that its version of this list omits the Baga. Unlike 'Sape', 'Baga' has survived as an ethnonym: it refers (a) to a number of geographically separated groups speaking very closely related languages, all of the languages being closely related to Landuma and probably less closely related to Temne, and (b) to at least one group living in similar ecological circumstances but speaking an unrelated language. For references, and comment on the Northern boundary of the Baga, see note to 13/6 (BAGA). It is possible that 'Baga' was a name originally given by neighbouring peoples, and that it refers generally to dwellers in the coastal marshes. Sources since 1800 have referred to Baga living along areas of the coast South of Cape Verga as far as the Kalum Peninsula; and the early sources undoubtedly locate the Baga within this region. The Tagunchos, who are not referred to again by Almada, were mentioned (in variant form, Dacumclos, Dagunchos) by Dornelas and Álvares, the former stating that they occupied the coast South of the Baga of Cape Verde and that the mountainous zone of Macamala lay in their lands, the latter stating that they had been driven out of Sierra Leone by the Mane and forced to live in Serra Macamala, probably the Kakulima range at the base of the Kalum Peninsula (DORNELAS, f.10; ÁLVARES, ff.48, 88v). In the 1660s, Coelho said that the inhabitants of the coasts near the Kalum Peninsula were 'Sapes', but he mentioned a 'Rio dos Tagunchos', probably the Dubreka River or a neighbouring river (COELHO 1669, p.63/f.53v). Thus, the Tagunchos seem to have lived somewhere in the same region as the Baga. Álvares stated at one point that the Calus and the Dagunchos were the same; though elsewhere he listed them separately as allies of the Baga and Susu in opposing the Mane (ÁLVARES, loc.cit.) Barreira did not refer

to the Tagunchos, but instead named the Calus as the people to the South of the Baga, extending ~~apparently~~ to the Scarcies (BARREIRA, ^{p. 169} ~~112v~~). Sandoval, a less reliable source, spoke of a kingdom of Calus, South of Rio Nunez or Cape Verga and apparently up-coast from the Iles de Los (SANDOVAL, lib.1, cap.1, f.6v; cap.11, f.40). Dornelas considered the Calus and Dacumclos to be separate peoples : the Calus, together with the Quelenche-cafus (not named by any other source, but Almada has a Calenchecafu River, 15/7), lay South of the Dacumclos and apparently stopped at the Scarcies River (DORNELAS, f.10 and note). Almada does not mention the Calus, but refers to a 'Rio dos Calus' apparently South of Macamala and North of the Scarcies (15/7). Thus, the early sources are in loose agreement that the Tagunchos and/or Calus occupied all or part of the coast between Cape Verga and the Scarcies River, with the Tagunchos tending to be located just North of the Kalum Peninsula. Later sources do not mention the Tagunchos or the Calus, but they make it clear that the only occupants of the coast between Cape Verga and the Scarcies in the last two centuries have been (apart from some Bullom immediately North of the Scarcies) either Baga or Susu, the latter probably new arrivals. Around 1800, the Baga lived in scattered villages on the coast South from Rio Pongas to the Kalum Peninsula, in the Iles de Los, and possibly in very small numbers on the coast immediately South of the Iles de Los (MATTHEWS, pp.14 - 15; WINTERBOTTOM, pp.5-6; AFZELIUS, f.2/75; McLACHLIN, p.3, cited in AFZELIUS, p.5). It seems likely therefore that the Tagunchos and the Calus were Southern groups of the Baga to whom the name had not yet been applied (and that the Calus gave their name to the peninsula). Since the Baga languages are fairly closely related to Temne, it is probable that the Baga and the Temne were at one time closer neighbours hence that the Baga once occupied all the coast North of the Scarcies and up to the Kalum Peninsula; and it is improbable that, as Álvares claimed, the Tagunchos and Calus merely represented groups which had been driven North at the time of the Mane invasion. It is probable that the inhabitants of the Kalum Peninsula encountered by the earliest Portuguese navigators in the 1460s were Baga (HAIR 1969, pp.55-6).

BULLOM The Bullom were mentioned in many early sources (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.33, pp.82,84,86; liv.2, cap.1, pp.96,98 ; FERNANDES, ff.128v,135v; DORNELAS, f.10v and note; ÁLVARES, f.54; DAPPER, pp.372/3, 378/9; FARO, p.63/42-42v; COELHO¹⁶⁶⁹, pp.68,72,87/ff.58,61v,76). But they were less well known than their Temne neighbours, on whom both the traders and the missionaries concentrated. The Bullom still occupy much of the coast between the Mellakuri River and the Sierra Leone River, as well as the coast South from the Sierra Leone Peninsula to Turner's Peninsula, though under pressure from the interior peoples (the Susu, Temne and Mende) (see DALBY 1962, Language distribution map; MITCHELL, particularly maps 1-3; the map in CLARKE, p.37, is misleading). For the general location of the Bullom in earlier centuries, see HAIR (1967, pp.50,67-7; 1968, pp.57-8,70-2). But their past Northern limit is uncertain. In 1605 Barreira reported that the rulers of 'Bure' (probably in the Mellakuri River), the Iles de Los, and 'Pogomo' (probably in the Dubreka River) were vassals of the king of the Bullom : he did not suggest, and it would seem very unlikely in the case of Pogomo, that all these Northern districts were in Bullom occupation (BARREIRA, ^{p.110} ~~f.2v~~; cf. GUERREIRO 1607, liv.4, cap.8, ff.149-50). In the 1660s, Coelho stated that the Iles de Los belonged to the Bullom, but it is not clear if he meant that they were occupying it (COELHO 1669, p.68/f.58v.). In the late eighteenth century, a section of the Bullom, the Samo, certainly occupied islands and coastline in the estuaries of the Forekaria and Mellakuri rivers (AFZELIUS, f.159; WINTERBOTTOM, p.4). It seems likely that the Bullom held some coastline North of the Scarcies in Almada's day; and if so, his naming the Bullom before the Temne would confirm the supposition that he was listing the 'Sape' peoples of the coast from North to South. The Bullom were described as man-eaters by sources in the 1500s (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.33, p.82 - "though they do it less commonly than in other parts of Ethiopia"; FERNANDES, f.134v - apparently both Temne and Bullom), as they were later by Almada and by DORNELAS (f.10v). Barreira, Dornelas and Coelho agreed with Almada in counting the Bullom as Sape; André de Faro distinguished between the Sapes and the Bullom (FARO, loc.cit.)

TEMNE Of all the 'Sape' peoples, the Temne were the best known to the Portuguese, and European generalisations about the Sapes seem to have been based largely on experience of the Temne. Accounts of fifteenth century voyages past the Sierra Leone Peninsula unfortunately have almost nothing to say about the inhabitants of the coast (CADAMOSTO, pp. 76-77, cf. HAIR 1969; DE LA FOSSE, pp. 180, 186). The earliest references to the term 'Temne' came in the 1500s, and Fernandes supplied a fairly detailed description of Temne culture (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv. 1, cap. 33, p. 82; FERNANDES, ff. 128-140). The early Portuguese seem to have been most in contact with the Temne of the Scarcies Rivers (for evidence of trade there in the 1520s, see TEIXEIRA DA MOTA 1969), and their references to the Temne of the Sierra Leone estuary and further East and South are less clear (see HAIR 1967, pp. 51, 68-69). References to the Temne in the later sixteenth century were complicated by the Mane presence. Barreira spoke of a kingdom on the South side of the Sierra Leone estuary extending as far as the 'Logos or Temenes' (BARREIRA, ^{pp. 169-170} ~~127~~ - ~~the~~ 'or' should read 'and'). Dornelas listed separately the Cases, or Scarcies Temne, and the 'Temenes' and Álvares similarly distinguished between the 'Sapes or Casses' and the Temne of the inland kingdom of Mitombo (DORNELAS, f. 10v; ÁLVARES, f. 54). Thus, Almada's listing of both 'Sapes' - if by this he meant, as suggested previously, the Scarcies Temne - and Temne was not unique. It is possible of course that the ethnonym 'Temne', like many other African ethnyonyms, was in earlier times only used with reference to a section of the present day group to which it is applied. However, in the 1660s Coelho said that Sierra Leone, beginning apparently at the Iles de Los, had been "wholly inhabited" before the Mane invasion by the Temne : though the statement was inaccurate, it perhaps indicated that by this date the term was being applied to all speakers of the Temne language (COELHO 1669, p. 68/f. 58v). Throughout his account of Sierra Leone Almada prefers the wider and looser term 'Sapes', but twice later he refers to the "Bullom and Temne" (18/6, 18/7). For the present day location of the Temne, see DALBY (1962, Language distribution map; CLARKE, p. 37; MITCHELL, maps 2-3).

LIMBA, ITALES, YALUNKA Almada finishes his list of 'Sape' nations with three ethnonyms, two of known interior peoples, the third almost certainly intended to refer to another but unidentified interior people. He refers in this paragraph again to the Limba (their lack of salt), and later to the wars of the Limba and Jalungas against the invading Mane (15/16). The earliest reference to the Limba was in 1582 (FENTON, p.108 - correcting HAIR 1967, p.69). Although the Limba resisted complete conquest by the Mane (15/16, and ÁLVARES, ff.48, 54, 165), Dornelas included them among the inhabitants of the interior Mane kingdom, but he agreed with Almada in counting them as Sape (DORNELAS f.11v and note). Coelho however did not include them among the Sapes in the 1660s (COELHO 1669, p.65/f.56). Today the Limba live in the interior of Sierra Leone between 50 and 100 miles from the sea, behind the Loko and Temne; and they number about 200,000 (FINNEGAN). They seem to have lived in approximately the same area in earlier centuries and thus to have been very little known to Europeans. Their inclusion among the 'Sapes' indicated the looseness of the concept. The Jalungas, the inhabitants of the Futa Jalon, were first mentioned in the 1500s and described as "living in the interior" of a region vaguely located between the Rio Jeba and Cape Verga (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.32, pp.74, 76). These were most probably Susu, and Sandoval later referred to "Zape Yalonga called Zozo" (SANDOVAL, lib.1, cap.16, f.64). The modern Yalunka are an Eastern section of the Susu, living North of the Limba and the Koranko in the interior of the state of Sierra Leone (see DALBY 1962; but for a wider definition, see ■ TRESSAN, p.195). The term seems to have been used loosely in earlier centuries to refer to various interior Mande peoples living in the general vicinity of the Futa Jalon, for instance to the Koranko as well as to the Susu (HAIR 1961). (The earliest reference to the Koranko is probably a 1616 one to the 'Coras', living in the interior beyond Cape Mount, in the hills, ÁLVARES, f.48). Almada refers separately to the Susu, and indicates several times that the Susu are not Sape. It is difficult therefore to be sure what he means by Jalungas - whether the Eastern Susu (Yalunka) or another interior people. The only reason he has for including them in the Sapes is that later he states that, like the Limba, they were attacked and partly conquered by the Mane (15/16). Dornelas, Barreira, Alvares and Coelho do not mention the Jalungas, but all agree with Almada that the Susu were not Sape. The Itales are even more puzzling. The term resembles no early or

14/6 modern ethnonym of the region, and if it is a miscopying (but it is the same in the shorter text), the original eludes us. Can there be a connection with the 'montagnes Italettes' which an unreliable earlier source described as being at 13°N and the source of a great river flowing through the Kingdom of Manding (ALFONCE, f.50 : but 'Athelates' in FONTENEAU, p.331, and 'de Atalante' in the original source, ENCISO, p.165).

15/6 ...se entendem uns aos outros. ...understand one another.

LANGUAGES Once again, Almada's "understand each other" cannot mean that the peoples concerned spoke languages which were inter-intelligible all round (cf.13/6). Today, the Baga languages and Temne, being fairly closely related, are to some extent inter-intelligible; Bullom, being a member of the same sub-group, though more distant, is probably intelligible to speakers of the other languages in odd words only ; Limba, being only distantly related to all before, is probably quite unintelligible ; and Yalunka or any other interior Mande language, belonging to a different language group, is also unintelligible. Even granted that related languages were less divergent four centuries ago, so that conceivably Temne-Baga and Bullom were more inter-intelligible, it is reasonably certain that at this date there was no all round inter-intelligibility. For ^{comparative} word tests on Temne-Baga, Bullom and Limba, see SAPIR.

15/6 ...estes negros nomeados. ...all the blacks named.

SUSU, PUTAZES, FULA. On the Susu and Putazes, see the note to 14/3. Almada's reference to the Fula extending through the interior behind the Susu provides evidence that the Fula position in the Futa Jalon and further interior pre-dated the spread of Islam there in the eighteenth century (TEIXEIRA DA MOTA 1972, p.372; RODNEY, p.233).

15/6 a comprar sal.

to buy salt.

CLOTH, GOLD, SALT. This may be merely a repetition of the references to Rio Pongas trade in cloth, gold and salt (14/3). Salt-making and the salt trade in Rio Nunez and Rio Pongas were discussed in notes to 13/13 and 14/3. Almada mentions the import trade in salt again (15/14). At Sierra Leone, in 1582, the English, and in 1619 the French, exchanged salt for rice (HAKLUYT, pp.652,654-5; BEAULIEU, p.3). A little later the Dutch imported salt (RUITERS, p.284/57). Dapper referred to salt-boiling near Cape Mount, probably in the 1630s, and Dutch maps show a string of 'salt-towns' along the beaches (DAPPER, p.383/15; Atlas Blaeuw, Bild 36/13). The process of salt-making in the Sierra Leone district in the late eighteenth century was described by MATTHEWS (p.37) and WINTERBOTTOM (p.145). For salt-making in recent decades in Sierra Leone, see GLANVILLE, and HALL (p.15). But salt-making is said to be dying out in many districts today (KEMBER, p.35).

15/6 e morrem dele.

and die from it.

SALT LEGEND Salt, one of the commodities imported into Limba country today (FINNEGAN, p.104), was no doubt always in short supply there. But the intention of those who told the Portuguese this yarn was probably to stress the oddity of the Limba : "in general the Limba have been looked down on by other tribes (noticeably the Temne), and have often been considered 'backward' and 'stupid' " (ibid., p.12). Coelho repeated a similar story about the Bassari of the interior, who traded to the Gambia : "many of them have never tasted salt in their lives, and when they reach our ships laden with salt, they gorge themselves on it, and die" (COELHO, p.25/f.20).

RIVERS In this paragraph and the next, Almada names fourteen rivers South of Cape Verga : earlier (14/3), he named two of these, and also a fifteenth. However, in the shorter version of the text (Appendix III, 9/4), the rivers are stated to be thirteen in number. This number was repeated in the summary of Almada appearing in the published Jesuit letters (GUERREIRO 1605, liv.4, cap.9, f.135v) and hence in many later sources (e.g. DAPPER, p.372/3 - but in error in the English translation as "above thirty rivers", OGILBY, p.370). The difference between fifteen and thirteen arises as follows.

(1) In the shorter version, Macamala is the name of a district from which emerges the Tambacira River : in this text, the Tambacira and another river emerge from 'the Hills of Crystal', probably the same as Macamala. Hence, the name 'Rio de Macamala' is probably an erroneous addition to the list. (2) The River of Bala, mentioned earlier, though not in the present list, is not mentioned in the shorter text. Both versions of Almada refer to the Tagarim and Mitombo as a single river.

NORTHERN RIVERS Between Rio Pongas (River of Stones) and the Scarcies River (River of the Cases) Almada names five rivers, all with names different from those given to the rivers of the same district by earlier sources. Since Almada's sequence of names was itself totally superseded during the eighteenth century, since there are in fact more rivers than he counts, and since he supplies little detail about those he names, their identification is not easy. This section of the coast was not well known to the Portuguese in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries (cf. COELHO, p.60/f.51). Earlier sources gave the names : Rio dos Pescadores, Rio de Crystal (see note below), Rio de Cabitos (allegedly South of the Iles de Los, but note 'Kabitaye' district, near the Dubreka River, first recorded in McLACHLAN, p.25), and Rio de Tamara (see note on 15/10) (FERNANDES, f. 127-127v ; PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.2, cap.32, p.78). Almada's sequence is without doubt generally in North to South order, but it is not certain that he gave, or intended to give, the exact order.

CAPOR. Almada's 'Rio de Capor' may have some connection with Kaporo, a Baga village on the Kalum Peninsula, recorded since 1821 ('Kapru' McLACHLAN, p.7 ; 'Kapparoo' WALKER 1845, p.401). The village is generally shown South of the marshes at the entrance to the Southern channel of the Dubreka River and some 10-12 miles from the main channel; but on a French map of 1881 the name appeared North of the lower Dubreka (Bissy, Côte d'Afrique, feuille 23). However, a nineteenth century source, referring to a river encountered in the interior, the 'Kokoulo', possibly the Konkouré or Brameia, which ran to the sea, added that it was said to have "on its banks a trading station which the Fula call Capore" (HECQUARD, p.6). This may have been a different Kaporo from the Dubreka one, and the toponym may have been a not uncommon one. All references to 'Rio de Capor' in sources later than Almada were derivative (via GUERREIRO), with the exception of a reference in FIGUEIREDO (f.47) which supplied detailed sailing directions. Unfortunately, these are not easy to follow, though they seem to indicate either the Brameia River or the Dubreka River, probably the former. The latter river probably represented the 'Rio de Pogomo' of early seventeenth century sources (cf. the kingdom of Pogomo in GUERREIRO 1607, liv.4, cap.8, f.149); and its various channels the 'Rios de Pogomo' in Barreira's 1606 list of rivers "facing the Iles de Los" (BARREIRA, p.169). On balance, it is perhaps more likely that Almada's 'Rio de Capor' was the Brameia than it was the Dubreka. In the later eighteenth century, these two rivers were known as the 'Dembia' and 'Dania' : the modern names were first recorded by McLACHLAN.

TAMBACIRA In the next paragraph the 'Rio de Tambacira' is stated to go to the foot of "the Hills of Crystal". Later references to this toponym were derived, through Guerreiro, from Almada. But Dornelas referred to "the lands of Tambacira", far in "the interior, into which Macamala extended, where there was much crystal" (DORNELAS, f.10). This might indicate that the 'Rio de Tambacira' was the Brameia River, which runs deep into the interior. However the name Tambacira (apparently Susu) bears some resemblance to 'Tabunsu', a district shown on modern maps across the lower Dubreka. If, as suggested in the previous note, the 'Rio de Capor' was the Brameia, then the 'Rio de Tambacira' was probably the Dubreka.

Macamala - where the Hills of Crystal lie.

MACAMALA Dornelas stated that Macamala was a range of hills, occupied by the Dacumlos, extending far into the interior : the high peaks were in the land of the Susu, and the hills contained crystal (DORNELAS,f.10). Álvares spoke of the 'valleys and meadows of Serra Macamala', where the Dagunchos lived after being driven out of Sierra Leone, and where there was said to be crystal (which Alvares doubted) (ÁLVARES,f.48). From the 1480s, Portuguese sources referred to a 'Rio de Cristal' reaching the sea somewhere near the Kalum Peninsula (e.g. PACHECO PEREIRA,liv.1,cap.32,p.78), but Almada's is the earliest reference to a 'Serra de Cristal'. In 1606, Bartolomeu André reported that - "In the kingdom of Bena, to which we are about to travel, there is a hill (serra) said to be of crystal. However, what seems to be more certain is that it has veins (of crystal) in it, from which are extracted or emerge large and very transparent stones which the neighbouring kings use in order to carry out sacrifices in their realms" (GUERREIRO 1607,liv.4,cap.8,f.158v). Father Barreira's subsequent account of his visit to Bena does not include any reference to crystal. In 1607, a Portuguese reporting on the resources of the Upper Guinea coast referred (in Spanish) to a "Sierra de Chrystal" but did not give its location (BRÁSIO,2nd.ser.,4,p.250). Almada's 'Rio de Macamala' probably represents the earlier 'Rio de Cristal' : if the directions given by Pacheco Pereira are to be trusted, this was probably the small Manea River, which penetrates to the Eastern slopes of the Futa Jalon; but if Bartolomeu André was correct in supposing that the 'Serra de Cristal' was in the kingdom of Bena, then the river was probably the Forekaria. However, if the instructions in a Spanish roteiro of the early seventeenth century which begin "if you wish to enter into Masamal" refer to 'Macamala', the river indicated appears to be the Dubreka (SPANISH ROTEIRO,f.22v). 'Macamala' was clearly a name for a section of the hilly interior stretching back from the base of the Kalum peninsula to the Futa Jalon, and the name possibly has some connection with that of Kamalaia Mountain. But, as shown in an earlier note, the name 'Rio de Macamala' may have been an invention of Almada's, or a slip. For other references to the 'Serra de Cristal' and later references to Macamala, see CARVALHO (notes by Thilmans and Moraes, p.367) and HAIR 1975 pp.

CALENCHECAFU In the next paragraph, the Rio de Calenchecafu/Calanchecafu is stated to circle the Hills of Crystal on the South. Between the Kalum Peninsula and the Scarcies River, various rivers reach the hilly interior but none of them penetrates very deeply or 'circles' the hills to any marked extent. Dornelas referred to a people called the Calenchecafus who, together with the Calus, apparently lived on the coast North of the Scarcies (DORNELAS, f.10). In 1606, Barreira listed the rivers facing the Iles de Los as - "those of Pogomo, that of Calanchecafu, the Dry Bar (Barra Seca), that of Casses..." (BARREIRA, p.169). Thus, Rio de Calanchecafu probably lay between the Dubreka River and the Scarcies River. The reference to Dry Bar (also used with reference to one of the mouths of the Rio Pongas, see the note to 14/1) may perhaps be explained by two notes on the relevant Admiralty chart (109) - "Mellakori river bar is subject to frequent change", "Middle Ground (Dries in patches)". A Spanish roteiro of the earlier seventeenth century gave instructions for those who might "wish to go to Calemuche", which seems to have lain up the Morebaia River (SPANISH ROTEIRO, f.23): possibly 'Calemuche' was a variant or misreading of 'Calenche'. Almadá's "Rio de Calenchecafu" was probably either the Morebaia or the Forekaria. For a possible explanation of the name, see HAIR and MITCHELL (pp.34-35).

