Brief treatise on the rivers of Guinea. Part 1

Almada, André Alvares d', fl. 1594; et al.
[Liverpool]: Dept. of History, University of Liverpool, 1984

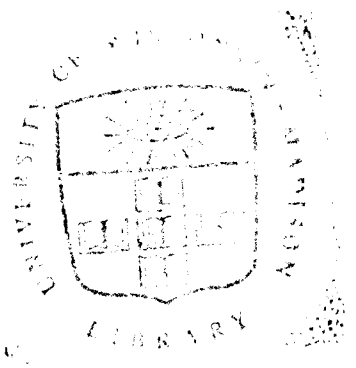
André Álvares de Almada

BRIEF TREATISE ON THE RIVERS OF GUINEA

(c. 1594)

PART I

TRANSLATED TEXT



An interim and makeshift edition of

André Álvares de Almada's

BRIEF TREATISE ON THE RIVERS OF GUINEA

being an English translation of a variorum text of

Tratado breve dos Rios de Guiné (c.1594)

organised by the late Avelino Teixeira da Mota,

together with incomplete annotation.

Translation, a brief introduction and

notes on chapters 13-19

by

P.E.H. Hair

and notes on chapters 1-6

by

Jean Boulègue

Issued personally, for the use of scholars, from the Department of History,

University of Liverpool

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INTRODUCTION

The present edition

This is a makeshift version of an edition of André Álvares de Almada's Tratado breve dos Rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde (c.1595) planned by Avelino Teixeira da Mota but incomplete when he died in 1982. It consists of an English translation of the Portuguese text, and extensive annotation on the Senegambia and Sierra Leone sections of the account. The circumstances in which the work was planned I have described in a note in History in Africa (1982); and Teixeira da Mota gave an account of his long initial preparations for the series of editions of Portuguese texts on Guinea he planned, in his introduction to the first volume of the series, the tri-lingual edition of Donelha's Relação, published in 1977. To the Almada edition Teixeira da Mota would have contributed annotation on the central section of the coast (Casamanse-Cape Verga), as well as a learned introduction on Álvares de Almada and the manuscripts and editions of his account. Now all we have on the subject of Almada from this outstanding and greatly respected Portuguese scholar is a sketch of Almada's life and achievement in a 1970 article, and a few pages of analysis of Almada's account in the course of the introduction to the Donelha edition. I quote from these below.

It was intended that, like the Donelha edition, the Almada edition should present the Portuguese text and, in separate volumes, translation and annotation in English, and translation and annotation in French. It is hoped that it will eventually prove possible for such an edition to be completed and that it can be published by the Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga in Lisbon, the organisation of which Teixeira da Mota was director and under whose flag he published; and I am indebted to the present Director, Professor Luis de Albuquerque, for the sympathetic discussions he has had with me on the matter. However, it seemed wrong to deny scholars, for a further period of years, material which has been ready since 1975. Hence this interim and makeshift version. An incomplete edition, it has also been reproduced by the cheapest methods and has many consequent defects as a piece of reading matter. But it should still prove of some use to those scholars researching on the earlier history of the western Guinea coast into whose hands it falls.

Teixeira da Mota on Álvares de Almada

"Little is known about the life of André Álvares de Almada. His father, Cipriano Álvares de Almada, was an energetic commander (capitão) on Santiago Island. André was born there, and in 1599 was awarded the Habit of the Order of Christ for valiant services in the defence of the island against the assault of foreign enemy. At an earlier date, in 1581, he had travelled to Portugal and Spain on behalf of the island's inhabitants, in order to seek permission for them to settle in Sierra Leone, a permission which was refused because of the fear that the island would thereafter be totally abandoned. He made a number of voyages to the mainland of Guinea, especially in the 1570s, and he was still alive in 1603. He was twice married, and his descendants married into the leading families of the island. At least one son was well acquainted with the coast and waterways of Guinea, and is on record as claiming to hold the office of Captain of Cacheu." ('Dois escritores quinhentistas de Cabo Verde', pp.18-19).

"Donelha was in Guinea in roughly the same period as was André Alvares de Almada. Almada began his voyages to Guinea a little earlier, and he wrote one recension of his Tratado a little later, in 1594. He must have been born, however, some years before Donelha. Since they both lived on the Cape Verde Islands between the 1560s and the 1590s they almost certainly knew each other. It is possible that Donelha saw one of Almada's manuscripts, but we have not noted in Donelha's account any indication of borrowing. Since their acquaintance with Guinea covered the same period, it is not surprising that their writings contain a certain amount of common information. For instance, out of 99 toponyms in Donelha's account, 55 are also found in Almada's text (which contains a total of 148 toponyms). The more important natural features of the coast (e.g. Cape Verde, Serra Leoa) tend to be represented by toponyms common to both works. But for certain areas of the coast, there are differences in the toponyms which indicate that Donelha did not make use of Almada's writings. Thus, out of 34 toponyms which Donelha records for the Gambia district, only 6 are given by Almada (who records 17 altogether). The score of the two writers for the Beafada district is 14 to 6, and for Sierra Leone 16 to 10 ...

If we compare ethnonyms, Donelha records 40, Almada 37, and 23 are recorded by both ... Turning to African personal names, Donelha again does better than Almada, with 28 against 22, and only 10 in common. But if we count terms for titles of chiefs or social groups, Almada records 22, Donelha only 15, with 7 in common; and if we compare vernacular terms for physical objects, Almada records 25, Donelha only 10, with 5 in common. Almada is undoubtedly the richer source in references to commerce, particularly in the enumeration of products and trade-goods. Almada is also fuller with regard to ethnographic information, which he supplies in more detail and in relation to a wider area ... However, when it comes to the fauna, Donelha is the fuller source, since he specifies 39 items (giving vernacular names for 7), while Almada only mentions 11 (giving vernacular names for 5), of which 7 are in common. To a lesser extent, Donelha has the advantage with regard to the flora, giving the names of 35 items (including 25 vernacular terms), as compared with Almada's 29 (19 vernacular terms), of which 16 are in common." (Donelha, Descrição, pp.35, 49-50).

Almada's account of western Guinea

André Álvares de Almada was born in the Cape Verde Islands (= CVI), apparently c. 1550. The islands had been settled for almost a century. Almada's family was relatively well-to-do and therefore slave-owning. The islands are still today in general somewhat arid and offer few economic opportunities; hence a thin population of pioneering Portuguese settlers was soon outnumbered by African slaves and freedmen descendants, often of mixed extraction. The Almada family, like many others, made a living in part by trading to the mainland; and André's maternal grandmother appears to have been black. Thus, Almada was a member of an Afro-Portuguese society which, despite its claim to be merely 'Portuguese', had already generated a Luso-African group and was well placed to act as an intermediary between European and African cultures.

According to his own account, Almada was involved in trading to various points of the mainland between at least the 1560s and the 1580s. Mainly he seems to have traded in the 'Rivers of Guinea', that is, on the section of the West African coast between the Gambia River and the Sierra Leone River; but he also occasionally traded further North, on the Senegal coast, where the island traders were rapidly losing out to a combination of Luso-Africans, run-away Portuguese Jews, and non-Portuguese European shippers. As a patriot, but one who seemingly had no misgivings about the Philippine take-over of the Portuguese crown, Almada expressed horror at the decline of Portuguese influence caused by non-Iberian aggression, referring both to the situation in Senegal and to the distress in the islands caused by various Anglo-French assaults after 1580. The purpose of Almada's account seems to have been the common one of Iberian pamphleteers in the period, that of offering advice to the Crown on ways of stemming Iberian decline. Almada's account includes many references to the hostile activities - as he saw them - of the French and English, and to the need for the Portuguese to establish new bases on the Guinea mainland. While his loyalty to the Philippine regime and his Portuguese patriotism may have been very real, it must be remembered that he dedicated his account to the Crown's governors in Portugal and perhaps hoped that it would reach the monarch himself. There are good reasons why the CVI trading community must have had reservations about its marginal role in the trading system imposed by the metropolis and why it often took a more relaxed view of foreign traders, 'enemies' and 'heretics' though they might be. But we find nothing of this in Almada's account. Yet his loyalist stance may have been ineffective as far as the account was concerned. It was not published in his lifetime and it is conceivable that one reason was the reluctance of the authorities to have details of the Guinea coast publicised, lest foreigners be encouraged to trade there.

Almada's account is thus discreet about the European aspect of CVI culture and activities, not least the political element - the rivalries between metropolis and imperial periphery, the rivalries within the state, within the church, and between the two, the rivalries within the local government of the CVI. But it makes up for this by being outstandingly informative about the African aspect - the role of the CVI in the coastal economy, and the shape of the mainland societies with which the islanders were in contact. Being a trader, Almada first provides information about the commercial aspects of the European interaction with African trading networks, and hence about the internal economies of the African peoples involved. Since these commercial relations were

conducted by means of fairly close contacts with at least the ruling orders, Almada further describes the political structures and rivalries among these African peoples. Finally, since the CVI traders regularly formed settlements on the mainland, temporary or permanent, individual or communal, informal or formal, legal or illegal, Almada is able to supply fairly detailed information on local African ethnography, including material culture and social structure.

Almada's information about the peoples of the western Guinea coast derived partly from personal experience and observation (and is therefore to be dated to the period 1560-1590) and partly from the accumulated experience and common knowledge of the CVI trading community (and may therefore be sometimes of earlier date). The balance between the two is difficult to judge. What is certain, and very important, is that Almada supplies information which may be described as entirely original - in the sense that there is hardly a trace in his account of material derived from earlier written sources, that is, in the main earlier printed sources. In this respect Almada is sharply distinguished from the vast majority of writers on Guinea between 1440 and 1800, these having borrowed heavily (and often unthinkingly and inaccurately) from their predecessors - in the case of later writers, especially from Almada. Almada's information may not be always correct, or comprehensive, or contextually sound, or free from a Eurocentric or other bias, but it is always fresh and undiluted by bibliographical pretension. He seems to have read no earlier accounts. Thus, as an original source on early Guinea Almada ranks with Cadamosto, and towers above virtually every other writer; and the region is fortunate to have been described by two Europeans possessing such relatively uncluttered minds.

This is not the place to attempt a detailed assessment of Almada's achievement, his outstanding contribution to our knowledge of the past of western Guinea. It must be sufficient to say that he is almost certainly the most important single source for the period before 1800, the claim being made for several reasons. First, because, unlike Cadamosto, Almada covers almost the whole stretch of the coast between Cape Verde and the Shoals of St. Ann. Secondly, because the sharp detail of his ethnographic description is impressive. And thirdly, because his account, unlike Donelha's, very greatly influenced later writers - though not always soundly. It is this third point I now discuss.

Almada's account was not published in his lifetime. As a separate full-length account by a named author it only appeared in print in 1733; and not until the 1840s was it fully in print and available, to any extent, in translation for non-Lusophone scholars. Nevertheless it exercised a profound influence on the developing historiography of West Africa. This came about because a manuscript copy of the text fell into the hands of the Jesuits when in 1604 they founded a mission station on the CVI and proposed to missionarise western Guinea. A copy or a summary was sent to Portugal, and in 1605, Father Fernão Guerreiro, preparing an edition of letters from Portuguese missionaries worldwide, with chapters on the newly-founded Cape Verde mission, included a chapter summarising Almada's ethnographic information. To put it simply, this chapter listed the ethnolinguistic units along the coast, giving them the names which in most cases have continued to be used up to the present day. Before Almada wrote, the fullest ethnographic information on this section of the Guinea coast was in the writings c.1500 of Duarte Pacheco Pereira and Valentim Fernandes, but these remained inaccessible in manuscript

until the nineteenth century. Almada's ethnographic information was thus a revelation to contemporaries, even in the dredged-up form in which it appeared in the Jesuit publication. Moreover, the Jesuit publication was soon available, so that by 1625 a summary of the summary, translated from Latin, appeared even in English (in Purchas). The Jesuits did not name the author of the ethnographic material, and André Álvares de Almada was forgotten for some centuries. But the ethnographic information from his account, transmitted via Guerreira, echoes through almost all the writings on West Africa between 1605 and 1800, for instance, the compilations in French of Davity (1660), in Dutch of Dapper (1668), in English of Barbot (1732). Failure to sort out the Almada borrowings embedded in very much later sources, so that information on the sixteenth century is uncritically applied to the seventeenth, eighteenth or even nineteenth century, has been a regrettable feature of much of the recent historiography of West Africa.

Texts, editions and translations

No manuscript of the account written by Almada himself is now extant. According to a reliable contemporary source, an original manuscript, dedicated to the Governors of Portugal and licenced by Bishop Pedro Brandão of Cape Verde (references which indicate the 1590s), was still extant c.1700. What we now have are single copies of each of two versions, apparently an earlier and a later redaction, the copies in different hands but neither of them Almada's. Neither copy is dated but it seems that each was written not later than the early seventeenth century. The two copies are here termed the Lisbon version (being MS FG/297 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon) and the Porto version (being MS 603 of the Biblioteca Publica of Porto). The copy of the Lisbon version was written in Lisbon. The title page of the Porto version gives the date of the original account as 1594. Dates for the two redactions are not given, but, in the final chapter, '12-13 years ago' of the Lisbon version becomes in the Porto version '14 years ago', suggesting that the redactions are not more than a very few years apart. Hence the account as we have it can overall be dated 'c. 1595'. Differences between the two versions are many, but only a few are substantial in terms of information supplied. An abridgement, with a very few variants and additions (the latter in updating footnotes), also not in Almada's hand, is extant in manuscript, in a late seventeenth century copy, and has been judged by Teixeira da Mota to date from c. 1596 and to be based on a version approximating to the Porto version. The summary of material from the account printed by Guerreiro in 1605 seems not to derive from the abridged version. However, comprehensive and detailed comparison of the three manuscript versions and the 1605 printed section, not undertaken by previous editors and proposed to be done by Teixeira da Mota, remains to be undertaken.

The summary printed by Guerreiro in 1605 consists of the ethnographic information throughout the account extracted and stitched together, with very occasional additions and changes almost certainly from the hand of an updating Jesuit (it may have been Father Barreira, after his arrival in the Cape Verde Islands). The summary appears as part of the Jesuit letters from the Cape Verde mission; there is no indication that the material comes from an independent written source; therefore Almada is not named. Apart from this summary, the account remained in manuscript until 1733, when the abridged version was published (giving the author's name wrongly, as 'André Gonçalves d'Almada') : the publication seems to have attracted very little attention. The full account was first published in 1841, the editor printing an eighteenth century copy of the Porto version and referring to the Lisbon version, yet making almost no use of the latter. Two modern editions have appeared, both with texts in modernized orthography. The 1946 edition follows the 1841 print of the Porto version, but an appendix gives a number of variant passages from the Lisbon version (in the original orthography). The 1964 edition supplies a text transcribed direct from the manuscript of the Porto version; and many, but not all, Lisbon variants in footnotes. Both modern editions have useful introductions which include details of the texts and previous editions, and from which most of the information above has been obtained. However they are 'editions' only in the sense that they provide and discuss texts, both lacking fuller scholarly apparatus. The 1946 edition has no Africanist annotation, the 1964 edition very little - hence the need for a new edition.

The Portuguese text translated into English below was prepared by and for Teixeira da Mota, in modern orthography, from transcriptions of

both the Porto and Lisbon versions, which it conflates, all omissions, additions and variants in each being signalled in footnotes. At the end of each chapter of the translation, I give the variant passages of evidential significance. But the other footnotes, indicating minor variants and their provenance, have been omitted. Since I also do not supply the Portuguese text, this arrangement has the disadvantage that readers who consult the 1946 or 1964 texts will find that my translation does not exactly match either of the versions, though of course the Teixeira da Mota text is not greatly different from either version. Teixeira da Mota prepared, in addition, a transcription of the abridged manuscript, which was to have formed an appendix to his edition. This I have not translated though I refer to it in my annotation. Two further brief appendices were to supply a small amount of additional material in the Lisbon version - a second version of the Prologue, and two long passages (ff. 103-109 v, in another hand) dealing with the abortive settlement of Sierra Leone and Antonio Carreira's attempted journey to Timbuktu. The passages must be translated but are not ready for this edition.

The Guerreiro summary was translated into many languages, as explained below. But the only previous translation out of Portuguese of the fuller texts appeared over a century ago. Santarem, the pioneer modern historian of the Portuguese 'Discoveries', published in Paris a note on Almada, and added an abridged French translation of the Tratado, prepared by the geo-bibliographer Ternaux-Compans. Published in 1842 in a limited edition, the work soon became rare. But (as Teixeira da Mota pointed out) the French translation provided material which was heavily borrowed by contemporary French geographers, to represent the ethnographic present in Senegambia and the recently-founded French colony of Guinée. Thus the referential use of Almada's account, though generally without his name being cited, was brought up into the present century.

Teixeira da Mota arranged for the text he had prepared to be translated into English by myself, and into French by Léon Bourdon. The latter translation was prepared first, and was ready by 1970; and I acknowledge the considerable assistance it gave me in the preparation of the English translation. My own knowledge of Portuguese being a good deal less than fully competent, a preliminary translation was checked by Mrs. Maria Teresa Rogers, then Tutor in Portuguese in the Department of Hispanic Studies, University of Liverpool; but faults in the final translation are entirely mine. The translation was supported by a grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation which is here gratefully acknowledged.

The notes to the text

Teixeira da Mota contributed to the edition of Donelha the notes on the Senegambian section of the account. But he felt that his own knowledge of the area and its history was insufficient to enable him to deal adequately with the much fuller information on it in Almada's account. He therefore approached the recognised authority on the Portuguese contact period of Senegal history, and invited M. Jean Boulègue of the Centre des Recherches Africaines of the University of Paris to contribute the notes. M. Boulègue, who had himself long considered preparing an edition of Almada, accepted the invitation and in 1980 sent notes (in French) to Teixeira da Mota. In 1982, unable to find the notes among Teixeira da Mota's papers, I contacted M. Boulègue, who most kindly sent me a copy; and I am now extremely indebted to him that he should also have agreed to allow his notes to be included in this interim edition. Like my notes, they are in early-draft form.

My own notes on the Cape Verga - Sierra Leone section of the coast were prepared between 1971 and 1975, as indicated in the Donelha volume (p.185). The reader is warned that since the early 1970s they have only been revised at one or two points and that in general they do not take account of post-1975 publications, including my own. However I cannot say that I have significantly revised my views on the vast majority of the topics in the intervening years. The Almada notes have the advantage over the Donelha notes that by 1975 I had translated not only Almada but also the unpublished account by Father Manuel Álvares S.J.. Although there was still some other Jesuit material I had not yet translated and fully digested, and although there are parts of the Álvares manuscript which I still find difficult to understand and learn from, nevertheless the Almada notes fulfil the promise I gave in the Donelha volume, that they would pay particular attention to the topic of the Mane invasions.

My Almada notes extend a little further North than did my Donelha notes, since they deal with the Nalus (on the border of the former colony of Portuguese Guinea). I therefore trespassed somewhat on the section of the coast Teixeira da Mota had allocated himself (my excuse was that the English sources deriving from Freetown of the 1790s evidenced as far North), and he was less than happy about this, pointing out that he had assembled some Nalu oral material which he had proposed to use. Of course I suggested that he incorporate it in the notes and probably he would have done so. It will be of interest to see if this material emerges among his papers which are now being thoroughly catalogued by the Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga.

Points to note about the translation and notes

1. Numbering of chapters and paragraphs

The number of chapters (19) is that in the Porto version and hence in the modern editions. The Lisbon version divides the same material into only 10 chapters. For ease of reference, the present edition numbers the paragraphs throughout each chapter.

2. Brackets

Since there are very few round brackets ( ) in the original Portuguese text, round brackets are used in the translation to indicate insertions by the translator, either to make clear the meaning of a phrase or sentence, or to explain a word. Where the text does have round brackets, these are changed in the translation into dashes - - .

3. Underlining

Words underlined in the translation and notes are either terms in African languages or untranslatable terms in Portuguese. An example of the latter is milho, whose exact meaning at this period is uncertain - hence, it is usually given with a general meaning, thus, milho (corn).

4. Toponyms and ethnonyms

Toponyms and ethnonyms are given in the form they appear in the text available to me, that is, in orthography to some extent modernized (see Donelha, p.66). But the following exceptions are to be noted.

(a) Well-known toponyms or ethnonyms are often given, after their first appearance in the textual form, subsequently in the modern form, e.g. 'River Sanaga' becomes 'River Senegal' and 'Soussos' becomes 'Susu'. But in cases where there is doubt whether the toponym or ethnonym has precisely the same reference as the modern corresponding term, then the textual form is retained. Thus, 'Jalofs' and 'Fulos' are retained because these terms do not seem to indicate a group coterminous with the modern Jolof and Fula.

(b) Major landmarks, mainly capes and rivers, are given the accepted English name, thus, 'Cape Verde' not 'Cabo Verde', 'River Gambia/Gambia River' not 'Rio de Gambia'. However toponyms whose names are descriptive or significant are translated into English, e.g. 'Heretics' River' not 'Rio dos Hereges', 'Cape Joyous' not 'Cabo Ledo', 'Wild Islands' not 'Ilhas Bravas'. But 'Serra Leoa' is retained because the modern equivalent 'Sierra Leone' on the one hand conceals the original meaning of the Portuguese ('Leonine Hills') and on the other has different and more specific meanings than 'Serra Leoa' had in Almada's day.

(c) Ethnonyms employing peculiarly Portuguese plurals have been given English plurals, thus Papeis, Chaõs, Bisaõs and Bolões have become Papels, Chans, Bisans and Bolons.

(d) The translation is not infrequently inconsistent in the application of the above rules.

5. Cedilla

As in other contemporary Portuguese texts, the cedilla is often omitted in names, e.g. Brocalo for Broçalo.

6. Glossary

See my glossary in Donelha (pp.180A-B) for comments on the meaning of a dozen Portuguese terms, most of which are also found in Almada. Add the following comments.

Rivers and streams

Because the Portuguese saw waterways as paths to the interior, they invariably described them as beginning at the coast and finishing at either their source or the head of navigation. This contrasts with the modern way of describing the course of waterways in terms of the direction of flow, so that a literal translation would read strangely. My translation normally adjusts the text to the modern usage.

Lançados

Literally 'those thrown away', to some extent in the sense of 'those throwing themselves away', the term lançados was much used by Almada and his CVI contemporaries and clearly had emotive overtones. Originally and officially it was pejorative, and could be translated 'run-aways', with the possible further implication of 'gone native'. But at least by Almada's day, and even in writings such as Almada's which generally express official attitudes, the enterprise of those Portuguese who, for reasons good or bad, had transferred themselves from the CVI to the mainland and therefore lived and worked wholly or partly outside official surveillance, was capable of being regarded in a less unfavourable light. 'Frontiersmen' would be expressing it too strongly. But the term 'adventurer' combines something of the two morally opposed senses, adventurers being persons who can both be admired for being venturesom and condemned for wholeheartedly seeking their own advantage.

7. Notes

Notes are not indicated in the text. Each note identifies the passage in the text to which it applies by having at the head a chapter/paragraph number (e.g.10/2) and the citation of the opening words of the passage, in Portuguese and in English.

Mea culpa

I am indebted to a line of careful typists who have worked on this material over a period of a dozen years, the most recent being Miss Suzanne Robinson. But the many defects in the preparation of the material after it was typed are exclusively and entirely my own fault and responsibility, the mechanical labours involved in photocopying and sorting having been mine alone. Unable to recover the top copy of the translation, which went to Lisbon, I had to photocopy a poor carbon copy; and to make matters worse, the earlier part was done on a machine which produced grey copy. My apologies to readers and their eyes. Furthermore, when backing sheets I was not clever enough to shift margins, so reading matter is not centred; and other mechanical lapses on my part can be detected on certain pages of some copies. Finally, the reader may find occasional sheets out of order, or upside down, or possessing some highly original defects. Some of these errors I detected but the cost of the operation (met from my own pocket) limited the amount of repetition to eliminate error I could afford. "A poor thing - but mine own."

P.E.H.H.
July 1984

Bibliography for the Introduction

André Álvares d'Almada, Tratado breve dos Rios de Guiné, ed. Luís Silveira, Lisbon, 1946

Useful introduction lists and discusses the manuscripts and 1841 printed text: appendix gives extracts and variant readings from MS 297.

André Álvares de Almada, Tratado breve dos Rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde, ed. António Brásio, Lisbon, 1964

Introduction : footnotes give variant readings from MS 297 : illustrations of pages of MSS 297 and 603 and of 1733 and 1841 title-pages.

Fernão Guerreiro, Relação anual das coisas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da Índia Oriental, e no Brasil, Angola, Cabo-Verde, Guiné, nos anos de seiscentos e dois e seiscentos e três ..., Lisbon, 1605, reprinted in modernized orthography, ed. A. Viegas, Coimbra, 1930: the material from Almada's account is in chap. 9 of liv. 4, ff.131v-137v.

A. Teixeira da Mota, Dois escritores quinhentistas de Cabo Verde : André Álvares de Almada e André Dornelas, série separatas 61, Agrupamento de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Lisbon, 1971 (reprinted from Liga dos Amigos de Cabo Verde - Boletim Cultural, suplemento, November 1970, pp.10-44).

A. Teixeira da Mota, A malograda viagem de Diogo Carreiro a Tombuctu em 1565, série separatas 57, Agrupamento de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Lisbon, 1970 (reprinted from Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa, 25, 1970): includes, on pp.10-13, part of the additional material in the Lisbon manuscript, on Antonio Carreiro's journey.

André Donelha, An account of Sierra Leone and the Rivers of Guinea of Cape Verde, ed. A. Teixeira da Mota, contributions from A. Teixeira da Mota and P.E.H. Hair, Memórias 19, Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, Lisbon, 1977.

Note that the author's name, eventually read as 'Donelha', had been previously read as 'Dornelas' and cited thus in Teixeira da Mota's earlier writings.

The following maps, prepared by A.Teixeira da Mota (and the Sierra Leone map by P.E.H.Hair) appeared in DONELHA (1977). Some toponyms and ethnonyms have been added. Names in the ALMADA account are underlined thus ~~~~ .