CALUS This name was first recorded by the English in the 1560s ('Callowsa' 1564, HAKLUYT, p.525; 'Calowsas' 1567, WILLIAMSON, p.509): the river apparently lay in the vicinity of the Iles de Los. The Calus, a people, were mentioned by Dornelas, Álvares and Barreira: the latter stated that they followed the Baga on the coast and extended as far as, and into, the Scarcies River : see the note to 15/6 (Tagunchos). One possibility is that the 'Rio dos Calus' was the same as the 'Rio de Caluma' for which sailing directions were given in 1614 by FIGUEIREDO (f.47v), and which was shown on maps of 1646 and 1684 (PMC, plate 508; 'R.de Callums', Fitzhugh). The sailing directions perhaps indicate the Badabon channel of the Dubreka River. The name 'Caluma', i.e. Kalum, may be connected with the 'Kakulima', the modern name for the mountain landmark to the East of the lower Dubreka; and with ~~the~~ Kalima Kuré, the name of a stream leading into the Badabon channel. The 'Kaloom country' was mentioned in a treaty of 1847 (Treaties with native chiefs, p.82) : it apparently comprised the lower Dubreka region. However, the directions for entering 'los Calus' on a Spanish roteiro of the earlier seventeenth century indicate a river South of the Iles de Los, almost certainly the Mellakuri (SPANISH ROTEIRO, f.23v); and this would fit with Barreira's assertion that the Calus extended to the Scarcies, the next river to the South.

SCARCIES For the development of the toponym, from Cases to Scarcies, see HAIR and MITCHELL (p.34). The name appeared on maps in the 1480s, and in the 1500s Fernandes spoke of 'a district of the Temne called Casse' (FERNANDES, f.128v). Dornelas and Álvares referred to a people called the Cases, undoubtedly the Scarcies Temne (DORNELAS, f.10v; ÁLVARES, ff.48,58). Early sixteenth century Portuguese knew the Scarcies River (or Rivers, two streams have a common estuary) well : cf. PERES (p.12), PACHECO PEREIRA (liv.1, cap.32, p.80), TEIXEIRA DA MOTA (1969).

TAGARIM, MITOMBO. The text requires emendation. The shorter text (Appendix III, 9/4) refers to 'o de Tagarim ou do Mitombo' ('that of Tagarim or Mitombo'): the present text a few lines later agrees with this in mentioning 'este rio Tagarim e Mitombo' ('this river Tagarim and Mitombo'), but here reads 'o de Tagarim, o do Mitombo' ('that of Tagarim, that of Mitombo'), presumably because 'ou' has been miscopied as 'o'. Tagarim and Mitombo were undoubtedly two names for the same river, the Sierra Leone River, though possibly for different stretches of it. Dornelas like Almada used both names, but separately, and failed to explain the distinction: however, it would seem that by 'Tagarim' he meant the estuary of the river (opposite modern Freetown) and by 'Mitombo' probably a higher stretch of the river and certainly the Port Loko Creek which joins it (DORNELAS, f.2 and note, f.11v and note). In 1606, Barreira referred only to the Tagarim, but in 1610 he mentioned the Port of Mitombo (BARREIRA, ^{p.169} ~~f.24~~; GUERREIRO 1611, liv.4, cap.6, f.245). Álvares, on the other hand, referred to the Mitombo 'flowing around Tagarim Point', that is, he called the lower estuary the Mitombo (ÁLVARES, f.47v). Both names had been used to designate the Sierra Leone River since the beginning of the sixteenth century: an even earlier name was Rio de Maypula (possibly from Temne and Bullom -polog 'cotton tree'). In the 1500s, Fernandes called the river 'Taguyri', and the English in the 1560s used 'Tagrin' as the name for the Sierra Leone district (FERNANDES, f.128; HAKLUYT, p.522); but Pacheco Perreira called the river 'Bintombo' (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.32, p.80). Both names survive today, but not as names for the river: the first is found in the name of the point of the river opposite Freetown, Tagrin Point, the second in the names of Tumbu Island and Tumba village, further upriver. It is not clear which vernacular terms these names derive from, but Tumbu can hardly be from Temne a-tumbu 'lead, or sinker for fishing' (SCHLENKER, THOMAS, ₄) since this is presumably ~~is~~ borrowed from Portuguese chumbo 'lead'.

BANGUE This passage suggests that Almada's knowledge of the Sierra Leone Peninsula and its vicinity was limited. From the 1480s, a river immediately to the South of the peninsula had been named on maps 'Rio da Serra': Almada's reference is the earliest documentation of the name Bangué. In 1616 Álvares stated that "the best informed and oldest informants call the river which circles round the Serra on the South the Bangué, which means, the river which passes round rocky or hilly land". He also said that the inhabitants of the Serra were called - or had been called - Bangués, meaning 'dwellers among rocks' (ÁLVARES, f.53v). The toponym probably derives from Temne a-gbalan 'rocky place' (THOMAS) although without Álvares' statement one might have suspected that the ethnonym derived from ka-bay 'sea, river estuary' (the Bangués being the seaward-side Temne). The first substantial river to the South of the Sierra Leone Peninsula hills is the Ribí, whose first town is Mabang. It seems likely that Almada and Álvares were referring to this river under the name Bangué, and later map-makers (e.g. D'Anville) certainly indicated the Ribí and called it Bangué. But this river does not fit Almada's information about portage, since it flows away from the hills, and not across the neck of the peninsula. The stream which flows near the hills and cuts across part of the neck is the Calmont Creek. A portage from this stream to Waterloo Creek, hence to the Bunce River and the Sierra Leone River (i.e., to the Tagrin River), was referred to by Dornelas, who gave a more exact account of the area in question, and who distinguished between the 'Rio de Maribe' (i.e. Ribí) and the stream involved in the portage (DORNELAS, f.2-2v). Thus it would seem that Almada confused two waterways. However it is just possible that the name Bangué did once apply to the lesser stream, since there stands at the head of Calmont Creek today a village called Benguema. This village is supposed to be a nineteenth century foundation, and the name is alleged to be Mende (-ma is a Mende locative : FYFE, p.209; JOHNSON 1953, p.44). But that Benguema stands in the ancient territory of the Bangués suggests a traditional site and an original Temne foundation. On balance, Almada is not exonerated. He certainly is imprecise geographically in the last section of this passage. Cape Sierra Leone, "the headland of the Serra" in any strict sense, itself stands on a peninsula : to avoid the open sea at the river mouth, canoes were formerly portaged across this peninsula, from Aberdeen Creek to Lumley beach and the

sea (BARBOT,p.98). But it is not this portage across the neck of Cape Sierra Leone Almada is referring to, and therefore when he speaks about "making" the headland of the Serra, which is Cape Joyous, into an island", he is either confusing the two portages, or he is using 'Cape Joyous' in a loose and unique sense, to indicate the whole peninsula.

SOUTHERN RIVERS In this paragraph Almada names five rivers (apart from the two in the first sentence) all of which appear to lie South of the Sierra Leone Peninsula. Two of these rivers, the Bagarabomba and the Toto, were named earlier (14/3); and there was linked with them another river, the Bala, not named in this paragraph. With the exception of 'Bagarabomba', all of these potonyms appeared for the first time in Almada's account, and none was recorded in any other original account, not even in the contemporary Portuguese sources (although all were repeated in the summary of Almada in GUERREIRO 1605, liv.4, cap.9, f.136-136v, and hence were passed down, via Jarric and Davity, to Dapper, Barbot and eighteenth century accounts and maps). The earliest reference to Bagarabomba was in an English account of the 1567-8 Hawkins voyage ("the river of Magrabomba", WILLIAMSON, p.510). Later sources applied the name to a cape, a king, an island or islands and a district (see note to DORNELAS, f.2). In 1616, Álvares described "Magarabomba" as a land "broken up into many islands because of the various streams and rivers which push into the land" (ÁLVARES, f.47). Dornelas spoke of the Bay of Bagarabomba. These references indicate that Bagarabomba was a name applied loosely to the Sherbro Island district and to various features therein; and it continued to be used up to the eighteenth century. The first part of the name is possibly connected with the modern name of a river emerging to the North of Sherbro Island, the Bagru (this name was first recorded in Fishers' 'Plan of the River Sherbro in 1773'). There can be little doubt therefore that all the rivers named were waterways of the Sherbro Island district. Unfortunately, earlier references to this district in texts and on maps were confused. In 1461/2, Pedro de Sintra gave separate names to the channels North and East of Sherbro Island (it was not recognised that 'Cape St. Ann' stood on an island and that the waterways connected) : the names, as reported by Cadamosto, were 'Rio di Sancta Maria' and 'el fiume dale palme' (CADAMOSTO, pp.77-78). The latter name persisted for over a century, in the Portuguese form 'Rio das Palmas', and seems to have referred to both the Sherbro Strait (the Eastern channel at its sea-entry) and the river which flows into it, more recently called the Bum-Kittam (cf. PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.2, cap.1, p.96). The Benincasa maps misunderstood Cadamosto's account and misinterpreted badly this section of the coast, and extant sixteenth

century Portuguese maps were also highly inexact in their depiction of the Sherbro Island district. Pacheco Pereira's detailed map, which ought to have ^{been} more accurate^{ly}, was lost from his text. A confusing factor was the extraordinary course of a section of the Bum-Kittam system, the Kittam-Waanje River, which runs parallel to the coast, sometimes less than a mile inland, for nearly 50 miles (80 km) : this was not made clear in contemporary sources until John Newton's 1763 reference in print (NEWTON, p. xlv). On most seventeenth century maps, the course of the Bum-Kittam-Waanje was not shown accurately, the exceptions being the Janssen map of Guinea of 1649 and Fitzhugh's manuscript map of 1684. Yet it is clear from Pacheco Pereira's account that from an early date the Portuguese were well acquainted with the Bum-Kittam-Waanje, the largest of the rivers emerging around Sherbro Island, and that they traded up it some considerable distance (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv. 2, cap. 1, p. 96). 'Bum' is probably a variant of the ethnonym Bullom (cf. DALBY 1962, p. 65): the Bum, or Sewa as it is more commonly known today, runs through Bullom country and through a Bullom chieftaincy called Bum (CLARKE, p. 33). A portonym on a 1489 Venetian portolan, 'Sabom' referring to a river apparently in the Sherbro Island district, may conceivably refer to the Bum - if the term is not Portuguese sabão 'soap' (MCA, 5/1, p. 1511). Almada later states that Sherbro Island "lies at the entrance to River Butibum and the River of Alliances" (15/11). This location fits the Bum-Kittam-Waanje (the earlier Rio das Palmas), and there is some correspondence between Butibum and Bum (though no explanation ~~can be offered~~ of the first two syllables ^{can be offered - they are not} ~~which cannot be~~ a vernacular prefix). The River of Alliances may have been the upper Kittam-Waanje system, i.e. the Waanje. But if Almada's reference indicates two entirely separate rivers, the River of Alliances may have been the other major river to the East of Sherbro Island, the Jong. Almada's other rivers can only be identified even more tenuously. The Bagarabomba was perhaps the Bagru River emerging North of Sherbro Island.)

The Toto was perhaps to the West of Sherbro Island, since the Toto Islands (Turtle Islands, see following note) lay there, but if it had a mud-bar it can hardly have been the waterway passing these islands, the main channel to the North of Sherbro Island, now called Sherbro River. It may therefore have been one of the larger creeks emerging to the NNW, the Thuaka or Kagboro. The Taglecu and Bala may have been the Jong River and/or the Sherbro River and/or neighbouring creeks.

While the names Toto, Taglecu and Bala cannot be found on modern maps, they may be African language terms as they are not wildly unlike some modern toponyms of the district : for instance, Taglecu ends in the same way as Bendu, Matru, etc. Accurate maps of the district date from Dutch surveys in the 1640s; and the present toponymy, ~~as~~ derived from both European and African languages, began to be recorded when the English established trading posts in and around Sherbro Island c.1650.

15/8 ...muitas laranjeiras.

...many orange-trees.

CITRUS FRUITS Almada notes citrus fruits in the Sherbro Island district, on the Banana Islands (15/10), and generally in the Sierra Leone district (19/1); but not at any point further West in Guinea. See the note to DORNELAS, f.6.

15/8 ...camo;

...called camo,

CAMWOOD In his concluding section, Almada draws attention again to the existence of 'Brazil wood' in Sierra Leone (19/1). But the red dyewood of Brazil was obtained mainly from *Caesalpinia* spp., whereas the red dyewood of Sierra Leone is from *Baphia nitida*, camwood. Almada's term is the Temne ak-am and Bullom/Krim kam (DEIGHTON) from which the modern name derives. Barreira, more cautiously, said that camwood was "like Brazil wood" (BARREIRA, ^{pp. 178-1} ~~f. 5~~). Trade in camwood at Sierra Leone developed during the seventeenth century, but in the hands of the Dutch and English (cf. DORNELAS, f.6; ÁLVARES, f.48A; COELHO 1669, p.65/f.55). Rodney, who discusses the camwood trade at length, argues that the Portuguese authorities failed to show interest in Sierra Leone camwood because of the regular supply of Brazil wood (RODNEY, p.162). Another Portuguese trader, Bartolomeu André, who lived in Sierra Leone, also drew attention to red dyewood there, and this reference appeared in print (GUERREIRO 1607, liv.4, cap.9, f.158).

SUGAR Almada notes wild sugar canes in the Sherbro Island district and on the Banana Islands (15/10), but nowhere else in Guinea. Earlier he suggested that sugar-cane might be planted along the Gambia River (6/1), and in his concluding chapter he suggests that sugar-mills might be established in Sierra Leone, which might then become as profitable as Brazil (19/1). During Almada's adult life, the Portuguese carried sugar-planting from the Atlantic Islands to Brazil, which as a result experienced striking economic development. Almada was not the only Portuguese to draw attention to the potential of Sierra Leone for sugar production (or apparent potential, since the industry has not in fact developed there) : cf. BARREIRA (^{p.170}~~6-3~~), GUERREIRO (1607,liv.4, cap.8,f.158,letter of B. André, 1606), Relacion de las Tierras (1611, ff.1v,2v), DORNELAS (ff.3v,4v). The earliest reference to sugar canes at Sierra Leone was in 1582 (MADOX,f.180v) : for later references, see the note to DAPPER (f.6). Sugar-planting was attempted by the Sierra Leone Company in the 1790s, and during the nineteenth century by African entrepreneurs (FYFE,pp.46,72,94,etc) but in the 1960s it could only be reported that - "The introduction of several new cash crops appears to be a distinct possibility over the next few years...and sugar cane is another crop which would grow well" (CLARKE,p.80).

COTTON Almada refers again to cotton in Sierra Leone in 19/1. In the 1500s, Pacheco Pereira stated that those of the inhabitants who did not go about naked wore a cotton loincloth; and Fernandes reported, somewhat enigmatically, that "when they have cotton they spin it" (PACHECO PEREIRA,liv.1,cap.33,p.84; FERNANDES,f.133v). An unreliable source of the 1540s stated that cotton could be obtained in the Rio das Palmas, in the Sherbro Island district (ALFONCE,f.51). In 1606, Bartolomeu André listed cotton among the useful products of Sierra Leone (GUERREIRO 1607,liv.4,cap.8,f.158). Most sixteenth and seventeenth century sources on Sierra Leone fail to mention cotton, suggesting that it was not extensively cultivated.

SPICES Almada earlier described two peppers or spices in the land of the Banyun, malagueta and mantubilha (9/29). The shorter text adds a third spice in Sierra Leone : "there is another which is long, and which they eat with fish, and from the bark of this tree they make tinder for muskets" (Appendix III,9/2). This last spice appears to be the same as the malagueta of Banyunland (large tree, long peppers, small seeds within, medicinal against stomach-ache and chills, especially fried); as Dornelas's malagueteira (DORNELAS,f.5v, high tree, long peppers, seeds within, medicinal against stomach-ache and gut-ache, hence cooked in rice or stew, good wood, bark gives oakum and tinder); as Álvares' malagueta (ÁLVARES,f.48A-48Av, middling tree, long pepper, medicinal against chills, in food, wood makes small masts, bark gives oakum and tinder); and as Xylopia aethiopica, known as malagueta preta in modern Portuguese Crioulo (tree 30'-60' high, fruit narrow and 2" long, medicinal for dysenteric conditions, wood makes paddles, bark makes cordage, DALZIEL,p.8). Almada's Sierra Leone mantubilha (grows at foot of tree, colours like saffron) appears to be the same as his Banyun mantubilha (9/29, grows like ivy, colours like saffron); as Álvares' mantevilha (ÁLVARES,f.49v, colours like saffron) and as Coelho's mantebilha (COELHO 1669,p.65/f.55v;1684,p.216/f.44,grows in bunches, colours yellow). Dornelas' mantebilha was said to grow on trees and to be the same as Mina pepper, or 'granos paradisos' : the reference appears to be confused (DORNELAS,f.5v). The spice known to Almada as mantubilha has not been identified. The Sierra Leone malagueta referred to by Almada is not the same as the malagueta in Banyunland identified above. The Sierra Leone malagueta (grows on little bushes, in cuplike containers) appears to be the same as Coelho's caçiam (COELHO,1669,p.65/f.55v), grows on little bushes, in cuplike containers), and perhaps the same as Dornelas' casiam (DORNELAS,f.5v, grows not on a tree but on a bush like a vine-sprig) : hence, it is probably the same as Temne ka-seja 'spice, Aframomum melegueta, also Zingiber officinale, ginger' (DALZIEL, pp.471-3). This note modifies comments in notes to DORNELAS (f.5-5v).

SIERRA LEONE RICE Rice was mentioned in the earliest reports on the Kalum Peninsula and the Iles de Loô (CADAMOSTO, p.75; DE LA FOSSE, p.185); and in the 1500s its cultivation was recorded in the Sierra Leone district and in the neighbouring Scarcies and Sherbro Island districts (FERNANDES, ff.134v, 137v; PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.32, p.80; cap.33, p.86; liv.2, cap.1, p.98). Later references to rice in this region include HAKLUYT (pp.526, 795), DORNELAS (f.4v and notes), ÁLVARES (f.48), PURCHAS (pt.1, lib.3, cap.6/1, p.189; lib.4, cap.4/1, p.415). A detailed account of how rice was grown in the neighbouring Cape Mount region was supplied by DAPPER (pp.395-6/25-6). In 1582, the English bought large quantities of rice in the Sierra Leone River; and thirty years later Álvares stated that non-Portuguese trading ships bought rice (FENTON, p.103; ÁLVARES, f.56; cf. RUITERS, p.283/57, BEAULIEU, p.3). The rice which reached the English appears to have come from the Port Loko Creek, and Rodney suggests, though on no firm evidence, that swamp rice was grown there (RODNEY, p.21). The record of a Portuguese trading voyage in 1526 shows that rice was purchased in the Scarcies River, largely for the consumption of the slaves on board (TEIXEIRA DA MOTA 1969).

IVORY Almada refers again to the ivory trade at Sierra Leone in 15/14 and 19/1. Ivory carving there, apparently among the Bullom, was mentioned in the 1500s (FERNANDES, f.136v; PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.33, p.84). The ivory trade developed in the sixteenth century and declined towards the end of the seventeenth (RODNEY, pp.154-158; DORNELAS, note to f.7). In 1526, the Portuguese were buying ivory in the Scarcies River (TEIXEIRA DA MOTA 1969, p.30). In 1551, Sierra Leone ivory was recorded as arriving in the Cape Verde Islands (BRÁSIO, 3, p.422). In 1582, the English visiting the Sierra Leone River were told by Portuguese traders that they had "traffique in this River for Negroes, Rize and Oliphante teethe, the only traffique (as they informed me) they have in thies partes"; and the English bought a quantity of ivory (FENTON, pp.102-103). In 1606, Bartolomeu André reported that much Sierra Leone ivory was going to non-Portuguese traders (GUERREIRO 1607, liv.4, cap.9, f.158). In 1616, Álvares said that the people of Sierra Leone complained that non-Portuguese traders would buy only ivory and rice; and he stated that there were large quantities of ivory available, for instance in Limba country (ALVARES, ff.50, 54, 56). The Dutch traded salt for ivory (RUITERS, p.284/57).

WAX On the trade in Upper Guinea in beeswax, see the note in DORNELAS (f.9v). Almada has many earlier references to this trade and to the production of honey : 2/2 (honey from trees), 3/5 (wax), ~~(wax)~~, 5/4 (wax and honey from trees), 8/15 (wax and bee-keeping), 9/4 (wax). The wax trade from Sierra Leone is mentioned again in 15/14 and 19/1. An earlier Portuguese reference to wax from 'the rivers of Sierra Leone' was made in 1582 (ANDRADE, p.106). In 1606, Bartolomeu André, a trader living in Sierra Leone, referred to the quantities of wax handled by the Portuguese in Upper Guinea before other nations intervened (GUERREIRO 1607, liv.4, cap.8, ff.157v-158). For information on bees, honey, and wax in modern Sierra Leone, see WALDOCK (summarised in KEMBER, pp.31-3).

COLA The import of cola to several points on the Northern coast was noted earlier by Almada, who pointed out that the only source of cola was the Sierra Leone region (6/9,9/40,11/7,12/17). Edible cola-nuts are provided by *Cola nitida* and two species of *Cola acuminata*: the term probably derives from Temne k-ala 'cola nut'. Dornelas also referred to the cola trade from Sierra Leone (DORNELAS, ff.9,9v,10v,27v,30v). In 1607, the trader Bartolomeu André stated that seven or more ships loaded cola in Sierra Leone annually (GUERREIRO 1607, liv.4, cap.9, 158v). Another Portuguese argued in the same year that cola was carried to Barbary, presumably across the desert; and therefore shiploads of cola should be sent there in exchange for Christian prisoners (BRÁSIO, 2nd. ser., 4, pp.217, ²⁴⁷277). In 1635, there was said to be "great trade" in cola between the Scarcies River and Rio Jeba (and it was uniquely reported that some cola was obtained in the Cagacais) (CARVALHO, f.199v); and later in the seventeenth century Coelho supplied an important account of the trade (COELHO 1669, pp.62-3/ff.52v-53). Álvares said that the cola trade was the most regular and common trade in Sierra Leone, and pointed out that, among European traders, only the Portuguese took part in the cola trade (ÁLVARES, ff.49,56). This is confirmed by the lack of reference to cola in English and Dutch sources. The cola trade may have developed only in the later sixteenth century. In 1564, a Portuguese ship belonging to an Azorean and laden with cola and other unspecified goods was seized in the Scarcies River by the English, who, finding the cargo of little value to them, burnt the vessel (according to an official Portuguese complaint, which dates the incident erroneously to 1565 : PRO, S.P.70, vol.99, ff.5,23v). This appears to be the earliest reference to the marine cola trade. By 1582, a report on "the rivers of Sierra Leone" was stating that "a fruit like a chestnut, called cola, is a cargo for many ships travelling all over Guinea, especially to the Gambia River" (ANDRADE, p.106). Accounts of Sierra Leone earlier than Almada's fail to mention cola; and it may be significant that the detailed record of the voyage of a Portuguese ship in 1526, which notes the purchase of iron in the Scarcies River and the subsequent exchange of iron for goods in the Rio de São Domingos, does not indicate that cola was similarly purchased, carried and exchanged (TEIXEIRA DA MOTA 1969). In 1606, Father Barreira stated that cola was obtained in the rivers Pogomo, Calanchecafu and Mitombo, as well as in the Scarcies River (BARREIRA, p.169): other sources did not confirm the export of cola from rivers North of the Scarcies.