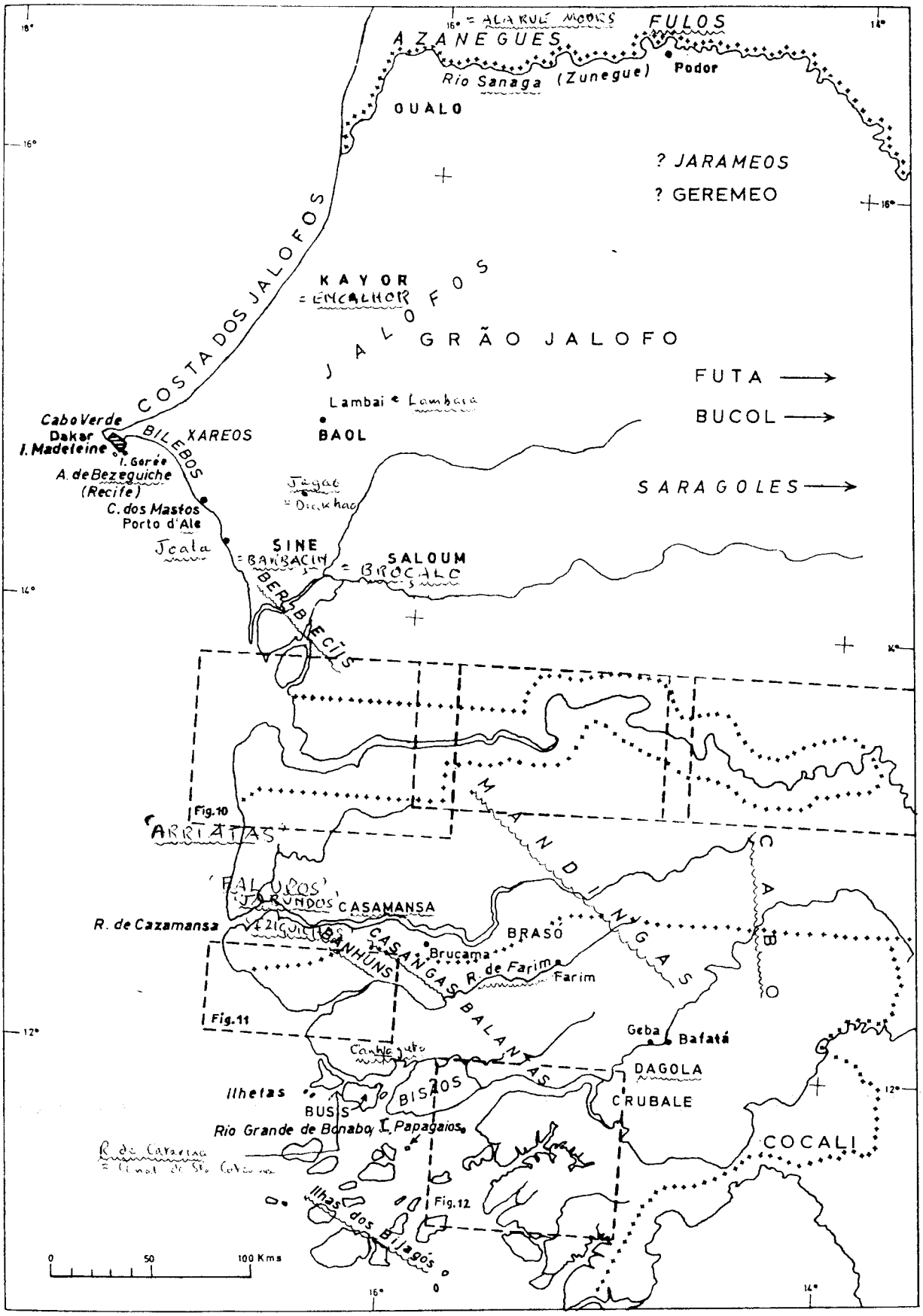


Fig. 9 — Rio Sanaga — Rio Cacine

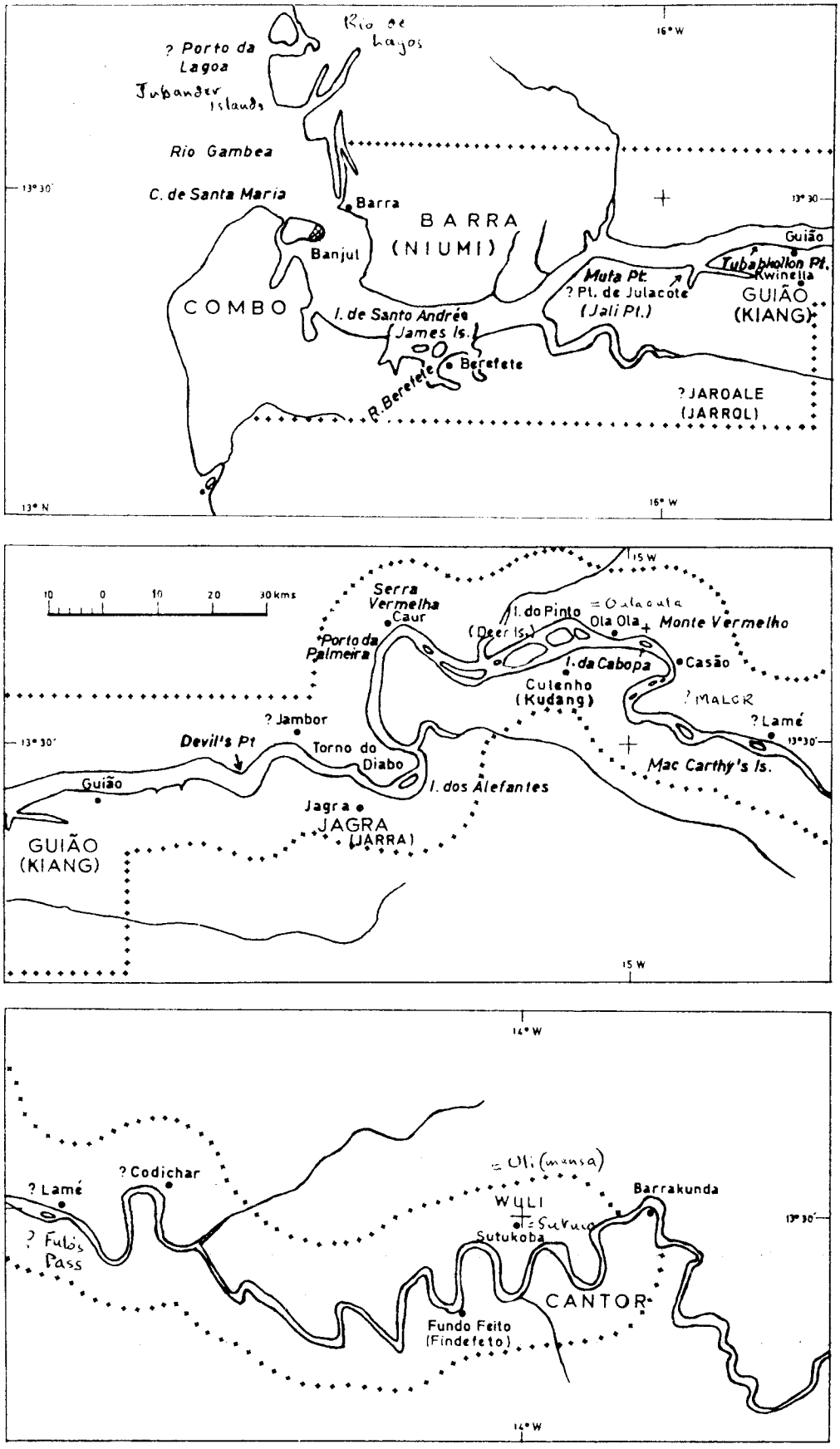
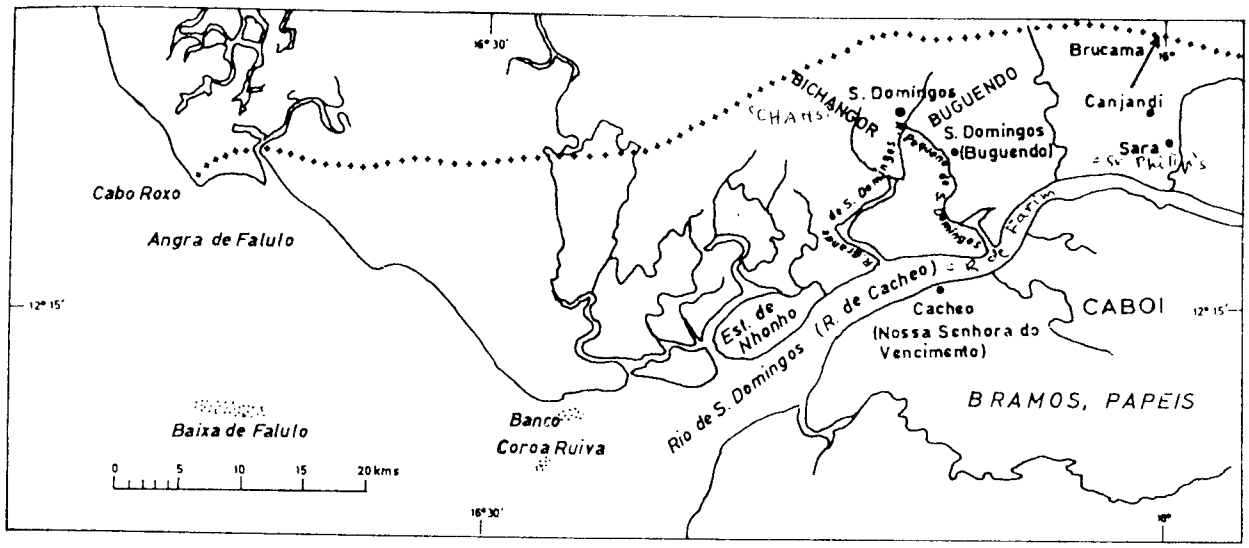


Fig. 10 — Rio Gâmbia



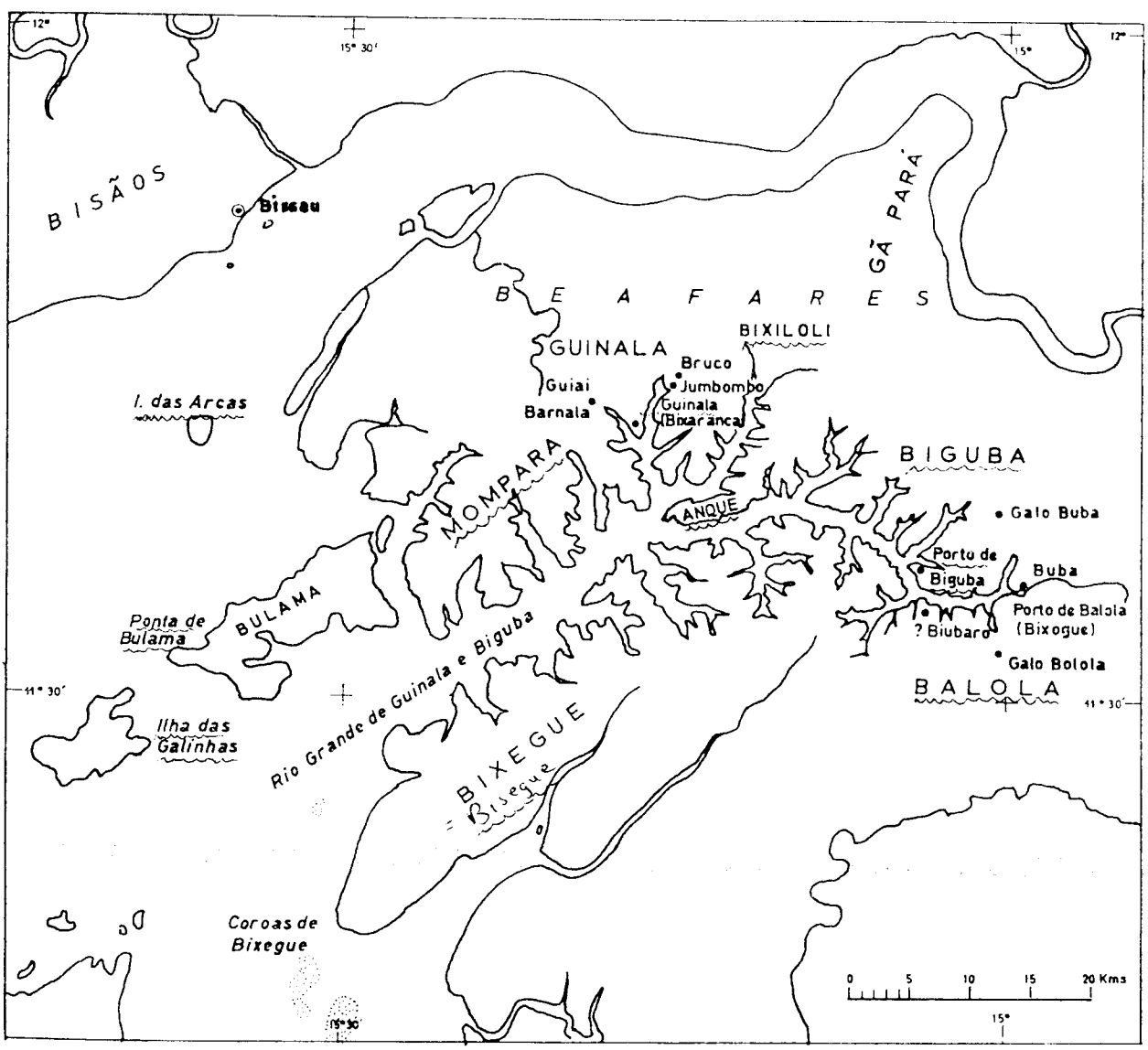


Fig. 11 — Rio de S. Domingos

Fig. 12 — Rio Grande de Guinala e Biguba

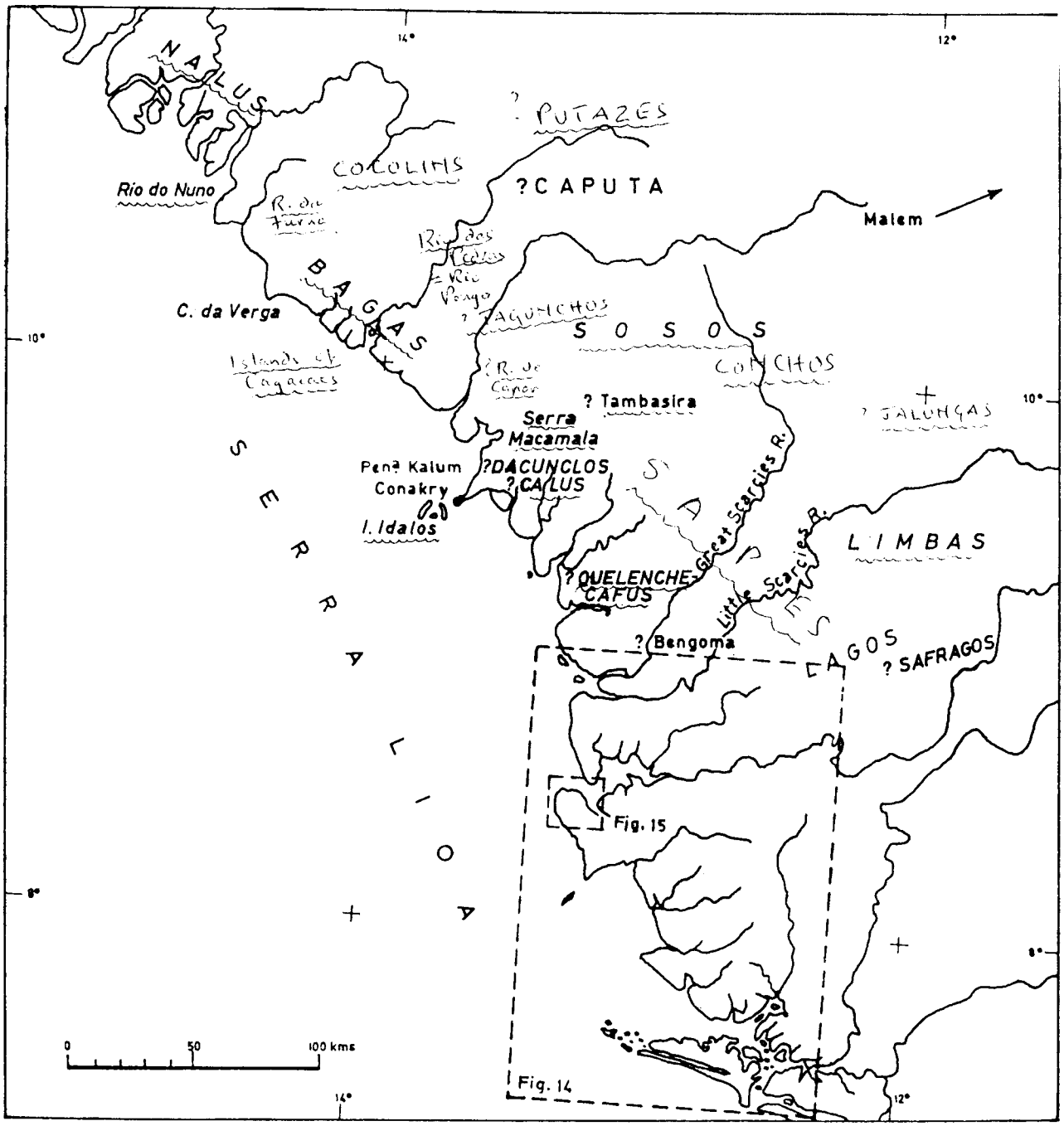


Fig. 13 — Rio Cacine — Ilhas Totos

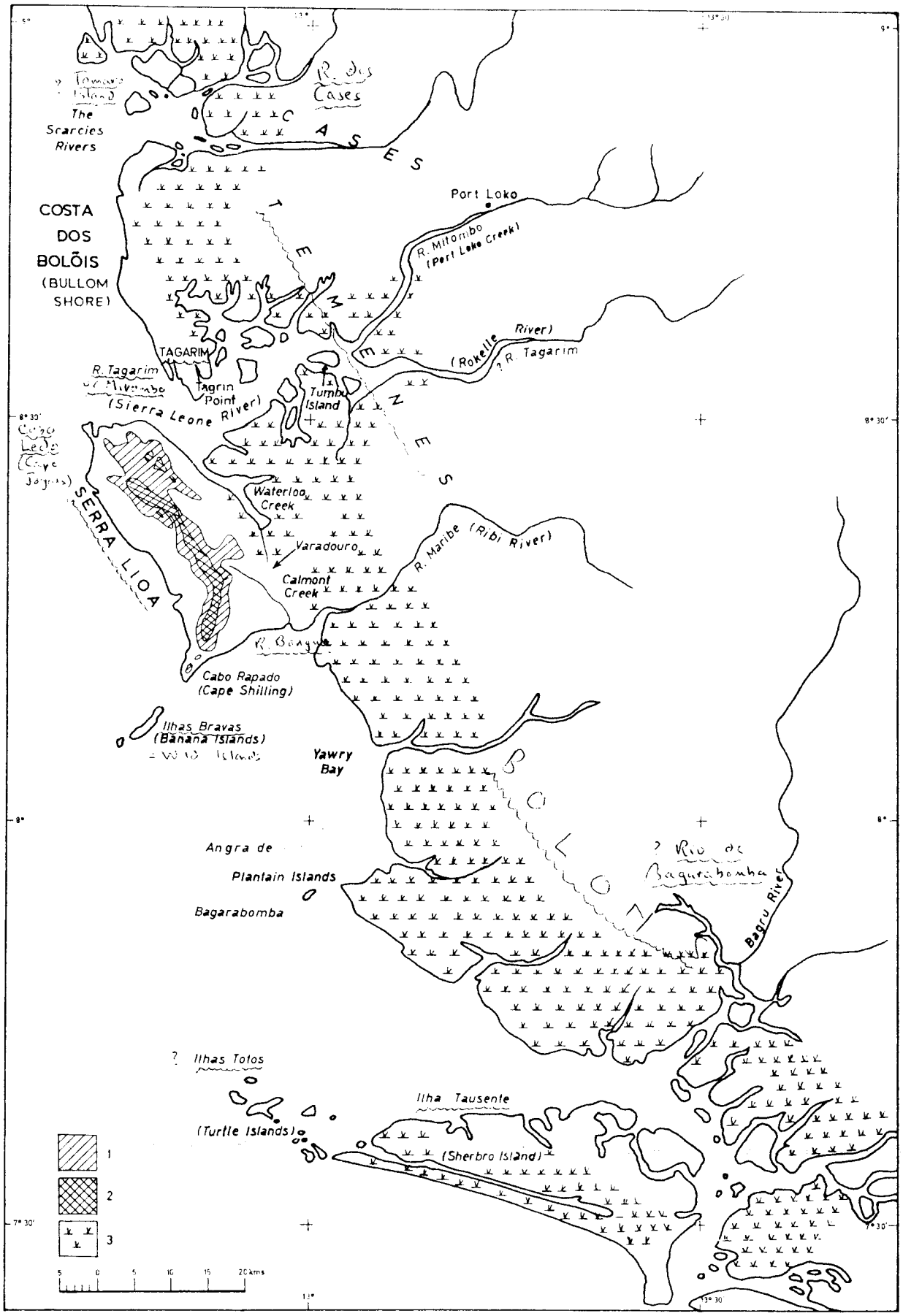


Fig. 14 — Costa dos Bolõis — Ilha Tausente

1 — *acima de 150 m — above 150 m;*
2 — *acima de 450 m — above 450 m;*
3 — *terreno pantanoso — swamp.*

ANDRÉ ALVARES DE ALMADA

A BRIEF TREATISE ON THE RIVERS [OR KINGDOMS] OF CAPE-VERDEAN GUINEA

English translation by P.E.H. Hair

note p.3 Among the Jalofos there is a custom that is not mentioned in any of the chapters, which is to practise a form of duel called guibapida, in which the combatants stand still and use only one dagger, each resisting the blow of the other. Taking the dagger, the first one strikes the other, (then) gives him the dagger so that he may strike back with it. In this way they may kill each other, but sometimes those who do this avoid death. The Barbacins have the same practice.

Prologue

1. I have chosen to write certain things about the rivers of Guinea of Cape Verde, beginning at the river of Sanaga (Senegal) and going as far as Serra Leoa, which is the limit of (the coast administered from) Santiago Island, because I truly know these parts; and on matters about which I am uncertain I have obtained information from persons who are experienced in the same parts and knowledgable concerning them. I have chosen to write about this Guinea, as I have just stated, even though many persons have previously written about it, because it is likely that they were not able to give as true an account as I can, since I have seen a large part of it and traded in many of the rivers. But, I repeat, on what I was not certain about, I have also sought information from others. I am going to discuss briefly the customs of the blacks, their dress and their arms, their wars, and all other matters of interest in these parts.

2. There have been no authors among the blacks of this Africa of ours, nor in addressing one another have the blacks employed any form of written communication. It is true that among them there are blacks who are considered as holy men, called bixirins; these write on paper and in bound books, of quarto and demi-folio size, but their writings are of use only to those who write them, for the others do not know how to read and therefore do not understand them. This being so, it is not possible to learn about things that happened in the past among the blacks, because they have knowledge of these events (only) as legends. And since men's memories cannot take in much, and what is taken in can last only as long as the period Time takes to consume and alter it - this is reason enough why we cannot gain much knowledge from these blacks, or learn about anything other than the various things which they keep in their mind and recollection. Things worthy of being written down do happen among them, but as they have no-one to do the writing, Time itself swallows up the events and brings it about that they are forgotten.

3. The kingdoms of the blacks are so many that, though their language and customs are different, in any space of twenty leagues or less there are two or three nations mixed up with each other, and hence they have some common understanding. Further, the kingdoms, some small and some large, are subject one to another, hence their laws and judicial oaths all approximate to each other. (Because of these points in common), and since many nations must be discussed, it will not be necessary to make a (full) statement about each, but only necessary to speak truthfully about relations between the kingdoms, and about their trade and such matters, because otherwise they are almost alike. Nor does it seem to me to be necessary to extend this prologue, since I propose to write about each nation (hereafter), and what I have declared (in general) here seems to be enough. But when I come to discuss the kingdoms and nations, I shall give all the information required, in the most orderly manner, and therefore, as has been said, no more is necessary.

4. May those who read this work gain from my writing what I intended, since I have sought to learn much, in order to tell much. And what I say will be the truth.

Chapter 1

Which discusses the Jalofo blacks, who are the first (to be met in Guinea) and the nearest to us; and their customs and laws.

1. The first blacks, those nearest to us, are the Jalofos, who start on the South side of the Sanaga (Senegal) River; and this river separates them from the Alarves, who are on the other side of the river, the North side.

2. These Jalofos stretch along the South bank of this river, up-stream and into the hinterland, until they meet the Fulos Galalhos, called by our people Gagos, though they ought to say Galalhos, which is their true name. All this land is sandy, with few trees and little water, and the water is found only in deep wells.

3. The Kingdom of the Jalofos used to be very large, and was subject to a very powerful and great king, who was like an emperor among this nation, and when they spoke of him they called him the Grand Jalofo. He had other kings (under him) who gave him obedience and paid tribute. But as Time has the habit of throwing down some and raising up others, often from nothing, so it was with this emperor of the Jalofos. From being very great and much feared and widely obeyed, he saw Time reduce him to being small and subject to the King of the Galalhos, the Grand Fulo, whom he did not fear, indeed whom he fought many times and defeated. He was overthrown, though not totally, in the following way, according to what the oldest blacks of these parts relate.

4. When this king was very powerful, he sent certain captains to seaside places on the coast in order to take charge of the administration (of each), the kingdom being very large. These captains and governors who came to govern Lambaia and the other sea-ports were his slaves. Among the captains was one from the lineage of the Budumels, which corresponds to a lineage of noble birth among us.

This man, who thus came to govern on the order of the king, was haughty and very ambitious. Finding himself governor, he began to imagine that he might also become king, and he began to put into action what he imagined. He conducted himself in such a cunning way that little by little he made himself master of the other places, that is, of those governed by the other captains, as well as of the one he himself governed, gaining by gifts and promises the good-will and friendship of many nobles and other persons. And as the court where the king lived was far away - and even if it had not been (the result would have been the same) - the king knew nothing until it was too late for him to be able to put things right. For this governor, being crafty and shrewd, did not fail to supply the king with gifts and royal dues, and in this way he managed things until he saw it was the right time to carry through what he had decided (to do). And having already gained much power, he led a rising in the kingdom, and took it by force of arms, conquering the king in a battle he had with him; so that it was necessary for the king to flee to the land and kingdom of the Grand Fulo. The king returned from there, but was never able to recover what had been his, (that is,) what his ancestors had held, and what he himself had previously held. He remained on the borders of the kingdom, near the Fulos, surrounded by enemies, and subject to the Grand Fulo, whom he took for protector. The Jalofo king called Bomrim Gilem who came to Portugal in the time of King Manuel of Glorious Memory, must have been a relative of this king. Bomaim Gilem came to offer his obedience to King Manuel and to beg him to order that a fortress be built in his kingdom and a trading-post established, so that he might have the help of our men against those who had usurped the kingdom of his ancestors.

5. Today this kingdom of the Grand Jalofo is located above Encalhor, which is the heart of these kingdoms of the Jalofos, and it owes obedience to the Grand Fulo; and when there is a new king in the kingdom, the Grand Fulo sends him a cap, which is like a crown (with us). The rest of the kingdom is subject to Budumel and to his descendants. This Budumel became a great king, ruling over many lands.

6. It was an ancient custom among the Jalofos for the kingdom to be inherited by sons. This custom has been abandoned, and now only nephews, the sons of sisters on the mother's side, inherit. According to what the old men of these parts relate, (the change of custom) began when a king of this domain of the Jalofos found himself sick with leprosy, which covered him all over, so that, distressed by this very contagious malady, he never appeared among his own people or was seen by them. The kingdom was governed by one of his brothers, and by the elders of the land. In all the nations of the blacks the elders are readily obeyed and they always play a part (in government). While the king was in retirement because of his illness, he learnt that a few days' journey away lived a Jalofo cacix or medicine-man, called in these parts a bixirin, who had come there a little time before, and was considered a holy man, and who made very striking cures by means of herbs and other medicines. When the king knew this, he had him sent for. The man came before the king, and - as these bixirins are always the mouth-piece of the enemy of human kind, and always desire to sacrifice to him, and to have sacrifices made by spilling human blood, no matter whose blood it may be - when the cacix saw how the king was, he told him that he could not be restored to health unless he was first bathed in the blood of two children, his sons, and that after this was done, he would cure him so that he regained his health. Health is always eagerly desired, especially by a king who for years has not ruled and has hardly ever been seen by his people. And as it is the custom in these parts to have many wives, and being many they bear

many children who, whether (begotten) by the king or not are accepted and considered as his; it seemed to the king that, having many sons, it would be easy to have two of them killed. Since the cure for his disease, according to what the caciz had said, was to bathe himself in the blood of his sons, he decided to arrange this. He called his two chief wives, the ones, he thought, who showed more love than the others. Perhaps they had once said to the king that, if it had been possible to bring him health that way, they would (gladly) have taken the illness on themselves. The king called them and repeated to them what the caciz had said to him. The wives became perplexed and confused, and made reply to the king that his (return to) health was greatly desired, not only by themselves who were his wives, but by all his people. However, the exchange (of his life for those) of his two sons, who might otherwise (some day) become kings of this kingdom, was a very drastic measure which could not be considered. For were they to agree to this, out of the obedience and love which they had for him as wives, the people, hearing of it, might not consent to it, and might rise up against him and hand over the kingdom to his brother.

7. When the king heard the reply of his wives, on which he had pinned all hope of a cure, he was much annoyed, and for many days did not care to see anyone except his little page of the chamber who served him in the palace. When they learned of this, two sisters of the king came to visit him. They reproved him for not letting himself be seen, which (they said) might have resulted in his final wasting-away and the destruction of his life more quickly. He complained to his sisters about the behaviour of his wives, how they had not cared to agree to the execution of two of the sons they had had by him, so that he could be bathed in their blood and in that way find a remedy and a cure.

8. The sisters told him that they and their sons would (willingly) kill themselves to bring him health, and they each offered a son. Since in these parts the sons of (a man's) brothers and sisters are considered as (his) sons, so that nephews call their uncles 'father' and the uncles call them 'son', the king accepted the offer of the sisters, and the cadiz did not refuse the sons because they were the sons of his sisters. Their throats were cut and the king was bathed in their blood; and from then on the cadiz set to work to cure him, applying remedies in the form of herbs and other medicines which the devil must have shown him, in such a way that the king was restored to health.

9. Finding himself healthy, and reflecting how his wives had not cared to give up their sons for his health, and that this might well be because the sons were not his children, the king summoned his council and when the leading men of his kingdom and certain kings his subjects had assembled, they examined the issue. And between them they decided on a (new) law, one which has (also) been kept until today in the other kingdoms of the Jalofos, Barbacins and Mandingas. The law is as follows. Since the king has many wives, and all their sons may not be his but may have other fathers; and since as a result individuals inherit kingdoms which do not belong to them (not being of royal blood), excluding others to whom of right the kingdoms should belong; it was ordered that, henceforward, the sons of kings should not inherit the kingdoms of these parts, but instead the nephews of kings, sons of their sisters on the mother's side. For it is certain that these women are the kings' sisters and their sons the kings' nephews, while it is not certain that the sons of the kings' wives (carry royal blood). That 'blood tells' had been shown quite clearly by the king's sisters, since they offered the blood of their own sons for the king's

health, and this being blood of his own blood, it led to his being cured and healed. If the sons of his wives had been (truly) his own sons, the wives would not have refused to do with their sons what the sisters did with theirs.

10. The law thus decreed has been kept in these parts until today, except in the kingdom of Budumel, which belongs to the family which persecutes the Jonaes, the family of the Grand Jalofo. Towards the Jonaes the Budumels have behaved like new Herods, since any of the family whom they can seize they kill without distinction of age. And until today this family is secure only in the poor kingdom where the Jonaes remain (rulers). 'Jonaes', the name of the family of the true Jalofo kings, means in the Jalofo language "men who do not deny what they say".

11. This Budumel, in order to destroy all that the past kings had done and the laws so long reverenced, made one of his sons king during his own lifetime. The son was a bixirim and did not drink wine; he preferred the conversation and friendship of the bixirins and Moors to that of our people, and in his day almost all the trade and commerce with our people was lost. He lived in his court at Lambaia, far from the sea, and he very seldom came down to the places by the sea. He had only one son, who was called Amad Malique. As there is no title of 'prince' among these people but only that of 'king', he proclaimed his son, during his lifetime, King of Encalhor, which is the inner region of this kingdom, and here this king always lived. (In turn,) after the death of his father, Amad Malique proclaimed his own son, named Chilao, King of Lambaia. (Thus,) he was Chilao ruler of the district his grandfather Budumel had continued to rule after he had made his father King of Encalhor. And by this division of the kingdom, the father - the King of Encalhor - ruled

from Cape Verde to the port of Cabaceira on the Sanaga River. This is the anchorage for ships which come (to this kingdom) to trade, since above Cabaceira the land belongs to the Jalofo kings from whom these rulers took the kingdom. Inland from the coast, the (grand-) son of Budumel rules over many leagues of the interior, and by way of the Kingdom of Bala, as far as the Kingdom of Brocalo, which latter kingdom will be discussed later. The son Chilao governs ports of the coast to the leeward of Cape Verde as far as the boundary of the Kingdom of Ale, and many leagues into the interior up to his father's boundary.

12. These Jalofos speak their own language and many of them understand that of the Fulos, since there is a caste of Black Fulos living among the Jalofos, called Tacurores. Moreover the Jalofos border the other Fulos, the Galalhos, and have them as their neighbours, and have frequent contacts with them. Some of the Jalofos understand the language of the Moors, because the Moors regularly bring horses to sell to the Jalofos, and many of them are always to be found at the court of the king of the land.

13. These blacks dress in smocks which they call 'shirts', made out of black and white cotton cloths, in the style they prefer. The smocks are cut away at the neck, the sleeves reach to the elbows, and the long shirt-bodies go down to a hand-span above the knees. And (they wear) a kind of very wide breeches, narrowing at the bottom and tight on the legs, and going below the knees like our own. Their legs are bare, and on their feet they wear slippers of coarse leather. On their heads they wear a cap in the shape of a crown made of the same cotton cloth and they have their hair braided. In shoulder-belts they carry swords three and a half hand-spans long, without guards, the handles flat, and in waist-belts large knives a hand-span or more long, taking the place of daggers.

14. They make excellent cavalrymen, being fine riders and fierce warriors. Those who are practiced in military matters are well disciplined and accustomed to suffer hardships in military service. They manage with very little food. They drink very little water, since many blacks of the interior regions can do without drink for many days, and when they do drink it need not be pure and clean water, except when their need is very great. They drink water mixed with sour cows' milk, the mixture being beaten up until it is as thin as water itself. And they (always) drink water this way - or else in a beverage made by mixing water and flour of the grain called <u>maçaroca</u>. This grain is the most sustaining of all the foodstuffs they have in Guinea, and is nearly as sustaining as wheat. The Jalofos have the habit of only drinking water mixed with something else, so much so that when we ask them for water, they only give it to us in a mixture and we are put to great trouble to get it otherwise, because they themselves would be offended if anyone gave them water 'straight'. And by the habit of drinking seldom they bear thirst easily. Most of these Jalofo blacks are thin and dried up, (though) well built, and they do not grow a beard until advanced in years.

15. This Jalofo kingdom of Budumel is very large. He rules over many lands, and as he took the kingdom from the Grand Jalofo he keeps this title. He is a powerful king, with many infantry and cavalry, and has kings (under him) who owe obedience to him. He is the most powerful king on this coast, for even though today his kingdom is divided into two parts, as has been said, his son Chilao governing one part and he himself the other, yet the kingdom is so large that it can afford the division. (Moreover) the two rulers share a single policy, since the son governs his part like a loyal prince and obeys his father in everything.

16. Their horses are well trained, so much so that we might say that they are ruled more by habit and reason than by the rein; for if one of these blacks tells his horse to lie down, it lies down; to get up, it gets up; to bow, it bows. The black leaps down like a bird, (from his horse's back), and runs off without laying a hand on the horse, but it follows him like a dog. Hence, owners never lose their horses in battle, except when they themselves are killed, because the horse stands still over its dead master, and the enemy captures it.

17. The weapons they use in war and (carry) in peace are those stated, and also six short barbed spears and one large one. In battle, fighting on horseback, they throw (the short spears) to strike down the enemy, (but) always keep the large one to attack with, never allowing it out of their hand. They do not use javelins or long lances as we do, because the land is covered with trees among which they must fight their wars. They use other military equipment made by themselves, at little cost, and this equipment is very beneficial to them. They take long strips of cotton cloth, twenty or more arm-spans in length, which they twist up tightly; and they wrap these cloths around themselves, from the groin up to the chest, overlapping. Protected in this way, arrows and spears do not go into them. They have their horses saddled and bridled as we do; the saddles are very finely decorated with beautiful covers which they make themselves. The only difference is that the pommels behind and before are inclined to the rear, because in woody country they are always having to lean back on their horses in battles and skirmishes. They are fine horsemen. Some of these blacks while galloping can efface the track of the horse with their shield; others as they go along on horseback throw oranges up and catch them again; others as they gallop straight forward clink their stirrups together twice or thrice above the neck of the horse. They frequently challenge one another and hold jousts in which they make bets on the one who can cut the strap from his opponent's saddle, using the large spear they call tola, without injuring his opponent or killing his horse. If one of them does wound or kill he pays compensation and loses the game.

18. They use shields made of the hide of buffaloes, bulls and elephants. The shields are very well made and strong, since they tan the hides very carefully and make them supple. They are not the same sort as our (common) shields, but are round like our round shields and are of good size, with a diamond shape in the middle. The handle is like that of a buckler: they do not carry them on the arm as we do, but hold them in the hand by the handle.

19. Their infantry use the same weapons as the cavalry. In battle they are drawn up in formations of squadrons and lines, the shield-bearers in the front and on the flanks, the archers in the middle so that the shield-bearers guard them. They also employ archers on horseback, and these are very dexterous in their shooting, often shooting arrows two at a time. These arrows are the worst weapons (to face) and the most deadly in Guinea, since they are envenomed and made highly poisonous. Few of those wounded by these arrows escape, unless they are cured by the enemy who wounded them; for at the same time as the blacks make the poison for their weapons they prepare the antidote to cure it. Those not treated by the enemy run a great risk, and many die immediately. Some escape and are cured by the poison being sucked from the wounded parts, but those who do are few. The men who undertake the task of curing the wounded by applying their mouths (to their wounds) must have no connection with women while carrying out the cure, for they say that if they do, applying the mouth/a^to wound will aggravate it. Similarly others are cured by the wounded man being laid in springs of water or in pools or mud, to ameliorate the burning which the poison causes.

20. In 1573, I was in the Kingdom of Brocalo, which has been mentioned, and the king of this kingdom attacked the land of another Jalofo king his neighbour, in order to make payment to me of what he owed me, and he took a large quantity of booty. But many horses were struck by (poisoned) arrows. I managed to cure them with pork fat, so that none died, and within a few days all were healthy again, which astonished the king and his people. It is true that the king also had the wounds beaten with a cord of 'unicorn' bristle moist[illegible] in water.

21. The Jalofos of the interior are great breeders of cattle and goats, and apply themselves to this because they neighbour the Fulos Galalhos, that is, those of the Kingdom of the Grand Fulo, who surround the Jalofos and the other nations of blacks on the interior side. This Galalho king has many horsemen, and in his lands there are many horses, and from these are supplied all (the horses required by) the Jalofos, Barbacins and Mandingas, those of the interior as well as those of the coast. And because of the many horses that the Grand Fulo possesses and keeps at his court, he does not stay in one place for more than three days, but instead continually travels within his kingdom from place to place, in search of grass and water. Water is much lacking in his land and in that of the Jalofos, but especially in the former; (generally) there are no springs or flowing rivers, only wells from which water is obtained with great labour, because they are very deep. True, they have the Sanaga (Senegal) River which is full-flowing, but they cannot all live along it. The Fulos occasionally cross this river, where it is narrow, on craft which they make in the form of rafts, called by them <u>taro</u>, and twenty or thirty or more horses cross over on the same raft. The Fulos attack on the other side of the river - the North side -, the Alarve Moors, who are stock-breeders, and they raid them for cattle and camels. All the way along the Jalofo coast the Alarve Moors are called 'Benares', and it is these people whom the Fulos raid, because they are a contemptible and feeble people.

22. The Fulo men are sometimes strong and well built. Their colour is that of mulattos, their hair is straight though it curls a little, and they let their beards grow. In peace-time and in war they carry the same weapons as the Jalofos and wear the same clothes. They are very war-like, and at times make war on the Jalofos. Some of the brothers of the Grand Fulo go on campaign with many people from their lands, in order to lend help to certain kings, their friends. They employ a great number of mounted archers. The Fulos think a lot of themselves. And they speak from the throat, as if they stammered.

23. Salt is very valuable in their land, more than any other commodity; and the little that reaches there comes through the Mandingas of the Gambia River - where it is made - and through the Jalofos of Senegal. Only the king and the lords of these lands can afford to buy it, and it is not eaten by all the people but only by the grandees and their wive and children. And it is exchanged for gold, slave, fine cloth and anythi else they choose.

24. These Fulos make their way into the coastal land of the Jalofos, Barbacins, and Mandingas, with their stock of cattle. In the winter they approach the coast, and in the spring slowly return again to the hinterland, leading their cattle along the pools of water and the lakes which have been formed during the winter. Many of these stockmen travel along these two beautiful rivers, the Sanaga River and the River of Cantor - that is, the Gambia River -, pasturising their stock along (their banks). The two rivers come from the same point of origin, and afterwards divide, eac going its own way and plunging separately into the ocean, at points seventy leagues apart, with the headland and elevation of Cape Verde - in $14^{\circ}40'$ North - between them and equidistant from each. Hence, all the land of the Jalofos and the Barbacins and much of that of the Fulos and Mandingas - those who inhabit the Gambia River on the North side - is like an island. These rivers, (though) coming from the same point of origin, are quite different (in their characters) since the Gambia River has very heavy win rains, with great storms and hail-showers. and (therefore) is very beautiful (its banks) being covered with many trees. But the Sanaga River, where the rains bring only a little water, has on the contrary very few trees. Tru it also has rising waters and floods in winter, because of the amount of rain which falls at its source. To the brutish Fulos our Lord has given industry and the understanding to make use of these floods in their fields and on their farms, in the same way as the people of Egypt employ the floods of the Nile. For this Sanaga River also comes down in flood, and after i

has returned to its course they sow their crops where the floods have been. And because of the vapours and the damp, the seeds soon turn into ripe crops and give food; of this, there is no doubt.

25. When the Fulos from the interior see one of our people, they are astonished at his being white, even though they are not blacks, themselves.

note p.3 Among the Jalofos there is a custom that is not mentioned in any of the chapters, which is to practise a form of duel called guibapida, in which the combatants stand still and use only one dagger, each resisting the blow of the other. Taking the dagger, the first one strikes the other, (then) gives him the dagger so that he may strike back with it. In this way they may kill each other, but sometimes those who do this avoid death. The Barbacins have the same practice.

Variants in Chapter 1.

p. 5, (1/4) note (d) : P reads one of the lineage of the Gudumels, who although they were slaves of the king, were of honorable birth.

p.12, (1/15) note (c) : L reads The Jalofo king, the son of Budumel, who today rules the Kingdom of Encalhor, is called by the blacks the Grand Jalofo, because his dynasty, after revolting against the Grand Jalofo of the family of the Jonaes, seized the and retained the title.

p.16, (1/22) note (g) : L reads ...they wear very wide breeches almost in the Greek style ...

p.18, (1/24) note (b) : L reads ... so little rain that there often a shortage of provisions ...

Chapter 2

Other customs of these Jalofos

1. Returning to the Kingdom of the Jalofos, this kingdom of Budumel - for so it is called, from the name of the king who gained it - this kingdom is the largest on the coast, the most powerful in terms of people and the most extensive in terms of lands ruled over. And yet, despite its might, it has been sometimes conquered by neighbouring kings.

2. The land is the most healthy in all Guinea. Very pleasant breezes blow there. It has excellent provisions. It has large numbers of hens, cows, goats, hares, rabbits, gazelles and certain other large animals resembling deer - except that they lack the branching horns which deer have -, elephants, leopards, wolves, lions, and many other animals. It has many guinea-fowl and other birds like partridges called chocas. In the rivers live herons, pelicans, ducks, teal, and other water-birds. The staple foodstuffs are rice, milho macaroca, another grain called 'white milho', and sesame - from which an oil is made. Also there is much butter and milk, and much honey, which is taken from holes in trees.

3. In all this coastal region, this land of the Jalofos, and as far (inland as the land) of the Mandingas, fine cotton cloth is available in large quantities, in the form of black and white cloth and many other valuable kinds of cloth. The dyes used are so fine that they dazzle those who see them; and they are sent to other rivers where there are none. The dyestuff used to colour the cloth is the same as that from which true indigo dye is made in our East Indies, but these blacks prepare it a different way, and not in the form of tablets. They gather the leaves from the bushes, which are low, standing four or five hand-spans high. The leaves must be gathered before the bushes produce their seeds, which appear in little berries. Having gathered the leaves, the blacks crush them very thoroughly, and from the crushed leaves make little balls, the size of the shot for a swivel-gun. They must take care not to

gather too large a quantity of the leaves, piling them up in order to make the balls some days later, for it cannot be done this way. Only that quantity must be gathered which is needed each day, for as soon as the leaves dry up, they are of no more use for this purpose. After the balls are made, they are placed in the sun until they are dry. And when they want to make up some dye for dying, they take these balls, break them into pieces, and leave the pieces to soak in a container of water for one day. (Then) they draw the dye-stuff from the water, cover it over with a cloth or with leaves of trees, and leave it there until it rots and breeds white maggots, as meat does. When it has reached this condition they wash it again in water and put it to dry in the sun. After it is properly dry, they drop it into a large pot and add some lye, and cover the pot again. They leave it like this for some days until it gains a rich appearance, with an excellent lustre. Into pots of dye prepared in this way they put their lengths of cloth, and dye them deep black or blue like satins. And each time they take cloths out of the pots they wash them in hot water; and they stir up the dyes in the pots with sticks, until great bubbles of froth, beautifully coloured, can be seen coming to the top.

4. In the other kingdoms of the Jalofos, Barbacins and Mandingas, the sons (of kings) cannot inherit the kingdom, but instead nephews inherit, the sons of the sisters (of kings), in keeping with the decision and the law made by the great Jalofo king, as stated above. The inheritor of the kingdom inherits the house and wives of his uncle.

5. The Jalofos, Fulos and Mandingas do not eat pork, and some of them do not drink our wine, especially the <u>cacizes</u> - that is, the <u>bixirins</u>. There are a great many <u>bixirins</u> in these parts, and they put into the heads of the other people many (strange) notions, and they tell (them) many lies. Some of the <u>bixirins</u> count the months as we do. The ordinary people are greatly devoted to them and pay much attention to what they

tell them. The bixirins make many charms which they give to the people, who have much confidence in these charms and expect much from them. There are also other blacks among them, called jabacouces, who act as diviners and soothsayers. When anyone is sick, they visit him as a doctor does, but not to take his pulse or apply any remedies. Instead they say that witches, male or female, have brought this bad thing on the sick person. For it is not their view that people die when their hour is come and God wills it, but rather that the witches eat them; and they are very insistent on this. There are also blacks who are herbalists, and who make very startling cures with herbs, curing leprosy and other serious disorders.

6. Apart from those on the Sanaga River, the Kingdom of Budumel has many ports on the sea-coast stretching between the river and Sereno. The chief ones are the port of Ale and the bay of Biziguiche, a very beautiful bay regularly frequented by the English and the French, in which many ships can lie at anchor without fear of the weather because they are sheltered from the winds. This bay has between itself and the mainland a small island which breaks the winds. And between the island and the mainland lies a large channel in which ships can be left for the winter, and between this channel and the mainland the French have several times escaped from our galliots.

7. On this island a very strong fort could be built at little cost, because on the land side the island has a wall of rocks provided by nature, and it could be fortified on the seaward side cheaply. Once fortified, it would prevent enemy ships from using the port, and with brigantines, which are vessels costing little, it would be possible to prevent the lançados (runaways, adventurers) from supplying cargoes and assistance to enemies as they do today. The island is used by the English and the French as a dock-yard in which to repair their ships and boats. (The bay) is a bottle-neck; through it pass most of the ships of our enemies, whether going to Serra Leoa, to the Malagueta Coast, to Brazil,

or to the Indies of Castile. All make for this bay, and in it the enemy clean and repair their ships, and live there, treating it as if it were theirs, as if it were one of the roadsteads of England or France. To such an extent (do they do this) that the blacks of the sea-ports on this coast speak very good French, and some of them have been to France many times. And now that they have made friends with the English, some of them have been to England to learn the English language and to see the country, on the orders of the governor of the port of Ale, who is the officer in charge of the king's treasury.

8. The bay lies near the headland of Cape Verde, between Cape Verde and Cabo dos Mastros (Cap Naze) but nearer Cape Verde, which stands in 14°40' (N.). Formerly, the best trade of the inhabitants of Santiago Island was with this land of Budumel, in the days when a king named Nhogor reigned there, a great friend of ours. In this period there was such a great famine on the coast, caused by locusts, that a slave was sold for half a measure of milho (grain) or beans, and mothers themselves took their children away from the breast and exchanged them for food, saying that it was better that the children should remain alive, even though (they had become) prisoners, than that they should die of sheer hunger. Each year (while this king reigned) many ships laden with horses and other merchandise went from Santiago Island on this trade. (But) there succeeded to this kingdom a king named Budumel, a bixirim, who did not drink wine or eat pork. He lived permanently at his court at Lambaia, far from the sea, and was unreliable in settling money matters with our people. But he received the French in his ports and welcomed them. For this reason the inhabitants of the island abandoned the trade, which today is carried on more by the English than the French, because the English, being stronger, drove the French out of the trade. These enemies, of one sort or the other, are supplied with goods by many Portuguese, our own people, and by some foreigners who are established in the port of Joala, in the

land of the Barbacins of the Kingdom of Ale Embicane. And these Portuguese supply the French and the English with goods, which they have acquired for them in the various rivers (of the coast) and from many leagues in the interior. Each year the French and the English carry away from the coast more than sixty thousand cow-hides, as well as many hides of buffalo, gazelle, and another animal called in the Gambia River dacoi, which they say is the real anta; and also ivory, wax, gum, ambergris, musk, gold, and other goods. For these they trade iron and other merchandise which they bring from France and England. Our adventurers are much cultivated by these enemies, and the day that they receive their payments and hand over their goods, the English hold banquets for them on land, to the sound of music from violins and other instruments. This is why the trade of the whole coast from Cape Verde up to River Gambia is lost (to us). The only trade in these parts is between our enemies and the adventurers, who have connections with those who live in the Rio de São Domingos and in Rio Grande, to which places they send the iron and other goods they obtain, and from which they receive the goods they pass on to our enemies. If it were not for these Portuguese adventurers, our enemies would not have as much trade in Guinea or commerce with the blacks as today they have. It is true that for many years the French have frequented the coast around the port of Ale, but they used to have much less trade, because when the trade was in the hands of the blacks, it amounted to very little. At best they used to take away from these parts only six or seven thousand hides a year, and none of the other things they take today, because the blacks had no skill in obtaining from the interior, or from anywhere more than a few leagues from the sea, the goods required for sale to the enemy.

9. Today these Portuguese adventurers make their way up all the rivers and across all the lands of the blacks, acquiring in these parts anything that they can sell to the ships of their friends. Indeed, one of

our people has established himself in the interior, as far inland as the Kingdom of the Grand Fulo, many leagues (from the sea), and from there he sends much ivory to the Sanaga River to supply English ships which lie at anchor in the bay. They send their sloops to collect the cargo in the Sanaga and the same sloops unload bars of iron in the port of Joala. This Portuguese adventurer went to the Kingdom of the Grand Fulo on the orders of the Duke of Caçan, a powerful black who lives in this port on the river Gambia, sixty leagues up from the sea. The Duke sent him with his people, and at the court of the Grand Fulo he married one of the latter's daughters, by whom he had a daughter. When he wished to return to the sea-ports his father-in-law gave him permission to bring her away with him. His name es Something Ferreira. He is a native of Crato, and of Jewish stock. The blacks call him Ganagoga, which means, in the language of the Beafares, 'a man who speaks all languages', as indeed he does. So he can cross the whole of the hinterland of our Guinea, (speaking to) whatever blacks there may be there. Because of the aid of the adventurers, the trade of our English and French enemies goes on increasing, while our trade with these parts is on the way to complete extinction.

10. The king who succeeded on the death of Budumel was his son, Amad Malique, who lives at Encalhor, the centre of this kingdom. He is as bad as his father, because he is a bixirim, and does not drink wine or eat pork, and makes his prayers like the Moors. And therefore he keeps himself so far inland, in order to be nearer these bixirins and Moors. His son Chilao, who governs the sea-ports, because he receives visits from our people at times, has more friendly relations with them than his father has, or than his grandfather used to have.

11. We have not yet discussed the legal practices and the oaths in these parts, but in one of the chapters which follows and which discusses the kingdoms of the Barbacins and the kingdoms of the other

Jalofos, more will be said about these matters, since all the kingdoms have the same practices and customs.

12. The goods which our people bring to these parts are horses, wine, Breton cloth, Indian beads called 'female' beads - the size and shape of the seeds of a good neat pomegranate -, cano de pato - also beads but longer and not so round -, and beads made of cornaline, round ones, bigger than a hazel-nut. All these kinds of beads are much esteemed among these people, and form their treasure and their jewelry.

13. They also value double-real coins - which they call 'testoons' - and they melt them down to make rings and chains of silver. They also think highly of gold, and buy objects worked in gold; (and they buy) 24-weave red cloth, scarlet cloth, pearls, Venetian beads, paper, small coral objects, and little sea-shells which are used as money in small transactions. Much ambergris is found on this coast, and the king of the hinterland obtains a large quantity because the blacks give him a proportion of all they find. He has so much of it that within his palace he has a sort of mud hut, rather like a bread oven, which is full of ambergris; and he thinks very highly of it, saying this is a commodity greatly valued by us.

14. These Jalofos live together in villages, in round thatched houses, with thatch on the roof and sides. In each village there is a headman, appointed by the king, whom they obey. They call him jagodim, which in that language means 'captain'.

15. The Jalofos and other nations of the coast eat their meat lightly roasted, so that it runs blood. But when they boil meat, they cook it well, and the same with fish, which is of excellent quality all along this coast. Those who have no connection with us eat vilely, since they often cook birds by singeing them in the fire, without removing their insides and legs and feathers, and they sometimes cook smaller animals without removing the dung. For instance when a king was eating with

a captain of ours, his friend, the king had cooked tripe served as a treat, and inside the tripe was much dung. When the tripe was given to the captain, he threw away the dung in disgust. The king told him that it was stupid to have done what he did, that it was nothing (to fuss about), it was only grass. Nevertheless, they much enjoy eating meals prepared in our way, and our people when they go to visit them are in the habit of taking with them food prepared in our way, which the kings and nobles enjoy eating. And many of these, when we visit them, give capons or meat to our slaves, so that they can prepare and cook the food in our way, saying that their own slave-women do not know how to cook food for whites. Some kings have slave-women who are very good cooks, who cook and prepare food for the table excellently; but the greater part of the blacks eat vilely. They prefer eating fish when it is rotten or dried in smoke, and meat when it has maggots in it. Hence, they cook and eat it with the maggots.

Variants in Chapter 2

p.19 (2/3), note (f) : P reads ...bushes...standing up to four hand-spans high...

Chapter 3

Which discusses the Kingdom of Ale Embicane (of the) Barbacins, which is next to the Jalofos, and its customs, which are like those (of the Jalofos).

1. On the coast of the Jalofos lives a tribes of blacks called Barbacins, and they are pagans, none of them belonging to the Moorish sect. They are great warriors, excelling on horse-back and on foot. Their kingdom is surrounded on the interior side by the Jalofos, but they are so war-like that they often do battle with the Jalofos and gain the victory.

2. The Kingdom ofthe Barbacins is divided into two states, one called the Kingdom of Ale, which we are about to discuss. This lies on the sea-coast, touching the Kingdom of Budumel on the North, and stretching along the coast to the port of Joala. Joala is where the adventurers live today, in a village inhabited by blacks. Our people also live there, under the protection and care of the governor placed there by the king. The district is healthy, beautiful and safe, and plentiful provisions from the region around are available. Alongside the village runs a branch of a small river which goes round the back of the village, and in this stream the adventurers at times shelter the launches which they use for trading, out of fear of our galliots when these pass that way, or of (the ships of) the inhabitants of Santiago Island. When tides are high, vessels of up to 60 tons laden weight can enter the river.

3. From here the coast goes South to the mouth of a river called the River of the Barbacins, and this penetrates inland some 25 or 30 leagues, forming several branches in the interior.

4. To the North of this river lies the kingdom of the king mentioned. It is a little kingdom, with limited territory, but is so war-like that it is renowned among the neighbouring kingdoms. The reason for this is not only that the king is a very good and brave general, but also that the

countryside is widely covered with very thick forest and bush, in which he lurks and from which he attacks his enemies. His war plans are never discovered or made known. When he decides to make war, he first takes council with those whom he calls together for this purpose. Together they go into a wood near his palace, and there they make a round hole in the ground about three hand-spans deep, and all the members of the council place themselves around the hole, with their heads lowered and their eyes on it. In this position all of them discuss whether to make war or not, and after examining all the facts and deciding what they must do, they fill in the hole, and the king says: 'The earth will not reveal (our decision), for it lies buried in it.' The councillors are so fearful of revealing what occurred that nothing ever becomes known. Hence the king never attempts an enterprise in which he does not succeed, although he has little might, and possesses at the most 40 leagues of territory.

5. To this land of the Barbacins and Jalofos there used to come many trading vessels belonging to the inhabitants of Cape Verde Island, in order to buy slaves and large quantities of black and white cloth, wax, and ivory. But today this trade has been abandoned because of the French and English. The merchandise brought here consists of horses, wine, white and coloured cloth from India, red cloths in large and small sizes, scarlet fabric, Breton cloth, large white hats with silk or woollen cords, red and yellow thread from Flanders, small artificial pearls, small Venetian beads, Indian beads, Indian gems, cano de pata and other round beads of the size of a large nut called among these people guepo, some tin and copper, double-real coins - which are circulated as testoons - and some worked silver and gold, worked in the local way. The Barbacins, although they speak a different language from the Jalofos - but they understand each other because their lands are neighbouring and they communicate with each other -, are not different in other matters (for instance,) in their clothes and weapons.

6. There are no bixirins in this nation; (but) there are other fortune-tellers called jabacoces, who are not literate. The Barbacins live in thatched houses like the Jalofos, and eat their food in the same way. All the Guinea blacks at night-time eat in the dark without a light, and even in day-time prefer to eat where they cannot be seen, turning their backs on those around them so that they do not see them eat.