SIERRA LEONE IRON Almada mentions iron again (19/1). The shorter version refers to "iron mines" (Appendix III, 9/3), which therefore was repeated in print in Guerreiro and in later writers (GUERREIRO 1605, liv. 4, cap. 9, f. 135v). But Bartolomeu André, a Portuguese trader living in Sierra Leone, in 1606 said only that "there is rock from which iron could be made if anyone knew how to smelt it" (*ibid.* 1607, liv. 4, cap. 9, f. 158). In the same year, Father Barreira, writing generally of the whole Upper Guinea coast but with special reference to Sierra Leone, stated - "There are mines of various metals, especially iron, the best of which comes from the Sousos" (BARREIRA, ^{p. 171} ~~172~~). In 1607 an Englishman noted that the swords used by the inhabitants of Sierra Leone were "made by themselves of such iron as is brought them" (PURCHAS, pt. I, lib. 3, cap. 4/1, p. 414). Dornelas spoke of iron smelting among the Susu and among an unidentified inland people, the Singuleras: since the Susu sent iron goods to the coast it was implied that there was no iron working there. However, he stated that there had formerly been iron working in the lower Scarcies district, and an iron trade (DORNELAS, ff. 9 and note, 10v, 11). The earliest reference to this coast alleged that the inhabitants of the Kalum Peninsula had "no weapons because no iron has been found in their land", but the minimal contacts which produced this statement render it suspect (CADAMOSTO, p. 75; cf. MAUNY, p. 316; HAIR, 1969, a, p. 55). In the 1500s, Pacheco Pereira stated that iron came from the Susu to the Serra (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv. 1, cap. 33, p. 84); and Fernandes spoke of iron from the Sierra Leone interior reaching the Gambia and other parts. But in relation to the coastal district, and perhaps to only a narrow area around the Sierra Leone Peninsula, Fernandes merely said - "In this land there is much good iron, and if they knew how to make forges they would have more iron than Biscay" (FERNANDES, ff. 110v, 125, 135). The export of iron bars from the Scarcies River in the 1520s is documented (TEIXEIRA DA MOTA 1969, a, pp. 30-36). The iron may have come from Susuland, higher up the river. In the 1540s, it was ambiguously reported that not only was there gold "en toute ceste terre" (between Rio Grande and Sierra Leone), especially "en la montaigne Lyonne", but that the best and mildest iron in the world was made "en elle" (FONTENEAU, p. 333) : even if the reference was intended to apply to Sierra Leone proper, it is likely that the iron-making district was actually located in the interior. Álvares, writing in 1616 but discussing the Sierra Leone region before the Mane conquest (c. 1550), stated that Portuguese traders obtained "a great quantity of iron from the country of the Logos where it is smelted" that is, from the

interior (ÁLVARES,f.74). Thus, it would appear that no source of the Portuguese period claimed to have seen iron-working in Sierra Leone. Even in the 1780s, Matthews wrote - "In the interior country, south of Sierra Leone, they have a white iron, very malleable, of which they make knives and sabres...How they smelt and refine it from the ore I never could learn" (MATTHEWS,p.52). Today, iron-ore is one of Sierra Leon's major exports. It is obtained in the Lumsar district, 80 km. up-river from the peninsula; and there are less important deposits elsewhere in the interior. Recent archaeological research has shown that iron was worked in the interior, especially among the Limba, for at least several centuries before the Europeans reached the coast, though possibly only in small quantities (ATHERTON 1972,a,p.61). But it remains uncertain whether there was any iron-working nearer the coast, on the lower Scarcies or around the Sierra Leone estuary, even in the seventeenth century.

SIERRA LEONE GOLD For gold and the gold trade further North, see the notes to 13/11, 14/4 and 15/6. Sierra Leone gold is mentioned again in 19/1, and gold from Susuland in 15/13. The shorter account (Appendix III, 9/3) limits itself to stating that 'Concho', i.e. Susu, gold is traded in Sierra Leone (hence GUERREIRO 1605, liv. 4, cap. 9, f. 135v). In 1606, Bartolomeu André spoke of "much fine gold" in Sierra Leone, regretting that a large part was buried with kings (*ibid.*, 1607, liv. 4, cap. 9, ff. 156v-157; cf. BARREIRA, ^{p. 11} ~~p. 12~~). Dornelas was more specific, stating that most of the gold available in Sierra Leone came from Susuland, but that some alluvial gold was found in rivers (DORNELAS, ff. 2v and note, 9). Álvares said that gold could be obtained at Sherbro Island, and that some came from the Coras (? Korankos) of the hilly interior (ÁLVARES, f. 48). A century earlier, in the 1500s, Pacheco Pereira stated that the Bullom obtained a little gold from the interior, from Coya (? Cora) (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv. 1, cap. 33, p. 84; liv. 2, cap. 1, p. 94; cap. 2, p. 100); and Fernandes said that Sierra Leone had the finest gold in Guinea, and that marriage payments and gifts to the gods were made there in gold (FERNANDES, ff. 133v, 136, 140). The 'Cantino' map of Guinea of 1502 devoted some space to a reference to Sierra Leone and its "much fine gold" (PMC, plate 5; or TEIXEIRA DA MOTA 1972, plate 7). In the 1540s it was claimed that there was "fine gold" all along the coast South of Rio Grande, but especially at Sierra Leone (FONTENEAU, p. 333). In the 1560s, the Portuguese claimed in diplomatic documents that among the cargoes of ships seized by the English in the Sierra Leone and Scarcies Rivers was gold (PRO, S.P. 70, vol. 99, ff. 4/art. 7, 11/2, 16v/4); and in 1582 the English tried to buy gold in the Sierra Leone estuary (FENTON, p. 104). A Portuguese source noted in 1582 that a quantity of gold was traded in the 'rivers of Sierra Leone' (ANDRADE, p. 106); and a Dutch source of c. 1600 described how the Portuguese traded salt from the Cape Verde Islands to Sierra Leone, in exchange for ivory, cola and gold (RUITERS, pp. 281/56, 283/57). In 1635, a Portuguese source claimed that Sierra Leone possessed "much gold", and that gold was among the goods exported by the Dutch and English (CARVALHO, f. 199v); but in 1669 Coelho limited himself to claiming that the gold-bearing streams which reached the sea "in many parts of the coast" had their origin in the interior of Sierra Leone (and in 1684 even this reference was cut) (COELHO 1669, p. 65/f. 55v; 1684, p. 216/f. 44). In fact, the amount of gold obtained by the Portuguese in Sierra Leone was never very great (NUNES DIAS, 1, pp. 448-450; MAGALHÃES-GODINHO, pp. 205-9). Despite their obsessive interest in gold, the Portuguese appear never to have penetrated to the localities from which it was obtained, or to have been sure precisely where these lay. On gold and

and gold-mining within the modern state of Sierra Leone, see CLARKE(p.90).

15/9 ...chamados por eles chinas. ...used to reverence.

ILES DE LOS The Iles de Los lie about 80 miles (130 km) South of Cape Verga, or very nearly the distance (25 leagues or 150 km) stated by Almada. The islands were discovered by Pedro de Sintra in 1460/1 : Cadamosto referred to two small, wooded, uninhabited islands, and said that on the mainland the local people worshipped 'idols', figures of wood in the shape of men (CADAMOSTO, p.75; cf. HAIR 1969,p.57). Though Cadamosto did not refer to the naming of the islands, the 1468 Benincasa maps, apparently based on information from Cadamosto, indicated 'Isole de Idoli'. The name has persisted to the present day, though latterly in the corrupt form Iles de Los (see TEIXEIRA DA MOTA 1950,pp.197-8). Pacheco Pereira preceded Almada in stating that the idols were so named because the first discoverers found idols there; and he and Fernandes agreed with Cadamosto in describing the islands as uninhabited (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1,cap.32,p.76; FERNANDES,f.127v). Pacheco Pereira added that Africans from the mainland cultivated rice on the islands and left their idols there : in 1479-80 the Portuguese found Africans on one island, but this was probably because it was the season for harvesting (DE LA FOSSE,p.185). It is possible that permanent settlement on the islands only began in the sixteenth century, and may have been encouraged by the regular visits of European ships : Pacheco Pereira described the watering point on one island, and the supply of wood and fish. A Frenchman, whose account of the area may possibly have been based on a voyage to Guinea in the mid 1550s (he declared that there was "no idol or statue whatever" in the islands, and that the name perhaps referred to a rock in the sea shaped like the head of a man), described the islands as uninhabited (THEVET,f.68-68v). In 1564, an English expedition under Hawkins stayed nine days at one of the islands, said to be called Sambula; and the lengthy account published by Hakluyt in 1589, based apparently on information from Portuguese contacts, stated that the islands had been conquered in 1561 by the 'Sumboses', i.e., Almada's Sumbas, who had settled and planted farms (HAKLUYT,pp.526-7). The account implied that there had been previous Sape inhabitants. The English visited the islands again in 1567, but it is not clear whether they found them inhabited or not (contrary to the view in HAIR^{1970 b},p.214). Dornelas and Álvares agree with Almada in stating that one island (the furthest out, according to Dornelas, and therefore Tamara Island), which was hilly and wooded,

and had water, was cultivated and inhabited; and that the other two islands were used for crops and cattle (DORNELAS, f.10; ÁLVARES, f.47v). Dornelas added that the island had a king. Later accounts were given by Beaulieu, who traded beads and knives for provisions, and stated that the king of the islands lived up a river on the mainland (BEAULIEU, pp.1-2); by Dapper, who said that tobacco, ivory and gold, as well as provisions, could be obtained there (DAPPER, p.374/5); and by Coelho, who said that two islands were inhabited, and who spoke highly of the products, especially cola and palm-wine, the latter being as good as malmsey (COELHO 1669, pp.63-4; ^{f.54-54v} cf. FARO, p.103 ^{f.76-76v}). Although the islands traded with Europeans, there was a long history of suspicion and hostility; and writers warned visitors to be circumspect (DE LA FOSSE, p.185; PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.32, p.78; HAKLUYT, p.527; BEAULIEU, p.2; DAPPER, p.374/5; COELHO 1669, p.64 ^{f.54v}). Dornelas reported that French sailors had been captured and kept on the islands (DORNELAS, f.10 and note). Apart from the period of 'Sumba' conquest, the inhabitants of these islands were probably always Baga (although Coelho appeared to believe that in his time they were Bullom, COELHO 1669, p.68; cf. HAIR 1967, pp.50-1). The vernacular name for the islands, 'Ufutuy', first given on a Dutch map of c.1660 (Atlas Blaeuw, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek), and found on modern maps in the name of a village on Tamara Island, 'Fotoba', was said in the nineteenth century to be Baga Futu or Dofutu (KOELLE, p.2). The Susu who after c.1750 became the chief inhabitants called the islands For-to-ma, said to mean 'White Man's Land' (WINTERBOTTOM, pp.5-6). An early nineteenth century source referred to the 'idols' after which the islands received their European name - "The native inhabitants of the islands are Bagos...The idols to which they pay their superstitious devotions are figures rudely representing a human being besmeared with earths of various colours: these are placed on long poles, which are erected on the shore at landing places, or at particular parts of a path" (McLACHLAN, p.37, quoted in AFZELIUS, p.155). The first detailed map of the islands was from a survey by William Woodville of Liverpool in 1777 and appeared on a map of 1797 (The African Pilot, 1799, 'A new survey of the coast of Africa...').

TAMARA ISLAND

The toponym probably derives from Portuguese tamara 'date fruit', which itself derives from Arabic tamar : Temne ma-tamara, DEIGHTON, and similar terms in other languages of the Sierra Leone region are more probably from Arabic than from Portuguese, and it is unlikely that the toponym derives from an African term. A Rio de Tamara was first recorded on maps of the later fifteenth century, and the name continued to appear throughout the sixteenth century (TELXEIRA DA MOTA 1950, pp.199-201 : the present note interprets some of the evidence differently). According to Pacheco Pereira, it lay immediately North of the 'Case' or Scarcies River (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.32, p.78); and was therefore the Mellakuri River. Almada omits this name from his list of rivers, and instead is the earliest source to record a 'Tamara Island'. The toponym has persisted to the present day but has been applied to different islands. If Almada's "facing River Case" is to be taken literally (his next ascription, "facing Cape Joyous", is either wrong or loose), the island was probably the largest island in the Scarcies estuary, Kortimaw Island (cf. "este Rio de Case teem na boca hũa ilha", ibid., p.80; HAIR and MITCHELL, p.36). Before Almada's toponym was copied and appeared in print (in GUERREIRO), an Amsterdam map of 1602, based on a Portuguese source, marked 'I. Datamera' (PMC, 3, p.68): the name appeared to refer to a single large island occupying most of the Scarcies estuary. However, in 1606 Father Barreira referred to Tamara Island in terms which suggested that it lay well North of the Scarcies (GUERREIRO 1607, liv.4, cap.8, f.150). In the roteiro of Guinea in FIGUEIREDO (1625 ed., p.27), Tamara Island is located just North of three rivers, apparently the streams of Forekaria estuary : it is therefore to be identified as Matacong Island, which though small is a prominent and recognised landmark. In 1669, Coelho described Tamara or Amber Island as "small, uninhabited and right against the mainland", and also as lying North of the 'Rio de Choi' (apparently the Mellakuri, the Forekaria being passed over) (COELHO 1669, p.69). Again, this seems to be Matacong Island, which is very close to the mainland. Figueiredo's description was repeated by PIMENTEL in 1762 and was the source for the Danville 1775 map ('Guinée entre Serre-lionne...'), though Tamara is here represented as a large island. The name 'Matacong' appeared first on Fitzhugh's 1684 map ('Mattacongo') where it was written across the mainland, apparently between the

Forekaria and Mellakuri rivers : it appeared indisputably as an island name, applied to the present island, on a map of 1789 (in MATTHEWS). Meanwhile the earlier name Tamara Island had shifted. On Sanson's 1655 map, the name 'Ilas de Tamarca' was written under 'los Idolos', apparently as an alternative name for the Iles de Los. In 1668, Dapper called these islands 'de los Idolos', Tamara or VeuVfvitay (DAPPER, p.374/5); and later maps referred to a single Tamara Island in this group. On Woodville's survey of 1777 (see previous note), one island was labelled "Great Island called by the Natives Tamara". Teixeira da Mota has suggested that 'Tanna' Island (in the Forekaria estuary) may bear a name which is a corruption of 'Tamara' (TEIXEIRA DA MOTA 1950, 201).

BANANAS Bananas, earlier mentioned in 9/29, were curiously not mentioned by Dornelas when he was listing fruit at Sierra Leone in detail (chapter 2). Here they are stated to exist on the islands which were later re-named the Banana Islands. In the shorter account (Appendix III,9/2), bananas are listed among the fruits of Sierra Leone in general (hence, in ^{VERREIRO}~~Guerreiro~~ 1605, liv.4, cap.9, f.135). For the earliest references to the banana in West Africa, on the Island of S. Tomé, see FERNANDES (f.206 and note 294). The earliest references to the fruit at Sierra Leone appear to be references to "plantans" in accounts of the 1582 English expedition (HAKLUYT, pp.650,652; MADOX, f.42v). In 1586, another English expedition noted the fruit on an island ('Insula Verde') five leagues away from the Sierra Leone River, ^{probably Sherbro}~~possibly one of the Banana Island~~ (HAKLUYT, p.809). In 1607, the Englishman Finch described the "plantan tree" at length, noted that the inhabitants of Sierra Leone planted these trees "about their houses", and stated that they called "this fruit Bannanas". The expedition took a supply of green bananas to sea with them, "which lay six weekes in ripening" (PURCHAS, pt.1, lib.4, cap.4/1, pp.415-6). The elaborate account of useful trees at Cape Mount, probably written in the 1630s, to be found in DAPPER (pp.387-9/17-9), does not mention bananas. In 1669, it was stated that the inhabitants of the Iles de Los dried bananas, and traded in the dried product (COELHO 1669, ^{f.56v}~~p.66~~). In 1664, two kinds of banana were said to flourish in Sierra Leone, one kind called 'Sam Thomé' (FARO, p.87/f.62-62), in modern Bullom, one variety of banana is called sintem (PICHL; cf. BRADSHAW, p.32). In the coastal languages of Sierra Leone, Temme, Bullom and Vai, the term for 'banana' is bana : it is not clear which way the term was borrowed. The most detailed early account of bananas in Sierra Leone was given by Álvares in 1616. He mentioned three kinds : "the smaller ones called the Figs of S. Thomé, the subject of a discourse by the scholar João Fragozo and which in the opinion of D. Brocado was 'the fruit with which the devil persuaded our first parents to commit sin'; "other bananas called centolous [? Fula kɔntɔmbɔlɔ 'horse plantain' DEIGHTON], longer and better" : and "still longer ones, more suitable for cooking than for the table: these are cultivated, we have them in our orchards and all the villages have plenty of them" (ÁLVARES, f.48 A).

SURA Earlier (8/9,9/19), Almada called palmwine sura. Presumably this is the term sura commonly used by the Portuguese in East Africa to denote coconut juice, sometimes called 'vinho de palmeira': it derives, through later Indian languages, from Sanskrit sura (DALGADO). The extended use, to denote any edible palm-juice, is not noted in Dalgado, and the term does not commonly appear in West African sources. It is conceivable that there was some confusion with an African term, which may have been Susu sara 'a form of palmwine tapped from a fallen tree' (DEIGHTON; not in LACAN). The shorter account (Appendix III,9/2) adds a little to the reference to palm-trees and sura - "and they draw oil (from the tree) and from the leaves of other palm trees they make balaio (baskets)". Strictly, the oil is not drawn from the tree, as the wine is, but is extracted from the nuts. The "other palm trees" are raffia palms (*Raphia gracilis*, *Raphia vinifera*) which provide canes and ^{the} ~~piassava~~ ^{will} used for making mats and ropes. ~~today~~. Álvares called these palms "false palms", and supplied the names poche and tara de bordão (stick tara) (ÁLVARES, f.49v : cf. Temne a-pot 'thatch palm, *Raffia gracilis*' DEIGHTON, and Guiné Criçoulo tara 'raffia palm' ESPIRITO SANTO). In modern Sierra Leone Krio, the term for a 'basket' is blai (from Portuguese balaio): cf. Temne ka-balay 'basket' (see BRADSHAW, p.15). Other sources refer to the making of special baskets for the cola trade, called godenhos, from tara, though these were never described as balaio (DORNELAS, f.5v; ÁLVARES, ff.49v,60v; COELHO 1669, p.62/f.52v).

BANANA ISLANDS

The islands lying off the extreme South West tip of the Sierra Leone Peninsula were known as the 'Ilhas Bravas' or Wild Islands from the 1460s (Benincasa maps) until the middle of the seventeenth century (e.g., Sanson's 1655 map). The most intensively cultivated of the Cape Verde Islands bears the name 'Ilha Brava', and the English account of Drake's circumnavigation commented - "a most pleasant and sweete island, the trees whereof are always green and faire to looked upon, in respect whereof they call it Ila del Brava, that is, the brave Island" (HAKLUYT, p.643 B). This archaic meaning of English brave ('admirable, showy') is also an archaic meaning of Portuguese bravo, hence the possibility has to be considered that 'Ilhas Bravas' was a complimentary, not a derogatory name. However, it seems that the sixteenth century English explanation was incorrect, and ~~that~~ in contemporary Portuguese toponymy bravo invariably meant 'wild' : cf. "Ilha Brava is so called because it is very rugged" (FERNANDES, f.191). In 1616, Álvares complained that the name was ill-suited to the islands, for although uninhabited they were covered with fruit trees (ÁLVARES, f.47v). The fruit trees were probably planted by the Portuguese, and their presence undoubtedly led to the change of name (DORNELAS, note to f.2v). The islands provided the Portuguese with watering-places and careening-beaches free from attack or theft, from the 1470s onwards (DE LA FOSSE, p.186; PERES, pp.13-14; PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.2, cap.1, p.94).

Almada's reference to the location of the islands is misleading : 'Cape Joyous' is Cape Sierra Leone, at the North West tip of the peninsula (and it would be very abnormal usage if by 'Cape Joyous' Almada meant the whole peninsula). Dornelas supplied a more exact location (DORNELAS, f.2). The islands are very small. The central section of one island is covered at high tide, hence historical sources give the number of islands as either two or three.

In 1582, the English chaplain Madex drew a profile of the Sierra Leone peninsula and above the islands noted - "plantens gree hear" (FENTON, plate VII) : this ~~unexpressed~~ is the earliest reference to bananas on the Banana Islands.

ROARING NOISES The shorter account is surprisingly different (Appendix III,9/1). "In the concavities of Cape Joyous the dashing waves resound in such a way, and thus the ocean roars, that it seems like the roaring of a lion, from which they derived the name Serra Leoa". This statement was copied exactly by GUERREIRO (1605,liv.4, cap.9,f.135); was translated by DU JARRIC (p.368), where the lion became a lioness (understandably, since Leoa is feminine); and was passed down to later writers (e.g., DAVITY 1643,p.399; DAPPER,p.372/3; BARBOT,p.96). Thus, according to Dapper's English translator, "from the hollow of its Concave Rocks, whereon the sea beats, when the Winds bluster and the stormy Billows rage, proceeds a terrible noise, like the furious roarings of a robbed lioness" (OGILBY,p.369). No modern visitor to 'Cape Joyous' (Cape Sierra Leone) or off-shore sailor has noted undue noises : it is true that Atlantic surf-waves break on beaches and rocks at this picturesque point, but there are no cliffs or 'concavities' and no exceptional roaring noises. Either there was some difference in the physical condition in earlier centuries, or early sources exaggerated. In Dornelas' account there is no reference to noises on the coast. But Álvares, who actually lived at Sierra Leone, accepted that there were noises which perhaps explained the epithet 'leonine' (though it is possible that the thought had been put into his head by his reading Almada's reference in the 1605 volume of Guerreiro). Álvares thought that the noises were due to several causes; to concavities or caves, not only at Cape Joyous but elsewhere; to the "broken waters of [Sierra Leone's] copious streams in its multitudinous valleys"; and to the echo from "its furious waves, which break not only against white beaches, but also against the great rocks that gird its shore" (ÁLVARES,f.47). The most circumstantial account of the noises was given by a Dutch seaman who visited Sierra Leone in 1648 : he heard "at a great distance the Wind roaring from the Mountains, which by reason of their Concavity, do make a great buzzing when it blows hard... and close to the shore we heard a most terrible Noise, occasioned by an impetuous and continual beating of the billows through the cleft of a Rock which was so loud that we could hardly hear one another speak" (STRUYS,p.8). (It must be added that there is evidence elsewhere in this account that the author had read the description of Sierra Leone in

TURTLE ISLANDS Almada earlier referred to the 'River of Toto' (15/8). Dornelas mentioned "some little islands called Totos", where pearls were obtained; and Álvares noted "four or five islets in the South West" of Magarabomba (DORNELAS, f.2v; ÁLVARES, f.48). In the later seventeenth century, the name was anglicised as 'Turtles' (see the note to DORNELAS, f.2v). The Turtle Islands are an inshore section of the Shoals of St. Anne, which in earlier centuries were avoided by sea-going vessels : the earliest Portuguese in these parts justly named one of the low-lying islands 'The Islet of Sandbanks' (CADAMOSTO, p.77). In the 1500s, referring to Sherbro Island, Pacheco Pereira wrote - "Cape St. Anne is very low-lying and has three islets off its tip" (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.2, cap.1, p.96). In 1582, the English expedition under Fenton lost its way, passed through the Shoals of St. Anne, and sighted "3 yland in the mowth of Madrebamba", probably some of the Turtles (FENTON, pp.99,177). Today, there are six larger islands and an uncertain number of smaller ones, depending on the tides and the movement of sandbanks : over the centuries even the number of larger islands may have changed. The larger islands are lightly wooded, and have a few tiny settlements, probably mainly of fishermen. It is difficult to believe that the islands were ever extensively inhabited, as Almada seems to suggest. He later states (17/2) that the Manes penetrated Sherbro Island via these islands, which is difficult to believe, since the Manes were advancing from the South and the islands lie to the North of Sherbro Island. It is possible that Almada confused the Turtle Islands and the less barren Plantain Islands : the latter have certainly been settled in recent centuries, and it would be understandable if they had been attacked by a force coming from the South West interior before the larger Sherbro Island was assaulted. These difficulties suggest that Almada was not well acquainted with the Sherbro Island district.

OYSTERS AND PEARLS

The shorter version of Almada (Appendix III,9/3) lists among the products of Sierra Leone in general "plentiful shellfish on the beaches, which is better than ours, and pearls in the oysters". In the 1500s, it was reported that the inhabitants of Sierra Leone ate shellfish cooked, and the 1582 English expedition noted "much varyety of shelfish" (FERNANDES,f.135; FENTON,p.183 and MADOX,f.36v). In particular, edible oysters were mentioned by early sources. In 1480, the crew of one Portuguese vessel much relished oysters from the neighbouring Pepper Coast (DE LA FOSSE,pp.184-5). In 1567-8 the English expedition under Hawkins ate oysters, obtained from "oyster trees", at Sierra Leone (HORTOP,p. [5]). In 1582, the English ate "mighty fine oysters in maner lyke unto horse hooves...sharp, and good with vinegar, pepper and salt" ; they noted the 'oyster trees', i.e., mangroves, "trees growing by the waterside with the stalkes full of oisters, and great periwinkles and crabbes amongst them",and they named a bay Oyster Bay (MADOX,ff.35v,43v; WALKER,ff.206v,211; FENTON,p.102 and Plate XI; HAKLUYT,pp.649-52,675). In 1607, the English saw "cockles and oysters growing on the rocks and trees by the seaside", and in the houses of the local people baskets to gather the oysters (PURCHAS,pt.1,lib.4, cap.4/1,pp.414-6). Dornelas noted oysters on the rocks at the Watering-Place (DORNELAS,f.3v); and later, in 1669, Coelho referred to enormous oysters on the Bullom Shores "at Rabanca I have seen an oyster so large that it was cut into slices, and not small slices either" (COELHO 1669,pp.66,73). Guerreiro printed Almada's statement about shellfish at Sierra Leone, but not the general reference to pearls; mentioning instead, like the present text, only pearls in oysters on the Shoals of St. Anne (GUERREIRO 1605,liv.4,cap.9,ff.135v,136) : these references were repeated by later sources. The shorter version contains a note relating to pearls (Appendix III,9/3,n.12) :

"Neither on the beaches nor in the shallows are there pearls, If there were, they could easily be gathered, since there are shallows all along the coast, which would be handy for the blacks. Only one king has been known to possess a large pearl, and another pearl has been seen. They say that there are none in the shallows or in the oysters along the shore, but that they are only found in the oysters on the reef at the tip of Serra Leoa, a league into the sea at five fathoms' depth". Álvares spoke scathingly about "dreams of (finding) pearls... A Portuguese captain once found a pearl here, but only one" (ÁLVARES, f.52v). The edible oyster population of the Sierra Leone estuary has recently been surveyed, with a view to establishing an oyster

canning industry. (HUNTER, pp.19-22; KEMBER). Oysters are sold and consumed locally : they are found mainly on mangroves✓

15/11 ...de Butibum e Aliancas.

...the River of Alliances.

SHERBRO ISLAND 'Ilha de Tausente' is today called Sherbro Island, a name which came into general use in the eighteenth century (see the note to DORNELAS, f.2v). The earliest sources spoke of the island as if it were merely a headland, calling it 'Cape St. Anne', a not unreasonable mistake since only a narrow channel separates it from the mainland on the sea-coast at the South. In the 1500s, it was termed 'Ilha de Turulo' (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.2, cap.1, p.96), a name which appeared in seventeenth century sources as 'Ilha de Farulho' (e.g., FIGUEIREDO, p.36) : the etymology of either term is unknown. The name 'Tausente' was employed only by Almada, Dornelas and the Jesuit missionaries, that is, the Portuguese sources writing between 1590 and 1625 (DORNELAS, f.2v; ÁLVARES, f.48). But it was copied, through Guerreiro, into later sources (GUERREIRO 1605, liv.4, cap.9, f.136). The etymology is unknown, and the ^{term} ~~sources~~ sounds neither African nor Portuguese. Almada exaggerates the size of Sherbro Island : he makes it 12 leagues (70 km) by 10 leagues (60 km), whereas the true size is 45 km by 12 km (at its widest point). Dornelas stated that beautiful Tausente Island had a king and was inhabited (DORNELAS, f.2v): Álvares, describing Magarabomba as a land full of islets, spoke of the renowned Tausente Island and the Totos, adding that "the land possesses palm trees, ivory, cola, plentiful gold and good water, and all of it is sandy" (ÁLVARES, f.48). For the rivers, see the note to 15/8.

15/12 ...búfaros, gazelas.

...and antelopes.

WILD ANIMALS The 'wolves' were hyena (cf. Guiné Crioulo lôbo 'hyena' FRADE) and the 'buffalo' bushcow. All the animals mentioned are known in Sierra Leone today, though not always in the coastal regions. "Lions have been only exceptional wanderers from the North all this century, and leopards, once widespread, are now an object of surprise when reported...Elephants are found both in the dry North and in the remotest forests of the East. Bushcows are widespread, but hunters say that the size of the herds has declined by anything up to 80% over the past thirty years... Bush-bucks are common and so are some of the smaller duikers..." (FIELD). Dornelas devoted a whole chapter to wild animals of Sierra Leone (chapter 3) : for other references to the animals listed by Almada, see the notes to DORNELAS.

CATTLE TRADE The shorter version (Appendix III,9/2) explains that "those (cows) which reach this land, the inhabitants obtain by trade with their neighbours". These interesting references suggest some continuity in the factors affecting agricultural practice in coastal Sierra Leone. Almada earlier mentioned cattle-breeding further North, on Rio Nunez, but noted that there were no horses there(13/4). Dornelas did not mention cattle at Sierra Leone, but he suggested that the land was suitable for raising them (DORNELAS, f.4v). Álvares noted that the Limba of the interior were great stock-farmers, raising cows, goats and poultry, but he failed to mention cattle among the coastal peoples (ÁLVARES,f.54). In the 1660s, Coelho listed the products of Sierra Leone in detail, but omitted reference to cattle (COELHO 1669,pp.65-6/ff.55-7). Earlier than Almada, in the 1500s, Fernandes spoke of the inhabitants of Sierra Leone eating the meat of cows and goats, but Pacheco Pereira stated more specifically - "in the Serra there are few cows and little other livestock" (FERNANDES,f.134v; PACHECO PEREIRA,iv.1,cap.33,p.80). The failure of other sources to mention cattle suggests that Pacheco Pereira and Almada were right in believing that stock-breeding was not practiced in coastal Sierra Leone - as remains the case today, because of shortage of fodder and the presence of the tsetse fly. Since 1800, cattle have been brought on the foot to Freetown,generally from the distant interior (from the Kabala region and further North), invariably by Fula cattlemen. "In the Northern Province, the cattle are reared and traded principally by the Fula people, who are not indigenous to Sierra Leone but who originated in the Futa Djallon plateaux. A few of the local peoples, the Yalunka and Limba, own cattle but they have no tradition of animal husbandry" (K.Swindell, in CLARKE,p.82 : the reference to the Limba needs to be modified in the light of the comment by Álvares given above). Almada's reference to the Fula may indicate that the cattle-trade to the Sierra Leone coast dates back to at least the sixteenth century. It is generally supposed that the Fula only established themselves in the Futa Jalon towards the end of the fifteenth century (RODNEY 1968,p.272), but it is conceivable that Fula pastoralists may have been moving and trading through wide areas of Upper Guinea South of the Gambia River long before.

CONCHOS Almada and other Portuguese sources of the period 1590-1670 are the only original sources to mention the Conchos. The shorter version does not contain the present reference to the Conchos, but states that gold comes "from the interior, from the land of the Conchos" (Appendix III,9/3) : this statement was repeated in GUERREIRO (1605,liv.4,cap.9.f.135v) and hence in later sources. According to Barreira in 1606, "The King of Bena is head of the Souzos : seven kings are under him and pay tribute, and he recognises (the King of Concho as his superior), ^{which is further in the hinterland.} From these kingdoms comes all the gold which circulates in these parts" (BARREIRA, ^{p. 169} f.27). Two years later, after visiting the King of Bena, Barreira reported that the king "feared the Concho, who is emperor over all the Sousos" GUERREIRO 1611,liv.4,cap.2,f.227). Writing in 1606 from Sierra Leone, Bartolomeu André stated that all the gold "traded in the lands and kingdoms neighbouring Sierra Leone comes from the Concho, a kingdom eight or ten days' journey away ...all this gold passes through the Kingdom of Bena which is nearer to us" (GUERREIRO 1607,liv.4,cap.9, f.157v). Dornelas reported - "The fourth Farim we call Farim Soso, as he is lord of the Sosos, but his name is Farim Concho, which is the nation over the Sosos, to which the Farim belongs. He is lord of the Conchos, Sozos and other nations. He rules over the hinterland of Sierra Leone" (DORNELAS,f.16). Álvares said that among the Sūsu were "greater kings, like emperors, called Farims, taking their names from the lands they ruled. The Grand Concho is called Farim Concho, being lord of the Concho : he is the Superior of all this Province of the Sousos..." (ÁLVARES,f.133v). Finally, in 1669 Coelho spoke of the lands neighbouring Sierra Leone, the lands of the Souzos, Conchos and Limbas; and of the kingdom of the Grand Concho - "the land of the Logos neighbours the land of the Grand Limba and beyond the land of the Grand Concho" (COELHO 1669,pp.37,65,74,88/ff.29v,56,64,77). Thus, these sources agreed that the Conchos had some connection with the Susu, and that like the Susu they lived in the interior, North West of the Sierra Leone Peninsula; but they fail to make it clear whether Concho was basically an ethnonym or a toponym, and whether the Conchos were a section of Susu-speakers or a non-Susu-speaking group.

PORTUGUESE TRADE WITH SIERRA LEONE

There is evidence that Portuguese trade with Sierra Leone developed steadily between the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the third quarter of the sixteenth century, and that thereafter it gradually declined, due mainly to the increasing competition of other European nations. While part of the Portuguese trade derived from the royal and official trade system based on the metropolitan country, it is clear that a larger part derived from the unofficial and to some extent illegal activities of entrepreneurs in the Cape Verde Islands. Because these activities were at best merely tolerated by the official system, and at worst were condemned, they are poorly recorded in Portuguese sources. The extent of Portuguese trade in the 1550s and 1560s can be gauged from the details supplied in the 'Books of Complaint' which the Portuguese drew up and sent to the English government, in an attempt to gain redress against Hawkins and other English 'pirates' (the Books are unpublished, but certain aspects are discussed in HAIR 1970; see also WILLIAMSON). These documents reveal that a number of Portuguese traders, apparently of Cape Verde Islands extraction, had settled in Sierra Leone, and that some of them had lived there several decades. The English made contact with these traders in 1567-8, and again in 1582 (details are given in FENTON, MADOX and WALKER). Bartolomeu André, who petitioned the King in 1606 (GUERREIRO 1607, liv.4, cap.9) was described by the English in 1607 as follows: "this portingall doth use continuall trade in this place and may goe on land as freely as the country people. Hee hath in sundry places built him houses for himself..." (BOAS, p.91: for other references to Bartolomeu André, see the comments by Thilmans and Moraes in BARREIRA, p.22). In view of the official attitude to lançados (literally 'run-aways', translated here 'adventurers') and tangomaos (the same, 'gone native') (see RODNEY, pp.74-7), accounts of Guinea by Cape-Verdeans such as Almada and Dornelas had to be discreet about trading activities in Sierra Leone. Almada later argues (in chapter 19) that settlement and trade there should be legitimised. Álvares makes very many references to Portuguese living and trading at Sierra Leone, but as a missionary mainly discusses and condemns their sexual behaviour and their other Christian failures (e.g., ÁLVARES, chapter 9). For the documents of an official trading voyage to one of the 'rivers of Sierra Leone', the Scarcies River, in the 1520s, see TEIXEIRA DA MOTA (1969).

15/14 ...atrás fica dito.

...mentioned earlier.

TRADE GOODS Other sources listed goods traded at Sierra Leone, at different periods: in the 1500s, on the Scarcies and in Yawry Bay (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.32, p.80; liv.2, cap.1, p.94); c.1600, at Sierra Leone and in Yawry Bay (RUITERS, pp.284/57, 294/63); in 1607, at Sierra Leone (PURCHAS, pt.1, lib.4, cap.4/1, p.416); in the mid seventeenth century, at Sierra Leone (DAPPER, p.379/10).

15/15 ...ao seu modo.

...in their fashion.

CHIMPANZEES The shorter version gives a similar account of daris or chimpanzees, which appeared in print in Guerreiro, omitting however the reference to their fondness for human females (GUERREIRO 1605, liv.4, cap.9, f.135v). A misprint gave the term as baris, and this therefore appeared in later accounts. Other sources supply other lengthy accounts of an animal which continues to fascinate human observers (DORNELAS, ff.7v-8, and note; ÁLVARES, ff.50-1; RUITERS, pp.285-7/58-60; FARO, p.85/f.60v). The pot-carrying capacity and the alleged fondness for human females were also mentioned by Dornelas and Álvares. The accounts of Ruiters and Álvares were from close personal observation. In modern Sierra Leone, chimpanzees "survive remarkably well, but the traffic to zoos takes its toll" (FIELD —). The export of chimpanzees is not in fact a new human caprice: in 1606 Father Barreira announced to his superior in Portugal that he was sending him a chimpanzee (BRÁSIO, 2nd ser., 4, p.145). But this was perhaps the one which João Palha, who later stated he was "in the Serra in 1605", was carrying to Santiago Island when his ship was attacked by pirates and the chimpanzee stolen (DORNELAS, ff.3v, 8).

BIRDS AND FISH

The shorter version adds two sentences, the first of which, dealing with shellfish, has already been discussed: 'On the beaches there are many edible shellfish...And in the rivers is a fish tastier than plaice, which is called by the blacks cuara, and they have a law that no woman may eat it, so they call it sin-fish" (Appendix III,9/3). On birds at Sierra Leone, see DORNELAS (f.9 and note). Many sources referred to the abundance of fish at Sierra Leone (FERNANDES,f.137v; PACHECO PEREIRA,liv.1,cap.33p.86; COELHO,p.66/ff.56v-57; BARBOT 1678, p.10). In 1582, the English took 200 fish in one haul in "a small net"; and in 1607 Captain Keeling "tooke within one houre and a halfe, six small and good fish" (HAKLUYT,p.652; MADOX,f.185; PURCHAS,pt.1,lib.3,cap.6/1,p.189 and lib.4,cap.4/1,p.416). Mullet was most frequently mentioned, but various kinds of fish were listed in several sources (MADOX,f.36v; ALVARES,f.53; PURCHAS,lib.4,cap.4/1,p.416; BARBOT 1678,p.10; cf. WINTERBOTTOM,p.69). There are drawings of fish in FENTON (plates IX and X) and in BARBOT (1678, pp.10-12, redrawn in the 1732 printed text,pp.100-1). A modern source has noted that "the streams and rivers of Sierra Leone are extraordinarily rich in fish" (THOMAS,1,p.178). The cuara/ coara fish was said in 1669 to be fished off the Bullom Shore, and one was seen which weighed almost an arroba (15 lbs, 7 kgm) (COELHO 1669,pp.66,73/ff.57, 62v). Perhaps this is Bullom koa 'tarpan, *Megalops atlanticus*' (PICHL).

For fish and fishing in modern Sierra Leone, see HORNELL.

mentioned by Barreira, who said that its scales were silver in colour and the size of the palm of a hand (BARREIRA,p.171) : the same fish was

LIMBA WARS The shorter version makes the same points (Appendix III,9/12), but the material was omitted by GUERREIRO. The Limba and Yalunka have been discussed in a note to 15/6. In the Northern and Eastern parts of the Limba country, abrupt hills rise up to 1,500-2,000 feet: the modern Yalunka live further North, also in hilly country. The earliest reference to the Limba, in 1582, stated that a Mane ruler, King Farma, was at war with them (FENTON, p.108). Much later, in 1616, Álvares reported that Farma, defeated by the Limba, escaped capture by the use of his magic, turning himself into a tree. Of the 'Safrago Limbas' (Safroko is today an Eastern Limba chiefdom, FINNEGAN), who were neighbours of the 'Cases' or Scarcies Temne, Álvares said - "their land is almost wholly mountainous. They are 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 from the Manes" (ÁLVARES, ff.54,87). The underground places and dwellings mentioned by Almada and Álvares are caves and rock-shelters in the hilly parts of Limba country. "The Limba established means of defending themselves... [making] maximum use of the physical features of the area... The old site of the war town of Bafodia had remarkable features until now known only to the inhabitants. The main feature was a spectacular series of subterranean caves directly under the town in which warriors could hide and from which they could emerge to ambush the occupying enemy. Examination of these caves showed them to be supplied with perennially flowing streams which provided water for the inhabitants" (ATHERTON 1972 b, p.10; see also ATHERTON 1972 a, p.41). An account of a campaign directed against the Limba in the early nineteenth century by the 'Soolimas', a group of Susu and Manding speakers, includes a detailed discussion of the economic, political and social motives for the attack: these motives may equally have applied to the campaign of another Mande group in the sixteenth century (LAING, pp.283-5, 380-1). These pre-1620 textual references to the Limba invalidate the account of Limba history put forward in DORJAHN and THOLLEY.

EATING FOOD HOT The shorter version of Almada does not refer to this custom, hence it is not in GUERREIRO or later texts. No other source reported the custom. It is not clear what Almada is suggesting: does he mean that the Sapes acquired the custom during the Mane invasion (they ate quickly in time of battle or flight) or that they acquired it after the invasion (when they allegedly acquired some of the Manes' military habits) ? Either way it sounds an unlikely story but it may conceivably reflect a proverb or other folk-expression. The significant part of the anecdote is the admission that the Manes had already assimilated to the Sapes.

SAPE MILITARY CAPACITY The criticism of Sape military capacity expressed in this paragraph and in the previous one appears in the shorter version in the following form: "They are naturally little warlike, since the fertility of the land makes them effeminate" (Appendix III,9/12). This statement was paraphrased in GUERREIRO (1605,liv.4, cap.9,f.137v). Later (16/11), Almada repeats the charge that before the invasion the Sapes were not practiced with weapons. The over-running of the Sapes by the Mane invaders led Portuguese writers to belittle Sape military capacity. Yet before the invasion, in the 1500s, it had been stated that the inhabitants of Sierra Leone were "very determined and brave in war, especially those called Bolons", and that the Bullom were "a warlike people, seldom at peace" (FERNANDES,f.135; PACHECO PEREIRA,lib.1, cap.33,p.82). The view that the Sape had improved militarily was also expressed by Dornelas, who argued that the Bullom had collaborated with the invaders and as a result had become better soldiers (DORNELAS,f.12v). Writing in 1616, Álvares gave a particularly misleading view of the Sape past: "It was a time of peace. Such wars as there were 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..." (ÁLVARES, f.74v). For the actual arms of the pre-invasion Sapes - including bows and arrows - see FERNANDES (f.135); and for later arms and warfare in Sierra Leone, see HAKLUYT (pp.526-7), WILLIAMSON (pp.510-3) and DORNELAS (ff.10v-11). The shorter version of Almada, in its chapter on Sierra Leone, adds a statement about weapons not in the present text: "The blacks use the normal weapons of the other blacks, that is spears, arrows, swords, knives and shields" (Appendix III,9/7). There is some agreement among the sources that the Bullom were more warlike than the Temne (possibly because they enjoyed less sophisticated arts of peace), both before and during the invasions. The success of the Manes may well have been due, less to inherent incapacity on the part of the Sapes, than to the advantage possessed by an organised force which takes the initiative and unexpectedly invades a settled land.