7. In this country they have that same dye-stuff from which true indigo is made, but all along this coast they make it in balls, by rolling up the crushed material. They dye in the same way as the Jalofos. There is cotton in the land, but they lack the many cloths which the Jalofos and neighbouring kingdoms have.

8. All the animals mentioned and discussed earlier are regularly hunted here. The foodstuffs available are grain, rice, and beans - more beans than rice, since the land is poor and lacks standing water. They drink a beverage made from grain, which is like beer, and another, a wine made from a fruit called sabobirão, which is also intoxicating: the wine is white and the fruit is like a plum but larger. From this wine they also make a good syrup wine, though it is not as good as ours. They obtain another wine from palm-trees, a white wine, which is sweet when drawn but turns very sour after a few days.

9. These Barbacin heathen have many religious practices. They revere the new moon. They have certain large trees which they treat as shrines, and they colour them with rice-flour, and with the blood of animals they kill and sacrifice to the trees, or to certain poles which they fix upright in the ground for this purpose.

10. The kingdom of this monarch extends up the river, on the North bank, where it has several ports, with wells and settlements nearby, such as the ports of Little-Palmtree, Gomar and Guindim. Guindim is the last port on the river and is near the royal court, called Jagao, the best defended place in the kingdom. The king used to pay our people most generously; (but) today they have abandoned this trade, because of the English, and because the adventurers, who act as agents for the enemy, live in this country.

Chapter 4

Which discusses the Kingdom of Borçalo, where Jalofos and Barbacins live; and all else in this district.

1. Beginning on the South side of the bar of the river called Barbacim is the land of the King of Borçalo. It is inhabited by Barbacim people, who in the region of the bar live as if on an island, since another river called the Rio de Lagos penetrates the land to the South, running between it and the River Gambia, and this (second) river goes on to join the main channel of the River of the Barbacins, insulating this region. The people here are rather wild and they give limited obedience to their king. Next after this people comes (the domain) of another king of the same nation, who is subject to the King of Borçalo. He attends his court at certain times of the year when the great festivals are held, which are known to them as tabasquins, and he is under an obligation to attend the king with his people and to assist him in his wars. The King of Borçalo is the ruler (of a kingdom which stretches) along the river Gambia for some 40 leagues or more, and into the hinterland occupied by the Mandingas for many leagues. It surrounds, on the interior side, the Kingdom of Ale discussed earlier, up to the point where it meets the Kingdom of the Grand Jalofo.

2. The king is lord of a great kingdom. People of three nations are subject to him, that is, Barbacins, Jalofos and Mandingas; and he governs them very strictly through two governor-generals called by the blacks jagarefes. One of them governs the Barbacins during peace and war, and the other the Jalofos and Mandingas. These men have under them many governors, who are appointed to districts all over the kingdom, where they reside in very beautiful towns; they are called jagodins and act as military commanders and governors of such places. The governors report to their superiors anything that occurs in their district, and the superiors pass it on to the king; and in this way, through this chain of command, the king learns about ...rything th... happens i... is kingdom

and how many men are available for war. In order to assemble these men, he has only to tell the governors-general what must be done, and they immediately pass it on post-haste to the governors. (Thus) there can be no mistake about the day on which each has to assemble with his men, or about the place of assembly. In this way, with very little trouble the king assembles a large army, (made up) of cavalry as well as of infantry, for there are many horses in the land which come there by way of the Fulos and Moors. The people of the land wear the same clothes and carry the same weapons in war-time as in peace-time.

3. For our people it is the safest country on this coast, safer than any other in Guinea. The kings take a delight in repeating that among their own people they are called 'the Father of the Whites', and that no-one harms or offends whites in their land. So much so that when a ruler of this kingdom was dying, a king called Lagatir Balhana, who was a great friend of ours and a great war-captain, as soon as he realised from his symptoms that he was suffering from a fatal illness, he called to him the cousin who was to succeed him in the kingdom at his death. And when this man - who was called Bomuim - came before him, he said these words to him: 'I fully realise that I am going to die of this disease, there can be no doubt about it, and that you will succeed by right to the kingdom. I hereby declare that I hand it over to you peacefully. (Now) I will give you some advice, indeed I beseech you, that you treat my whites well, as I and other kings of this kingdom have always treated them. When you become king you must accept the same responsibility for them as we did, since they are 'sons of God' and do no ill. Be warned that if you do not do what I tell you, it will be necessary for me to return here again to bring you to account.' The king died of the illness: the man to whom he had confided our people succeeded, and is still alive today. Either out of fear lest the dead king should return and appear to him, or because it has been the custom for the rulers of this kingdom to treat our people well, this king treats

them even better than did the dead king.

4. Among this people, as among the others we have discussed, legal judgments are decided by the king in company with the elders, who act like (our) judges, or by the governors of localities, always with the assistance of old men of long experience. One party presents its case, the other argues against it; evidence is then brought forward, and the matter is resolved between them. When the case is doubtful and there are no witnesses, they make use of two terrifying judicial ordeals, to which the plaintiff and defendant must submit. One is called the 'ordeal by iron' and the other the 'ordeal by water'. I consider them both very difficult ordeals. That by iron is undergone in this way. They bring to the place a blacksmith, or they go to his house. He puts a small piece of iron in the fire and works the bellows until the iron becomes as red as live coal. The person who has to undergo the ordeal says these words: 'God knows the truth; if I have done such and such a thing, as is said of me, may this iron burn my tongue so that I never speak again'. As soon as these words are said, the blacksmith picks up the iron with his tongs, so that a thousand sparks dart from it; and the person who said the words takes the tongs in his hand, and licks the red-hot iron with his tongue, thrice. If he is unharmed, he and his supporters prance around and sentence is given in his favour. But those who do not dare to take the ordeal are condemned. For the ordeal by water, a large pot of water is placed on the fire in the early morning, and as soon as it comes to the boil, with the water bubbling and jumping, they throw in a needle or a pebble which falls to the bottom. The person taking the ordeal washes his hands in cold water and speaks words similar to those stated above, and (then) puts in his hand and draws out the needle or stone three times. If he escapes unharmed, without being scalded, judgment is given for him; but those who are scalded are condemned and must pay (a fine to) the accuser. Often men become slaves in this way, and their whole lineage (to

5. Some of the slaves they own or sell were prisoners of war, and others were condemned to slavery judicially. Particularly they condemn witches, whom they sell with all their lineage down to the fourth generation. They tear the eyes out of some witches, male and female, and others they throw to lions and leopards.

6. Throughout Guinea, it is the custom for men to make a marriage payment, but women bring no dowry. The man who wishes to marry gives to the father of the woman, or to her uncle, - her father's brother, - whom women treat as a father - slaves, cows and other goods, which are like money with them. The marriage payment varies according to the rank of the persons involved. When a divorce is sought, the father returns what was given him, and the daughter becomes free to do with herself as she wishes. The blacks set no limit to the number of wives they can have. They take wives to the extent that they can maintain them and can find marriage payments to give to their fathers.

7. In this land of Brocalo can be found all the foodstuffs previously mentioned, and all the birds and animals. One thing I saw in this land which greatly astonished me was that the king who ruled at that time had the power to cure snake-bite. As soon as anyone was bitten, the other members of the household made a signal with a drum, and this signal indicated that there was a case of snake-bite in the house, in order that the king might come and cure the victim. Or if the king could not go there immediately, he sent the cap from his head, or one of his spears. The blacks said that since this object came from the hand of the king the snake-bite was checked, and when the king (himself) came, he cured and healed the victim. This is what the king used to do, and he healed many individuals. I do not know by what power he did it.

8. Throughout this land of the Jalofos, Barbacins and Mandingas can be found a nation of blacks who are considered and treated by them as Jews (are among us). I do not know where they come from. They are a handsome people, especially the women. The men have noses of generous size. Most of them will not eat pork.

9. They are importunate beggars, going from kingdom to kingdom with their women, like gypsies with us. They take up the same manual trades as the gypsies do, that is, (they work as) weavers, shoe-makers, and blacksmiths. They are employed as drummers in the blacks' wars, and they sing to spur on those who fight, reminding them of the deeds of their ancestors; and in this way they persuade them to conquer or die. In war they beat three kinds of drums. One kind is like ours; another is smaller, and they carry it under the arm and beat it while on horse-back; another kind is made of a single skin, seven hand-spans long. With these instruments they announce anything they want known, for instance, they make signals in battle or give warnings of fire. When the blacks hear drums, they can tell instantly which king or captain the particular drums belong to. The Jews also play (stringed instruments,) violins and another sort which is like a harp.

10. People of this land observe the following law. No Jew can enter the house of any person who is not a Jew, or eat or drink from utensils used by non-Jews; and if Jews have connection with any woman not of their race, both are sold or killed. I was one day at the royal court - called <u>maca</u> - and was within the palace of the king. He had a Jew who was such a close acquaintance, that when he spoke from without, he said what he pleased and joked with the king. (This day,) the Jew placed himself near the palace, and as the law did not allow him to enter, he shouted from without many times. But growing weary with his shouting, and seeing that he got no reply - except that some of those within mockingly told him to come in - in ger he said these words:

'A wretched race is mine! Would God had made me a rat or a dog and not a Jew! Rats and dogs enter the king's house but I cannot! ' After this he uttered many groans, and exhausted went away. When these Jews die, they do not bury them in the ground like other blacks, but (leave their bodies) in holes in trees. If there are none, they hang their bodies in the trees, because the other blacks hold the erroneous belief that if Jews are buried with other persons, the rains will not come and there will be no new crops on the land that year.

11. The other blacks on this coast are buried in the following way. Their cemetaries are beside the villages in which they live; but when they die, they are not buried in the earth as we are. A wooden framework is built like that of a two-storied house, and within this they fix a plank on which a bed is made. Here they lay the dead person, covered with his black and white cloths. They close the door, and using spades cover the wooden frame with a large quantity of earth. There are royal graves which have five or six stages of woodwork, one above the other, and which are covered with earth from the first to the last. In this way they make very high mounds of earth. When kings die, they have only to open the doors and lay them on these beds. In pots standing besides the graves, they offer to their dead wine, milk, and other provisions, which are consumed by birds and beasts. Poor wretches, they have the notion that their dead ones consume whatever they offer them. When they go by these cemeteries they salute the dead, by kneeling down and saying certain words. They show grief by shaving their heads, and they do not allow the hair to grow while they are in mourning. The wake lasts many days. They assemble large quantities of provisions, (especially) meat and wine, and those who come to the wake also bring food. When they are all gathered together, an old woman or an old man in a high voice begins to praise the deceased and recite his deeds, and when this is finished all join in loud wailings in distorted voices. This goes on for several days, as long as the provisions last. For a

whole year the grave of the deceased is covered with a white cloth, and at the end of the year they again assemble provisions and renew the wake. But this lasts only a few days, and finally they have a great feast, and dance to the sound of drums and cymbals. They call this 'removing the grief'.

12. Women go about dressed in very elegant black cloths, with their hair braided in such a way as to make them look tall, just as our women intend when they dress their hair. Around their necks they wear strings of beads brought from our Indies which are their (equivalent of) gold, and Indian gem-stones, which in these parts are considered to be great treasure and wealth. They wear black cloths over their heads which serve as cloaks. They walk about with a very restrained motion, especially the queens. It is the custom in those parts, when two people meet, for one to speak to the other. Men take their caps off, and after this courtesy, the older man first kisses the hand of the younger, and then the younger kisses his. Women kneel down, and the older kisses the hand of the younger. Kings are addressed in the following manner. Three greetings are made. The first is to bow the head after uncovering it. But if the person saluting is a slave of the king, he takes off his tunic and appears bare from the waist up, for slaves cannot appear before the king unless they are bared in this way, even though many of them are captains and governors of very large places. The second greeting is to extend the arms; and the third is to stretch out full length on the ground and throw soil on the head, or if not actually on the head, on one cheek. All do this. (But) those who regularly attend court and appear before the king daily do not throw themselves down in the same way as do those who come from outside. However they kneel before the king with both knees on the ground, and with their hands they touch the ground and (pick up soil and) place it on their heads, this being the sign of subjection.

13. The kings of the Jalofos, Barbacins and Mandingas eat in the presence of their people. The king of Brocalo, whose kingdom we are discussing, is in the habit of having excellent food prepared, in our style (of cuisine), by cooks whom he employs for this purpose. When food is served in his dining-hall, where it is the custom that it is brought to him by his wives, he eats there with his nobles, taking food up in his hand once or twice out of politeness. When this is over, he retires to another room beyond, and there they lay out for him a mat, with a carpet on it, and table linen, and they bring him food. Before eating, he commands those of our people who are in the hall to come (into his room), and he eats with them as they sit with him, all eating at the same time. The rulers of the Kingdom of Borçalo have always done this, and so have those of Ale.

14. All these kings have alcaides or governors, and these are the officers who collect gifts from our people and who purchase the goods the kings require. They (also) have governor-generals, as has been stated, who are called jagarefes; governors of districts called jagodis; officers of the Treasury called farbas; masters of the horse called bigeos; and chamberlains called buquinegues. Whenever the king goes out, he is closely accompanied by many horsemen, and it is their custom always to ride at speed to the place where they they are going.

15. In these countries they make wine in their own way, from milho. It is like ale, and just as good, but does not keep as long. It is as potent as (our) wine. They make another sort of wine from a fruit which is like a large pear, and which has a fine smell. But (unlike a pear) the stone is not spat out, when eating the fruit. The wine from this fruit is white. The must ferments like our wine, and is equally intoxicating; and from it they make a fine syrup wine.

16. There are certain wild fruits, such as sãobirão, from which they make wine, and there are jujube apples. And there is another fruit, the size of a large apple, of a grey colour, called tambacumba. It has a very pleasant smell, but a bad taste, being bitter; its stones can be used (instead of) almonds, because they can be broken and the kernel taken out, which is good (to eat). Tamarinds are available and good senna, but the blacks superstitiously will not eat it, saying that if anyone eats it his mother will die. They use the roots of senna for illnesses of the stomach. Carob beans grow there and some large trees which produce gourds full of a very white flour which is faintly bitter; and the seeds of the gourd are black. The trees which produce them are very large, very high and very broad, (but) their wood is soft. Other very large and high trees are called polões: they have no fruits but produce small, elongated gourds full of cotton, the colour of (raw) silk. This cotton is soft and when mixed with the true cotton can be spun and made into striped cloths which seem like silk. These trees have a soft wood. From it the blacks make their boats, called 'canoes', in which they can carry more than one hundred warriors and can travel from one river to another along the coast, by raising sails. In this country they do not make canoes the size of those in the Gambia River and Rio Grande, or those used by the Bijagos, since neither the Jalofos nor the Barbacins make war by sea.

17. Male blacks are circumcised at the age of fifteen or older, because uncircumcised they cannot marry or have any connection with women, and this is the reason they are circumcised. When they have been circumcised, no-one may see them until they are healed, apart from the surgeon who is employed to carry out the operation. They are kept in a wood near the place where they live, and food is brought there for them by young girls, who do not see the boys, since they leave the food they bring in a special place. The boys come there

to take it, and return the containers to the same place after eating it. When they are recovered from the pain of their wounds, they spend the time in playing games, dancing, and carrying out other pastimes, as suits them. And if any (outside) person accidentally goes into the place where they are, he runs a great risk because they give him a severe beating which sometimes kills him. When they are healed, they leave, and can marry and take women, and can learn to use weapons. The women have a different custom which I will also describe. Not only do they allow their skins to be cut, so that patterns are made on their body and face, but many of them consider it elegant to have large lips, and (in order to extend them) they pierce them with very sharp thorns, especially the lower lip. This is done when they are virgins, and they too hide themselves in the forest until they are completely healed. They place in their lips little wooden sticks which separate the lips and make them hang down. Until they are healed, they anoint them with coarse butter mixed with the dust of a kind of coal to make them black. And when the girls are living in the wood they too ill-treat anyone who meets them there. The Barbacin women practice this form of titivation more than the Jalofo women.

18. It seems that the Jalofos and Mandingas partly follow the sect of Mohammed, since their bixirins, that is, their holy men, make their prayers like the Moors. They do not eat pork, but when any of them come to Christian lands, they do not hesitate to be baptised and indeed seek it, and they make very good Christians. And some come freely from their own lands in order to receive baptism in ours. His Majesty ought to order that such persons are given special favour, so that they may encourage others to come. (But) for lack of those to preach the word of God in such parts, we have few Christians there.

19. The blacks of this nation often employ solemn oaths. When they swear, they swear 'by the king's life' or 'as I may see the king'. And when they yawn or sneeze, they pronounce the name of the reigning king. There is an oath in use among them which they take very seriously, and only the king and nobles can swear by it, not the ordinary people, and they call it socano camate. If any ordinary man uses this oath, for doing this alone he is made a prisoner and sold (as a slave). In their wars they are organised as was explained in Chapter 1. In the land of Borçalo there is much black and white cotton cloth, of excellent quality, which is exchanged for Indian beads; and it is taken from here to the other rivers where there is none.

Variants in Chapter 4.

p. 34, (4/2) note (a) : L reads Neighbouring this king is another more powerful in lands and kingdoms, since he rules from the sea up the River Gambia - which is called the River of Cantor - nearly 60 leagues, and three, four or more kings pay dues to him and are subject to him in the River Gambia on the North side,...

p. 35, (4/3) note (e) : L reads ...as they are the family and the sons of God...

p. 44, (4/16) note (c) : L reads ...canoes ... two hundred warriors ...

Chapter 5.

Which discusses the Kingdom of Gambia, otherwise called the Kingdom of Cantor, which is the kingdom of the Mandingas, and of great extent.

1. The Kingdom of Gambia begins at the entrance to its very famous river, five leagues from the bar of the River of the Barbacins. The river can be entered very easily and without risk, because the entrance is like a bay. It has to the leeward Cape St. Mary - which is in Mandinga territory - and to the windward a number of islands, some swampy, some not, lying between the River of the Barbacins and the Gambia River, (all of them) covered with forests of mangrove and other trees. Some of the islands are settled, some are not; and they are called the islands of Jubander. Between the islands lies a little river called the Rio de Lagos: it leads into the River of the Barbacins, near the palace of the King of Brocalo which is called Ganjal.

2. The Gambia River is settled throughout its length, on both banks, by Mandinga blacks. Each twenty leagues they have a king, who is subject to other rulers called Farons, this being a title among them which counts higher than that of king. Thus, the whole of this river is extensively settled with blacks and has many kings. The King of Borçalo, whom we discussed in Chapter 4, is the ruler of the North bank of the river for many leagues, and he has kings under him who obey him and pay tribute. It is true that sometimes they revolt when one king dies and another succeeds by forcefully imposing himself on the kingdom, but as the monarchy is powerful the king soon reduces them to subjection again.

3. This river, as well as being itself very beautiful and very large, contains many beautiful tree-covered islands, some of them two leagues long and more than one league across. On these islands there are many game-birds, that is, royal herons and common herons, doves and pigeons, and especially large numbers of cranes, flamingoes - a bird the size of a crane - teal, and large black ducks - the ones that have spurs

at the tips of their wings. And there are many animals to hunt, gazelle, deer, and many other sorts.

4. The river brings down fresh water. In summer, fresh water is found to within thirty leagues from the sea, and in winter when the river is in spate to within six or seven leagues. It is a river which possesses a large trade in slaves, in black and white cotton cloths, in raw cotton, and in wax - although no hives are built, the bees are so numerous, and the forest so great, that honey and wax are plentiful. Much ivory is obtained there, more than in any other river of Guinea. When travelling by boat on the river it often happens that one sees elephant on the land in herds, like cattle, and ships often meet herds crossing the river from one side to the other. From the river one also sees herds of buffalo, gazelle, and another animal called in the language of the blacks dacoi, the size of a buffalo, which they say is the true anta.

5. The whole land furnishes foodstuffs in abundance, rice, the milho called 'macaroca', and other earth-crops. Most of the settlements are near the river, because of the trade with our people, and there are many well-built villages along it, containing large numbers of houses and inhabitants. Some of the houses are of clay and wattle, round in shape, and covered with straw or palm-thatch; others are of straw, not clay, but are built the same round shape.

6. These blacks are very war-like, and in this land there are more weapons than in any other land in Guinea. The reason for this is that, as they have iron here which they smelt, they make spears, darts, knives and arrows in quantity. The poison used by the Mandingas is more venomous than any other (known in Guinea). (This we know from what) we saw at the port of Cacan. At nine or ten in the morning, the blacks and our men had a serious affray which left dead on each side. At vespers, when the blacks had withdrawn and our people sought to bury the dead, those who had been struck by poisoned arrows could

not be carried away from where they lay dead, because the poison was so effective that already their bodies were decaying, to the extent that if they were lifted up by an arm it fell off from the body, and the same thing happened if a leg was lifted. All that could be done was to dig graves where the corpses lay and push them in. Such is (the power of) the poison used by the blacks. They are mostly a treacherous lot. All those on the South side of the river are bad: they take a delight in killing whites and seizing ships, which they have done on several occasions. One can only go there in a strong ship carrying a stout crew well-armed, and it is necessary at all times to keep a careful watch on the blacks, since they never behave other than treacherously. Along the river and its creeks are certain military fortifications which the blacks call sãosans. These are made of very strong wooden stakes, their pointed ends embedded (in the ground), and a rampart of earth behind. Each has its guard-towers, bastions, and parades, from which they fight by shooting arrows. They also make a kind of pitch with tar which they heat up in vessels. And when the enemy attack they hurl these vessels at them to make them withdraw. As stated, they make their fortresses along the river and its creeks; (this is) because of (the supply) of water and because they have boats in which they attack other places. Hence, when they are at war, they rob those who pass by.

7. Along the river on each bank there are many villages of Fulos, who live in these parts after having left their own lands in search of the pasturage and water which they need for their animals. Hence, the district has large numbers of cattle. Along the river are very beautiful meadows, which they call lalas, in which many kinds of game are to be found at all times, both beasts and birds. The river has excellent fishing, and very fine plaice can sometimes be taken. It contains large crocodiles, which often seize men and cows, and carry them off to eat in their lairs. But crocodiles are so made that in the deep of

the river they are unable to seize or harm any creature. (They are dangerous) only in places where they can strike their tail into the ground, for if they cannot do this they lack the power to do anything. There is no risk except along the shore, where the river has little depth. So many crocodiles live in this river and ~~they~~ do so much damage, that the blacks in the settlements they inhabit have the practice of building within the river a fenced enclosure, which acts as a rampart. (Within this,) they can water their stock in safety and wash and draw water, where otherwise they would run great risk (of being seized).

8. Up this river, on one side or the other, are many kings, twenty leagues or less separating one from another; but there are other kings with large territories, and (even) emperors among them called Farin.

9. The clothes they wear, the arms they carry, and the oaths they take are like those of the Jalofos and Barbacins. The slaves which they own and sell are enslaved either in war, or by the courts, or else by being kidnapped, for they go about robbing one place or another, being great thieves. (As a result) they sell large numbers of slaves. (But Christians are) forbidden to buy from these blacks slaves which have been kidnapped. It has been known here in Guinea, (especially) in this river and in the Rio Grande, for the blacks to bring certain slaves to sell to our people, and when our people refused to buy them, because this is forbidden, the blacks who brought them and offered them for sale killed them on the spot, so that (their kidnapping of them) would not be discovered. I am not sure that it would not have been better to have bought them, since this would have meant that they received baptism and became Christians. (However) I do not meddle further in this business, for it involves points (of moral law) which I am not competent to determine.

10. To return to the river. In this district there are more of the devout bixirins than in all the rest of Guinea, because there are many establishments of this religion throughout the district, and many pilgrims who go from kingdom to kingdom. On the North side of the river, there are three large major establishments, corresponding to monasteries with us, which arouse great religious feeling and devotion in the blacks, and in which these 'monks' live, and (also) those who are studying to become bixirins. The first establishment is at the mouth of the river and is greatly venerated by them, because from it the open sea can be seen, which they say is an extraordinary sight. The second is located 70 leagues further up the river, in a stretch where it narrows and forms three channels, which (later) meet again, making some of the land at this point an island. The stretch of river where the monastery is found is called Malor. The third establishment - which is also the object of great religious devotion - is located 50 leagues away from the second and 120 from the first, in a town one league inland (from the river), called Sutuco. The chief of these 'monks', a rank like that of Abbot or Provincial with us, they call Alemame, and he wears a ring like a bishop. All three establishments are on the North side of the river. The bixirins write in bound books, which they make themselves, as already stated. In these they tell many lies, and the devil gives others blacks ears to hear and believe the lies. These heathen priests go about looking thin and worn out by their abstinences, their fasts and their dieting, since they will not eat flesh of a creature killed by any person who is not one of them. They wear long clothes, and over that capes and tippets of baize or leather, with large black and white hats, which are brought them by our traders. They make their ritual prayers with their faces turned towards the East, and before doing this, first wash their nether parts and then their face.

They recite their prayers all together, in a high voice noisily, like a group of clerics in choir, and at the end they finish with 'Ala, Arabi' and 'Ala Mimi'. They have wives whom they keep with them, both those who live in the establishments and those who live outside.

11. The imported goods which the people of this river value most are as follows: wine - they would die for it, and they call it dolo - , horses, white cloth from India, Indian beads as on the coast, Venetian beads, pearls large or small, small Venetian beads, red thread, red cloth, 24-weave cloth, scarlet fabric, cowries, paper, nails, copper bracelets, barber's basins, copper cauldrons weighing one or two pounds, and copper scrap. But of all the imported goods the most esteemed is cola, a fruit produced in Serra Leoa and the neighbouring district, and worth so much in this river that they would give anything in exchange for it, foodstuffs, cloth, slaves or gold. And it is so valuable that the blacks carry it as far as the Kingdom of the Grand Fulo, where it is worth a great deal, and also into the other rivers of our Guinea.

12. In this river, up-stream 120 leagues, on the North side, in the port called Jagrancura ~~for~~ of the town called Sutuco, there is trading in gold, which is brought here in caravans by certain Mandinga merchants, who are also bixirins and make their prayers as others do. The gold they bring here comes mostly in the form of powder, with some in coins, and is very fine quality. The merchants are very expert with weights as they are in other points (of their trade). They carry accurate scales, the arms of which have silver inlay and the cords are of twisted silk. They carry little writing-cases of unpolished leather without fasteners, and in the drawers they carry the weights, which are of brass, and are shaped like dice. The scales carry a larger brass weight of one pound, shaped like the pommel of a sword. The gold they transport in laces, in scraps of cloth, in the quills of large birds, and in the hollow bones of cats, which they hide in their clothing.

They carry it this way because they go through many kingdoms and spend many days on the road, and are often robbed, despite the fact that the caravans take with them officers and guards. Depending on its worth, a caravan may have one thousand archers, or more, or less. Copper bracelets are the merchandise they chiefly buy with the gold. It seems to me that (our) trading in these bracelets brings (us) no profit, or if there is any profit it cannot be much, since one pound of gold buys 1440 bracelets. (However,) there is much profit with other goods, cano de pata - an elongated precious stone which comes from India -, brandil, paper, and all the other goods mentioned earlier, except horses and wine - for these merchants do not drink wine. And also barber's basins, and small kettles of one pound ~~in~~ weight and more..

13. I myself took part in this trade in 1578. Because some people wondered whether the merchants had come by order of the Turk, to obtain copper to be made into guns, I carefully inquired of the gold merchants where they were going to get the gold and why the people there wanted bracelets.

14. Thus I learned with certainty that the bracelets are used only as ornaments and adornment by the people (of the gold region). They wear them on their arms and legs, and value them as much as, and even more than, we value bracelets of gold. They do not use gold because they value it little, having so much of it in their lands. Without exception, (all) this gold and the gold which comes to Tumbocutum comes from the hills of Sofala. For when I spoke to Anhadalen, the leader of the caravan, and asked him exactly where he was going and where he was taking the bracelets, he told me it was to the Cafres (Kaffirs), using the actual term. When I asked him why they wanted them, he told me it was to wear on their arms and legs. When I asked them [sic] how much they gave him for each bracelet, he replied that he would not tell me that, since they were not such dull-witted merchants as to fail to make high profits on goods which they carried so far, for they spend many days on the road and pass through many lands, at great risk to their

persons. And they bring the same gold to the Kingdom of Galalho, called by us Gago, and to the Grand Fulo. What makes me testify more strongly that they want the bracelets only as ornaments to wear is this. About a thousand of the bracelets I took were broken into pieces, and I asked the captain of the caravan guard if he would buy them, and he told me that they were useless. When I said that I would give him two broken ones instead of one good one, he replied that even if I gave him ten for one he would not take them, because they would be of no use, they would only take whole ones capable of being worn. Hence the suspicions I had entertained disappeared.

15. These merchants take over six months on their journey. But as they are blacks and lacking in energy it is surprising that they do not take much more time. They follow a route which fringes (the lands of) all the blacks of our Guinea, on the interior side, and they go (this way) by order of a black emperor whom all the Guinea blacks we have discussed are subject to, called Mandimansa, whom none of our people has ever seen. As soon as his name is mentioned, all the blacks who hear it immediately uncover their heads, such is his authority. The Mina people call this king the Great Elephant, and he is so well known that all the blacks respect his name for more than 300 leagues around.

16. On the occasion mentioned I had to leave the trading place (without obtaining) five quarters and eight pounds of gold which had come in the caravan, because I had no (more) goods to exchange. Today this trade is lost, because no ship has gone there for eight years; the merchants, seeing that there is no trade for them, must have joined those (trading) at Tumbocutum. Some Moors come to this trading place and bring gold, exchanging it for glazed earthenware bowls, red cloth,

and a few coins, if they find any of these things there. The clothes of these merchants are the same kind as those of the Mandingas; the clothes of the guards who come with them are different, being large tunics and baggy trousers whose width continues to more than a hand-span below the knees, then they narrow like boots and cover the whole leg. They fix many feathers on their tunics, and in the caps they wear. They carry short swords like the other blacks, and two knives, one in the belt and the other attached to the upper left arm. The arrows they carry are short and the bows small. They say that they prefer these because (the arrows) are of no use to their enemies who have large bows, while the arrows of their enemies are of use to them. Although their bows are small, they shoot arrows accurately. They also carry spears and very strong shields made of poles and reeds.

Variants to Chapter 5:

p. 48, (5/2) note (a) : L adds about 50 leagues or more

p. 48, (5/4) note (h) : L has eight or ten

p. 49, (5/4) note (a) : L has almost the size

p. 49, (5/5) note (c) : P has milho and rice

p. 50, (5/6) note (h) : L has called by them cãosans

p. 55, (5/13) note (d) : L has 1579

p. 58, (5/16) note (a) : L has the clothes of these merchants are long shirts which go below the knee and are cut away at the neck, with sleeves to the elbows, and long trousers, the bottoms hanging about a hand-span below the knee. And they wear on their heads very tall red caps called turquimas, seemingly because they obtain them from the Turks, but some wear black hats. They drink no wine, and they eat raisins, dried figs, and all kinds of candied fruit. The soldiers who come with these merchants as their guards wear the same clothes, with many feathers on their shirts and caps. They carry bows and quivers of arrows, the arrows short and the bows small, but the bows shoot well.

Chapter 6

Which discusses the other features of the Gambia River

1. At the entrance to this river, the land on each side is flat but completely covered with a thick forest of mangroves, trees so tall and so thick that if their wood were not so heavy they could provide masts for ships of large tonnage. And there are other trees which have a very good and hard wood, in colour apricot or red, called there charcoal-wood. The mangroves extend (inland) to the tidal limit of salt water, and there they stop. Meadows called lalas are then revealed. The most beautiful are on the North side, where fine fields of sugar-cane could be established, and these might be watered by the river itself rising and falling, although (in fact) there is no shortage of water here since it rains a great deal. At the point where the meadows are revealed, at a place called Balangar, some rising ground emerges which continues up-stream alongside the meadows and acts as a wall around them. This higher ground extends more than 100 leagues up-stream, and the further it goes the higher it gets. It stands less than one quarter of a league from the river. All this is on the North side. On the South side there are some rounded hills, but they are not continuous, nor do they border the river as on the North.

2. The river is navigable for more than 100 leagues, and what stops navigation further is a narrow stretch with a rock over which the water falls from a height. The blacks say that if a boat was built beyond this, it might well be able to proceed up-stream many leagues further. The rising and falling tide reaches as far as the foot of the rock over which the water falls, and when it is high tide at the bar of the river it is low tide in all the upper part. From the land, the flowing of the tide in and out can barely be observed; it can only be detected during the period of time when the ship turns (on its anchor). The tide rises so high with the rains and the water coming down from the hills that ships cannot stay at the Trading Place for Gold between the middle of June and December.

3. Iron can be obtained in this river : (the ore) is dug locally. The blacks smelt it, and make bars one hand-span long, and three fingers wide at one end and two fingers wide at the other. Our people trade for this iron and bring it to the Rio Grande and the Rio de São Domingos. There is (also) silver here, seemingly of good quality, and the blacks make bracelets and rings. But our silversmiths cannot make good articles out of it, because they say that it breaks, as if it contained some other metal.

4. I must not fail to report something I saw in this river, at a place called Fulos' Pass. The river is a very large one, very fast-flowing, very deep and very wide. There (once) came here, in the course of a war, an army of Fulos which had already reduced to subjection the Mandingas in every district it came through. It was so great that it covered all the lalas. The army decided to cross to the other bank of the river, but had no bo ts to do this. Though the river is a league or more across, the Fulos flung in stones (and made a ford), so that the whole army could pass over. Many assert that so numerous was the army that it was only necessary for each soldier to bring one stone. Be that as it may, they filled up the river, and the whole army went across with its baggage, which was very considerable, since they brought with them many horsemen, and (also) donkeys, and herds of cows, which marched with them. (In battle,) the archers took up their position among the cows, and shot arrows from there. When the Fulos wanted the cows to halt, they spoke to them in their language and they stopped, and when they wanted them to resume the march, they spoke (again) and they set off. The Fulos carried swarms of bees, which they launched against their enemies when the wind was blowing towards them. The army was a terrifying one. Never had a military force on such a scale been seen by these nations. Destroying and ravaging all, it passed through the lands of the Mandingas, the Cassangas, the Banhuns and the Buramos, for more than 100 leagues. It crossed everything in its path until it

reached the Rio Grande, the country of the Beafares, where the Fulos were defeated and put to rout. This must have been eighty or ninety years ago.

5. Later on, the flood waters came down from the hills, and the river broke through (the ford) on the South side near the land, and made a channel there, along which ships can go if they keep close to the land, so close that they touch the trees with their yards. But the rest (of the ford) though covered with water, remains a shallow. The place is called Fulos' Pass; it is twelve leagues above Lame, and I have been through there twice.

6. I saw another (strange) thing in this river, which again I must not fail to repeat. (Indeed,) if necessary, it could be sworn to on affadavit, by those who were with me on the voyage. Going up-stream from Fulos' Pass, there came to our notice troops of monkeys the size of hares, of a reddish colour, more red than orange; and in each troop there was one monkey who rode on the back of another, like a man on a horse, and those who rode were neither the largest nor the smallest of the monkeys. The blacks of this country said that the one who rode was the king or captain of that group. The blacks spoke to them in the language of the country, and they replied loudly in a grotesque voice, as if they were speaking words. In all the troops we met, there was always one monkey riding in the manner described.

7. In this river there are many hippopotami, who emerge from the river to graze on the land. These 'water horses', like land horses, are of all colours. Their colours, their neighing, the shape of their ears, these make us speak of them as 'horses'. But the shape of their body is that of an ox, and the body is bigger than that of a horse. Their legs are short, so short that the blacks make very low fences in their rice-fields, to stop them eating and destroying (the rice), and the animals cannot go over them because of their short legs. They have hooves which are split and divided into two like those of oxen, and a short head with long teeth,

a hand-span in length, more or less, and bent back. They say that these teeth are a cure for piles. (But) many say that the hooves of the animal are more effective than the teeth in curing this disease, and that it must be the hooves on the left side. The blacks kill many of these 'horses' in their rice-fields, and they eat the flesh. They kill them for two reasons, because they eat their rice, and as food. The meat is white: I have seen it eaten, but never eaten it myself. The animals give birth in the river, under the water, and small boats, such as launches and canoes, run a risk when/a near female with young, because she will attack them and sometimes break open the boat. As soon as the young can walk, they come out (of the river) to graze on land with their mothers.

8. This Kingdom of the Mandingas is very large, since it extends up the Gambia River, which is navigable one hundred and fifty leagues; and then goes on further and penetrates into the interior until it meets the Jalofos on the North, the Fulos on the North East, the Beafares on the East North East, inland, and the Cassangas and Banhuns on the East. At the head of the river can be found two Farins, who are emperors among the blacks; one on the North side where gold is traded called the Farim of Olimansa, to whom we give gifts; and Farim Cabo on the East side, to whom we also give certain gifts. The present Farim Cabo is part Beafar and part Mandinga. The Mandingas stretch so far that they surround the Beafares on the interior side, as we shall explain later. The weighing officers, whose job it is to weigh the gold when people come there to trade, have to live one on the North side and one on the South, and to both of them we give gifts.

9. The chief trade among the blacks, one we have not previously discussed, is the trade in cola, a fruit which grows on a tree; and there are only cola-trees within the territory of Serra Leoa. The cola grows in a bristly container like a chestnut, and is so highly valued

among the blacks that all those in other parts want it and buy it, and it is carried as far as to the Moors. For cola, the blacks give all the kinds of goods they have in the Gambia, that is, slaves, black and white cotton cloth, gold, foodstuffs, and anything else that is asked for it. Cola is worth more in the Gambia River than in any other river of Guinea. The blacks make use of it in the same way as betel leaves are used in our Indies. A black will travel around all day chewing a cola nut, which is like a chestnut. They suck the juice and believe that it serves as a medicine for the liver and the bladder. We also employ it for the same purpose, but the blacks make more use of it than we do. If they have a headache, they chew it and rub their forehead with the paste. Cola keeps from one year to another, and even longer if required. It is wrapped in the large leaves of a tree called cabopa, and placed in long baskets called colecas, which carry two thousand nuts each or a little less. It has pleased God that there should be none of this fruit in Guinea except in the territory of Serra Leoa, as said above, in order that it should gain the value that it has, for the benefit of many. If sown in other parts, though it grows into trees, they never flourish. In the Rio Grande there is one cola-tree, and in the Rio de São Domingos another, and these produce cola, but in the rest of Guinea there are none, as we have said; and these trees do not even produce enough cola for the villages where they grow, because the blacks are always eating cola.

10. For 70 leagues up-stream from the entrance of this river, the inhabitants have very large canoes in which they sometimes go to war, such large ones that they have attacked French launches and captured them. At the prow they have thick wooden screens which keep off musket balls; hence they can assault boats, and they have captured some of our ships. After 70 leagues up-stream, canoes are less in number, and the higher up one goes the less there are. This is for two reasons, because the blacks are not good sailors, and because they lack

beaching-places for their canoes, since the land on each side of the river is high here and there are no beaches to land the canoes on. If they had canoes they would do much harm to (passing) boats, since all the blacks on the South and East side are evil and treacherous, as already mentioned. The river has three fords or 'passes'. Going up-stream, the first is at Malor, the second is Fulos' Pass - described above -, the third is at Janguemangue, near the trading place for gold.

11. The Mandingas make large quantities of salt, which they bring to the upper part of this river to sell. Here it is very valuable, since there is no (locally-made) salt above 60 leagues up-river: salt can be made only as far up the river as the sea water reaches. The Mandingas carry the salt up-stream in canoes. The depôt for salt is at a village called Culaoula, one league from the port of Casan. This is where the blacks store it, before sending it through the interior as far as the Grand Fulo, and by sea as far as it can go.

12. The tide goes 150 leagues up the river, and a ship (at anchor) swings round with the rising and the falling tide. When the rains come, at the end of June, ships cannot stay in the port of the gold trade: the water rises so high that they are unable to lie there, because their ropes cannot hold them. Sixty leagues on, at the port of Casan, such is the force of the flood-water that in August ships no longer turn with the incoming tide.

13. 'Winter' begins in these parts at the end of April or beginning of May. The blacks work in their rice-fields from May on. The rice-fields remain under water for more than three months, since the rising of the river floods all the lalas between June and November. From the flooded lalas the blacks recover their rice-plants, and transplant them into drier lalas, where they soon give their crop.

14. There is much timber in this river and many boats could be built, oared vessels as well as decked ships. On Cabopa Island there is much timber, (especially) some very large spars which are used for masts of ships of large tonnage, or are sawed into planks. There are many wild fruits, senna and tamarinds being plentiful : the pulp of the latter is sold in large balls.

15. All these Mandinga blacks, together with the Jalofos, Barbacins and Fulos, wear white striped caps, shaped like crowns; and when they speak to each other they take them off as we do.

16. Above the port of a Faran called Jaroale, on the South side, about ten leagues up-stream from the bar, ships of up to sixty tons can go along a creek called Bambaro. This penetrates to the land of the Banhuns, where much cotton, wax and ivory is traded.

17. The river we are discussing used to be the best in Guinea, with more trade than all the others. With five or six different types of goods one could buy a slave who could not have been bought for five cruzados of good money. Today all is changed and prices are high, due to whites who have spoilt and corrupted everything. There is no village on the coast or for many leagues into the interior which lacks white adventurers (resident there), and acting as trading agents for the English and the French. This has reached the point where the blacks no longer respect the whites, saying that they are as persistent as flies in milk: even if one falls in and dies, this does not stop more coming. For it has happened that the blacks have killed whites in this river, yet it has not scared off the other whites. Before these (intruders) came, the river was more peaceful than it is today, and the blacks used to come aboard ship to sell cloths and food.

18. There is good senna in this river, and with the root they make a medicine. But they have the superstitious belief that if they eat the senna itself, their mothers will die.

19. This river is somewhat unhealthy, because it is completely surrounded by high trees: these prevent it being swept by winds and therefore it has many gnats (mosquitoes) and flies. The healthiest place is the port of Casan, up-stream 60 leagues, because the land is open around the river: the wind is free to blow and the port has pleasant breezes, and for this reason it is healthy. This town and port is the chief trading place on the river.

Variants to chapter 6

p.59, (6/2) note (f) : L reads From the port of the trading place for gold a ship can go up-stream for four tides, but cannot pass further because of a rock...

p.61, (6/4) note (e) : P reads ... 150 leagues ...

p.61, (6/4) note (h) : L reads ... 120 years ...

p.67, (6/16) note (d) : P reads Eight or ten leagues from the bar, above the port of a Faran called Jaroale, an arm of the river called Heretics' River penetrates to the land of the Banhuns ...

Chapter 7

Which discusses the Arriatas and Falupos, the blacks who live to the South of Cape St. Mary

1. Cape St. Mary is encountered as one comes out of River Gambia, on the South side, almost at the entrance to the river, standing in 13^{o} 30'. It is not high land but is marked by yellow patches and streaks in the earth, and it displays a number of trees. Opposite the cape, where the bottom is four or five fathoms deep, are shoals called by the same name, the shoals of St. Anne [sic: St. Mary], formed of reefs of rocks. From Cape Verde to Cape St. Mary the coast runs North East to South West, and the only shoals all that way are those at Joala - which the sea only breaks over when rough, and some ships pass between them and the land - and the shoals of the Barbacins - at the mouth of that estuary, which is easy to enter. After these (two sets of) shoals come the ones at Cape St. Anne [sic]. These it is unusual for ships to have any contact with, unless they are searching for the bar in order to pass it, since the Guide instructs them not to come nearer the land than seven fathoms depth.

2. To the South of this cape the blacks are still Mandingas. The district is called Combomansa, and there is trade in rice and wax. But the further (South) one goes the more savage the blacks become. Between this cape and the mouth of the Rio de São Domingos, the blacks remain to be pacified. From the cape as far as the Shoals of São Pedro, the blacks are Arriatas, some of whom speak Mandinga and some the language of the Falupos. The Arriata blacks do not practice circumcision, as the others do. They occupy the coast, and are surrounded by the Mandingas on the North and by the Banhuns further inland. They employ themselves in their fields and fisheries, and these are their(only) crafts. They have no trade in slaves, since they have no commerce with us, and if exceptionally some of them are sold as slaves, they are sold

not by their own people, but by their neighbours who have captured them in wars. The Falupos begin at the Shoals of São Pedro and continue down-coast. These are a different nation of blacks, who can make themselves understood when talking to the Papel blacks. From Cape St. Mary to Cape Roxo, which stands in 12°, the distance is 25 leagues. About one league from Cape Roxo, - which is bare and flat (?and) like the muzzle of an ox - one league from this, I repeat, on the windward side, to the North, begins the bar of the Cazamansa River. Within this river, on both sides of the entrance, live the Falupos. They are disturbed and kept in alarm by the Mandingas, since the latter equip very imposing war-canoes in the Gambia River, and from this river travel down the coast in them, attacking the Arriatas and Falupos who live between Cape St. Mary and Cape Roxo. When the Mandingas began this war of conquest, they made many prisoners, since they seized their victims in groups. (The Arriatas and Falupos) were gathered together on beaches or beside streams, eating fish or oysters, and when one party was captured the others neither fled nor defended themselves. (But) experience has made them more knowledgable now, so that they fight and defend themselves, and kill and capture their (Mandinga) enemies.

3. Inside the Cazamansa bar, on the North side of the river, are found blacks called Jabundos, who speak the language of the Banhums. and they and the Banhuns can understand each other. The same understanding exists between them and the Casangas and Mandingas. On the South side stretches the land of the Iziguichos, who are Banhums, and in this land there is trade in wax and slaves. It is more than twenty-five years since ships entered the bar of the Cazamansa, because the blacks (on the lower river) went to war with the king of Cazamansa up-stream and decided to forbid him the use of the river-entry. They imposed a blockade, and took several of our ships at the entrance, the river being very narrow, and the blacks having assembled many canoes

with which they attacked our ships. For this reason, we do not make use of this river or go this way (to the land of Cazamansa), but instead go by São Domingos, as will be described later.

4. The Arriatas occupy the land near the sea on this stretch of coast, and after them, further down the coast, the Falupos (do the same). Behind these peoples, the Jabundos and Banhuns live in the hinterland, and behind them the Casangas. Beyond the Casangas, the Mandingas are like a surrounding wall, and they extend from behind these nations and the Buramos (Southward) to where they are neighbours on the hinterland side of the Beafares, as will be told in due course.

5. Coming back to the Falupos, who live on the coast in 12°, these are very dark blacks. They go about naked, wearing (only) goat-skins or woven palm-leaves. They spend their time drawing wine from palms, attending to their fields, and fishing. They are great breeders of stock, and have many cows and goats in their land. They have absolutely no trading relations with us. Their territory extends to the bar of the São Domingos River; and though they are a wild people, they are very experienced boatmen in this estuary, which they navigate continually in their own canoes. If one of our ships enters the river and does not steer carefully into the right channel, they are alerted. If it happens to run aground, they come out to attack it; and at night-time they cut its ropes, so that it runs ashore. All of our people whom they captured when ships were wrecked, they used to kill without trying to sell them (for money) or exchange them (for goods). (However,) these blacks and the Buramos understand each other, and our people live in the land of the Buramos, so now by means of the Buramos, exchanges of those captured are arranged, and the Falupos no longer kill them. The Buramos go to buy the captives in the homeland of the Falupo blacks. If these contacts were pursued, the Falupos might be tamed completely,

and there would be great trade, since there are many cows in their land, and slaves would accumulate there.

6. Because these blacks do not yet sell slaves, or at least they only sell very few, their numbers have increased to such an extent that there is insufficient room for them in their own land. Hence, they have crossed the São Domingos River and occupied the land on the South side of the entrance, called Putamo. Recently they began to trade with our people in the São Domingos River, at the entrance to a creek called Timis, which the river forms at this point. Our people obtain from them slaves and cows, the chief commodities (required) for the trade between this river and the Bijagos. At a fair which is held here on certain days, the Buramos come along and join in.

7. These blacks go about naked. The only weapons they carry are knives and (bows). The arrows are not poisoned, and in place of iron (tips) they fix in them the spine-bone of a fish called bagre.

Variants to chapter 7

p. 70, (7/2) note (a) : P reads After these, towards the South, are found other blacks who neighbour the Mandingas, called Arriatas, who live facing the Shoals of São Pedro. From Cape St. Mary to the entrance of the bar of the São Domingos River, which is nearly 30 leagues, the Arriatas and Falupos remain unpacified. They are very negroid. The Arriatas and Falupos understand each other.

p. 70, (7/2) note (f) : P reads the entrance of River Cazamansa, at the mouth of which is an island called the Island of Mosquitos.

p. 73, (7/7) note (i) : L reads their arrows are poisoned, and they put poison on them instead of an iron tip.

Chapter 8

Which discusses the Kingdom of Casamansa and its features

1. The entrance to the Casamansa River lies to the windward of Cape Roxo. From the entrance the Jabundos extend up-stream along the North side, and the Banhuns of Eziguichor along the South side, as already stated, and they all understand each other. The Kingdom of Casamansa is large, since it stands like a wall through the hinterland around the coastal Banhuns and Falupos. It used to have well-mannered kings, especially one called Massatamba, who ate at a raised table with a cloth on it, sitting in a high chair, his food being cooked and prepared in our style. The people of this nation of Casangas go about dressed like the Jalofos and Mandingas. And they are surrounded on the inland side by the Mandingas.

2. Cloths are available in this land of the Casangas too. The Casangas employ horses, but only a few, since any they possess have been brought from the Island of Cape Verde or from the lands of the Jalofos or Mandingas. Men from these lands regularly visit the court of the Casanga king, especially the devotees called by these people bixirins, who tell a thousand lies to the blacks and make them believe a multitude of (false) things. A bixirin called Alemane, who was head of the three (religious) establishments on the Gambia River, once came there. He spoke many times with the king, and when the king wished to know about the movements of his enemy, a king called Banbara who lived on the bank of the Casamansa River, this caciz took a boy who belonged to another nation many leagues from there and with whom he had no common language. He wrote on the boy's head certain letters, and he had a basin of water placed in front of the boy in which he was to look. After the boy had seen in the water the letters (written) on his head, although he previously was unable to speak the language of the caciz, the two spoke to each other and understood each other. And when he was asked about many things which were taking place in a district very far away from there, the boy answered correctly. But

as soon as he ceased to look in the basin of water, the two could not understand each other.

3. The King of Casamansa had this caciz summoned because he was about to give battle to King Bambara, his enemy, who lived on the other side of the river and belonged to the Banhun nation, and he wished to learn from the caciz what day he should give battle and whether he would win. To discover (the answers), the caciz carried out many ceremonies, such as that involving the boy and the water, at which he asked (the spirits) what the enemy was doing and many other questions. And he told the king that he would gain the victory. Having been given this reply, the king made preparations, and after assembling many armed men he crossed to the other side of the river in a large number of canoes and in some of our ships. When these touched land, and all the force had assembled, he began to march towards the enemy, who were in fortified positions nearby. The caciz marched happily along in front of the army, holding batons in his hands as if he was directing it; and he passed the word on to all (following) that they should attack the enemy in their fortifications when he gave a certain signal.

4. The enemy did not wait for him to give the signal. As the Casangas drew near them, they sounded to arms very rapidly, and threw themselves upon them with such force that they overwhelmed them. The Casangas were routed and put to flight. As they boarded their boats, many were drowned, for the numbers were so great that those of our men who were assisting the king (to escape) had to kill many Casangas, cutting their hands off as they clung to the boats, since with so many aboard the boats would have gone to the bottom. In this way the king was saved from the fiasco. The enemy did not pursue, or keep within range, with the same enthusiasm that they had shown at the beginning of the action. Despite suffering this rout, a few days afterwards the (Casanga) king ordered two forts to be built on this same river,

one on each side, facing each other. And by joining many iron-chains together until they were sufficient to obstruct the river from one side to the other, he prevented the enemy from using it. The chains passing from one fort to the other were nailed to very long stakes, fixed downwards along the length of the chain. By using very large nails, the links of the chains and the stakes were rivetted together, so that they made a very strong barrier. This device had been suggested to them by our people. In this way the king forbade navigation to the enemy for a long time, until they made peace.

5. The black caciz, although he had promised victory to the Casangas, blamed them for the defeat, saying that the confusion had arisen because they attacked before he gave the order. He went back to his own country with many gifts from the king. And he left the king a familiar (spirit), shut up in an earthenware jar with the mouth carefully fastened, and this familiar gave a reply to any question the king asked it.

6. Justice is done in the land of the Casangas in the same way as on the coast, as described above, that is, before the king or the lord of the land, sitting with some elders who act as judges. Judgments are given on the spot and without delay. The parties state their arguments, and bring witnesses who testify verbally, so there is no need for any postponements. When the matter is uncertain and the proof insufficient, an oath is administered, but in a different way from that on the coast. This method of oath-taking is called 'red water', and is much feared. To administer this oath, they produce a pot containing water which has been coloured red by crushing in it pieces of bark from certain trees: these dissolve in the water or (at least) give out sufficient (red) sap for the potion. The pot of red water is carried in a basket. What happens next is very strange. They give this water to the parties (to drink), and the one who vomits first is cleared. Many die when they take the water. These are persons whom the king wishes to die, perhaps because they are rich, and he employs the following trick. He advises

those who administer the oath that such and such a person is not to escape death. The man who presents the red water (to those taking the ordeal) carries on his thumb a (dose of) very strong poison which kills in a few hours. First, he gives the water to those persons whose death is not sought, because there is nothing to take or inherit from them, as they are poor. Then, when he reaches those whom the king has told him must not escape - they are always left to be dealt with after the others - as he is preparing to give them the water, he slips the poisoned finger into it. As he does so, he tells (the victim) to take the drink. The water has become so poisonous that those who drink die in a few hours. They are (considered to have been proved to be) murderers (,etc.), and are condemned to lose their possessions. There have been cases where all the victim's relatives were enslaved by the king and then sold. It would seem that this (red) water is an emetic, producing vomiting.

7. In the land of the Casangas, a particular law has been imposed by the kings as a device to raise revenue. The law is this. When any man dies, before he is buried, he is laid on the wooden supports which will be used for his tomb, which are covered with black cloth, and (this bier is placed) on the shoulders of blacks. Carrying the dead man, they go (round the village). They dance wildly, here and there, to the sound of numerous drums, ivory trumpets and conch-shells, jumping about with such fury and force that it seems that they have devils in them. Other blacks called Jabacosses speak to the dead man, and put questions to him, so that he can tell them who killed him. And if the men who carry (the bier) on their backs and who dance here and there so furiously (happen to) meet an individual, and (immediately) quieten down, it is said that this individual is the person who killed the dead man. This is another trick invented by the kings and their council, like the water ordeal. If those carrying the bier meet no-one, then the Jabacosse who puts questions to the dead man says that he died from natural causes. But if

they meet anyone, that person is (treated as) a murderer, and they arrest him for witchcraft, and sell him and all his relatives without sparing any.

8. Their wakes last many days. They bring along a large quantity of provisions for the funeral ceremonies, so that they can combine feasting together and wailing together, as has already been mentioned they do on the coast. They do the same at the end of the period of mourning, eating, drinking and dancing to the sound of drums and trumpets. The Casangas, the Banhuns and the Papels follow the same customs, in their wakes as well as in their ordeals, in the ceremony of asking the dead who killed them, and in their form of burial.

9. There is another law in the Kingdom of Cazamansa which is very profitable to the king. Any person who falls from a palm tree and dies they consider a witch. The officers of the king immediately go to his house and seize all his possessions. They even take his wives, children and other relatives, and sell them. Since there are many palm-trees in the land, and since the blacks are very fond of strong drink, and have only the sura they take from the palm-trees and another beverage like beer made from milho (corn); most of them regularly climb palm-trees to take the sura. Hence, they regularly fall from them. They lose their lives, their property and their families. They must take a poor view of laws so profitable to the king.

10. When I myself was in this land in 1570, staying at the king's residence and waiting for a payment which he owed me and which he failed to pay, not because he lacked slaves but in order to detain me, a black happened to fall from a palm-tree, and the poor wretch died from the fall. They seized nearly forty members of his family, men and women, and with these the king paid me.

11. When this king eats or drinks in public, those standing around do not see him, because he conceals himself behind white cloths which act as curtains and screens. Within his palace he eats with our people in the way already described. This land used to have a king called Masatamba, who took meals at a high jointed table covered with table-linen in our style: he sat in a chair of state and ate as we do. (However,) in public, before his own people, the king eats concealed, as just stated. His wives, each in turn, bring him food in enormous bowls containing two or three bushels of rice and cuscus, cooked with great pieces of meat in it. After his wives have presented these bowls of food, if the food is well cooked the king takes the tray and distributes the very full bowls among the nobles who are with him, by dividing them into groups of ten or twelve. The nobles then go into the grove of trees in which the palace stands, and in a very short space of time they empty the dishes. After distributing the food, the king withdraws in order to lunch or dine with the whites, if there are any at court. When Masatamba reigned, never once after he became king did he eat with a black man, not even with his own brothers or sons.