SAPE INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY Other Portuguese had the same high opinion of the capacity of the Sape to acquire new knowledge and techniques. Fernandes spoke of their "sublety and ingenuity" in ivory-carving, a craft in which they may have learnt to copy Portuguese designs (FERNANDES,f.136;FAGG,p.xx). Dornelas referred to a Sape who had attended a school with him and become "a very good clerk, because the Sapes have great talent and ability in learning anything" (DORNELAS,f.13). Álvares noted "the ease with which the Sapes learn", and the handicrafts which demonstrated their ability, intelligence, and artistic imagination (ÁLVARES,f.55-55v). Coelho remarked that Sapes of both sexes were very ingenious with their hands, making very fine objects out of ivory, wood and straw, with very few tools (COELHO 1669,p.68/f.58v). Almada's tribute to the Sapes passed, via GUERREIRO (1605,liv.4,cap.9.f.136v), into later writings.

WOMEN AND CLOTHES

The remark about women appeared in the shorter version (Appendix III, 9/7), but was omitted by the Jesuit editor, GUERREIRO. Dornelas described the Temne as "clean and sociable" (DORNELAS, f.10v). The shorter version of Almada continues - "They dress in local cloths, and the men in cotton smocks and trousers". This description of clothes in Sierra Leone appears in the present text in 14/4, where it seems to refer to the inhabitants of Rio Pongas. According to Cadamosto, the inhabitants of the Kalum Peninsula c.1460 wore only breeches of bark-cloth (CADAMOSTO, p.75). In the 1500s, Pacheco Pereira stated that the inhabitants of Sierra Leone either went about naked or wore only a cotton loin-cloth; but Fernandes reported that respectable men wore cotton shirts and breeches while poor men and women wore only a bark-cloth loincloth (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.33, p.84; FERNANDES, f.134v). The slaves seen in a Portuguese vessel in the Sierra Leone estuary in 1582 were described by an English observer as "al naked saving a rag lyke a dyshclowt to cover their members" (MADOX, f.181v). In 1607, an English merchant described clothes at Sierra Leone in detail: "The King, with some about him, are decently clothed Jackets and Breeches, and some with hats, but the common sort go naked, save that/a Cotton girdle about their waste, they cover their privities; the women cover theirs with a Cotton-cloath, tacked about their middles and hanging to the knees, wrapped around about them; the children goe stark naked" (PURCHAS, pt.1, lib.4, cap.4/1, p.414). A Dutch observer c.1600 reported that the clothing worn was "a loincloth, one ell long by a quarter wide, suspended from a cord (tied around the waist like a belt), which can be taken on and off like a woman's apron. The cloth is pulled through the legs from behind and fastened to the cord...But those who live and work by the river and mix with us, the English and the French, wear a smock similar to that of the Turks, in striped material, while some who have no smock wear a shirt bought from the Europeans. Women wear a cloth hung over one shoulder, as the heathen do, in striped or checked imported material..." (RUITERS, p.62/292). Dornelas stated that kings and lords wore coloured and embroidered shirts of local style, and imported shorts; and the ordinary people wore shirts of cotton cloth dyed black and white (DORNELAS, f.11). Álvares noted that "when

young, they wear a small white cotton strip to cover their shameful parts, and even when they grow up and wear breeches they continue to wear this strip. Women dress decently in various cloths either local or imported" (ALVARES,f.61). It would seem that two centuries of European contact brought about a change from bark-cloth to cotton, and some increase in the amount of clothing worn, at least by those in closest contact. Yet a Dutch seaman visiting Sierra Leone in 1648 reported that - "Both/^{men}and Women use no manner of Vesture save only a surcingle or towel made of the barks of Trees which they wear about their Middle" (STRUYS,p.12) : perhaps he was generalising from exceptional circumstances.

BODY MUTILATIONS

Though the statement about teeth-filing appeared in the shorter version (Appendix III,9/7), it was omitted by GUERREIRO. Almada earlier noted that filing of the teeth was practised by the Buramos and Papels (9/36) and by the Bejagos (10/10). In the 1500s, Pacheco Pereira stated that the Bullom had their teeth filed so that they were "sharp like those of a dog" (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.33, p.84). However, the detailed contemporary account of the Temne and Bullom collected by Fernandes failed to mention this detail - an indication that the early sources are often selective in their information. The Portuguese renegade, João Afonso, writing probably in the 1530s, spoke of "le Royaume des Sappez, qui est une nation de Negres, qui ont les dens poinctues" (ALFONCE, f.50v; cf. FONTENEAU, p.533). Almada's distinction between the Sapes and Manes in this respect had already been made in 1565, in an English account (based apparently on Portuguese information) which also referred to another form of body mutilation, scarification. "All the Samboses have white teeth as wee have, far unlike to the Sapiies, which doe inhabite about Rio Grande [the English expedition had just visited some of the Bissagos Islands, and the reference was therefore to the Bidyogo, whom the English accounted Sape, probably in error], for their teeth are all filed, which they doe for a bravery to set out themselves, and doe jagge their flesh, both legges, armes and bodie, as workmanlike as a Jerkinmaker with us pinketh a jerkin" (HAKLUYT, p.526). In 1582, when an ambassador from a Bullom king visited the English expedition lying in the Sierra Leone estuary, "his teeth were filed, his chest and shoulders marked with characters, and he was circumcised" (MADOX, f.184). A slave woman had a "skyn finely pynked in this sort", and a drawing of the scarification was made, but as it was limited to the torso, it cannot be seen whether she had her teeth filed (FENTON, plate VIII: the scarification patterns are stated to have resemblances to those shown in BERNATZIK, 3, plates 239, 241, 245). In 1607 the English trader Finch described the inhabitants of a village in the Sierra Leone estuary, probably a Temne village, as follows: "They are all, both men and women, raced and pinked on all parts of their bodies very curiously, having their teeth also filed betwixt and made very sharp. They pull off all the hair growing on their eyelids...the hair of their heads they cut into allyes and cross pathes; others wear it jagged in tufts, others in more foolish formes; but the women shave all close to the flesh"

(PURCHAS,pt.1,lib.4,cap.4/1,p.414). Álvares stated that the heathen in Sierra Leone "almost all file their teeth, only for the reason that they think that it improves their appearance, and they remove their front teeth in order to drink the antidote against poison", i.e., poisoned arrows. Further, they plucked their eyebrows, shaved their hair into curious geometrical patterns, and had "body, face and most other parts worked with a thousand paintings of snakes, lizards, monkeys and birds". Though in context these customs seem to be ascribed to the Sapes, Álvares later stated that the Manes practised some of them - the removal of two front teeth, upper and lower, and the body-markings (the same animal subjects), the scarification being by "red-hot irons" (ÁLVARES,ff.55,62,77).

Dornelas noted that the Manes removed two front teeth, for the same reason (DORNELAS,f.14v). In 1627, Sandoval described the body-markings of many of the peoples of the Guinea coast, including the 'Zapes' (using the term in a very loose sense to include the Susu and other interior peoples as well as the Temne, Baga and Bullom): he added that the Zapes ^{shaped} ~~filed~~ their teeth, not out of cleanliness, but for show (SANDOVAL,lib.1,cap.16,f.64v). In 1669, Coelho mentioned ^{the marks} ~~marking~~ on the faces of men and women in Sierra Leone, ^{made} ~~by~~ means of cuts with a knife, and the application of a dye (COELHO 1669,p.68/f.58v). In view of this consistent evidence from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries relating to both teeth-filing and scarification, it is significant that while Almada mentions the former he fails to mention the latter- indicating again the selective nature of the information in the early sources. A method of "bringing the fore or incisor teeth to a sharp point", which was widely practised on the Rio Pongas (apparently among the Susu) and less commonly in Sierra Leone among the Temne and Bullom was described c.1800 : it involved ~~shipping~~ the teeth rather than filing them (WINTERBOTTOM,pp.104-5; cf. AFZELIUS, ff.305v,2/26). Body-marking, either by scarification or tattooing, apparently among the Susu, Temne and Bullom, was mentioned c.1800 (MATTHEWS,pp.110-1; WINTERBOTTOM,pp.105-6; AFZELIUS,f.2/26). In 1916, it was said that among the Temne "tooth filing seems to be but little practised: when it is done, a palm midrib is put between the teeth and they are cut with a sharp knife...Body marks are also of small importance, save as regards the marks of secret societies" (THOMAS, p.111).

SIERRA LEONE PRAISED Portuguese early sources were wont to praise the beauty and productiveness of Sierra Leone, sometimes to an exaggerated extent. However, the Cape-Verdean writers, Almada, Dornelas and Coelho, were no doubt justly comparing Sierra Leone with the relative barrenness of the Cape Verde Islands. Almada sums up his eulogy in 19/1 (c.f. DORNELAS, ff.3v-4,6; ÁLVARES, Part 2, Chapter 1; COELHO, pp.64-7/ff.54v-57v). Almada states that the Portuguese who settled in Sierra Leone, and traded there, became prosperous. This assertion is of interest because settlement and trade in Sierra Leone were strictly forbidden, at least to the inhabitants of the Cape Verde Islands, by royal decrees of the early sixteenth century (BLAKE 1937, p.91; RODNEY, p.75 - the legislation cited clearly deserves more detailed examination). In the later sixteenth century, these decrees were apparently relaxed : the complaints against English pirates drawn up in the 1560s and based on evidence given before Portuguese courts name individuals who had settled in Sierra Leone and who were apparently now being given the support of the Portuguese crown (HAIR 1970, pp.6-8). But until the attempt to found a Captaincy of Sierra Leone in the 1600s, the Portuguese authorities were disinclined to admit internally that the decrees were relaxed; and it may have been Almada's reference to Portuguese activities in Sierra Leone which led to his work not being published.

EARLIER REFERENCES The earliest reference in print to the Sumbas appears to be that in a Portuguese work on Ethiopia published in 1565 : a description of the Galla invaders of that country ("a fierce and cruel people, in the places they conquer they slay the men, castrate the boys, kill the old women and use the young") is followed by the comment - "It would seem that from here come the Gumbas who are destroying Guinea, for in cruelty they are alike" (BERMUDEZ, cap. , p. 229). The author of this work returned to Portugal from Ethiopia in 1558 but probably wrote his account only after the publication in 1564 of a rival account (*ibid.*, p. lxxv); and the reference to the Sumbas therefore most probably reflects information received in Portugal in the early 1560s. The earliest detailed description of the Sumbas appears to be that given to an English expedition in 1564, presumably by a Portuguese informant, and included in an account of the expedition probably written shortly after its return in 1565 but not published until 1589 (HAKLUYT, p. 526). A map published in 1575 shows a 'Port des Sombres' immediately South of Sierra Leone (THEVET, "Table d'Afrique"); but this is almost certainly a corruption of 'Oporto de Samboas' on an earlier French map (Le Testu, 1556), which was itself corruptly derived from 'Rio de Camboas' (i.e., Portuguese camboas / gamboas 'tidal lagoon, also weir fish-trap') on earlier maps.

16/1 ...as outras nações de Guiné. ...the other nations of Guinea.

MANE CONQUEST Almada now begins his account of the conquest of the Sapes by Manes or Sumbas. The earliest documented reference to these wars is in the account of the English voyage of 1564-5, where the reference is part of information apparently supplied by Portuguese informants: the inhabitants of one of the Iles de Los "who before were Sapiés...were conquered by the Samboses, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona" (HAKLUYT, p.526). The conquest was described in some detail, though not clearly or consistently, by three Portuguese sources, Almada, Dornelas and Álvares (with briefer references in Barreira's letters), and by a Dutch source (DAPPER, his 'Kquoja' account being based on Cape Mount dynastic traditions collected c.1630). Almada's is the earliest account, but unfortunately it is confused and to some contradictory. Almada was not a witness of the conquest and, writing 40 years later, he had to interpret evidence drawn from a society where the distinctions between the conquerors and the conquered were fast disappearing - "the Manes are now the same as the Sapes" (15/17; cf.16/4). As a result, it is not at all clear from Almada's account precisely who the Manes and Sumbas were.

16/1 ...de diferente cor; ...of a different colour;

CARIBS, BRAZILIANS These peoples are mentioned by Almada because they were depicted in sixteenth century European writings as archetypal "cannibals", and often known by this name (e.g., the Hawkins expedition of 1564-5 sailed from Sierra Leone to "an Island of the Cannibals" in the West Indies, HAKLUYT, p.529). The Brazilians provided Montaigne with the material for his famous counter-moralising essay 'On Cannibals'.

MANES The term 'Manes', corresponding to the vernacular Mani, is a variant of Mali and Mande (cf. Manding, ~~manimansa~~ Mandimansa): the term refers basically to speakers of the Manding languages and secondarily to related ethnic and political units. The historical nucleus of the forces engaged in the Mane invasion of the Sierra Leone region appears to have been a group of Manding speakers, possibly a dynastic unit, whose ultimate origin was from within the central Manding ethnic and political unit. This nucleus was most probably reinforced by elements derived from a preliminary conquest or at least contact: the nucleus travelled South and contacted on the coast, at Cape Mount, another dispersed Manding unit whose developing language, Vai, was still very close to central Manding. Settlement and assimilation probably proceeded. The attack on the Sapes was launched from Cape Mount (or, as Almada termed it somewhat inaccurately, the Malagueta Coast), and the leaders of the invading armies were Manding-Vai. But some part of the army, possibly a large part, was made up of non-Manding peoples, who had attached themselves as the armies advanced, in 'snowball' fashion. The term 'Sumbas' seems to have applied primarily to these additional elements, recruited from the Bullom and Temne and possibly from ethnic units further South (e.g. the 'Kru'): though it was sometimes applied loosely to all the invaders, particularly when aspects of their activities were being condemned. Almada is the earliest source to refer to 'Manes'. In 1564, the English named the 'Samboses' (at war with the 'Sapies'); and in 1582, they named the 'Sambests' or 'Cymboses' (at war with the 'Sapps') (HAKLUYT, p.526; FENTON, p.103; MADOX, f.37v). In the shorter version, Almada calls the invaders 'Cumbas', and defines them as follows: "It is surmised that these Cumbas are Manes who are vassals of the great emperor Mandimansa" (10/2). The interpretation of the Mane invasion given above is a conflation of recent explanations of the tenuous evidence (RODNEY, chapter 2; HAIR 1968, pp.47-57; PERSON 1971). But Almada's assertion that the Manes and the Sapes "understood one another" does not fit any modern interpretation of the invasion. If it is to be taken literally, then, like many of the similar assertions by Almada, to the effect that other peoples "understood one another", it cannot be correct (the Temne and Bullom languages, themselves to some extent inter-intelligible, are not, and cannot have been, inter-intelligible with Manding or Vai). Nor, in this case, can it mean that the two groups were in regular contact and communicated through bi-lingual speakers

or through a third language. Perhaps the basis of the assertion was simply the observed fact that those Sumbas who were Bullom and Temne communicated on behalf of the Manes with those Bullom and Temne who were resisting the conquest.

16/2 ...vulgarmente Sumbas. commonly, by all the 'Sumbas'.

SUMBAS As Almada goes on to explain, the term 'Sumba' was a derogatory nickname referring to the cannibalism of some of the invaders; and he maintains that only the non-Mane elements actually ate human flesh and deserved the nickname. Thus, while those invaded called all the invaders 'Sumbas', some of the invaders called themselves 'Manes'. From one point of view, all the invaders were 'Sumbas'; but from the other viewpoint only some, were, perhaps a minority. Unfortunately, Almada writes from both viewpoints, inconsistently. Sometimes by 'Sumbas' he means all the invaders, sometimes only the non-Mane elements. Another source of difficulty is Almada's chronological viewpoint; he admits a little later (16/4) that by the time he was writing the term 'Sumbas' was disappearing and all the invaders called themselves 'Manes' (hence the misleading chapter heading which speaks of "Sumbas called among themselves Manes"). Later Almada states that Sumbas "means in their language" "people who eat human flesh" (17/1). Like Almada, Dornelas said that the Manes never ate human flesh, but when "the army was swollen with those conquered...those who ate human flesh were called Sumbas, which in their language means 'people who eat people'" (DORNELAS, f.12). Álvares agreed on the meaning of 'Sumbas', but described the term as another name for the Manes, since after leaving their homeland they ate human flesh (ÁLVARES, f.79v). None of these sources makes clear in which language the term was originally found. It does not appear to be the modern term for 'man-eater' in Manding, Temne or Bullom. Assuming that the term did not mean literally what the Portuguese supposed it did, but that the meaning was derogatory, possible derivations are as follows : Manding su 'corpse' (m)ba 'big'; su 'strong smell', su-mbu 'object giving out bad smell, dung-heap, etc.' (DELAFOSSÉ); Temne ma-sambo 'disgrace' (SCHLENKER). The toponym Sumbuya, found today in Sierra Leone and Guinée, appears to be from Susu sumbui 'mixture' (LACAN); but it suggests another possible derivation from Manding, so/su 'mixture' (m)ba 'big', referring to the mixed origin of the Sumbas.

16/2 ...em nação nenhũa.

...in any other nation.

INVASION DATE

The shorter version of Almada begins its chapter on the Mane invasion - "In the year 1550 a large troop of blacks which had...destroyed all the settlements of the Sapes halted at Sierra Leone" (10/1); and it later states that "they reached Sierra Leone in the year 1550" (10/1). This is not quite what the present text says. According to Dornelas, the Manes "started the war against the Sapes in the year 1545 and they succeeded in mastering all of them and placing them under their rule in the year 1560" (DORNELAS f.11v). Dornelas' informants were "three Manes who were made prisoner in the wars and bought by my father when he was in the Serra in the year 1560" (f.12v). The English were told in 1564 that the Sumbas had invaded the Iles de Los three years earlier (HAKLUYT, p.526). Since the first invasion seems to have been followed by wars between the Mane leaders, some of which may have been concurrent with the later Mane advance, it is possible that Dornelas was being over-precise in dating the completion of the conquest. Putting this evidence together cautiously, it would seem that the Manes began their invasion of the Sierra Leone region a little before 1550, and that by the early 1560s they were in control of the districts around the lower Sierra Leone and Scarcies rivers, and were advancing North and North-East.

16/2 ...com guerra.

...bringing war.

MANE ORIGIN

Almada resumes discussion of Mane origins in 16/6 and of previous invasions in 16/5.

NUMANTINE CANNIBALISM The Numantine or Basque city of Calagurris was besieged by the Romans in 72 B.C., and the inhabitants were reduced to eating human flesh. The episode became proverbial and provided matter for moral comment in later literature. In the sixteenth century, a reference in Juvenal (Satires XV, lines 93-131) was probably the best known comment, and the context resembles that of Almada's reference : the poet condemned affluent Egypt for an act of ritual cannibalism, whereas the inhabitants of the besieged city ate human flesh of necessity. However, Juvenal termed the citizens 'Vascones' (i.e., Basques), not Numantines : other writers, notably Quintilian and Valerius Maximus, in referring to the episode spoke of Numantines. Almada therefore probably obtained the reference, not directly from classical writers, but from a contemporary history of Spain.

SUMBA CANNIBALISM All the Portuguese sources discuss at some length the alleged cannibalism of the Manes, or at least of the Sumbas (cf. DORNELAS, f. 12-12v; ÁLVARES, ff. 79v-80v). Almada refers to it throughout this chapter, and later reports the evidence of a group of Portuguese who found a human finger in a Mane stew (17/5). The English in 1564 noted that "the Samboses for want of food...are not wont onely to take them that they kill, but also keepe those that that they take, untill such time as they want meate, and then they kill them" (HAKLUYT, p. 526). In 1568, the English witnessed the eating of human flesh, apparently at Sierra Leone (the text is damaged and incomplete), and heard about a practice of cutting flesh off a living victim (WILLIAMSON, p. 509). While the English and Dornelas believed that shortage of food was the reason for the cannibalism, Almada and Álvares argued that man-eating was part of a deliberate policy of frightfulness, designed both to scare opponents and to unify the Sumbas who, from the moment of recruitment, were associated in deeds of ruthless horror. In view of current scepticism about European reports of non-European cannibalism, these allegations merit some critical comment. There can be no reasonable doubt about the reputation of the Sumbas among the conquered peoples, certainly by the time that the Portuguese collected their information, and almost certainly at the period of the conquest. However, Almada goes on to note that "today they no longer eat human flesh, except for a few of them" (16/3). Álvares went into the matter at greater length, but reached the same conclusion: "this happened a long time ago and things have greatly changed", and he cited only exceptional cases of human flesh being eaten in the 1600s (ÁLVARES, f. 80). But he added, very significantly, that survivors of the invasion still discussed which were the tastiest pieces of human flesh, and joked about the individuals who would provide the best stews. While therefore the accounts of Sumba cannibalism may have been exaggerated, by Europeans, by the Sapes (some of whom ate human flesh themselves before the invasion), and even by the Manes, there can be little doubt that the Mane conquest was indeed accompanied by acts of deliberate anthropophagy, though it is not possible to suggest on what scale they were carried out.