12. The kings of this land sometimes ride on horses, but if the journey is short more often on oxen. It is a custom of this country that a king who attains the throne when it is vacant (that is, not by conquest) is selected by the captain of the slaves of the last king, slaves who belong to the crown. He is not selected by vote, and the only formality is that the person becomes king to whom the captain makes obeissance. (But) he must be a member of the royal family, a brother, a son of a brother, or a son of the king. Although there may be many (of these presumptive) heirs, even an older man to whom the kingdom should belong by right (of seniority), the king is the one selected by the captain. Some rulers seize the throne by force of arms. Those who do this ~~shut~~ shut themselves up immediately in the royal palace. But rulers who accede to the throne peacefully are obeyed by all. The Casangas have a law that kings must spend their first year living in the forest (where

the palace stands), and those who are governing (during this period) bring them all they need. When the period is over, they return the king to the palace, and from then on he is obeyed and very greatly feared.

13. The country is a safe one for our people. If anything is lost here, the king knows about it within the hour and gives it back to its owner, provided that it suits him to do so. These blacks here and all the others make offerings to the dead, and (bring them) cooked food and wine, as has been mentioned. In this kingdom, they never drink wine whether in groups or alone, without offering a little to the dead, by throwing some on the ground and saying a few words of the kind used for a funeral oration. Their idols, which they treat with great reverence, are poles fixed in the ground under a large and shady tree. Each pole is bent at the top like a shepherd's crook. They are bundled together, tied, and placed in the ground with all the tops joined together. They call this idol of theirs chinas, and worship it by offering it drink, their sura which is palm wine, and a beverage made from milho (corn) which is like beer but not as strong. They daub the poles with a gruel made from rice and milho, and with the blood of cows, goats and other animals. When they prepare their fields, they place alongside them some of these poles fixed in the ground, to guard them, since these poor wretches believe that the poles have the power to do this.

14. In war they use spears, arrows, shields, knives and short swords, like the Jalofos, and they wear the same clothes. They carry another weapon, a thick club of up to three hand-spans long, with knobs on it, which they throw at the legs (of enemies), or use to strike them on the head, to knock their brains out. They are war-like, and (often) fight the Banhuns, and by force of arms the Casanga king has become master of the land and (of the Banhuns), and today is obeyed by them. In war

it is their custom to cut off the male organ from those they kill and frequently from those who submit, and they carry these parts away in triumph and hang them at the doors of their houses. Considering that they belong to blacks, the majority of these houses are well-made. They are round, and are made of clay and wattle, with the clay so neatly applied that they appear to be plastered. They are roofed with thatch from the ola tree.

15. The trade of this land is in wine, a few horses, cotton, iron, Indian beads, paper, cloves, red thread, red cloth, some clothes of the kind we wear - intended for the king - , and some objects in gold and silver. Slaves, ivory, and wax are obtained from this land. They keep bees in basket-shaped hives made of straw, plastered with cow-dung, and they hang these from trees. On large trees there may be more than two hundred hives. Cotton is also brought into the land of the Casangas from the land of the Mandingas: it comes through Jugo, on the other side of Rio de Casamansa, on the frontier of the kingdom, and is taken to Rio de São Domingos.

16. The King of Casamansa rules the Banhuns because he subdued them by conquest. Yet he himself owes obedience to a Farim called Cabo, whose position is like that of an emperor, since he lives in the hinterland; and this Farim owes obedience to another ruler who is over him. In this way, one ruler is subject to another until Mandimansa is reached, the emperor of the blacks, from whom the Mandingas took their name. And Casamansa and the other kings in the Gambia River (called mansa took their name from Mandimansa). (So too did) the Sumbas - who will be discussed later : their proper name is Manes, as will be explained at greater length in the chapter dealing with them.

17. A very large fair is held in this country at Brucem, the court where the king lives. At this fair all the goods available in the land are sold, slaves and foodstuffs as well as everything else. The country possesses a number of streams and some very large lakes which have water in them all the year round. The land is more fertile than the land of the Jalofos, since it rains more here. It has the same sorts of animals and birds as in the other parts, the fish are good, and there are many excellent oysters and other shell-fish.

Variants to chapter 8

p. 74 (8/1) note (b) : L reads: Beyond these blacks are the Banhuns of Ziguichar, and beyond them are the Casangas: the Casangas and Banhuns understand each other, though the Casangas dress differently, for they dress like the Jalofos and the Mandingas, who surround them on the interior side.

p.83 (8/16) note (g) : L reads: who is emperor of the blacks of our Guinea of Cape Verde, and it may be that the blacks of Congo and Angola also obey him.

Chapter 9

Which discusses the Kingdom of the Buramos, and their trade and customs.

1. Inland from Cape Roxo, which stands in 12°, and stretching towards the South, are the Falupos - whom we have already discussed - who continue until they meet the Buramos on the North and South banks of the river called the São Domingos River. This neighbouring Kingdom of the Buramos is very large. The first of its settlements with which we have commercial relations is called Cacheu. It is situated beside the river, known there as the Rio de Farim, some eight leagues from the bar. The houses of this town, (built) of clay and wattle like those of Casamansa, are round and covered with thatch. (They stand) in large enclosures, with many dwellings in each, (the number) depending on the wealth of the individual black who builds them. The clay is made of a white earth as bright as lime, and the houses are all roofed with leaves from the sibe tree, the leaves with which they make the baskets one sees there.

2. Formerly our people lived with the blacks in the same town, relying on the good word and the protection of their hosts. But they used to be greatly ill-treated by them, as well as by others of the same nation who came from the interior. There were many deaths, and each day serious robberies were committed. (To put an end to this,) for the last five years or so our people have been in a town separate from that of the blacks, so well fortified that if they wished they could do much damage to the blacks. It stands beside the river, between the river and the town of the blacks. And here, without help from His Majesty, they have built a strong-point and fortified it with some guns they managed to obtain for this purpose, and with these they can prevent the English and French from entering the river to seize ships as they did previously. The organiser of the scheme to build this fort and establish a town for our people was one Manuel Lopes Cardoso, an inhabitant of Santiago Island,

who artfully obtained permission from the king of the land, whose name is Chapala, to build the fort at this site, by saying that its purpose was to prevent the enemy from capturing ships in the king's port. But when the fort was built and the guns placed inside it, he told the king that it was necessary to have houses there for those of our people who would guard and protect the guns. In this way, houses came to be built in this place, and our people who used to live in the town among the blacks transferred themselves there. (So) today our people are free from the ill-treatment they used to have from the blacks. The blacks finding themselves tricked, in 1590 decided on war, and secretly assembled many men in order to attack our people, who were completely off their guard. The plot was revealed by two of the more civilised black women of this land, who by night came secretly to our fort and dwellings and told our people what the blacks had decided to do the next day. Our people made ready, and just what the women had said would happen took place, (for) the next day some ten thousand blacks began to attack the fort. But because our people were prepared, the blacks did not take the fort or town. The war lasted three days. During these three days many blacks were killed, but on our side not a single person died. When they saw how badly things were going, the blacks withdrew, and they returned a few days later to beg our people to accept a renewal of the friendship formerly between them. And (now) they are friends (again). Our people live in their settlement and the blacks live in their own; hence they get on well with each other.

3. This settlement of ours is well peopled, and during Lent seven or eight hundred persons, white and black, attend confessions. All that is now needed, if it is decided to establish a full township, is that His Majesty should set up a judicial tribunal there. In this way the faith would be encouraged, since what the settlement mainly lacks today in this respect is some-one to preach the word of God there and to deal out justice, which has been unknown among the adventurers in these parts

It would be a good idea to establish a tribunal in this town and (another) at Porto da Cruz on the Rio Grande, a town which will be described later.

4. Those of our people who live in this town have trading contacts with the other rivers and along the coast. They travel to these places in their launches and other vessels, and trade with the English and French, bringing them hides, ivory and wax. Nowadays trade in wax is forbidded by the bishops of Cape Verde, because our people used to take to the French and English as much wax as they could obtain, so much so that almost none reached this island, and (hence) none could be bought for religious uses. But the worst aspect (of the adventurers' trade) is that they bring slaves to these parts which are traded to the Jalofos in exchange for iron, although many of these slaves might (in Portuguese hands) become Christians. Disposed of this way, they do not. Indeed, not only do they not become Christians, but some of them are sold to Moors, (and become Moslems) which ought to be deplored.

5. The blacks of this land, and the courtiers at the king's court, with whom our people have regular contact, go around dressed in long smocks and wrap-around cloths, and underneath the cloths they wear (a garment made out of) an animal skin. But the other blacks in the interior go about naked, wearing no more than this piece of animal skin. The weapons they carry are short swords, knives, spears, shields, arrows, and clubs called manducos.

6. This land provides much trade in provisions, in rice, milho (corn), and sesame; and in slaves, wax and ivory. Of the trade-goods circulated in this land, the chief ones are iron, cotton, cotton-cloths, cotton teadas - narrow cloths like those of sail-cloth - and wine. These goods are for the blacks. For our people, (the chief imports are) ready-made clothing, shirts, doublets, footwear, and all other kinds of clothing, and (also) foodstuffs.

7. At the first town in this land of Cacheu there are two kings; o called King of Mompatas, who is what we would call governor of the plac and another called Chapala, who is superior to the first. The land of the Buramos, or as they are otherwise called Papels, is very large, f it stretches up the Rio de Farim many leagues, and (in the other direction) after continuing down to the estuary, it stretches, as we shall describe, many further leagues (along the coast). The whole of the country on each side is occupied by these (Buramos) blacks, who hav many kings, some more powerful than others. As regards dress, they about naked, as stated, wearing (only) goat-skins or palm-leaves, which scantily cover their shameful parts. The weapons they employ are kn spears and arrows; but, as the blacks go, they are not very war-like. Some of their kings possess rich and fine clothing, which our people bring them; (but) the kings never wear this clothing except when the pay a call on the (royal) agent or the captain of some ship, or on our people at their town. When the call is over, they immediately resum their goat-skins and anoint themselves with oil.

8. Chapala, the king of this town and of the Kingdom of Cacheu, sometimes turns up in our settlement when Mass is being said. He at it very respectfully and carries out all the ritual which we perform at Mass, such as kneeling down, beating our breasts, and bowing at the rig time. All this he does. (Moreover) he disapproves strongly of any white who speaks to another white during the Mass, and he rebukes him on the spot, saying that he is a child, to talk at such a time. One Christmas Day, when the priest who was then there was saying Mass, the king gave him at the offertory an excellent and pretty slave-girl. My own view is that many of these heathen would be converted if there w someone to instruct them, and to preach to them our religion and doctri since they have no organised religion of their own, being merely idolators. The blacks were amazed when they saw, at our settlement on Maundy Thursday, a religious procession which included (devotees

exhibiting) certain of the Marks of the Passion, and some penitents. And today there are black heathen in this country who send their sons to catechism with the slaves of the whites, when any priest pays a visit here, as Father João Pinto used to do, an African whom His Majesty sent to these parts to convert the heathen. If Father Pinto had lived, he would certainly not have failed to produce fruit in the service of Our Lord, since, although he was black, he lived an exemplary life, a qualification that is called for in these parts. All the whites were very courteous to him, so much that if the (royal) agent for this river was sitting on a chair, he stood up as soon as he saw Father Pinto and gave him the chair. When the blacks saw the agent, who is treated in these parts as a very great lord, behaving like this to a black priest, they were astonished. They said that the whiteman's God was unequalled: this priest talked with Him and despite being black was shown much respect by the whites.

9. The Bishop of Santiago Island, believing that this priest would harm his jurisdiction, since he was in the habit of ordering a visitation each year of the Rio de São Domingos as of all the other rivers - visitations producing fruit only in his treasury, which each time was increased and multiplied, while the adventurers continued sinning as before, without renouncing their sin or returning to their wives - this bishop, believing, as I said, that because of this priest his jurisdiction would be reduced, had him suspended from Holy Orders and commanded him to make his way immediately to Santiago Island. The priest obeyed and went. In the course of his discussion with the bishop, he was asked who had sent him to Guinea. The priest replied that he had been sent by the same person who had sent the bishop to the island, and that person was His Majesty. Not content with having the priest suspended, or with his submission to his command, the bishop attempted to accuse him of ill-deeds, when all the world knew that he had committed none. While the priest was engaged in organising his

(defence and) release, he died. I have spoken at length of this pri[redacted] because I said earlier that it was because of lack of instructors th[redacted] large numbers of the heathen in these parts remained unconverted.

10. In this town is a settlement of Sape blacks who came as refugee[redacted] at the time of the Wars of the Sumbas. They live together, in a separate section of the town, with a king whom they obey. The king who reigns there today is a Christian called Ventura de Siqueira. He ca[redacted] read and write, as he was brought up in Santiago Island. All the other blacks of his settlement are Christians, and he has all the babies b[redacted] there baptised. Every night in this settlement Christian doctrine is taught publicly, and is attended by children of the more advanced black of the country, although these are not Christians. (Therefore) I will dare to say, as a certain fact, that for lack of someone to preach the Word of God, many souls which could be saved in many districts o[redacted] the Rivers of Guinea are perishing.

11. I recollect that, at the Council of Portugal in Lisbon and in Madr[redacted] I reminded His Majesty of the service he could do for Our Lord, by f[redacted] ing on Santiago Island an establishment for priests of the Company (of Jesus), or for members of other religious orders, since these men would do great services for God and for His Majesty in the islands and in Guinea. And if they could be given what His Majesty gives to the Seminary, which has produced no fruit, and what he gives to the chap[redacted] of Santiago and Fogo islands, with all this and with the alms collected in the land, they could maintain themselves, and preach in all the islands during Lent, in Advent, and at all festivals in the year. A[redacted] from the island they could go to the Rivers of Guinea, where they would produce much fruit; since to date the bishops do no more than order visitations among the adventurers, to absolve them from all their sin[redacted] even when these are the sort that a visitation has no power to absolve from, so that the adventurers go back to their sins, and thus contin[redacted]

living in mortal sin. As a Christian, and because I want to see the Faith increasing in these parts, I mention this subject here. Now I return to what I was saying about Guinea.

12. These blacks use the same judicial oath as do the Casangas, (the ordeal) by 'red water'. And they ask newly-dead corpses who killed them, as was stated above is done in Casamansa.

13. Slaves are accumulated in large numbers in this land of the Buramos. Our people, the whites, push inland, and travel from kingdom to kingdom, looking for and gaining trade. The land has a good supply of provisions, in the form of rice, milho maçaroca, and beef, for there are many (cows) in these parts. Further, the kings value mastiff dogs, and own them as a mark of royalty. They keep them for prestige, and at feasts and banquets they often eat them.

14. The town of Cacheu is the healthiest settlement in the Rio de São Domingos, because it is situated on the widest stretch of the river. The land is not covered with trees, and there is plenty of air, (hence) it is not as unhealthy as Buguendo or Sarar.

15. Beyond the port of Cacheu, up a creek on the North side, lies the way to São Domingos, in the land of the Banhuns. Here, on the shore of this creek stands a large town, inhabited by many blacks and many of our people, because of the great trade in this country in slaves, provisions and wax, a great quantity of each, and more than in any other part of Guinea. But the blacks of this town, because they have a good knowledge of our language and are well practiced in it, used to treat our people very badly, giving them blows, mocking them, seizing their hats and swords in open day, committing many serious robberies, and causing some deaths.

16. The Banhuns are surrounded on the coastal side by the Buramos, on their flanks and in the interior by the Casangas. They understand each other, and use the same weapons and clothes, and the same ordeal by 'red water'.

17. Near to the Banhuns, up another creek to the North-West, are found more blacks of the same nation, called Chans, who are always in open warfare with these others. They are very war-like and many times attac the land of the others, taking booty by night and day. The king of the Chans is a great friend of our people, and they (? our people) get o very well with them (? the Chans). Our people stay in this land, which accumulates many slaves and a large quantity of provisions, and much wax and ivory. The trade-goods which are valued and used in the land of the Buramos are valued in the same way in the land of the Banhuns. The Banhuns also carry out the same wakes, and they ask newly-dead corpses who killed them.

18. The Banhun blacks go about dressed in shirts like the Casangas, they wear wrap-around cloths, and some wear breeches. They use spea swords, knives, and clubs like maces, with knobs on them. In battle, they strike their enemies on the head with these clubs, killing them, or t throw them at their legs. This weapon is the one they value most, and the Casangas use it too. The Casangas and the Banhuns understand eac other, and so do the Banhuns and the Buramos, because (these nations) are always mixing with each other in their lands, when they trade at the fairs held for (the exchange of) their goods. The Banhuns employ the same 'red water' ordeal as the Casangas and the Buramos, and they too ask the dead who killed them, as do those discussed earlier.

19. This land has large quantities of provisions, in the form of mil and rice, and many cows, goats and hens; and it has ivory, wax and honey. The Banhuns have a beverage like beer they make from milho, an sura which they draw from palm-trees. The trade-goods our people bri which are valued here are cotton, cotton cloths, teadas of cotton,

dyes from Rio Nuno, wine, iron, and a few horses. (They need few horses) because most of these blacks, Buramos, Casangas or Beafares, ride around on tame oxen, which they keep for this purpose. The oxen have their nostrils pierced from side to side, and a string through, which serves as a rein.

20. The Banhun blacks of the town of Buguendo were so wicked in their behaviour to our people, and treated them so badly, that our people could not stand it any longer. No black considered himself a man of standing unless he had snatched hats from our people, or given them buffets and blows. And there were many blacks of the household of the king, some called Reinaldos, some Roldans, some with other similar names, who when they came to town brought along a company of lazy black scoundrels. These scoundrels ran ahead, (of their masters) and came to tell our people, 'Here comes Reinaldo, here comes Roldan', so that our people could prepare and make ready what they had to give (the royal officers). And if our people lacked (what they demanded), they treated them very badly. But despite all this, our people put up with the blacks.

21. (However), about ten years ago the whites left, on the orders of Francisco d'Andrade, Chief Sergeant of the city of Santiago, who went to these parts by command of the governor, Gaspar d'Andrade. Seeing the ill-treatment that the blacks gave to the whites, he made an agreement with the King of Casamansa, Masatamba, a friend of ours; and he transferred our people from the town of Buguendo to a port of this king situated further up the Rio de Farim, on a little channel leading to the king's first land, called Sarar. Here our people built a town, and gave it the name of St. Philip's Town, in honour of His Majesty, since it was shortly after he had taken possession of the Kingdom of Portugal. The town of Buguendo from which our people moved is a very

unhealthy spot, where there were always many deaths. The town to w
they moved, St. Philip's, is not healthy (either), for it is in marshy
district with many swamps around, but the country is a safer one :
is ill-treated, and our people are more secure there. It is comple
surrounded by forests of palms and other trees, but it has good water,
with several refreshing streams. From there to Brucama, where King
Masatamba holds his court, is one day's journey.

22. Since we have spoken many times about ivory, it is time to explain
how elephants are killed in certain parts of our Guinea. All along
coast and in the Gambia River, they kill them by attacking them with
spears, some of the attackers being on foot and those who can manage
on horseback. The Jalofo blacks say that when an elephant trumpets,
horses immediately stand still as if shocked. Whether it is true or no
this is what they say. When I happened to be in the Rio de Cantor,
the year of our African expedition (1578), the Farim of Olimansa killed
more than a dozen elephants in less than one month.

23. The Casangas kill them in a different way. Having learnt where
tree with the fruit the animals eat stands, they build a look-out post
firmly in the branches, in which they place a hunter. Above him they
fix a log twelve hand-spans long and the thickness of two hands joined,
which is very heavy, and has at one end a hole as thick as the iron b
they intend to put into it. This iron bar, a hand-span and a half lo
is two fingers wide at one end and at the other is rounded; and the
rounded end is placed in the hole in the log. On the bar is smeared
very strong poison. Then, when an elephant goes under the tree to eat
the fruit which has fallen from it, the man up above puts the bar in
the hole in the log, where it fits loosely, and throws the log down w
all his force. With the weight of the wood behind it, the iron bar
strikes into the elephant, which, when it is struck, makes off rapidly
The wooden part falls to the ground, but the poisoned iron bar remains
fixed in the animal. As soon as the elephant runs off, the black in
tree jumps down and flees the other way, because the elephant soon co

back and with great lengths of wood in its trunk beats against the tree in a great rage. But when the poison reaches its heart, it feels ill and goes off into the forest and dies there. The black hunter follows the trail of blood and comes upon the elephant. As soon as he finds it, he pulls the iron bar out and cuts away the flesh around the wound. He immediately lets the officers of the king know, in order to give the king the feet and the trunk. The rest of the meat (the hunters) eat themselves, and they take charge of the tusks. Any large tusks weighing more than a quintal they give to the king, those weighing least they carry away, and some they leave in the forest.

24. The Casangas and Banhuns understand each other in the same way as do the Portuguese and the Castilians. The King of Cazamansa is more powerful than the Banhuns and he rules them. The Casangas dress like the Jalofos and Mandingas, whom we have already described. In their wars they use spears, arrows, and manducos: the manduco is the weapon used by the Banhuns, the shaped club we described earlier.

25. There are other blacks of the same nation of Banhuns called Chans. These are more war-like than the other Banhuns who live at Buguendo or in the district between there and Cazamansa, for the Chans live on the North side of the land of Buguendo. They come down the same creek in their canoes in order to assault the land of the other Banhuns, which they do by day and night. Their land is called Bichangor. They have a king who is a friend of the whites, and whites are safe in his land. This land provides slaves and provisions, and anything else provided by the Banhuns of Buguendo. There is plenty of good water there, and a stream which is wide enough for the repair of ships.

26. From the Rio de São Domingos more slaves are obtained than from any other river in Guinea, because this river has around it the following nations: the Buramos, whose kingdom is very large, the Banhuns, the Casangas, the Falupos, the Jabundos and the Arriatas. All these nations

(are represented among the slaves who) are taken out via this river, since routes by land and by sea bring slaves here. The slaves are bought from the blacks by white adventurers who live on this river, in exchange for cotton, cloths, teada(?), iron and wine. And the adventurers sell (the slaves again) to those (traders) who come here at an agreed price, so many cruzados for each slave. But the payment is made (in goods), a quintal of cotton being given for so many cruzados, a cloth for so many, and it is in terms of these values for a cruzado that they fix the agreed price.

27. The blacks trade with each other, and they hold fairs where they congregate each week. The fairs are held on a different day of the week each time, and not on the same day, so that if one week a fair is held on a Thursday, the next week it will be on a Wednesday, and so on, going back through the days of the week. On the coast, fairs are held on fixed days which are not changed (week by week), and the days are Wednesdays and Fridays. At these fairs, they sell provisions, cows, goats, slaves and local cloth.

28. The Banhun and Buramo blacks of these places, Buguendo and Cacheu, because of the close contacts they have always had with our people, speak Portuguese very well - that is, those who actually live in the towns - and therefore they are very wicked, as I have already said. It is customary for the kings to have many wives; and all the nobles who have daughters offer them to the kings as wives. After the king has had intercourse with them and they have stayed at the court several days, they return to their father's house, and thereafter do as he (? the king, the father) wishes and thinks good. In this way the kings obtain many sons, but those nobles who attend the court also help. In the kingdom of Cazamansa, in order to honour me, the king one day held a feast for all his sons. There were sixty or more of them. He showed them to me, and stated that all of them were his sons. I replied that I was delighted to see them, but that it was impossible to believe

that one man by himself could produce so many sons unless there were other men to help him. Be that as it may, he considers them as his sons. The wives of this king are so many that he hardly recognises them all. I saw one of his wives come to speak to this King of Cazamansa when she brought him food, as wives normally do, and he did not recognise her until she showed him a mark which he/she said she had on her leg: the king saw the mark, acknowledged that she was his wife, and accepted her as such.

29. In this land of the Banhuns there is a sort of pepper which climbs up trees like ivy, and grows in little bunches like the flower of the grape when it is opening to form a bunch. In these parts this pepper is called mantubilha: it burns like pepper and dyes like saffron. Another sort called malagueta grows on large trees in bunches. It is long and has very small round seeds within: the blacks value it for its use in medicines to cure stomach-ache or colds and chills. Fried in palm oil or in our oil, malagueta is much more efficacious against colds and chills. The land has few fruits, and the chief and best of these is a round one, the size of a lemon and the colour of a brown pear, called mompatas, which is very sweet and pleasant to eat. It has a large stone inside. The blacks make wine from this fruit too. There are many carobs and gourds, the ones which give a white flour, as we described earlier. Bananas are found there, an excellent fruit. The river has very good fishing, and fine oysters, which the blacks regularly bring for sale to the doors of the whites. And there are hens and all kinds of provisions.

30. These blacks, especially the Banhuns, are very quick to learn. Both men and women work for our people, and they travel with them to the other rivers as grumetes (native assistants), to earn money, as confidently as if they had been born and brought up among us in full security (of life and liberty).

31. Apart from the oath which forms part of the 'red water' ordeal (which is administered) when thefts have been committed or when other legal judgments have to be made, there is another oath which kings and lords take when they swear to maintain laws and rights. As a guarantee that they will maintain the established law without default, they take a solemn oath in the following way. They eat the flesh of a dog and offer the blood to their idol, called in these parts china; and they throw into the river two cockerels, or as many as they wish, tied by their legs to a stone so that they go to the bottom. When the oath is taken accompanied by these solemn proceedings all feel confident that the king will keep the established law, or whatever it is they demand the oath for. When our people in this river were living in towns which they shared with the blacks, they often did not feel secure until the king had taken this oath, which they used to do each year. The same oath is taken by the Banhuns, the Buramos - otherwise called Papels - and the Chans, since all these nations are neighbours and understand each other, though the lands are divided into many kingdoms.

32. The bar of Rio de São Domingos is very difficult to cross. If the Flanders Banks (in the English Channel) were not shifting (as well as complex), this bar would be worse than they are, for it has many shallows and sands which, though they do not shift, are most tiresome for those entering. It has three channels: the Grand Channel, entered with the Falulo Shallow lying to the East; the South-West Channel, entered with the Falulo Shallow lying to the North-West; and the Channel of the Great Galleons, entered by heading towards the Little Isles, then turning to the North a league short of these, and heading towards the shoals on the North. Apart from these three channels, there is another one, called the Channel of Afonso de Lea which lies between the shoals on the North and the Beach of the Cows in the land of the Falupos.

33. After coming out from the bar of the São Domingos, the Outer Little Islands are met, three small uninhabited islands, very close to the Papel mainland. Here there is a harbour where most of our ships, whether going or coming, regularly stop to collect water and provisions. The blacks have a king and are of the same nation as those of São Domingos. They dress in the same way as the others, in goat-skins, or in palm leaves attached in the same way as skins, and they wear these instead of breeches. When they have a dappled goat, they give the skin to the king for his breeches. They wear no more clothing and are (otherwise) naked, even the king, although he possesses many clothes of our sort. For blacks, they have good houses, made of clay and wattle, or of burnt bricks. The houses are round, and the roofs are covered with leaves from cibe trees, which are called olas in our East Indies. They are large and well-built, and have so many doors and rooms that they are more like labyrinths than houses. They make them this way because of the Bejagos, a nation of blacks living at the entrance to the estuary of the Rio Grande, opposite the blacks (we are discussing). These Bejagos cause them so much trouble that they have to be on the look-out day and night.

34. These blacks live on the products of their fields, and on the wine they obtain from palm-trees. They own many cows and goats. In this land of the Little Isles, few slaves are available.

35. Six or seven leagues past the Little Isles is the port of Busix, which also has a king who belongs to the same nation as the kings of the Little Isles and the Rio de São Domingos. The people use the same weapons and wear the same dress, that is, animal skins, despite the fact that the king of this place owns very rich clothing of European kind. However, he seldom wears it. He possesses many objects of worked silver, which he keeps as a sign of rank. This black king has become very wicked, and some of our people have been killed in his land and some of our boats seized.

36. The blacks [or, the black men] of this land and all the other Buramos or Papels, all being of one nation, file their teeth, both upper ones and the lower ones, because they think this makes them look handsome. They are good-looking, that is, black and comely, with n defects other than this filing of the teeth, and also that some of women have enormous breasts, caused it seems by their beating of foodstuffs in mortars. The women of these parts have a custom whic wins my entire approval; and it would be no bad thing were our own Portuguese women to follow the same practice here, if that were pos The custom is this. To prevent themselves from becoming either cha boxes or nibblers, at the beginning of each day the women fill their mouths with ashes. Then they carry on working and performing all t tasks without talking to each other, so that they apply only their hand to whatever they have to do (, and not their mouths.) The women wea cloths which go down to their knees, with all the rest bare. Young girls of the Buramos, as well as those of the Banhuns, go about without clothes, wearing only a strip of cloth in front, a hand-span long, w covers the shameful parts. They go about like this until they marry, but as soon as they marry they dress like the other women. The blac men spend their time in their fields or doing other jobs, building houses, drawing wine from palm-trees, and trading from one kingdom to another in cows, cloths, and iron, the commodities which are in dema among them, since they have (enough) slaves.