PREVIOUS INVASIONS Almada notes that man-eating was known in Sierra Leone before the Mane invasion. In the 1500s, it was reported of the inhabitants of Sierra Leone that "when they kill their enemies in war, they cut them into pieces, dry these in smoke, and cook them with rice and eat them" (FERNANDES, f.134v). Probably this custom was limited to the Bullom, since Pacheco Pereira singled them out as eaters of human flesh (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.33, p.82). Almada's "nation of blacks" who were traditional man-eaters almost certainly referred to the Bullom, whom he earlier specified as cannibals (15/6). Since Almada regards the Mane conquest as a marked discontinuity, he explains this continuity of custom by supposing that man-eating had been brought to Sierra Leone by an earlier Mane invasion. Later he suggests that the man-eating Sapes had forgotten that they were the descendants of an earlier Mane settlement (16/5). But the supposition is otiose. As in many other matters, it is clear that the customs of the Manes and the Sapes were not as far apart as Almada and other contemporary sources imagined. There is no valid reason to suppose that there was any historical connection between the man-eating practised by the Sumbas during the invasion and the man-eating practised traditionally by some of the Sapes before the invasion. Nevertheless, the tradition repeated by Almada, to the effect that the coastlands were invaded century after century by groups from the interior, may well contain some truth. The shorter version is less speculative: "the Sape elders state that they heard their grandfathers say that in their day there was a similar Sumba persecution, and that after the conquerors had become natives and forgotten man-eating, and had ceased to pay the dues owed, the persecution of 1550 occurred..." (10/8). It is very unlikely that the Mane invasion c.1550 was the earliest contact between speakers of the coastal Mel-group languages (Temne, Baga, Bullom) and speakers of the interior Manding and Mande languages.

16/4 ...na lingua da terra marefe, ...in the language of the land
marefe,

MANE TRIBUTE Almada mentions marefe again later (16/7).

The shorter version reads - "There are still living some of the captains (who led the invasion), principally Farma, King of Mitombo, and all of these pay dues called marefe to the king who came as leader of the whole army, whom some say is a woman, and who has called for the dues all these years" (10/8). At this point the Portuguese interpretation of the Mane conquest is most closely in accord with the Dutch interpretation of the 'Kquoja' invasion from Cape Mount reported by DAPPER (pp.419-426/49-56). The Dutch account stresses the responsibility of the Cape Mount dynasty for the invasion, and the vassalage existing between the rulers of the Sierra Leone territories, who are usually described as 'governors', and their overlord at Cape Mount. While Almada refers to tribute sent from Sierra Leone to somewhere further East, Dapper describes a complex system of vassalage, with Sierra Leone under the Kquoja of Cape Mount, the Kquoja in turn under the 'Folgia' further East, and Folgia under 'Monou'; and with tribute mentioned as being paid at least by Folgia to Monou (DAPPER, p.412/42). There are occasional Portuguese references to an undescribed relationship between the kingdom of Sierra Leone and either the kingdom of Cape Mount or an undefined kingdom 'on the Malagueta Coast' (GUERREIRO 1607, liv.4, cap.9, f.157; 1611, liv.4, cap.5, f.241). In 1606, it was said that the 'nearest superior' of the King of Sierra Leone was the King of Bagrabomba (the Sherbro Island district), and that the Manes recognised kings of their own nation as superiors, up to the king who had sent them to conquer new lands (BARREIRA, ^{p.113}~~p.34~~). The term marefe is probably Manding mará 'master, lord', fe 'object, goods' (DELAFOSSÉ) i.e., 'lord's goods' or royal dues.

SUMBAS/MANES The shorter version states that "the sons (of the conquerors), now considered as natives, are thus not called Sumbas but Manes" (10/8). This implies that 'Manes' was a polite Sape name for the invaders which replaced the derogatory 'Sumbas'. But the text under discussion states differently that 'Manes' was the Manes' own name for themselves. Other sources fail to make it clear whether 'Manes' was a Sape term, or a Mane term, or was used by both. Sources earlier than Almada did not employ the term, but called the invaders 'Sumbas'. We can be reasonably confident therefore that the Sapes, and hence the Portuguese, first knew the invaders as 'Sumbas'; and it looks as if the term 'Manes' did not come into use until several decades after the invasion. That it provided a correct description of their ultimate origin does not in itself prove that they ^{Manes} called themselves by it. But it is likely that the Sapes used the term descriptively, and indeed it may be that they employed it before the invasion, to describe persons from the Manding region. Why then does it only appear in the later sources? There are two alternative possibilities. If we suppose that it was the Manes' own name for themselves, then perhaps when Europeans eventually came into direct contact with Mane rulers they dropped the Sape term and adopted the Mane one. However, bearing in mind that Europeans and Mane almost certainly conversed through Sape interpreters, it is as likely that the term changed on the initiative of the Sapes : during the conquest they called the invaders a derogatory Sape name, after the conquest a polite one, and the Europeans merely repeated what the Sapes said. If the second possibility is the correct one, we do not know what the Manes called themselves.

16/5 ...e já tidos por Sapes:

...considered Sapes;

POLITICAL CONQUEST

As part of his explanation of the presence of man-eaters in Sierra Leone before the Mane invasion, Almada speculates that there was a link between the invasion he describes and an assumed earlier invasion. While it is unnecessary to believe that any substantial part of the inhabitants of Sierra Leone were descendants of earlier invaders who had "forgotten their origin and are considered Sapes", it is possible that the Mane invasion was less a movement of ethnic migration than the Portuguese supposed, and more an assertion, or re-assertion of political influence. The Kquoja account describes a sequence of events similar to those suggested by Almada. After the primary conquest of Sierra Leone, a king of Cape Mount found it necessary to send an army into the territory again, some years later, in order to restore the authority of his governor (DAPPER, p.425/55). It is unfortunate that Almada does not tell us what exactly the royal dues were, or how much they were worth.

MANE ORIGINS The shorter version, which terms the invaders Sumbas throughout, says that "their fatherland is not known, nor the land from which they came" (10/1). In 1564, the English were told that the 'Samboses' were "Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona", that is, from the coast East of Sierra Leone (HAKLUYT, p.526). In 1567, Hawkins was told that the town in Sierra Leone he and his African allies were besieging contained "soldiers that had come thither 150 leagues": they were not identified but were presumably part of a Mane army (WILLIAMSON, p.510). Dornelas was told that the Manes originated when a great lady left the city of Malem with an army of her relatives, vassals and friends (DORNELAS, ff.11v-12). It seems clear that Portuguese sources (including the informants who passed on information to the English) had only very general views about Mane origins, and the reason would seem to be that the Mane emerged from beyond the horizon of Portuguese knowledge. Not only were the Portuguese unacquainted with the interior - the Sierra Leone hinterland and the Upper Niger region - but they had little contact with the coast ^{immediately} South of Sherbro Island, and in particular little or no contact with Cape Mount. The Dutch who after 1600 had increasingly active contacts with Cape Mount were able to gain a clearer picture of events in that region, but were unable to follow the 'Kquoja' when they campaigned to the West because movement in this direction took them into the area of Portuguese cultural and political influence. It is unfortunate for the history of the Manes that their armies crossed from one area of documentation to another.

MANE LANGUAGE

That the Mane armies which invaded Sierra Leone included Manding-speakers is indicated (a) by the term 'Mane', and (b) by the term marefe in Almada (see note to 16/4) and by six terms for war-medicines in ALVARES (f.82-82v) which appear to be identifiable in terms of modern Manding. (It is conceivable that the latter terms are also identifiable in terms of Vai, a language closely related to Manding, but unfortunately the existing lexicons of Vai are poor on traditional military matters.) Almada's equivocal statement about the language may indicate that he was comparing the sound of the Manding he had ~~had~~ heard spoken on the Gambia with the Manding spoken by the Manes, which was perhaps an Eastern dialect; and today Western and Eastern dialects are not easily inter-intelligible (WELMER, p.117). However, it is by no means certain that Almada ever heard a Mane speaking, and it is very unlikely that his knowledge of Manding extended to more than a few words. There must be some doubt therefore whether his comparison of the two languages was based on any sound personal knowledge. The very small quantity of vocabulary apparently Manding to be found in all the sources on the Manes, and Almada's not altogether convincing assertion, represent the sum of the evidence for the linguistic aspect of the argument that the Manes were Manding.

MANE DRESS AND WEAPONS

The shorter version of Almada made an even more positive identification of the invaders : "It may be surmised that these Sumbas are Manes and vassals of the great emperor Mandimansa since they conform in language, dress, weapons and customs, except that they do not eat human flesh" (10/2).

Although Almada is confident that the dress and weapons of the Manes were the same as those of 'the blacks of Mandimansa', the evidence he supplies is less than conclusive. The Manding merchants from the interior he met up the Gambia River wore "clothes of the same kind as those of the Mandingas" settled along the river (5/16); while these settled Mandingas wore clothes like those of the Jalofos and Berbecins (5/9), including crown-shaped caps (6/15). The dress worn commonly in this region comprised smocks (or 'shirts') of black and white cloth, with wide sleeves to the elbows, and the lower part reaching down to a hand-span above the knees; and very wide breeches, narrowing to the legs below the knee (1/13). The dress of the Manes described later in this paragraph certainly bears a general resemblance to this, particularly if contrasted with the animal skins and bare chests of some of the coastal peoples between the Gambia and the Rio Grande (e.g., 7/5,9/7). But it differs in detail, notably in that the lower garment does not narrow below the knee. The dress of the Manes can also be compared with that worn by the guards of unknown origin who accompanied the Manding merchants to the Gambia. They too wore wide smocks and breeches (like the merchants according to one text, unlike them according to another, - the latter must be wrong); but they also wore many feathers in their smocks and hats (5/16). Neither the Manding merchants nor the settled Mandings wore feathers like this - at least Almada never says they did - but the Manes wore feathers. We conclude that the dress of the Manes resembled that of certain peoples of the Senegambian region, including the settled Mandingas, and also that of the Manding merchants from the interior, more than it resembled the scantier dress of some coastal peoples. But its closest resemblance was to the dress of the guards of the Manding merchants, who undoubtedly came from the interior but whose precise ethnic provenance is unknown (cf. RODNEY, p.41 - but we do not accept his attempted identification). Turning to the Mane weapons, their short swords, shields of poles and reeds, and poisoned arrows were said to be used by various Upper Guinea peoples (e.g., 1/13,9/5,10/4). But in two respects

the weapons of the Manes resembled only those of the guards mentioned above, a knife attached to the arm, and the use of short bows and small arrows (5/16) (the size of the bows and arrows used by other peoples was not specified). It was not stated that the guards used poisoned arrows, but the Mandingas were said to do this (5/6). Thus, in weapons as well as in dress, the Manes bore the closest resemblance, not to the Mandinga of the Gambia nor to the Manding merchants from the interior, but to the guards who accompanied them. Almada's description of Mane dress and weapons was fuller than that of other sources. Álvares inaccurately stated that the Manes introduced the Sapes to the use of the bow and the use of poisoned arrows (ÁLVARES, f.77). Dornelas' description of Mane weapons was very close to Almada's, but he further stated that two indigenous coastal peoples, the Quelenche-cafus and the Calus, wore a knife attached to the arm (like the Manes); and that the Cases, Temenes and Lirigos wore an upper garment of black and white cloth (like the Mandingas of the Gambia, and therefore perhaps like the Manes) (DORNELAS, ff.10,11,13v). The earliest description of Mane weapons did not distinguish between Mane weapons and Sape weapons. In 1564, the English were told that "the Sapies and Samboses also, use in their wars bowes and arrowes, made of reedes, with heads of yron poysoned with the juice of a Cucumber, whereof I have had many in my handes. In their battels they have target men, with broade wicker targets, and darts with heades at both endes, of yron, the one in forme of a two edged sworde, a foote and a halfe long, and at the other ende, the yron long of the same length, made to counterpease it, that in casting it might flee levell..." (HAKLUYT, p.527). The description of the spear and the shield matches what Almada says, and both accounts mention poisoned arrows, though they disagree as to the source of the poison. It is impossible to say whether the English account was right in saying that such weapons were used by both sides, or whether Almada was right in saying that they were used by the Manes and implying that they were not used by the Sapes. Finally, it must be noted that Almada himself later says that the Manes and Susu have the same weapons (18/1 and note).

16/6 ...se descobrem todos.

...all uncover their heads.

MANDIMANSA Almada has discussed Mandimansa in 8/16. Dornelas and Álvares also referred to the respect shown to Mandimansa (DORNELAS, f.16-16v; ÁLVARES, f.76).

16/7 ...do Reino de Congo.

...the Kingdom of Congo.

CONGO/MOZAMBIQUE The earliest account of the Manes/Sumbas referred to them merely as "Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leone" (HAKLUYT, p.526). But Portuguese sources linked the Manes with movements of peoples in far distant parts of Africa. The account of António Velho Tinoco's visit to Sierra Leone in 1574, which was almost certainly based on information from Tinoco himself, reported that a king he had met there stated that "he had come with a great army from Mozambique" (TELXEIRA DA MOTA 1968, p.13). Dornelas thought that part of the original Mane army was still making its way "through the interior of the Cape of Good Hope" (DORNELAS, f.12). The Jesuits were more specific. Father Barreira, who had served many years in Angola before coming to Sierra Leone, though he said nothing about Mane origins in his first 1606 report, by 1608 was writing about "a certain savage nation ... known in the Congo as Jacas, in Angola as Gindas, in India [viz., East Africa] as Zimbab, in the Ethiopia of Prester John as Galas, in these parts as Sumbas, a name they change into Manes" (GUERREIRO 1611, liv.4, cap.4, f.237). Álvares, Barreira's assistant, included in his account of the Manes whole chapters on their alleged activities in the Congo and East Africa (ÁLVARES, part 2, chapters 14, 16). Rodney has suggested that it was the common allegation of anthropophagy which led Portuguese observers to make the identification (RODNEY, p.43). Since there can have been no terms in the Mane or Sape languages for 'Mozambique' or 'Congo', it is clear that the identification of locations in which the Manes had operated was based on Portuguese inference. However, it is possible that the reference to the Congo arose out of a misunderstanding of a Mane statement. In Manding and Vai, kɛŋ and kɛŋɔ mean 'hill'; and this term can be applied to much of the interior of Guinea, over against the flat coastal lands. Hence, European geographers of the early nineteenth century invented a range of Kong Mountains running through the interior. If the Manes told the Portuguese that they came from the hills, kɛŋ/kɛŋɔ, the Portuguese may have thought that the reference was to the Congo.

MINA Almada's statement perhaps only meant that the Mane army passed through the hinterland of Mina. But later Portuguese sources improved the story. According to Dornelas, the Manes "reached Mina de São Jorge, and had encounters and skirmishes with our people at the castle, but frightened away by the artillery they passed on" (DORNELAS, f.12). In 1608, Barreira stated that Tora, an aged Mane leader and Jesuit convert, had told him that he remembered the Castle of Mina and the shots the defenders fired (GUERREIRO 1611, liv.4, cap.4, f.237v). Álvares enlarged on this: "Mina and its castle put up great resistance to them. In those parts they had no idea of the power of our artillery. From afar, they saw the towers shining white; and they imagined that they were Portuguese dwellings. The desire for booty led them on. The whistle of shot and the growling of guns they took for thunder. Recollecting the shot and what had happened to the Manes there, Don Pedro [viz., Tora] said that no-one could overcome the Portuguese" (ÁLVARES, f.86). The embellishments of the story can be ignored. Teixeira da Mota states that no Portuguese document relating to Mina records the passage of a savage army (DORNELAS, note to f.12). It is highly unlikely that Tora knew the Portuguese toponym 'Mina'. But if Barreira understood Tora correctly, and if Tora was telling the truth when he stated that the Manes passed within gunshot of a European fort, the only fort on the Guinea coast East of Sierra Leone at that date was Mina. Rodney prefers to leave open the question whether the Manes passed near Mina (RODNEY, p.58). In our view, it is highly unlikely that they did, and possible that Tora invented the story. Knowledge of a fort on the coast defended by guns may have been brought back to the Manding interior by Dyula merchants, and thus Manes may have been able to refer to the fort without ever having been there. We may assume that Tora told the story in reply to interrogation by Barreira. Though the reference in Almada to the Manes passing behind Mina does not appear in the summary of Almada printed by Guerreiro, it is possible that Barreira read a fuller manuscript when in Santiago Island and thus acquired the view that the Manes had traversed the whole Guinea coast. Hence Barreira may have asked Tora whether he remembered in his travels passing Mina. Even if Barreira had not seen Almada's reference, his contention that the Manes had come from the Congo must have led him to suppose that Mina had been passed.

MALAGUETA COAST Almada later refers to a battle with a Bullom king as the Manes "emerged from the Malagueta Coast and came into the Shoals of St. Anne, the first land of the Sapes" (17/2). Thus he envisaged the Malagueta Coast as beginning South of the Sherbro Island district (whereas earlier Portuguese sources stated that it began South of Cape Mesurado, e.g., **PACHECO PEREIRA**, liv.2, cap.2, p.100). While the whole Malagueta Coast lay on the route of an army moving coastwise from near Mina, the Portuguese survivors may have been shipwrecked on the Northern section, near Cape Mount. Their evidence is therefore not testimony to the presence of the Manes further East, as Rodney supposes (**RODNEY**, p.45). Nor, as Rodney further supposes, is their presence testified by Hawkins' 1568 contact at Sierra Leone with a King of 'Castros' (**WILLIAMSON**, p.513), since the toponym represents, not the Cess River, but the Scarcies River. Hence there is no sound evidence that the Manes were ever on the coast far to the East of Cape Mount.

FEMALE LEADER According to Dornelas, the original leader of the Manes was Macarico, "a lady of the very highest standing", who led the army out of the city of Malem, and died 40 years later, just before it reached Sierra Leone. A little earlier, before the army reached the Sherbro Island district, Macarico's son was killed during the siege of a town (DORNELAS, ff.11v-12v). Almada, who calls the leading Mane mestre (Port. 'master', but perhaps this is an attempt to write a vernacular name), later says that a Mane general called Macarico was killed by a Bullom king after conquering Sherbro Island (17/2). These appear to be variants of the same oral tradition. Álvares in 1616 gave the most detailed (and most confused) account of the Manes before they reached Sierra Leone : he named first and second generation leaders, but all were men. However, he interpolated that one of these, Feragura, gave a conquered area as a dowry to one Mabete, whose descendants remained tributary for the province, including Sierra Leone (ÁLVARES, ff.76,83): this was his only mention of a female Mane ruler. Her name was said to derive from ma 'lady', bete 'white Guinea egg-plant' (correcting RODNEY, p.45 : cf. Manding ma 'lady' DELAFOSSE). D. McCall (in an unpublished paper presented to the 1972 Manding conference) has suggested that the acceptance of a woman leader, factually or mythically, "calls for some comment since the Mande are so predominantly a patrilineal people". Father Barreira reported that an aunt of the King of Sierra Leone "to whom the kingdom would have belonged if she had been a man", and who was still powerful and influential, in war-time travelled with the rear-guard, carrying a bow and a quiver of arrows, and also a stick with which she beat any who attempted to retreat (GUERREIRO 1607, liv.4, cap.8, ff.152v-153).

16/10 ...reis, fidalgos e governadores. ...nobles and governors.

OLIGOPHAGY According to Álvares, the king of a captured town was killed and eaten in front of his heir, to whom was then handed over his father's judicial and administrative officers, and he was ordered to rule through them as a tributary of the Manes (ÁLVARES,f.85).

16/10 ...grossa e soperba, ...loud and proud voice.

MANE BEHAVIOUR Dornelas said of the Manes : "A Mane does not eat human flesh. They are so proud and solemn that if you see a Mane among men of another nation, all of them dressed alike, you will recognise the Mane immediately by his demeanour." (DORNELAS,f.14). Álvares said that the Manes "esteem greatly those who say little, and they say that much speech hinders counsel" (ÁLVARES,f.78v).

16/10 e por isso os desenterravam. they dug up their bodies.

GOLD DISINTERMENT Almada (mentioned earlier) burial of gold with the dead (15/5 and note), and also disinterment of the dead by the Manes (16/5). That the Manes sought for gold in Sape graves was first reported in 1564 : "Whereas the Sapias have an order to burie their dead in certaine places appointed for that purpose, with their golde about them, the Samboses diggeth up the ground, to have the same treasure : for the Samboses have not the store of golde that the Sapias have" (HAKLUYT,p.526). If it was true that the Manes disinterred the dead, it may have been done, not primarily to procure gold (which the Manes could obtain from the living Sapes) but as part of the policy of frightfulness, to impress the Sapes with their ruthless, irreligious behaviour.

16/11 ...donde eles chegavam.

...where they had been.

PORTUGUESE MISCONDUCT

Almada later comments on the conduct of the Portuguese who took the Sapes aboard and then sold them (17/3). The shorter version is even more condemnatory : "Covetousness blinded the Portuguese, and they dealt with these Sapes in a boorish and barbarous way, selling them all" (10/4). During the invasion, Dornelas' father bought three slaves in 1560, but these were Manes (DORNELAS,f.12v). Almada's comments suggest that he was not himself in Sierra Leone during the invasion period.

16/12 ...se fossem vacas ou carneiros. ...as if they were cows or sheep.

SLAUGHTERHOUSES

In 1564, the English were told that the Sumbas "are not wont onely to take them that they kill, but also to keepe those that they take, untill such time as they want meate, and then they kill them" (HAKLUYT,p.526). A contemporary Portuguese source similarly used the term 'slaughterhouse' when describing the activities of a tribe in East Africa alleged to kill and eat captives (DOS SANTOS, liv.2,cap.17); and Álvares, when discussing the Sumbas, added that at Cape Lopez and at Calabar there were

16/12 ...cousa dos ceus ou da terra. ...thing from heaven or from earth.

HEAVENLY MUSIC

A similar story concerning Africans who admired a country pipe played by a Portuguese sailor and thought it divine was told by CADAMOSTO (p.48).

17/1 ...sem lhe custar dinheiro". ...costing them a penny".

SAPE PROVERB Cf. modern Temne aŋ-səm a-f³əm katin "they-eat
people free-of-charge".

In 1582, the English obtained at Sierra Leone, from a Portuguese
informant, a short vocabulary of the "Guiny language", i.e., Temne;
and this included es^hme 'meat', cf. modern Temne u-səm 'animal, meat'.