37. Beycnd this land of Busix begins another kingdom called Canhaguto, where the people are of the same nation, and keep the same laws and customs, and have the same weapons and clothing. Into this land penetrates a river called the Rio de Caterina, which appears small a its entrance but enlarges further in and grows progressively wider. has not been explored; but it is said to lead to some lakes and to have rich country around it. However, according to Mapete, the captain o one of the Bijagos Islands, who is always making war on the Buramos

blacks by sea, this river leads into the Rio de Farim, the river on the other side of the land of Cacheu, and it cuts off the land of the Banhuns and Buramos on the interior side, making their land an island. He says that he has been that way with his canoes, and has gone from one side (of the land of the Buramos) to the other by means of this river. A relative of mine once travelled for three days up the river and all the time made new discoveries. The land is completely covered with forest, and they saw some large canoes which crossed from one bank to the other. Fear of these canoes led some of the party to discourage the others, and for this reason he turned back. So this remains to be looked into, like many other things in Guinea today.

38. Beyond the Canhagutos stretches the land of the Bisans, who are the Papels who live along the Rio Grande. In this land many of our ships take shelter when fleeing from the English or French. The King of the Bisans is a great friend of ours. There is trade in his land in slaves, and in cows too, this latter trade being with the Bejagos. Our ships also take refuge in Baboca Creek in the same land of the Papels. All these blacks, who live along the North shore of the Rio Grande, the Buramos, the Papels and the Bisans, are harassed by the Bijagos, who regularly make attacks on their land, and often capture and kill many people. They (even) penetrate within the Rio de São Domingos, which is nearly twenty leagues from their islands.

39. The Creek of the Balantas penetrates inland at the furthest point of the land of the Buramos. The Balantas are fairly savage blacks. They have trade with the Beafares and Buramos, and meet them at their fairs. They are very obstinate blacks. The adults can only bring themselves to see our people reluctantly, and they refuse to be slaves of ours: (if enslaved) they die from their obstinancy. These blacks provide the land of the Beafares with some provisions in the form of rice and yams.

40. The river leads to Degoula, in the land of the Mandingas, whi stretches through the interior to surround many nations (nearer the coast), and which reaches this river. The Beafares use the river for trading, and have a large trade along it. The Mandingas and the Beafares mix in this land and understand each other. From Gambia, which is another land of the Mandingas, much black and white cotton cloth, many teadas, and many slaves come here. But the most important of the trade-goods brought here is cola, which has been mentioned before several times, a fruit which comes from Serra Leoa to the Ri Grande, and from there is brought to Degoula. All the goods carried t Gambia for this cola trade are also carried here, (especially) pape red thread, red cloth, and Indian beads.

41. Navigation in this river is dangerous because of a tidal bore whi floods the river up-stream in only three waves. These waves raise water from low-tide level to full high-tide level. Before the waves arrive (at any spot), they can be heard roaring at a great distance, which scares those who have never experienced a bore before. Boats run a great risk. However, pilots now know the movement of the tides, and they handle the boats in such a way that they are not in danger. Certain of our caravels of up to sixty tons, which sometimes go there, employ this manoeuvre when they meet the bore on the way. The men take sounding-lines and ropes and tie them together. With these prepared and in their hands, and the ship at anchor, they slip the ropes as soon as the waves arrive. The ship rises on the waves and moves up-river, while they very quickly throw overboard the (additional lengths of the mooring-)ropes. This is the way ships get by without danger, for if they were left with the ropes still tied to the bitt they would founder or be in serious trouble. But in this way they man

42. Small boats are sometimes attacked by hippopotami. The canoes travel this way are large ones, and many of them carry more than one hundred people, as well as cows and other goods.

Variants on chapter 9

p. 85, (9/1) note (g) : P reads: The houses ... round, some of two storeys, roofed with ola tree thatch. (They stand) in large enclosures fenced with stakes and a wall made of thatch, called tapadas, and within the enclosures they put houses, (the number) depending on the wealth of the owners.

P. 86, (9/2) note (c) : L reads Three years ago the whites transferred themselves from this place to a town of their own, so strong that ...

p. 87, (9/3) note (b) : In L, the paragraph reads In this town of our people, during Lent more than seven hundred persons attend confessions, white persons and their Christian slaves. Although assembled in these numbers, since there are no judicial institutions there, might is right - I am not at all surprised, for I do not know where justice can be found today.

p. 89, (9/6) note (a) : L reads: The chief trade of this Rio de São Domingos, as it is called, is in cotton, cloths, teadas - a kind of cotton cloth like the treu from which sails are made - , iron and wine, for the blacks; and for the white adventurers, all the other things they bring here, linen cloth, clothing, and footwear. Also Indian beads are in demand here.

p. 91, (9/8) note (a) : P reads: ... The king and his closest nobles said that, although this man was black like themselves, our people honoured him so much because he spoke with God. The king used to go to the fort when Mass was said.

p. 95, (9/20) note (b) : L reads:... As soon as the poor whites heard them speak of the Reinaldos, they had to g ready what they must give, otherwise the blow would be so great that they would be wound and battered. In the middle of the day th would mock them, stealing their hats and caps and sometimes stripping them of their clot

p.98, (9/23) note (h) : L reads: They sell many tusks weighing mor than a quintal. (But) they often leave tusks where they killed the elephants, and carry away (only) those weighing least.

p. 99, (9/26) note (c) : P adds to the list of nations Balantas,

p.103, (9/33) note (a) : P reads: ... The houses ... are made this because of a nation of blacks called Bijagos ... who make war continually on these blacks and often attack them, gaining great booty and this is why they build their houses this way, to confuse their enemies and to shelt themselves.

p.104, (9/36) note (c) : P reads: ... to keep themselves from chatteri or eating too frequently, they put a littl fireside cinder in their mouths and keep it there until meal-time. In all that time they neither eat nor speak. The head person in house points with his hand to any work that i to be done, and all the women do the same, so they work without talking.

p.106, (9/37) note (a) : P reads ... Some say that it leads to a lak leagues from there, and that if it was expl it would be very profitable, as there is tra in gold there.

Chapter 10

Which discusses the Bijagos and their customs

1. The river we have been discussing is called the Rio Grande. Its entrance begins at the Little Islands, a land of the Buramos which has been already discussed. To the South stretch certain islands called the Islands of the Bijagos. Some of these are inhabited and some are not. They are freshened by many streams, and are covered with thick forest, in which there are many game-birds and game-animals of all kinds, as on the mainland. These are the islands: Roxa (Purple), Bonabo, Orango, Xoga, Farangue, Uno, Beautiful, Curete, Carraxa, Grand Camona, Midway, Horses' Island, Cotton-Tree, Wilting, the Islet of Parrots, Hens' Island, and Matambole Island. The last-named is attached to the mainland of the Beafares on the East side and is known as Slaves' Island.

2. These islands stretch across the sea between the Little Isles and the land of the Beafares, as already said. All are ruled by the Bijagos except Hens' Island, lying opposite Bulama Point in the land of the Beafares. The Beafares inhabit this one island, and it has a king of its own who is friendly with the Bijagos, though if they meet at sea they fight. The Bijagos have their home in these islands, which some call the Islands of Bõao and others the Islands of the Infante. It seems that these islands in former times must have been (part of) the mainland, and that they and the land of the Buramos and Beafares must have been all one. But then the sea cut them off, producing as many islands as there are now. And they lost the language they formerly had, and acquired the one they have today.

3. The Bijago blacks are very warlike, and they are continually at war, making assaults on the lands of the Buramos and the Beafares. Such is their way of life that if those from one island meet those from another, when at sea, they fight, though the combatants may well be father and son. There is no king among them, they only have nobles

whom they obey, the lords of the inhabited islands. In any one island there may be two or three nobles who live there and form settlements along the sea-shore or nearby. They make their homes there, with their relatives, and they obey the oldest among them. From these places they sally out in their canoes, to make war by sea and to attack other places. Their canoes are large and carry many people. The blacks are such skilled sea-farers that even if their boat floods and overturns, they swim around and right it, then they empty it and climb in again. They frequently travel more than ten leagues when making war, since they carry their attack into the Rio Grande, into the land of the Beafares, where they spread destruction and capture many people; and into the São Domingos River as far as Cacheu, where they do the same. But today they no longer do this, out of respect for our people who live (at Cacheu). They keep the whole of the land of the Beafares and the Buramos which faces them in a disturbed state, by the raids which they constantly make on these peoples. They disturb the inhabitants so much that they keep watch (for them) day and night.

4. The male Bijagos do only three things: they make war, they build boats, and they draw wine from palm-trees. They are well disciplined in military practices, (at least) as they understand them. They are skilful with their round shields. The chief weapons they carry are spears, which they call "canicos", two hand-spans long. They are made from a rounded bar of iron, with an iron tip like our pikes. Their shields are made from stout poles and interwoven reeds, so that they are very strong. Their swords are more curved than sickles, and larger. They use bows and arrows, but the arrows are not coated with poison: (however,) instead of an iron (tip) they fix the spine of a fish called bagre which is considered poisonous and indeed is so. The women build the houses and work in the fields, and they fish and gather shell-fish, doing all that men do elsewhere.

5. The men go about without clothes. They wear only a sort of drawers made of leaves of palm-trees which barely cover their shameful parts. This garment is more of an encumbrance than (a useful piece of) clothing. Whenever they care to do so, they speak to evil spirits, especially when they intend to go to war. They invoke them, and do it in such a way, by disguising themselves, that they seem like devils themselves. They cover themselves with ochre and gypsum - which is found in large quantities in the islands - and they place many feathers in their hair - which they wear braided - , and they appear with horses' tails hanging round their necks and down their backs, with many bells attached. They go to war costumed like this. At sea, they fight all-comers, but as soon as they reach land, they cease battle; they say that (their opponents) are their friends and guests, and are safe. But when one of our ships comes into any of their ports, before it is accepted, they first carry out this ceremony. The nobleman from that particular district comes out into the sea in his canoe, and they (? the crew) say to him that the ship is his. (At the same time,) they take the end of a halyard and put it in his hand. When this has been done, he brings from the land a goat or a chicken, and kills it with a knife by releasing its blood. He takes a little of the blood to anoint the master of the ship on the feet, and hangs the carcase across his chest. Once this ceremony has been completed, all will be safe and there will be nothing to fear, except from the inhabitants of other islands.

6. In these islands are traded many Beafares and Papels whom the Bijagos capture in war, and (even) some of the Bijagos themselves who become slaves by process of law - their laws are the same as those of the Buramos. But the Bijagos do not make good slaves, because, whether male or female, they are only dependable if (taken) young. If they are brought up amongst us they are good slaves, and loyal to their masters;

but (those taken as) adults, especially the men, can will themselves to die at any time. There is no doubt about this: they simply hold their breath and die. There is also much trade in provisions, in the form of milho, rice in the husk, and macarra, a foodstuff round in shape and tasting like broad beans, which grows underground. After the seed is sown, the plant comes through and forms on a little mound a hand-span high; and below ground, among the roots, it produces many of its own kind of beans inside small shells. This is how this foodstuff grows, and large quantities are harvested on these islands. There are other staple foods and fruits. Much ambergris is found around the islands, being brought in along the channels (from the ocean), as witness the quantity found by Francisco Barroso in '69 - which he was unable to profit from. But now the blacks know about ambergris, and keep it to sell to our people.

7. The goods our people bring which circulate on the islands are the following: red cloth, copper shaped into cauldrons, large brass basins like washand-basins and barber's basins, large pearls, cows, yearling calves, and iron. Since cows are (regularly) taken there, they (always) have many in the islands; nevertheless, they continue to buy more, because they kill many in their wakes and festivals.

8. The women go about bare from the waist up. They wear a sort of skirt made from palm leaves, which could easily be used as a farthingale by our Portuguese women. These skirts only go to the knee. Nursing mothers carry their children in their arms, the babies being secured by rawhide straps which hang from the mother's neck to support and hold them.

9. All the islands are very beautiful. The most beautiful one, called Purple Island, our people greatly coveted. Conquistadores were once sent there from Santiago Island, by order of the Infante. Gomes Balieiro and Gomes Pacheco from the lower islands, and many others came

to conquer Purple Island, as stated. But because of lack of discipline among our people they were routed by the blacks, and the captains and many people from Santiago Island, together with a few from the (lower) islands who had come with Gomes Pacheco, were killed. The blacks became so uppish that for many years they would have no contact with us, and if any ships ran ashore on the islands, they seized and killed our people. This went on until Time brought them round to trading with us.again. Now many ships go to the islands to trade, and they leave men ashore in charge of merchandise : these men stay there to trade with the blacks, (and live) in perfect safety, without the blacks ill-treating them. Yet despite all this, if one of our ships is wrecked on the coast and lost, the Bâjagos seize the crew and keep them prisoners, and sell them to those of our people who go there to redeem them, at a low price.

10. The Bâjago blacks are very dark in colour. Some of the men are handsome. They have good teeth and do not pierce their ears, though the women do. Some of them have a wild look. Some file their teeth, not to produce points, but to leave gaps.

11. Beautiful brown parrots are found on the islands. There is much palm wine. The little nuts which the palm-trees produce are called in these parts chabeos. Within them they have an edible part, the size of a hazlenut. All the islands abound in staple food-crops, and in game, useful fish and shellfish.

Variants on chapter 10

p. 109, (10/1) note (1) : P adds in the margin the Island of João Vieira

p. 113, (10/7) note (g) : L reads .... yearling calves - which they call gibosos - ...

p. 114, (10/9) note (b) : P reads Gomes Balieiro with many people and captains from Santiago Island and from the lower islands; many also came under the command of Gomes Pacheco.

Chapter 11

Which discusses the Rio Grande, the land of the Beafares, and the customs of the Beafares.

1. The Rio Grande begins at Bulama Point, which lies beyond the channel of the Ilha das Arcas, a swampy island to the North, almost one league long and covered with mangroves, tarafes and other trees. To enter the river by this channel it is necessary to do so on the ebbing quarter - heading towards the Sandbanks of Bisegue - in order to catch the water of the main channel on the rising tide, and to complete the passage on the ebb tide of the Rio de Bonabo, the waterway which flows out past the land of the Papels. Coming from the Little Isles (to the Rio Grande) by this channel, it is necessary to come on the rising tide as far as St Martin's Point, and from there to proceed at low tide, so that when the channel of the Ilha das Arcas has been passed, one can come in on the ebbing quarter. This is because when one goes as far as the Sandbanks with the ebb, that is, the falling tide, one hits the flood tide entering by another large channel which passes between Purple Island and the Island of Matamboli. In the channel of the Ilha das Arcas, the water flows very violently and one cannot sail against the tide even with the strongest wind that obtains there. One can only go with the tide, whether falling or rising, because it penetrates through all the facing channels between the Bejagos Islands and comes in with such force that it is impossible to sail against it. The channel must be entered one league from the island, and must be followed on a bottom of clean sand, in four or five fathoms. In greater depth the passage is not as good, because it approaches the Shoal of Pedro Alvares. This lies alongside Parrots Island, and at low tide looks like a large rowing-boat turned on its side. Hence, in greater depth the passage is more difficult, because of the danger of touching this shoal.

2. From here the Bejagos Islands stretch out over the sea, as far as Purple Island, which is the last one journeying inwards. These islands lie facing the entrance to the river, like a wall across it. Only little ships can sail among the islands because of the banks and shallows. Often depths of twenty fathoms are immediately followed by a sounding of four fathoms, and next minute the ship is high and dry. But there are channels between the islands, known to pilots, along which ships can sail.

3. The land of the Beafares begins, as stated, at Bulama Point. This consists of several rocky reefs, between which there are places where one can anchor. After Bulama Point come some beaches of white sand, called the Little Beaches. Here ships can also anchor quite close to the land, since the bottom is free from rocks. Yet in the middle of the river there is no suitable bottom, because the river-bed rises steeply. Very often ships run aground because they cannot find a bottom to hold their anchor. Following the Sandbanks of Bisegue comes a shallow which lies on the East side, next to the land of the Beafares called Bisegue, and this shallow is called the Shallow of Honra do Monteiro. The sandbanks we have just mentioned lie in the middle of the river when proceeding inland from Bulama Point.

4. Higher up the river on each side is the land of the Beafares, a nation of blacks who possess very handsome features, both the men and the women. The river forms two channels; the first carries on to Guinala, a land of the same Beafares. To the North of this channel lies another land of the Beafares called Mompara, and to the East of the channel another again, called Bixiloli. These territories belong to nobles, who have as many possessions as the king himself, although they own him as lord. Their status resembles that of a duke. These three nobles - (the rulers) of Balole, Mompara and Bixiloli - are, as I say, rulers of dukedoms or earldoms.

5. The land of the Beafares is very large, and since it is so large it has many kings, some in the hinterland, others along the river. In the Kingdom of Guinala, which is on the first channel, power is in the hands of two hereditary groups of people, the nobles and the plebeians. At times the nobles inherit the power and take over; at other times the plebeians, (such as) blacksmiths and shoemakers, inherit the power. Those who govern know when it is appropriate (to invite) either of these groups. They take over the business of the kingdom without war or disorder, since they elect as their king only very old men, and never make young men kings. If they old men live long, they kill them. But they can only kill them within the palace, which they call Bruco. Often when these kings become very old and realise that their final hour is approaching, they dissimulate and say that they want to go down to the port, to welcome our people. When they return, they settle in the house of their alcaide or governor, and stay there, refusing to leave and go back to the palace. And they are allowed to remain there until they die. They are induced to flee to the alcaide's house by their personal servants, male and female, and by their wives, since when a king dies and is buried, the Beafares kill and bury with him some of his servants and wives, and even his horse, saying that it is necessary that he should take with him all of these, so that they can serve him in the other life. As soon as a king falls ill or dies, his personal attendants flee, out of fear that they will be sent with him to serve him. The same thing happens when certain nobles die; they also take servants with them to serve them in the other life. The kings who do not escape to the alcaide's house from their palace are killed, if they live too long, as stated above. They are not put to the sword, but are suffocated. As they are old and feeble, it takes little time to finish them off. This custom is followed in some of the kingdoms of the Beafares, but not in others.

6. In this land they bury the dead with great pomp, as any visitor can observe, for every corpse is accompanied (to the grave) by a great crowd of people, to the sound of drums. A large force of soldiers leads the way, with the soldiers dancing wildly aroundto the sound of the drums they beat. Those who carry the corpse make their way at speed until they reach the place where they ask the dead man who killed him, in the same way as in the Kingdom of Casamanca. The Beafares have general laws and forms of oath-taking; they employ the 'red water' ordeal described above. The elders judge cases, together with the nobles and the lords of the lands, and give their judgments verbally. On a person found guilty they make a mark, which is not removed from him until he has completed the sentence given him. In relation to adultery, there is a law among them that whoever speaks to a wife of a king on this subject is as guilty as if he had committed the actual crime. But as regards a wife of a noble, (it is only a crime) to fondle her in an encouraging way; and as regards a wife of a plebian, actually to couple with her. Despite these laws, wives are very licentious and deceive their husbands every day. Male adulterers follow the strategy of coupling with their mistresses in the fields or woods, but not at home. If the woman's husband accuses him of adultery, the man tells the judges that they should ask (the husband) where the adultery with his wife was committed, and whether it took place in the fields. If it was in the fields, no-one will ever speak of it, for they consider adultery in the fields an infamous crime, saying that such behaviour is that of animals. And if no-one will say where the crime was committed, the verdict of the judges will free the accused. But if it is proved, the accused pays to the husband a fine fixed by the court, and (the husband) goes on living with his wife.

7. The Beafar blacks are great thieves. They steal slaves, cows and anything else they can lay their hands on. They are idle most of the time. Provisions are lacking in this land, although it rains plentifully there, but the blacks are so lazy that all they do is steal and enjoy

themselves. They sow very little in the way of staple food crops, and most of it they eat before it is ripe. However, the land is capable of producing large quantities of all they sow in it, whether (intended for) bread or for drink. The river has a lot of trade and is one of the two leading rivers for trade in our Guinea today, the other being the Rio de São Domingos. Many Beafar slaves are brought to this river from the country around, also Mandingas, by way of Degoula, and Nalus, Bejagos, and Buramos, who are neighbours of the Beafares. The most important trade goods which make their way here are cotton cloths and cotton teadas, raw cotton, some horses, wine, iron for tools, cows from the land around, yearling calves, foodstuffs, and cola.

8. The blacks go about dressed in long smocks which go down to their knees, and wrap-around cloths which go half-way down their legs. Below these some wear goat-skins, cured and depilated; but many go about without smocks or cloths, wearing only the goat-skins. They use the following weapons: swords, knives, and bows and arrows - rather than spears, and the arrows are poisoned. They carry long arrows with iron tips, like the square-headed bolts used in cross-bows in former times. A black carries only two of these arrows in his quiver, but many of the other kind. They are excellent archers. It once happened that when some blacks were fighting in this country, and a woman passed with a baby in a bambo - that is, carried on her back - , with one of these iron arrows resembling a bolt, which they call maxaxa, they hit the baby and sent the arrow right through the mother too. They carry knives as well as swords, and with their knives they will attack a man with a sword.

9. The women go about dressed in short cloths reaching midway down the leg. Young girls go about bare, wearing only a little piece of cloth, the size of a hand, in front, to cover their shameful parts, and the rest of their body is unconcealed. They go about like this until they couple with men, then they dress like the others.

10. Among these blacks there are many who can speak our Portuguese language. They dress as we do, as do many black women of the advanced kind, known as tangomas, because they serve the adventurers who go to those parts. These blacks, men and women, go with the adventurers from one river to another, and to Santiago Island and other places. But our people do not take them without first obtaining permission from their fathers or their uncles, their father's brothers. Throughout Guinea, an uncle is considered (to be equivalent in authority of) a father, in relation to those of his nephews who are children of his brothers.

11. The land of the Beafares is healthy, especially Guinala, because it is open and clear of trees. The staple foods are good there, as are the fish, the hens, and the meat, cow-meat as well as goat-meat; and there are many yams and other vegetables.

12. The blacks in Guinea, from the Casangas to Serra Leoa, use a musical instrument made from a piece of wood at least five or six hand-spans long, hollowed out, except at the ends, through a slit running along it, the width of two fingers. (Inside) so much of the wood is whittled away that the thickness remaining is no more than a finger's width. The instrument is played by being placed either on wooden supports three or four hand-spans high, or on the ground, and is struck with small sticks. It makes such a deep sound that it can be heard two or three leagues away. The blacks send messages by it, from one group to another, calling them to arms or warning them of other matters. When a black hears the drum summoning him, he hastens from wherever he is. They call these instruments bambalos. Most of the nobles and lords keep these instruments in their houses, and they pass on messages by them and say whatever they wish. When slaves succeed in escaping from our people, they report this to the lord of the land and bring him a flagon of wine or some other gift. The nobleman has only to sound this instrument for the whole land to be informed immediately, hence the slaves cannot escape, and they are recaptured. All the Guinea blacks use the instrument, called by them

banbalo, except the the Mandingas, Barbacins, Jalofos, Fulos and all the other blacks who live North of the Gambia River, either on the coast or in the interior, for these people use hand-drums and side-drums. The Beafares also employ a musical instrument which closely resembles our shawm, and they play it in concert. And if they knew how to harmonise they would play together well. Those who play this instrument are called jabundanes. Most of the blacks between Casamanca and this river use ivory trumpets, and other musical instruments, and bells of local type.

13. Nobles wear an iron ring on the thumb, and on the inside of the middle finger a little iron bell. From time to time as they talk, they strike the bell with the ring. When the Beafares want to start a fight, they draw their weapons and strike their bells, calling out 'Aiaia', meaning in their language, 'It will all be over today'. In battles, they always have someone who sings and reminds them of the deeds and prowess of their captains and their ancestors. They make little use of horses: the kings and some of the nobles ride them, but only occasionally. Normally they ride tame cows and oxen which they keep for this purpose. Their muzzles are pierced and strings passed through them, by which they are steered, as if with reins. On these cows and oxen they make long journeys and travel about very comfortably. The Casangas, Banhuns, Buramos and Bejagos do the same.

14. In the interior country of the Beafares there are many kings of the same nation who preserve the same customs and laws. There are more than ten kings in the kingdoms of the Beafares, and those in the interior are superior to those nearer the sea. Over the Beafares is a Farim, who is like an emperor among them and whom all the kings of the Beafares obey. His name is Farim Cabo, and he is also obeyed by the Mandingas of the South bank of the Gambia River. Throughout the land of the Beafares can be found many Mandinga blacks, who itinerate across all these territories. They are merchants engaged in trade, and some are bixirins or cacizes who go about telling a thousand lies and handing out talismans to these pagans. I must not forget to recount what happened to one of these

caciques in the Kingdom of Cazamansa, in the time of King Masatamba, our good friend. A caciz came to the king and presented him with a very fine talisman, beautifully finished, saying that he should wear it since the wearer could never be hurt by any weapon. At the suggestion of our people, the king ordered the talisman to be hung around the neck of the caciz who had brought it, then a spear was thrown at him. The devil did not turn it away from him, and the talisman proved worthless, for the spear went through him from side to side and he immediately died on the spot. Neither this uncovering of fraud, nor the other proofs they witness day after day, are sufficient to disenchant them (with this religion). The devil speaks through the mouths of the bixirins, so that they tell a thousand lies; (but) among such a large number, there is bound to be uttered an occasional true statement, and the blacks give them maximum credit for this (one truth). To return to discussing the Rio Grande. The black men and women there are most persistent beggars, seeking favours until one is fed up. However, if one says to them 'maloco' they instantly go away. It means in their language 'toad', a creature they consider a very bad omen. Armed with this knowledge, our people can escape from their begging.

15. In this land there are some large birds resembling turkeys, though they do not strut about like turkeys, nor do they have a comb which hangs down: they are more like the hen turkey. By the laws of the kingdom, these birds must not be killed, and (in fact) no-one kills them, since the penalties for doing this are severe. This race and nation of Beafares superstitiously believe that these birds are the souls of their ancestors. No black will do the birds any harm. (But) if our people come upon the birds in secluded places where the blacks will not see them, they sometimes kill them and eat them. Apart from these birds, the Beafares decline to kill any bird which settles on the trees which grow at the door of a house or alongside it, without permission from the householder, for they say that such birds are his guests and cannot be

harmed (without his consent). The land has another sort of bird which is large and black, with very fine white feathers between its legs, below its black plumage.

16. The largest fair in all the land of the blacks is held in this land of Guinala. It is called Bijorrei Fair, and more than twelve thousand blacks, men and women, the best looking in all Guinea, gather there. All that is available in this land and in surrounding lands is offered for sale, that is, slaves, cloth, provisions, cows, and gold - there is a certain amount of fine gold in this land. Often at the fair there are great affrays, and some persons are killed, since the blacks get drunk with milho wine, which resembles beer. The fair is held one day earlier each time, like Casamanca Fair, so that if it is held one week on a Monday, the next week it will be on a Sunday. Hence it is one day earlier each time. At the fair, justice is done on murderers, those that have (been sentenced) to die.

17. The ushers who walk in front of the king carry, in place of wands, iron spades, which are about a hand-span and a half wide at the top, and narrow below, with handles of rounded iron, four hand-spans long and brightly burnished. These ushers act as executioners, and with their spades they cut off the heads of those condemned to die. They call these officers manchoides. When the king goes out, he is closely accompanied by a guard of many archers, or sometimes by only a small number. Although many Mandinga cacizes go about among the Beafares telling them many stories, they have no success in converting them. The Beafares continue in their pagan ways, but raise no difficulties about becoming Christians. Some do this in their own country, men as well as women, these being the ones who work for our people and travel about with them. This land has many of our people living in it, some making their homes along the river, at Porto da Cruz in Guinala, near a little fort which our people built there for the defense of their ships, because the French used to come there to attack them. Others are found in the interior among the blacks, scattered about in many districts.