INVASION ROUTES

The shorter text says that "some captains came through the hinterland, others along the coast" (10/4). But Almada gives no details about Mane movements in the interior, confining himself to a description of the coastal advance, though he notes that the Manes "became masters of a large part of the coast and many leagues into the interior" (18/1). Dornelas stated that the Manes advanced on Mina in three armies, "one part travelled along the coast, another a little more than 30 leagues in the interior, and the third...in between" (DORNELAS,f.12). After Mina, "the three armies passed towards the North" (or more correctly, West), where they besieged a fortified town "before they reached Bagarabomba". Since the three armies must have converged for the siege, and since they were said to reach the Sherbro Island district (which can hardly be considered to have extended 30 leagues, or 120 miles, inland), it must be doubted whether Dornelas envisaged the Manes as advancing on Sierra Leone other than along a narrow coastal belt - despite his previous statement. The only interior Mane kingdom in Sierra Leone mentioned in Portuguese documentation was that of 'Mitombo', which apparently lay along the modern Port Loko Creek, a mere 20 miles inland : this area could have been reached most easily by an army moving on it from the Sierra Leone peninsula and estuary, and it is less likely that it was invaded directly overland from the East. Thus, it is by no means certain that the Manes advanced towards Sierra Leone on a wide front, and the advance may have been limited to the coast. However the view that the Mane invasions entailed the movements of armies through the distant interior of the Sierra Leone region has been maintained by Person, and forms part of Rodney's sketch of the history of the invasion (RODNEY,p.59). In an attempt to fit the documentary evidence to oral traditions of the deep interior, Person argues that the Mane invasions extended to movements of peoples many hundreds of miles inland (e.g. the Toma-Gbande), and these resulted in "the formation of the Mende...and Loko"(PERSON,1961; 1971, p.685). Without impugning the oral traditions or any interpretation of them, it must be said that, even if we accept that Mane armies operated in the interior (which we regard as doubtful), the documentation offers little support for the theory that the Mane invasions generated vast interior movements (for earlier criticism, see HAIR,1967 b,p.266; 1968,pp.54-7,68).

COASTAL CONQUEST The account of the coastal advance of the Manes was possibly based on information from the two Portuguese who accompanied the Manes and then went to Santiago Island (16/7). The conquest of Tausente or Sherbro Island was not mentioned by Dornelas; but Álvares wrote - "After being checked at Mina, they struck at neighbouring provinces until they reached Magarabomba [the Sherbro Island district], conquering the Sapes and Bullom of its Tausente Island, named Xoi or Civi" (ÁLVARES, f.86v). The Kquoja account, which appears to be based on a Cape Mount dynastic tradition, records that a ruler called Flansire, who had inherited a kingdom stretching to the Gallinas River, "extended his might beyond this river, seizing all the places lying between it and Sierra Leone, which by force of arms he also brought under his subjection. Before withdrawing he placed garrisons in them and governors over them, to wit, Kandaqualle over Sierra Leone, Selboele over the lands on the River of Palms, after whom the river was then named..." (DAPPER, p.423/53). Thus, the Sherbro River - and later Sherbro Island - was named after the governor of the conquering 'Kquoja' (Selboele - Serbure - Sherbro). It is possible that this was the Mane conquest which was being described from a different viewpoint. The conquest of Sherbro Island implied that the Manes crossed water, and later Almada refers to a party of Manes travelling in canoes (17/4). Later again he remarks - "These Manes, being a people who after coming to these parts and to the Malagueta Coast had conquered the coastal land and had (therefore) moved on and off ships, were good sailors and swimmers ...they crossed (the river) by swimming, particularly the Bullom and Temne whom they brought in their army" (18/6). Inasmuch as the Manes were interior people, it is unlikely that they were skilled in crossing water (least of all the open sea) or even swimming. But as Almada hints, it was probably the Sumbas, the recruits from the conquered coastal peoples, who provided water-travel skills. The conquest of Sherbro Island was probably undertaken in canoes provided and manned by Bullom collaborators. The Kquoja account also refers to water travel. The governor of Sierra Leone was driven out and forced to flee with his people to the Banana Islands: to rescue him, King Flansire ordered his Bullom provincial governors to rally their people, and then from the Gallinas River "sailed over the sea in canoes to the Banana Islands...and landed in Sierra Leone" (DAPPER, p.424/54). The Mane conquest of the Iles de Los which, according to the English, was undertaken in 1561 (HAKLUYT, p.526),

was probably also carried out with Bullom aid. In the 1500s, the Bullom were described as a people who "live beside the sea wherever they can sail their canoes" (FERNANDES, f.128); and in 1561 the English saw on the Iles de Los "50 boates called Almadyes or Canoas, which are made of one peece of wood, digged out like a trough, but yet of a good proportion, being about 8 yardes long, and one in bredth, having a beake head, and a stern very proportionably made, and on the outside artificially carved, and painted red and blewe : they are able to carry 20 or 30 men, but they are about the coast able to carry three score and upward" (HAKLUYT, p.526). For other references to large sea-going canoes, see SMITH.

17/2 ...Misericordia da ilha de Santiago de esmola. ...Misericordia
(Charity Home) of Santiago Island.

MISERICORDIA The Misericordia, the charitable institution in Portugal and in overseas territories, is described in RUSSELL-WOOD (though this work does not mention the Santiago house). The Bishop of Cape Verde had his residence in the Santiago Misericordia, which was spared during Drake's sack of the town in 1585 (BRÁSIO, 2nd.ser., 3, pp. 70-77, 99, 123-5, 223-4; HAKLUYT 1600, p.538).

17/2 ...os não comeriam. ...would not eat them.

BULLOM RESISTANCE The shorter text refers to "the king of the Bullom" (10/4). Almada infers that the battle was fought after the capture of Sherbro Island, which probably means that it was fought in the Bullom territory on the mainland to the North, perhaps around Shenge. The only battle during the advance on Sierra Leone described by Dornelas, the one in which Maçarico's son was killed, was fought "before they reached Bagarabomba", that is, to the South of Sherbro Island. Dornelas' battle was a siege, Almada implies an open battle. (DORNELAS, f.12).

17/2 ...vendidos todos,

...sold by our men,

PORTUGUESE ATTITUDES Dornelas however described a different relationship between Sape refugees and the Portuguese. Two Temne kings, with their followers, sought refuge on Portuguese vessels and were brought to the Rio de São Domingos, where they founded settlements (DORNELAS, ff. 12v-13). Since Almada earlier referred to one of these settlements of Sape refugees when discussing this river (9/10), it is odd that he fails to mention the settlement when discussing the invasion of Sierra Leone.

17/2 ...governando-a António Velho Tinoco... was governing the island,

ANTÓNIO VELHO TINOCO A.V.T. was the holder of various posts in the administration of the Cape Verde Islands, and effectively governor, from 1572 to 1577 (DORNELAS, Appendix 1).

17/2 ...em mentes vivesse.

...as long as he lived.

KING ENSLAVED The same story was recounted by Father Barreira in 1606. An important king, escaping from the Manes, came aboard Portuguese ships and was enslaved and presented to the Misericórdia. Later, when offered his liberty by a governor of the island, he declined : "being a Christian now, he preferred to live as a slave among Christians than to be a ruler among the heathen" (BRÁSIO, 2nd. ser., 4, pp. 192-3).

17/4 ...que traziam cativa.

...along as prisoners.

MANE FUNERAL Dornelas described a Mane funeral and wake in more detail, which shows that it was similar to the obsequies practised by the Sapes before the invasion (DORNELAS, f.15-5v and note). Álvares described the funeral and wake of Mane kings, and referred to the sacrifice of human beings, wives and servants, who were buried with the king (ÁLVARES, ff.72-3). In 1568, after a successful assault on a town in the Sierra Leone estuary, Hawkins' African allies withdrew suddenly : "the negro kinges sente him worde that for the death of the kinges sonne of Sierra Lion they departed" (WILLIAMSON, p.513). Although the English did not grasp the point (cf. HAKLUYT, p.553), no doubt the kings returned home to organise a funeral and wake for the dead prince.

CONQUEST OF SIERRA LEONE

None of the sources detail the conquest of Sierra Leone. If the battle with Maçarico was fought near Shenge, the Manes had travelled 150 miles NNW from Cape Mount : they had to travel a further 50 miles to reach the Sierra Leone estuary, another 20 miles to reach the Scarcies River, and another 60 miles to reach the Iles de Los. Unless they travelled by sea, they crossed terrain not the easiest for an advancing army - the peninsula hills or the swamps to the East, the swamps between the Sierra Leone and Scarcies rivers and again between the Scarcies rivers and the Kalum Peninsula. The Manes also penetrated at least 20 miles up the Sierra Leone estuary as far as Port Loko Creek. Almada has nothing to say about these movements. Dornelas stated that the Manes "forced their way into the lands of Sierra Leone, in the year 1545, and with the native Sapes they had many ...wars...they made themselves lords over the Bullom who live on the right bank of the Tagarim River", that is, on the Bullom Shore (DORNELAS,f.12v). Later, he states that five Mane rulers ruled the following districts : the interior of Bagramomba (? the Bum-Kittam district near Sherbro Island), around the Portage-Place (to the East of the peninsula, modern Koya), the interior of Mitombo (along the Port Loko Creek), the interior country of the Lirigos (? Middle Scarcies), "beside the sea" (Bullom Shore and lower Scarcies, perhaps extending North) (DORNELAS,f.13v). Álvares was equally vague about the conquest but mentioned one event : "A large number of the bravest of the natives took refuge in the famous Cabano Island... where the Bullom, the Calus, etc., had built a fort...the taking of this island was the most bitterly-fought part of the campaign and much enemy blood was spilt... Tora...received Cabano as a reward" (ÁLVARES,f.86v). The toponym Cabano is not otherwise known, but Tora was c.1606 the ruler of "almost all the islands" in the Sierra Leone river (BARREIRA, f.2v). It is tempting to relate this assault on Cabano to the siege of a fortified town called Cogon in the Sierra Leone estuary (possibly Konkaw Island, though this is largely swamp and uninhabited) which was witnessed by the Hawkins expedition of 1567-8 : the English stated that the siege lasted long, and that when the town fell several thousand persons fled into the river or into "ooze" (the swamps) and were drowned (HAKLUYT,p.553; HAKLUYT 1600, p.488; WILLIAMSON,p.511). However, the dates do not fit : if Álvares was correct in considering the siege of Cabano an event during the first conquest, then the siege of Cogon took place a generation later. Moreover, according to the evidence of the previous Hawkins' expedition, the Manes had reached the extreme point of their advance North, the Iles de Los, in 1561.

SAPE REFUGEES

Almada, in his chapter on the Buramos, referred to a settlement of Sape refugees at Cacheu, which still existed in the 1590s : the king was called Ventura de Siqueira and had been educated in the Cape Verde Islands (9/10). Dornelas recorded that two Temne kings (probably from the Scarcies district) fled with their retinues aboard Portuguese vessels, and were brought to Rio de São Domingos where they settled in two villages; and that his school-fellow, Ventura de Siqueira, became ruler of the refugee settlement, lost his position, and eventually returned to Sierra Leone to rule a kingdom there (DORNELAS, f.13~~0~~13v). In 1617, Father Sebastian Gomes referred to a "Village of Sapes" on Santiago Island (GOMES, f.142) : these Sapes were probably refugees or their descendants, though it is conceivable that they were merely slaves. This dispersal of refugees by sea to localities many hundred of miles away was of course exceptional. Álvares however contended that the 'Calus' had fled North from Sierra Leone overland, as a result of the Mane invasion : they were alleged to have lived in the Sierra Leone estuary, and to have fled North, apparently to the Kalum peninsula (ÁLVARES, ff.48,86v,88v; see the note on 'Tagunchos' at 15/6).

MANE FORTIFICATIONS

Almada later describes how Mane atabanca were thrown down by horsemen during the battle with the Susu (18/5). It follows that the atabanca must have been more than ditches and mounds, and must have included woodwork on the mounds, possibly a line of stakes. According to Dornelas, the Temne and their Sape neighbours fortified towns with encircling fences of timbers, and surrounding ditches, along which were wooden towers and guard-posts; and the 'walls', that is, the timbers and ditches, were called tabancas (DORNELAS, f.10v). In 1568, the English helped to besiege a town walled round with mighty trees bound together with great wythes" and having "many false ditches covered with light stickes" (WILLIAMSON, pp.511-2). This form of fortification continued to be used in the Sierra Leone region up to fifty years ago, and it is highly unlikely that it was unknown before the Mane invasion. If there was any novelty in the Mane military procedure it most probably lay in their use of temporary fortifications when campaigning. In 1669, Coelho described the fortifications of Cacheu as tabanca (COELHO 1669, p.34/f.27). It is possible that the term was brought to Cacheu by the Temne refugees who settled there. The term continued in use in Portuguese Guinea, where it came to mean a settlement or village (CARREIRA 1965, p.221). In the nineteenth century, the Temne had a term (now obsolete) ka-bangka/to- 'fortifications' (SCHLENKER). The derivation of the term is uncertain : it does not appear to be recorded in lexical sources of the Manding or other Mande languages, and the initial syllable suggests certainly a borrowing into Temne, and possibly a Temne origin. Thus, Almada's statement that the term was Mane may have been wrong.

GASTRONOMY With the gastronomy of the Sumbas compare that of the Sapes before the Mane invasion; "when they kill their enemies in war, they cut pieces from them and dry them in smoke, and cook these with rice and eat them" (FERNANDES,f.134v). But these Portuguese accounts are surpassed by what the English saw in 1568 : it is not certain whether the man-eaters were Sumbas or Sapes. "(They) bind him to a stake and make a fire hard (by and dance) about it, and the miserable creature (while he is yet) alive they will with their knives cutt of his (fleshy) places and roste it, eating his owne fleshe by (pieces before) his eyes, a terrible kind of death. The others doe not thus eate them, but kill them owte of (hand at the) first and cutt them of by the loynes and eat (their flesh) as we wolde befe or mutton, the which oure owne menne (did witness)..." (WILLIAMSON,p.509 - the original manuscript having been damaged, words in brackets have been supplied). No Portuguese source confirms the live butchering. But Álvares, who clearly enjoyed describing Sumba brutalities (which occurred long before his time), reported this story. "A Sumba seized an infant from its mother's arms, cut its throat before her eyes, and tearing out its entrails filled the space with rice: then, by putting on burning coals he prepared two dishes at once - rice, cooked as in a casserole in the child's belly, and roast meat" (ÁLVARES,f.79v).

18/1 como ja se disse.

...as already stated.

MANE-SUSU WAR Almada referred to the geographical location of the Susu in 15/6. He now supplies the earliest reference in any source to the Mane attack on the Susu, which probably took place within a decade or two of the conquest of the Sierra Leone district c.1550. Although the Manes were at war with the Limba in the interior, the neighbours of the Susu, as late as 1582 (FENTON, p.108), Almada's account of the Susu war does not read like a narrative of an event a mere dozen years before he prepared his text (particularly when he notes that since the war the Susu have returned to their old trade-routes, because the Manes have become less alien, "most of them today having been born" in Sierra Leone, 18/8). Unfortunately none of the Portuguese sources gives a clear indication of the interval between the first invasion of Sierra Leone and the attack on the Susu. It is conceivable that the occupation of the Iles de Los in 1561 was part of a Northward movement which included the attack on the Susu, but again there is no firm evidence. Apart from a very brief reference in Dornelas ("they advanced to attack the Susu...with whom they had many encounters and great battles, but they were unable to advance further", DORNELAS, f.13v), the only other account of the war was given by Álvares, writing in 1616. The accounts of Almada and Álvares agree in outline but differ in detail. It is likely that both were drawing on popular traditions in Sierra Leone, which had developed in relation to a fairly distant historical event; and this might explain why both accounts are dramatic but factually vague.

18/1 ...nem diferença. ...with no real difference between them.

SUSU WEAPONS Almada previously stated that the Manes carried the same weapons, particularly short bows, and wore the same clothes as "the blacks of Mandimansa", that is, the Manding merchants from the interior he met on the Gambia (16/6). It was implied that the Manes differed in these respects from the Sapes and their immediate neighbours. However he now states that the Susu have the same weapons and clothes as the Manes; and this must weaken his conclusion regarding the identity of the Manes and Manding. Possibly all that his observations indicate is that the interior Mande-speaking peoples had cultural resemblances which distinguished them from the coastal non-Mande speaking peoples.

18/1 ...tomadas a seus donos. ...from their (Sape) owners.

MANE LEADERS According to Álvares, the Mane rulers who attempted the conquest of the Susu were Xerebogo and his brother Bolo, "after they became lords of Mabengoma", that is, the Scarcies district, (ÁLVARES, f.87). This makes sense, since the Scarcies kingdom was the Mane territory nearest to Susuland, and the river affords an obvious route for an attacking army. Álvares does not refer to any negotiations with the Susu.

18/2 ...valente homem de sua pessoa. ...brave man.

PORTUGUESE ALLIES The shorter version of Almada states that this Portuguese ally or mercenary was chief informant on the Susu war (Appendix III, 10/7). He was not mentioned by Álvares. ~~Earlier~~ Almada^{earlier} referred to two Portuguese who accompanied the Manes from the 'Malagueta Coast' to Sierra Leone (16/7). Later he mentions Portuguese soldiers who served a king in Sierra Leone (18/12). According to an English source, in 1568 five Portuguese assisted the African army besieged in the town of Conga (HORTOP). The death in battle of Xere Ira, King of the Casses, father of Xere Bogo (one of the leaders of the attack on the Susu), was claimed by his people to have been caused by a musket-shot fired by a Portuguese, presumably an ally of the opposing side (ÁLVARES, f.88v). Thus "direct European intervention", though uncommon and limited, was more frequent than Rodney supposes (RODNEY, p.54).

18/2 ...com seus descobridores e atalaias. ...with scouts and sentinels.

SUSU RESISTANCE According to Álvares, the Manes captured Bena, the capital of King Massacander, while he was engaged in the initiation ceremonies of his daughters. The Susu fled to Lambaré, and the Manes formed a camp on a stream near Bena. Massacander assembled his vassals and allies, who included Baga, Calus, Dagunchos and Putases, and attacked the camp (ÁLVARES, ff.87,88v). Bena was the Susu kingdom visited by Father Barreira in 1607 : unfortunately Barreira's reports provide no specific indications of the location of the kingdom (GUERREIRO 1611, liv,3,caps.2-3). But it was probably the most Southern interior Susu polity, lying between the Scarcies and the upper Forekaria River (cf. 'Benna' on the map in HOUIS 1963). The Manes presumably attacked up the Scarcies, passing through Kambia : their advance was one of under 100 km (60 miles).

18/2 ...a ser depois multos. ...the number became many.

POISON According to Álvares, the Susu poisoned the streams while the Manes were occupying their camp (ÁLVARES,f.87v).

18/2 ...servindo de muro. ...the river as a wall.

MANE STRATEGY The shorter version of Almada says that the Manes fortified their camp because "the Sumba captains feared treachery on the part of their soldiers, since only the lesser part were Manes... and they hoped to be more secure in relation to the alien soldiers" (Appendix III,10/7).

18/3 ...acompanhar as mulheres". ...the company of the women".

KING'S SPEECH Almada follows the contemporary style of history-writing in introducing a rhetorical speech which is doubtless fictitious. Earlier, he briefly referred to a speech by the Bullom king, in which he told his soldiers not "to be overcome like women" (17/1).

18/3 ...estando em juizo, ...judgments are being given.

HERALDS This custom does not appear to be recorded in other early sources or in modern sources relating to the Sierra Leone region. But among the Mende, the chief has an assistant who is known as his 'mouth' and in English is generally termed his 'Speaker' : he acts as an intermediary between the chief and his people (McCULLOCH,p.17).

18/5 ...piquenos como quartãos, ...as small as ponies.

FULA HORSES In 1581, Dornelas saw in the Rio Grande some horses of a breed brought there by Fula invaders, "small and thin ones" (DORNELAS, f.29). The English who visited the Futa Jalon in 1794 reported that the Fula's main exercise was "riding on horseback... Their horses are of Arabian breed, and very swift : they are seldom above twelve hands high, are very well formed, and tolerably strong and spirited" : the Fula saddle, stirrups and bit were described, and it was stated that the horses were never shod (WINTERBOTTOM,p.114). In the same year "Foulah horses", apparently brought from the interior by traders, were reported in the Rio Pongas (AFZELIUS,f.2/40v). West Africa has probably no indigenous equines, and horses were almost certainly introduced by the Arabs : various varieties are found today in a limited zone, South of the camel-using belt, North of the tsetse belt (CHURCH,pp.136-7). Unless the tsetse belt has moved Northwards in recent centuries, it is unlikely that the Susu of the kingdom of Bena or the Sapes possessed any horses, hence the novelty of their appearance on the battlefield.

18/5 ...nesta batalha. ...in this battle.

SUSU VICTORY According to Álvares, the battle lasted two or three days. The Manes then withdrew during the night, acting on the advice of a leader on the Mane side who was himself a half-Mane and who warned them that otherwise they would be totally destroyed (ÁLVARES,f.87v).

18/6

...e cautivos muitos.

...killed and made captive.

SAPE RECRUITS

The reference to Temne and Bullom serving with the Manes confirms the 'snowball' nature of the Mane conquest. While the Bullom, a coastal and fishing people, may well have been "good sailors and swimmers", it is unlikely that the Temne were any more proficient in these arts than were the Manes.

FARMA. In 1582, the English were told by Portuguese informants that "one farmr was cheifest King and of the greatest power in those partes"; that he was a magician and was at war with the Limba; and that he was an old man, rather fat but nimble (FENTON, pp. 103, 108; MADOX, ff. 37v, 46v, 182v, 185v; WALKER, f. 208, 208v). Dornelas described Farma as the ruler of a kingdom stretching along the upper Tagarim River on both sides and including the port of Mitombo; and he added that in the interior Farma ruled many peoples - Lagos, Cojas, Urandacosas, Singuleras, Agingas, Limbas and "many others" (DORNELAS, f. 11-11v and notes). Dornelas also stated that Farma would have visited the Portuguese governor, António Velho Tinoco, when he anchored in the river in 1574 if the Portuguese vessels had stayed longer (DORNELAS, f. 15). Father Barreira, who later described Farma as "the first Mane king of the Loguos", reported in 1606 that the kingdom of the "Logos or Temenes" ruled by Farma lay inland from the kingdom of Sierra Leone and stretched 100 leagues into the interior (GUERREIRO 1611, liv. 4, cap. e, 231v; BARREIRA, p. 170). It is to be noted that Dornelas and Barreira make it clear, as Almada does not, that Farma ruled an inland kingdom which did not include Sierra Leone in the strict sense, that is, the peninsula and lower estuary district. Barreira said that the capital where Farma lived was "3 days' distance" from the port of Mitombo, but probably this was an exaggerated estimate and the capital was near modern Port Loko (BRÁSIO, 2nd. ser., 4, p. 370). Although Farma was the most important ruler in the Sierra Leone region in his lifetime, European sources record little exact information about his life and career. This appears to be mainly because none of the writers had met Farma, or penetrated to the capital of his inland kingdom, hence all their information was second-hand or more distant. The Portuguese traders who passed on information to the English in 1582 gave the impression that they had met and spoken to Farma, but even what they reported seems to contain a strong legendary and propagandist element (reflecting the image of themselves the conquering Manes wished to have projected). The Jesuits at first concentrated on Farma's coastal neighbours, and those of Father Barreira's reports which were published contemporaneously (by GUERREIRO) were extremely vague about the interior kingdom: in particular, they failed to make it clear that the original Farma had been succeeded by another Farma, his son. Writing in 1616, Álvares referred to "Farma Velho" (Old Farma) and also to a living Farma

(ÁLVARES,ff.89,91(a),138). In fact, the term was almost certainly a title, not a name : cf. Manding fari-ma^{ga} 'master of the chiefs, chief governor', DELAFOSSE. The Jesuits established a church within the Farma's kingdom, at the port of Mitombo, only in 1611 (ÁLVARES,ff.116v-118v); and it was after this that Álvares reported the following information - perhaps partly legendary - about the first Farma's early life. Faire, a young drummer in the Mane army, was promoted by one of the two original Mane leaders, Fera Messera, when he displayed his ruthfulness by eating his own mother : this happened in "Gora", perhaps the Gola territory in the interior of Cape Mount. The drummer was given a command in the interior, and one of Fera Messera's wives, already pregnant, and his name was changed to that of an earlier Mane, Farma (ÁLVARES,ff.83v-84). He then served at Mina (allegedly) and in the advance West (ff.81, 83,86). But since the child of the pregnant wife was born "in this district" (f.79v), the period between his promotion and his arrival in the Sierra Leone region was one of months only, which minimises the disagreement between this account and Almada's statement that "here he has taken the title of king and is called Farma". If this Farma was a young man c.1550, then by 1582 he would be in his 50s ("an old man" in the English report), and in 1600 would be around 70. At his death he was said to have had 72 sons and 52 daughters (GUERREIRO 1611,liv.4,cap.3, f.231v). When did he die? In 1607 it was said that Tora was the oldest Mane king, and a year or two later Tora was described as the only surviving leader of the Mane invasion (GUERREIRO 1611,liv.4,cap.3,ff. 232v,237v). A casual reference in a 1606 report by Barreira appears to imply that Farma died before the Jesuits arrived : there had been fewer wars during the last "six or seven years" compared with "the previous years when Farma was living" (BRÁSIO,p.193). If Barreira really meant to indicate that the first Farma had died six or seven years earlier - and doubts arise because he did not state this explicitly elsewhere - than the death must have occurred c.1600, which in view of the Farma's age makes good sense. In any case, a war fought by the Farma against Farma Xere, ruler of the Sierra Leone kingdom, was probably in the time of Farma I; while a war against the ruler of the Scarcies kingdom in 1613 was in the time of Farma II (ÁLVARES,ff.88v-89v). Farma II encouraged the Jesuits, and a son was baptised and took the name of Sebastian (ÁLVARES,f.127). In the 1650s, Capuchin

missionaries referred to another King Farma (RODNEY,p.59). The references to Farma I, including the family tree, in KUP (pp.132-8) are inaccurate. In the nineteenth century, legends circulated among the Temne concerning 'Bey Farma' or 'Farma Tami' (King Farma, Farma the Conqueror) who "came from the East", a great warrior, who killed Limbas and Lokos and conquered all Temne country, and "cut the throat of white men", and settled in Kwea (? Koya) country. The Temne still assert that there was no rainbow before Farma's time, hence they call it 'Farma's bow' (SCHLENKER 1861, pp.3-4; ~~a-bey~~ta-Farma, DALBY). In the Kquoja account printed by Dapper and probably collected in the 1630s, there are no certain references to Farma of Mitombo, but a war between one Dogo Falmah (i.e., Farma) and the King of Cape Mount, at an unstated date, is described (DAPPER,pp.424-5/54-5) : the war arose because ~~because~~ Dogo Falmah drove the King of Cape Mount's governor out of Sierra Leone. This latter event may have been a war between the Mane rulers of Mitombo and Sierra Leone, involving either Farma I or Farma II.

HOMAGE The salutation of homage in Sierra Leone was also described by Álvares. "Among themselves they use the greeting atuan, meaning 'Bear up!' ...towards superiors...they use the greetings atuan or lonta, meaning 'Your Majesty!'...they normally touch the ground with their elbows or else they strike the palm of their right hand on their chest...when a chief or noble or other person visits a king...if he is delayed and has not been seen for several days, he appears with his shirt stripped off and throws himself flat upon the ground, his arms extended...as a token of vassalage and in order to dispel all suspicion of being a rebel" (ÁLVARES, f.61-61v). A Dutchman described the judicial rites of the King of Sierra Leone c.1610, probably from personal observation: "the plaintiff appears before the king...falls down on his knees and bows down on his elbows...and says Donda" (RUITERS, pp.288/60). According to the Kquoja account, in the Cape Mount region, probably in the 1630s, the suppliant who approached the king "bows himself to the earth, kneeling down on one knee, with his right elbow on the ground, and calls out the king's title Dondagh ...the king if pleased answers Namadi, meaning 'I thank you!' " (DAPPER, pp.409/39). These terms of salutation link the kingdoms of Cape Mount and Sierra Leone. Donda/dondagh is probably Vai dondo 'number one' (KOELLE, HEYDORN): namady/anamati has the shape of a Vai term, but is not literally 'I thank you' and is unidentified: atuan is unidentified, but is perhaps more likely to be Temne than Vai: lonta is almost certainly Temne longtha 'I have finished (what I have to say)', a term employed at the end of a speech, e.g. to a chief (Turay). Lonta (given different interpretations) has been used by the Temne in recent centuries. "The lower Timmany people at least upon certain occasions use to shew great obeisance to their king, approaching him in a bowing position, putting the hands over the head, and repeating three times at least Lonta, Lonta, Lonta, etc" (1790s: AFZELIUS, f.128). In the 1910s, lonta was said to be "what people say to a chief before discussing a palaver in his bare" (THOMAS, p.32). It will be noted that Europeans did not know the exact meaning of the terms they heard employed, partly no doubt because they ^{expressions} are idiomatic, but also because they had no understanding of the African languages. The languages employed in royal greetings at Sierra Leone c.1600 seem to have been Vai and Temne, with perhaps the first language giving way to the second as the Mane were assimilated. Almada is the only source to suggest that the greeting of vassalage was an opportunity for the ruler to execute the vassal.

18/11 ...e se descercam os cercados,... ...those surrounded break out;

SIEGES Dornelas described town fortifications and the military conventions regarding sieges among the Temne (DORNELAS, ff.10v-11). In 1568 the English witnessed and described the siege of Conga, where it seems that a large army within elaborate fortifications was besieged for some time by a large army without (WILLIAMSON, pp.510-11). In the Sierra Leone interior, sieges of stockaded towns continued up to the beginning of the present century: for a description of the military tactics involved among the Mende, see LITTLE (pp.33-36).

OTHER EUROPEANS In the 1560s, the French and the English began to visit Sierra Leone regularly, to trade in slaves : this roused Portuguese official hostility and led to diplomatic complaints directed to the English queen, and to two naval battles off Sierra Leone between Portuguese and French vessels (HAIR 1969 b; HAIR 1970). French activities declined sharply in the later decades, because of the civil wars in France; and English visits also became less regular. However, when the English visited Sierra Leone in 1582 their contacts with the local Portuguese were moderately friendly, partly because of the division of Portuguese loyalties between D. António, the pretender to the throne who was seeking support in England, and King Philip, who had succeeded to the Portuguese throne after ousting D. António. In the early 1590s, D. Antonio was in exile in England, and he licenced English merchants to trade in Upper Guinea, though with some reluctance (COSTA). Writing in 1594, the year before D. António's death, Almada shows no wavering in loyalty to King Philip and hence does not need to depart from the traditional Portuguese hostility to French and English activities in Guinea. What he says about African reactions to the French and English represents Portuguese wishful thinking rather than the exact truth. Hawkins did fight a battle with Africans at Sierra Leone in 1568, but it was as an ally of another group of Africans, led by the King of the Scarcies district. In general, the French and English traded peacefully with Africans - as they also did, when they could, with the local Portuguese (HAIR 1970 b). It must be conceded however that each of the English expeditions which called at Sierra Leone in 1586 attacked and burnt a village (HAKLUYT, pp.794,809). But Almada's reference to Hawkins shows that it was not these recent contacts he was arguing from, but the contacts of the 1560s. Portuguese Jesuit missionaries later attempted to persuade Sierra Leone Africans to act against Europeans other than Portuguese : "Dom Philip [a converted Sierra Leone king] zealously persecutes the heretics and pirates who come to his kingdom" (GUERREIRO 1611, liv.4, cap.6,f.244).

18/11 ...e de algũas embaracações.

...some men and boats.

BAYÃO The shorter version reads : "when Bayão turned traitor, he brought these nations to these parts, and they besieged a king called Sacena..." (10/9). Bartolomeu Baião, a Portuguese pilot, worked for the English from around 1564 to 1572, when he was captured by the Portuguese authorities in Guinea and executed. His visit to Sierra Leone was probably not on his last voyage of 1571-2 and is therefore to be dated to the 1560s. No details of his activities in Sierra Leone are known.

18/12 ...se acharam antonces.

...at that time.

SACENA According to the English, 'Sacina' was one of two kings besieged at Conga in 1568, and when the town fell he escaped (WILLIAMSON, pp.510,513). Again according to an English source, in 1582 "Bamfora Kinge of Madrybombe" was at war with "Sherabola and Sansena, Kings adjoyinge to him" (FENTON, p.105). Further disconnected information about Sacena was supplied later by Almada, Dornelas and Álvares. He was an Uncle of Fera Bure or Philip, the second Mane king of the Sierra Leone district; and when the first king, Farma Xere, died, and Bure was a child, Sacena ruled, presumably as regent (DORNELAS, f.11v; ÁLVARES, f.89-89v). Earlier, as a young man, he had served as captain at the Mane attack on Sherbro Island (? . c.1550), and then attached himself to Farma, Mane king of Mitombo. The two quarrelled over one of Farma's wives, and a war followed : Sacena had support from Magrabomba, and Farma Xere of Sierra Leone was his ally, but Farma won the Battle of Lamaia, which was followed by peace (ÁLVARES, f.89-89v). At another unstated date, Sacena fought Tora, Mane king of the islands in the Sierra Leone River (ÁLVARES, f.78v). Sacena was presumably still living in 1594 when Almada wrote, but seems to have been dead by 1605 when the Jesuits arrived. It may be surmised that Sacena was a minor Mane leader, and that apart from the period when he apparently governed Sierra Leone as regent for his nephew, he ruled only a minor territory, perhaps in 'Magrabomba'. The siege to which Almada refers cannot have been the siege of Conga in 1568, since on this occasion the English and their African allies conquered the town and Sacena fled. But Sacena may also have employed Portuguese soldiers in 1568, for when the town was captured Hawkins "found five Portugals which yeelded themselves to his mercy" (HAKLUYT, 1598, I, p.488).

BRAZIL This chapter is of interest in throwing light on the stresses within the Portuguese imperial economy, a system of central and official regulation. The clash of interests between the official system and the interests of the Portuguese settled in the Cape Verde Islands is described in RODNEY (pp.75-6). That the economic development of Upper Guinea was being subordinated by the crown to the economic development of Brazil was the complaint of Luis Henriques, a Portuguese settled in Sierra Leone for twenty years, when he spoke to the English in 1582 : "This land produces a brazilwood much more effective for dyeing cloth than that which comes from Brazil itself. But nothing is produced here, for this reason, lest the region prove harmful to the annual revenues. While he [King Philip] holds the government in Brazil, he holds nothing here" (MADOX,f.46v). Almada, a Cape Verde Islands trader, was much more discreet in his criticism, not least since he apparently hoped that his book would reach the eyes of the authorities. His estimate of the natural wealth of Sierra Leone was of course exaggerated.

GRAPES The version of this list in the shorter version (Appendix III, 9/2) includes "grapes, which being wild have a large pip, but if they were cultivated would be as good as ours." Dornelas referred to black and white grapes which were sour (DORNELAS,f.6). In the early days of Portuguese exploration, Cadamosto had incorrectly asserted that there were "no vines...in any region of the land of the blacks" (CADAMOSTO, p.40). But in 1585 Father Rebelo's informant noted the wild grapes of Sierra Leone - "thirty or forty bunches of grapes on one branch" (TEIXEIRA DA MOTA 1968,p.13). These wild grapes are from *Leea guineensis* and from *Cissus* and *Ampelocissus* spp.. In 1582, an Englishman supposed that the failure to introduce viniculture into Sierra Leone was due to Portuguese greed; "Hear are many vynes that gro naturally but the Portingal wil not teach the tilling of them for that Canary wines are much prized, which gayn would be lost." (MADOX,f.180).

19/2

...quanto na ilha tinham.

...give up all they had in the island.

SETTLEMENT

The notion that the population of the Cape Verde Islands, partly of European extraction, would be better off if transferred from the more temperate climate of the islands to the hotter and insect-ridden airs of Sierra Leone, later known as "The Whiteman's Grave", was a curious one. It may be granted that agriculture had severe limitations in the islands, and that the hills and green valleys of the Sierra Leone peninsula misled many later Europeans into supposing that crops could be produced there by scratching the earth with a pen-knife (FYFE 1962, p.15). But it is still difficult to believe that what Almada reported that very old men said, was said seriously, or indeed at all.

19/2

...muitos trabalhos que ha padecido, ...many troubles it has experienced,

CAP VERDE ISLANDS TROUBLED

The 1580s were marked for the Cape Verde Islands by a famine (1583), an attack on Santiago by a force supporting D. António, Portuguese, French and English (1583), and the sacking of Santiago by Drake ~~in~~ (1585).

guarded and defended against foreigners,...

SIERRA LEONE FORTIFIED

According to Pacheco Pereira, "3 leagues above Tanguarim, King John II [1481-1495] had a fort built, which afterwards for some reason he had pulled down" (PACHECO PEREIRA, liv.1, cap.32). No documentary or archaeological confirmation of the building of a Portuguese fort in Sierra Leone in this period has been found. But Álvares in 1616, writing about Sierra Leone before the Mane conquest of c.1550, reported the following: "In order to carry on the [export] trade with greater security, or so it is said, that famous tower was built which stands on the road to this kingdom (of the Logos), of which today we have only the ruins. 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} ~~which~~ 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 story" (ÁLVARES, f.74). If Álvares actually saw the ruins himself, it is unlikely that he was mistaken in supposing them to have had a Portuguese origin, in view of the marked differences in material and design between a European and an African construction. In 1606, a trader, Bartolomeu André, wrote to King Philip III, claiming that he had recently persuaded the African ruler of Sierra Leone to send away some Dutch traders who were proposing to build a fort there; and he invited the king to establish a Portuguese fort and settlement (GUERREIRO 1607, liv.4, cap.9, ff.156-8). One of the conditions of the grant of the Captaincy of Sierra Leone to Pedro Álvares Pereira which followed, ^{that} ~~was~~ three forts should be built, one at the chief port, two at suitable points elsewhere (RAU). The projected settlement was never realised. In 1625 Dornelas discussed two sites where a Portuguese fort could suitably be built (DORNELAS, f.4). According to Coelho writing very much later, an attempt was made to build a Portuguese fort at the entrance to the Sierra Leone estuary, apparently during the period of the grant to Álvares Pereira, but was frustrated by French intervention (COELHO 1669, p.73/f.63 and 1684 pp.232-3/f.49-49v).

19/5 ...nela a sua Santa Fé,

...in it His Holy Faith,...

CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA

The argument that the losses of the Roman Catholic church in Europe were to be compensated for by the successes of Catholic missions in other continents was a commonplace of later sixteenth century Catholic thought : for instances of the argument being advanced by English Catholics as early as the 1560s (including a reference to Africa), see HAIR (1970 b,p.221).

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MAPS AND ATLASES

Augustine FITZHUGH, "Guinea", London, 1684, manuscript. Reproduced in DORNELAS = DONELHA, fig.6.

"A new survey of the Coast of Africa from Senegal and Cape Verd to Cape St. Ann; digested from...draughts and observations...chiefly those of Mr. William Woodville of Liverpool", London, 1797.

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APPENDIX to BIBLIOGRAPHY

Since the notes to Almada and the bibliography were drawn up, I have published translations of the Sierra Leone sections of several of the works cited, in a series still appearing (1984) in the Africana Research Bulletin of the Institute of African Studies, University of Sierra Leone, as follows :

- BARBOT in 11/3, 1981, pp.46-60
BEAULIEU in 4, 1974, pp.41-50
ANDRADE in 5/1, 1974, pp.47-56
CARVALHO in ditto
GUERREIRO in 5/4, 1975, pp.81-118 (1604-5 part, pub.1607, book 4, chap.8)
6/2, 1976, pp.45-70 (supplementary letter from Brasio)
6/3, 1976, pp.34-60 (1604-5 part, book 4, chap.9, ff.156-158v)
8/2, 1978, pp.64-108 (1607-8 part, pub.1611, book 4, chaps.2-4)
11/1-2, 1981, pp.92-140 (supplementary report from Brasio)
12/1-2, 1983, pp.55-97 (1607-8 part, book 4, chaps.4,7)
RUITERS in 5/1, 1974, pp.47-56 and 5/3, pp.52-70
SANDOVAL in 5/2, 1975, pp.78-92

Also a translation of an abridged version of

- FARO André de Faro's missionary journey to Sierra Leone in 1663-1664, Occasional Paper no.5, Institute of African Studies, University of Sierra Leone, Freetown, 1982

Also a translation of the Sierra Leone section of

- CADAMOSTO in Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion, 11, 1969, pp.51-64 (with many misprints - note that all the above Freetown publications appear without the author's proof-reading and therefore contain frequent misprints, but for the ARB series I insert regular corrigenda)

The following more recent articles by P.E.H.Hair have a bearing on the sources cited above and in the bibliography.

- 'Hamlet in an Afro-Portuguese setting...Sierra Leone 1607', History in Africa, 5, 1978, pp.21-42
'English accounts of 1582' in Africana Research Bulletin, 9/1-2, 1978, pp.67-77 (an analysis of MADOX)
Sierra Leone and the English in 1607: extracts from the unpublished journal of the Keeling voyage, Occasional Paper no.4, Institute of African Studies, University of Sierra Leone, Freetown, 1981

P.E.H.H.
April 1984

LAST WORDS

The translation. Uncertain points in the translation are indicated by (?). For lack of the final careful checking which Teixeira da Mota would have given it, the translation retains such uncertainties, and must also contain a certain number of errors and ambiguities. I feel least confident about some of its navigational passages, but throughout it should be used with even more of the caution signalled in the Translator's Introduction in the Donelha volume.

The title of the text. Teixeira da Mota pointed out that one manuscript includes in the title the abbreviated form 'R.os,' and that this might conceivably stand for 'Reinos' rather than 'Rios'. Hence at one point the title is given as ... Rivers [or Kingdoms] of Guiné.

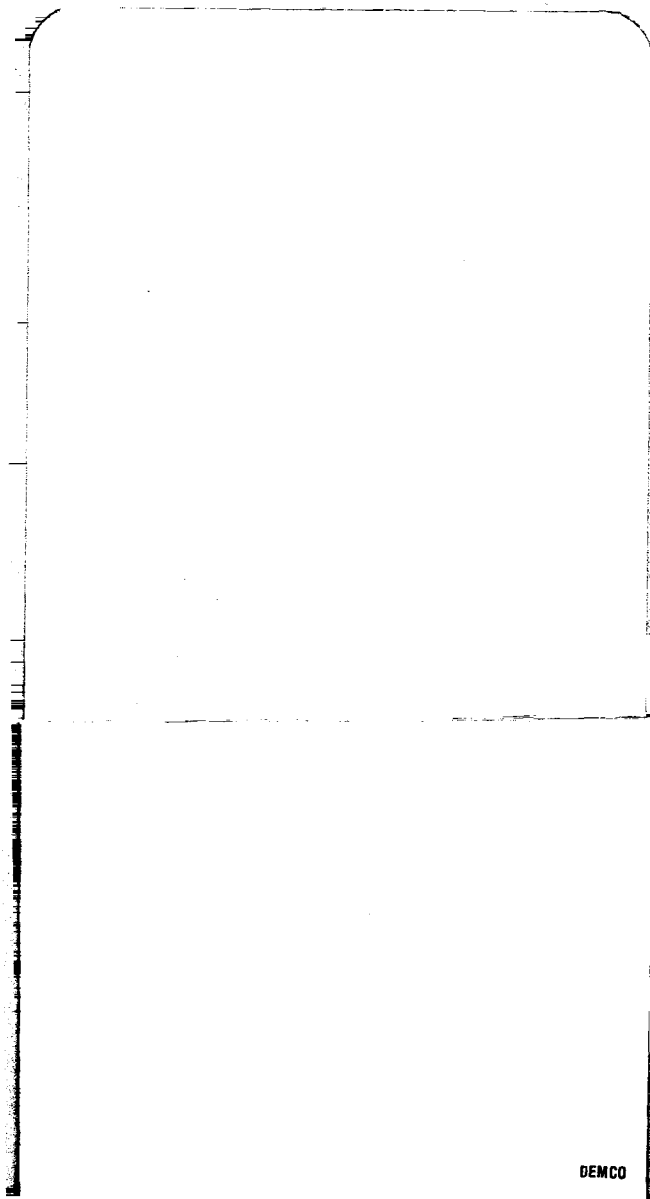
Duplication of note. A note, presumably by Almada, appearing on a separate page of the manuscript, is given in this edition in error twice, once at the end of the list of contents, and again on p.16.

Acknowledgement. Despite what was said at the end of the Introduction, in the final collating of sheets invaluable assistance was lent me by my daughter, Ruth Hair.

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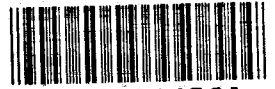


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