18. Formerly our people in this river did not live as they do now. They lodged in the houses of nobles, where they were secure, because they were protected by their hosts, and by their hosts' brothers, sons and relatives. They were separated from each other, since the Beafares do not have their homes in villages or close to each other, but keep them at a distance. The houses are large and are made of wattle and clay, roofed with thatch. In these houses the nobles reside with their wives, their sons and the rest of their household, as (people do) here on farms. They call these houses apolonias. Because these houses were thus separated from each other, our people acquired more slaves at cheaper prices. And they were safe, since the hosts with whom they lived were under an obligation to protect them, as already stated. But today, when our people live all together around the fort, the blacks consider them their enemies, and say that our people are in their land by force. In the years since our people built the fort and settled around it, the blacks have killed more whites than ever they did before, and slaves are much more expensive than they used to be. Another reason for the increase in price is the number of ships and people from here now going there, and the great quantity of goods they take. The value of the goods is depressed (by the quantity), and the price of slaves inflated, so that one slave now costs what formerly would have bought three or four.

19. When our people were lodging in the apolonias of the nobles, they bought slaves cheaply, in exchange for cows and gibosos - calves of one year or more - with a few cloths or sigas - fixed lengths of teada which are accepted as currency among the blacks in place of cruzados - placed on the cows. Thus they obtained slaves at very little cost. Today it is quite different, and in time, if things go on as they are now, slaves will come to cost about as much (among the Beafares) as on Santiago Island, if not more.

20. As regards the blacks who live in villages around the fort of Porto da Cruz, few of these heathen are saved, because of the lack of anyone to preach the Word of God. And many of our adventurers live in a state of mortal sin, never turning away from it, and (even) dying in it, for lack of spiritual doctors. It is true that the Bishop of Santiago Island has a visitation of this river each year, as is also done for the Rio de São Domingos, but no (spiritual) fruit results from such visitations. If one may say so, I think myself that the visitation is responsible for the way the adventurers live, since the only fruits it produces are the fines they pay (as penances) for the sins they have committed. They always go on living in sin, (and their being fined means no more to them than does) renting a house whose rent doubles each year. I speak of this matter again because I am unhappy to see such disorder among Christians. In the interests of His Majesty, it would be well to establish a settlement in this district of the Rio Grande, and to do this it would only be necessary to command that judicial institutions be introduced there and resident priests placed there, men of good life, who would edify by their works and their life.

21. In 1584, several Discalced Friars lived for four or five months in the village inhabited by our people, and their mode of life and their teaching produced excellent fruit. This is why it seems to me that it is lack of persons to preach and teach the Word of God that is responsible for the limited Christianity of these parts. May it please God, for His sake, to give a great increase in the number following the Faith in these parts during the lifetime of His Majesty.

22. As more people go to this land, the price of slaves and of other goods will continue to change. But it is necessary to put the service of God before the profit of men. I say this, because after our people built a village and settled all together round the fort, they paid more for slaves and the other goods of the land than they did before. Previously they had lived separated from each other, residing in nobles' houses a league apart or further, and more trade came to them and they did not compete with each other. (Moreover,) they were protected in their persons by their hosts and their hosts' relatives. Today, when our people leave the village, the blacks treat them badly, saying that they are only in their land by force, and our people are not as secure as they were formerly. What I mean by 'bad treatment' is that if our people or their slaves disagree with the blacks in any way, the blacks do not take it kindly, and because of this there are many affrays, and sometimes people are killed. This was never the case before, when our people resided with the blacks. Yet, if a settlement was established which had judicial institutions, no-one would dare to create disorder and there would be peace between everyone. But since this is not the case, the power of the mighty takes the place of justice, and hence there is disorder.

p. 116, (11/1) note (b) : K reads ilha das Areas [i.e. Island of Sands, instead of Island of Boxes]

p. 116, (11/1) note (e) : L reads To enter the river from this channel... in order to catch the water of the main channel on the rising tide, so as to go in on it. To leave by this channel, it is necessary to travel on two thirds of the rising tide, so that having cleared the channel one strikes the ebb tide of the Rio de Bonabo, which flows out past the land of the Papels by the channel called Rio Grande.

p. 119, (11/4) note (a) : P reads Travelling upstream, after passing the Seven Points, the river forms a channel leading to the North, called the River of Guinala, the chief port of this river, at which there is great trade in slaves. This land of Guinala is divided among three nobles, who are like dukes...

Chapter 12

Which discusses everything else in the land of the Beafares

1. The Beafares do not have their houses grouped in villages like other nations, but keep them some distance apart from each other. They build them (of different sizes) according to their means. In these houses, in any place they build them, all those who are related live together, recognising the authority of the oldest male and obeying him. This is the reason why, when judicial decisions by their laws condemn old men in certain cases to lose their goods and their liberty, the whole family is enslaved. (Families) live, separated from each other, in houses of clay and wattle covered with thatch, and they call the houses apolonias: the term corresponds to that of 'farm' among us here. Some of these residences, which belong to nobles, are large and contain many buildings. Most of these, or (perhaps) all of them, are built beside very big trees called polons, in whose shade the nobles hold courts and councils.

2. The land belongs to certain nobles, to whom dues are paid on the crops produced, as tithes are with us. But the common people neither own nor inherit land, (its use) being common to all. Each person plants crops according to his capacity. At the season when the natural produce from trees (and bushes) is harvested, no person can gather the produce until all do so together, on the orders of the lord of the land. This especially applies to a crop called magnaxo. Should anyone gather it before the general order, he is enslaved for this offence and sold.

3. The Beafares respect the laws established among them. One of these concerns adultery, and is that any man speaking to the wife of a king on this subject is as guilty as if he had actually committed the offence; but that as regards the wife of a noble, (he is guilty only) if he embraces her in a suggestive way, and as regards the wife of a plebeian (only) if he couples with her. Despite this law, wives are very licentious, since if

they commit adultery, they receive no punishment from their husbands. Only adulterous men are punished, often being condemned to lose their property and liberty. But (the husbands) go on living with their wives. Some kings and nobles occasionally kill or sell (guilty wives), but plebeian husbands are content to be paid a fine. The judgments (given in the courts of the Beafares) include the sentencing of homicides to become the slaves of those who committed the crime [sic]. They call the giving of judgment 'spitting'. And so they say, 'The nobleman from such-and-such a place has spat that such-and-such a person was right', meaning, 'This particular nobleman or judge has given judgment in favour of Jack'.

4. Among the foodstuffs available in this land are rice and fundo, which is a very small grain, as small as sand: flour is not made from it, but they cook it just as it is, and eat it, and it makes a good food. There is (also) milho macaroca, mentioned many times in this account, which is the best foodstuff of all. It has as much sustenance as (our) bread, and they make from it cakes the size of small wheels and the thickness of a pataca coin. They prepare dough twice a day, in the morning and evening, in order to eat the bread hot. The flour from this grain is dark in colour, but excellent. The bread is made in very large earthenware bowls, which are used as ovens, and in these they cook the cakes, one in each, since they cannot hold more. The same bread can be made from rice and from milho branco, but it is not as good then. There are many hens, and cows and goats provide high-quality meat. The fishing is good, and game is plentiful, both birds and animals.

5. A creek which runs into this Guinala branch of the river penetrates inland a good distance, and leads to a district belonging to these Beafares, called Biammo, which among them corresponds to a duchy (with us). Many of our people used to live there, and some ships went there to load. Slaves in large quantities were available there. (But) today the trade is not as good as it was formerly.

6. The Beafares are circumcised like the other blacks we discussed earlier, the circumcision ceremonies being the same.

7. The river goes further (inland) and makes its way to the North East. The first point after leaving the Guinala branch, on the East side, is called Anqui. After Anqui is passed, the land of Biguba lies along (the river). This is another kingdom of the Beafares. It is distant a long day's journey (by land) from Guinala, but only one tide travelling by water in a well-fitted boat. Although the people are Beafares, they have a different system of royal succession, for only nobles who are relatives of the king, called in this kingdom jagras, can succeed to the throne. Often there are long wars and disputes over the succession. When the king dies in this land of Biguba, the situation resembles what happens when the Pope dies in Rome, Hence our people immediately seek safety in their ships at sea. (Indeed,) as soon as the king falls ill, they gather together their merchandise and their possessions (, place them in their ships and seek refuge) at sea, because when he dies, the jagras with many other persons break into the houses of our people and rob them. The people of Biguba do not calm down again until they have a new king. Often this (turmoil) lasts a year or more.

8. An evil custom exists throughout Guinea, except in the Rio de São Domingos. In all other places, if our people do not take refuge at sea when they are ill, so as to die aboard their ships, and instead die on the land, the kings of the place inherit all their property. Nowadays this does not happen at Porto da Cruz in Guinala, because the blacks there have a healthy respect for the fort around which our people have their dwellings. Those who fall ill in other places on this river are brought to this settlement to save their property, or else they take refuge at sea.

9. The land of Biguba is a fine one. Many slaves from this land and from the land on the other side of the river, called Bisegue, whose people are also Beafares, are available here. The Beafares of Bisegue are in the hinterland neighbours of the Nalus, and from this land (of the Nalus) many slaves come to Bisegue, the Beafares having trade with the Nalus. The whole of the land of Biguba is thickly covered with trees and forests, and it rains a good deal there. Great thunderstorms occur, and thick falls of hail. Our Lord is very merciful to these heathen, since He gives them water in abundance, in many rain-storms, but a winter which is as mild as it could be. For even when it rains heavily, immediately afterwards the weather becomes fine and pleasant, hence the land produces crops in abundance. During a period of fine weather, a little cloud may gather and grow larger, then without warning it begins to thunder and a fierce wind blows. Yet just before this (squall) the prevailing wind dies away. When the wind comes fiercely, it lasts for about a quarter of an hour or more, and it brings a downfall of an incredible amount of rain. As soon as it begins to rain, the wind stops, and the rain falls for an hour or two hours. Then the sky clears completely and the sun shines again. This is the reason why the blacks have such good crops.

10. Despite all this, the blacks are not lacking in superstitious beliefs and practices (regarding agriculture), since certain kings of the Beafares during their reigns have forbidden the cultivation of rice for many years, saying that if it is carried on it will cause the death of many persons. At other times they have similarly forbidden the cultivation of other crops. Most of the blacks drink either beverages made from milho, or palm-wine. Both sorts are intoxicating, but the former are more so. Because of the great forests in this land, many leopards, lions and other animals roam about, and these attack people at night and carry them off. Many elephants are killed in the interior of this country, and on the other side (of the river), in Bisegue, and elephants often swim across

the river. I must record here what happened to a certain Roque Lopes de Castelbranco, a native of Santiago Island, who, while going down this river in a boat, passed two elephants swimming over from the land of Bisegue to that of Biguba. He followed them in his boat, and when he was near them, jumped in the water and swam towards them with a large knife in his hand. He clambered on to one of them, struck it with his knife, and opened up a wound. But with the fury of his attack and the blood from the elephant's wound, and because the knife had no hilt, his hand slipped on to the cutting edge, without his noticing it, and he was injured in such a way that he lost three fingers of his right hand. The noise made by the other persons in the boat brought many blacks running to the river, and they helped him to kill the elephant on which he was travelling, by driving it into the mud where they finally despatched it. The other elephant fled. This Roque Lopes de Castelbranco was such a brave man and so skilled in arms that the blacks of those parts called him Soprocanta, which means 'thunder-bolt'.

11. Up from the port of Biguba is another called Balola, belonging to the same nation. It has a king, and keeps the same laws and customs as those of the other Beafares. In this land there are many adventurers, since it is peaceful and quiet, and much trade is to be found there, including trade in slaves - who are cheaper at Balola. It is also because the land has plentiful provisions, since these blacks do more farming than those lower down (the river). In the hinterland, this realm of Balola is governed by other kings of the same nation who maintain the same laws and customs.

12. In the port of Balola, and in the ports of Biguba and Guinala, there are good beaching-points where they repair ships. In the land of the Beafares there are many excellent running waters, such as that of the spring at Berenala in Guinala, which is very pure water, and those at Biguba and Bolola. All the people on the South side of the river are

Beafares. They have kings who maintain the same laws, customs and oaths, and (insist on) the same dress, as do the other kings of this nation already mentioned. The Beafares stretch along the coast from this river to where the coast pushes out a headland, opposite Matambola Island. This headland is separated from the mainland (almost to the extent of forming) an island, and is inhabited by blacks who have fled from our people or from the other blacks. So many of them have come together in this place that they have formed a settlement and live there as rebels or outlaws. In the interior, on the South and East, the land of the Beafares meets the land of the Nalus, as stated.

13. There are fruits in these parts which the blacks eat and on which they can sustain themselves. These fruits are mompatazes - already discussed - and plums, which are something like ours in appearance but have a different taste. There are many carobs and gourds, which give a white flour. Fole, a fruit like a dark round pear, has a round stone, the size of a hazelnut, and is sour. Another fruit called manipulo is yellow, and the size of a Galician lemon or a plum: it has a pleasant smell, and is medicinal, purging the blood. Instead of a dose of syrups, these manipulos are given, in sugar and water. The trees which produce the fruit are large, but their wood is very soft, and they have a hard, thick bark. Even the leaves of the tree are medicinal: boiled in water, they are used in bathing the sick. (Also,) there are wild vines, which have grapes almost like ours. There are many Bengal canes, but the blacks do not know how to make use of them, and many reeds. From the canes and reeds, our people who go there as adventurers make ropes for their ships. Much timber is found there, with woods red, damask and yellow in colour, and many other sorts of timber; and (also) the canes called bamboo in our East Indies.

14. Large canoes travel along the river, and in these go many thievish blacks, who in the language of the land are called gampisas. They are like bandits, for thieving is their full-time occupation. They steal slaves, which they carry off to sell to the ships, and if they cannot sell them they kill them, so as not be found out. These particular blacks, and all other blacks who sell as slaves those they have stolen, follow the practice of giving each of their victims, after they have sold him, a drink of wine and something to eat, out of what they have received in exchange for him. They give their victims food and drink in order to relieve their consciences, they say, since in this way each individual sold has had a share in consuming the profit from his own sale. These Beafares are so smart that if a yokel arrives from the interior, they pretend that they want to give him shelter, and they receive him into their homes. After a few days have passed, they persuade him that they have friends on the ships, and that they would like to take him there to introduce him and have a party. But when they go to the ships, they sell him. In this way they trick many of the yokels.

15. Another fruit which is found in the Rio Grande is produced on little bushes, and called in the language of the land manganaxo. When it is in flower, it has a very pleasant smell. This fruit cannot be gathered by an individual until the whole population gathers it simultaneously. For if anyone happens to gather it before the right time, he is sold for this offence. This is because it cannot be gathered until it is fully matured, and until the lord of the land has announced its maturity, so that thereafter all may gather it on the same terms. The blacks consider this fruit one of their staple foods.

16. In the river are large fish like sharks, called sardas, which are very dangerous. In their mouth they have three rows of teeth: they very fiercely attack anyone in the water, and kill him.

17. The Beafares are very fond of cola. Cola is taken from there to Degoula, in caravans and canoes, as already stated.

18. There are many pretty little animals, such as genets, whose colour resembles that of civet-cats; and 'weasels', which are small and have bushy tails, with many long hairs, so that when they raise their tails over their bodies, the tails cover them. And there are porcupines and civet-cats, and many other animals found in other parts.

Variants in chapter 12

p. 133, (12/4) note (e) : P reads From the foodstuffs of this land, milho and rice, our people make cakes called batancas, which form the bread they eat; and what they make from milho maçaroca has as much sustenance as (our) bread.

p. 137, (12/11) note (d) : L reads ... cost less there than at Guinala

p. 137, (12/12) note (h) : L reads ... on the East side ...

p. 138, (12/13) note (m) : P reads ... the size of a plum or larger:

Chapter 13

Which discusses
The Kingdoms of the Nalus, Bagas and Cocolins, and their customs.

1. After the headland of the Island of the Slaves is passed, the land of the Nalus begins. It possesses a little river, which ships of more than 60 tons cannot enter. The Nalus border the Beafares of the land of Bisegue on one flank, in the interior of Bisegue, and they stretch along this flank as far as the two run together inland. The Nalu blacks, although close neighbours of the Beafares, are very different from them in language, dress and everything else. And they are almost savages. The men go about without proper clothes. They wear a garment of skins in which they bear their shameful parts. These are partly hidden, partly unconcealed, for they place the penis beneath large straps which are fastened around it, but which the testicles hang outside, apparently so as not to squeeze them. They walk very stiffly in breeches of this sort. Their noses are pierced from one nostril to the other, near the tip. They make many patterns on their legs and neck, and the women on their faces. They are a wild people. They too die quickly, although not as quickly as the Bejagos. They are fearful when they see whites, but after they have got used to them, they become well-behaved and useful. As yet we do not have the direct trade with them we have with other peoples, for the slaves which come to us from the Nalus are exchanged by way of the Beafares of Bisegue and Balola, some of the people in these districts trading with the Nalus. The Nalus sell slaves, beautiful mats, and ivory, but only small tusks, because they cannot transport the large ones.

2. Many elephants are killed in this land. I hesitate to state the way in which the Nalus kill them since those who read this will doubt it. Still, they must do as they please, it is the truth, and this is why I repeat it. These blacks, by some means I do not understand, place themselves underneath the elephant, holding very long and wide spears. From this position they strike the animal with their weapon, once, or as many

times as they can, and then they take flight. The elephant begins to run one way and another, and as it goes along its minor entrails fall out, a it tramples on these with its feet and crushes them until it dies. Then the black (hunter) follows the trail of blood until he comes upon it dead. They cut it up, and give the king the parts he claims, the feet and the trunk, and they eat the rest. I have several times asked some of these blacks how they get underneath such a large and terrifying animal. Their reply was that they take a special medicine. Be that as it may, they perform this feat.

3. The river in this land has a large amount of trade. Of our trade-goods, the one most valued here is lead, which must be brought in small bars, and in exchange for this they give much ivory. Some tusks weigh more than a quintal. Our ships have not been here for many years, becau there exist a number of men who care little if they ruin the trade in on river after another throughout Guinea. To this river there came, many years ago, a shipload of greenhorns, men not from Santiago Island, who were ignorant of the customs of these parts. They entered the river and obtained much ivory in exchange for very few goods. The blacks accepted them as friends and went aboard the ships, and these greenhorns, by their greed in seizing (and enslaving) a dozen blacks, ruined the trade. As a result, it is many years since anyone has been here, or to the many othe rivers where they did the same.

4. In this land are many buffalo and all the other animals to be found in the other rivers - except horses, which they have never seen. There are cattle in large numbers, and the people are great raisers of cattle. A superstition exists among them, to this effect. They say that their souls are housed in animals such as leopards, lions, and all other wild and fierce animals, and that when the animal in which their soul is hous

as they believe, dies, they too die. They firmly believe in this superstition. It seems that the devil arranges all this in such a way that they believe in it. It once happened that I asked some of these people: 'Look here, whereabouts in that land of yours did you house your soul?'. One of them replied and said: 'In a lion' or some other animal. I asked him again,'And where have you got it now?'. He replied: 'It is not there now, because I have come into the land of the Christians, and am a Christian: I have left all that behind in my homeland.' It is said that these blacks are great witches in their own country. The young men and women are well-behaved and trustworthy, whereas the adults before they become acquainted with us are very unpredictable and die like the Bejagos.

5. The land of the Nalus is large and there could be much trade with it, in slaves as well as ivory. But it remains to be tamed, and we have no trade with its people except by way of the Beafares, as stated.

6. Beyond the Nalus lies the Rio do Nuno, the land of the Bagas and Cocolins, who trade with us on the coast. This land contains a river whose bar is a little dangerous because of a shoal at the entrance. The blacks dress like the Sapes, in shirts and breeches, the shirts of cotton with sleeves to the elbows; and some wear short cloths as breeches and some drawers. They and the Sapes understand each other, like the Portuguese and the Spaniards, although they live far apart. The Nalus who live further back, whom we have already discussed, and the Bagas, who are the blacks at this Rio do Nuno, and the Cocolins, who live behind the Bagas in the interior, all these peoples understand each other.

7. Dye-stuffs are the chief commodity in this river. They are not like those on the Coast (of the Jalofos) we discussed in the first chapter, which are made from the same substance as the true indigo. The dyes in this river are different, for they are (drawn from) a tree like ivy which

climbs up other trees and has large leaves. At the right time, the blacks gather these leaves and crush them, and make loaves resembling sugar-loaves, and as big as them, which are wrapped in cabopa leaves - these being leaves of a large kind. Our ships come to load up with the dyestuffs and there is great trade between here and Rio de São Domingos in these. Years ago, when Queen Catarina - may God keep her! - was ruling, orders were given that a cargo of these dyes should be loaded on a caravel and brought to the City of Lisbon, that they might be tested. Part of the cargo was sent to Cadiz. I do not know what they thought of it, but I know that dye made on Santiago Island has often been taken from there to Seville and Cadiz, and has been found useful, since it is made from the plant from which the true indigo is made. It is still made on this island, and I know how to make it. Last year, in 1592, a caravel of ours coming from Santiago Island was taken by the English, and in it they found a barrel of indigo tablets, which pleased them greatly. Much indi could be made in the Cape Verde Islands, since the plant from which it is made grows in large quantities on the islands, and the best grows nearest the sea. I desist from talking about this plant, and return to the Rio do Nuno which we were discussing.

8. The dye-stuffs exported from there are taken to the Rio de São Domingos, and made use of in the lands of the Buramos and Banhums, and some are taken to Casamanca. It is a very useful commodity since it can be exchanged for slaves, foodstuffs and any other goods. They sell it in whole pieces or in lumps, and it circulates as money does among us, serving as small change. They use the dye-stuff for dyeing, and prepare it in the way it is prepared on the (Jalofo) coast, as already said. Much ivory is exported from this river, since the blacks there kill many elephants, killing them in the same way as the Malus.

9. The Bagas are very treacherous. They take an unnatural delight in killing our people when they venture on land to make a quick profit. If they believe that an individual is a man of courage they only attack him when they can do so by treachery. When they kill men, they cut off their heads, and dance around with them in a war-dance, and the attackers become honoured men. After cooking the heads they take off all the flesh, and when the heads are cleaned of flesh and brains, they drink out of them, using them as mugs. Of this there is no doubt. The more of these drinking-vessels a black has in his house, the more he is honoured, It is to be noted that the skulls are not necessarily only those of whites, but may be those of people of all kinds they have been able to kill. Their weapons are spears made of large bars of iron, as long as halberds. They use swords, arrows, and shields made of very strong thatch, which when wet are a protection against a spear or an arrow. Although made of thatch, they are effective and handsome, since what is called 'thatch' (here) is not really thatch: in fact, the shields consist of a framework of really very thick wooden staves, with reeds woven across the outside. They are very strong, and have fixed in the middle a diamond-shaped piece a hand-span across. The blacks own canoes, which travel from one place to another, and from one river to another, up and down the country.

10. The chief trade of the land is in the following goods which we take there: salt, brass basins, tin, copper, iron, goat-meat salted or smoked and other meat of this kind, red cloth, and large cowries. Although the Bagas kill our people, as already stated, there are still adventurers who live there, and go around trading with them, some doing this because they are protected by their hosts. But there are other hosts so wicked that when their guest leaves their house they wait for him in ambush on the road, and kill him if they can. If two or three adventurers go about together, the blacks do not attack them, and the adventurers can penetrate into the country.

11. In the streams of this land there is silver, as there may be (also) in many other parts of Guinea which are unexplored, for the blacks of Guinea do not know how to search for mines and veins of metals, and are acquainted only with those good luck brings them and the land reveals to them during the winter floods. Nor are mines searched for to any extent by our people, for up to the present they have not attempted to gain from this land any commodities other than slaves, wax, ivory and some gold which the blacks sell. By our negligence, and because those of our people who have penetrated into the land of the blacks have had no knowledge of metals, up to the present no mines have been discovered in these parts. In the streams flowing into the Rio do Nuno, in some places there are many marquesites. In the same river there used to be a goldsmith called Something d'Araujo. He had found veins of silver near these streams, and installed himself in a wood nearby with his forge and his tools. There he smelted silver and mixed it with other metals to make bracelets, which he sold to the blacks. He did not dare to have his workshop at home for fear of the host with whom he lodged. Eventually this man was struck with fear at the thought that if the blacks came to learn how he made the bracelets out of metal which he found in their land, they would say that he had sold what was theirs. And they would kill him. His fear was so great that he fled to the Rio Grande, in the land of the Beafares, where he died without revealing the whereabouts of the veins of silver he had found. These, if searched for by persons who understand about metals, could certainly be found.

12. The Baga blacks extend as far as Cape Verga, where the Sapes begin, but they all understand each other, as already stated. They do not sell blacks in this river: it seems they have never got round to this, but they buy them instead. The foodstuffs available here are rice, milho, many animals which they kill, much fish, many birds, and wine from palm-trees.

13. Beyond the Rio do Nuno is the Rio da Furna (Cave River), which belongs to the same Bagas. In this river there are dye-stuffs also, but these are not as good or as large as those of the Rio do Nuno. The best dye-stuffs are those brought by the Souzos, who border the Bagas in the hinterland. From the heights of this hinterland a nation of blacks called Putazes come down to these rivers. They come in caravans of 1,000 or 2,000 men, in order to buy salt in exchange for white cotton cloth, for clothes made from this cloth, for some gold, and for bows and arrows. Salt is produced on the Baga coast by boiling. In the Rio da Furna there is a great quantity of rice, which our ships come here to buy, and they carry it away to sell in places where they have none. This river has such a low tide that ships are left high and dry in the mud, with the result that the blacks cannot come to the ships nor our people reach land. The river runs beside Cape Verga, on the North side. When the tide returns, it comes with a rush of water called a bore, and two or three waves bring the river to high water. The waves, as they move in, do so with a roar and in great force, and can be heard a long time before they reach any spot, as already described in connection with the bore on the Rio de Degoula. Canoes and other small boats run a risk in this river and may be lost.

14. These blacks also kill our people, in the same way as do the other Bagas, those of the Rio do Nuno, and they use heads as drinking-vessels. Oaths are administered among the Nalus, Bagas and Cocolins as among the Sapes. In some cases they administer an oath to the judges, placing a hand on the head of those who take the oath. But when a case is doubtful and there is no clear decision, and someone is suspect, they impose the ordeal by boiling water, as on the (Jalofo) coast. Many persons take it, and the one who is scalded is the guilty one in their view.

Variants in Chapter 13

p.142, (13/2) note (c) : L reads ... spears fixed in wooden shafts, the iron blade about a hand-span wide.

p.143, (13/4) note (f) : L reads I do not believe that this is so, that they die when the animal dies, but the believe this superstition, and are firm believers in it.

p.147, (13/11) note (c) : L reads At the entrance to the Rio do Nuno there are pearls...

p.147, (13/11) note (f) : L reads ... in a wood near the stream with his crucibles and bellows ...

Chapter 14

The Kingdom of the Sapes, which begins at Cape Verga, in 9° 40', and stretches to the Shoals of St. Anne, in 7° ; their customs, trade, wars and other matters.

1. Beyond Cape Verga, further down the coast, lies another river called the River of Stones, a large and beautiful river, which divides up and splits into many channels, turning the mainland into islands called the Islands of Cagaçaes. At this point the kingdoms of the Sapes begin, and the Bagas extend in fact to this river. And there is another nation called Tagunchos, and (? another called) Sapes; all understand each other and communicate. In these islands a large quantity of ambergris is found; and much wax and ivory and many slaves are available here, all of which the blacks of the land sell.

2. Into one of these channels there happened to come a certain Bento Correia da Silva, a native of São Tomé, who, seeing the land good, settled there with one of his brothers, and was joined by relatives and friends. He built up a town in this district and is lord of it, being obeyed by three thousand blacks, and he has his nieces there, the daughters of his brother, Jordão Correia da Silva, who died in this land; and these nieces have married, as did his daughters, his nephews and his sons. All told, there must be in this place nearly five hundred persons who are deprived of the sacraments, and who die without them, because of the failure to establish a convent of religious (that is, a centre for priests) on Santiago Island, from which place they could have gone out to do much service for Our Lord and His Majesty. If it is desired to complete the settlement of this land, or to form an (orderly) settlement elsewhere, by moving these people to it, no more is necessary than the provision of priests and a legal establishment.

3. A nation of blacks called Putazes and other Souzos used to come down by this river from the hills which lie above the sea-ports, in order to obtain salt in exchange for dye-stuffs, cloths, and ready-made clothing, that is smocks and breeches, which they obtained from the Fulo who surround in the interior all these nations of blacks. And they would also bring a grass which is used as a dye, called in the language of the land maroque; and our people and the blacks of the land would buy it and carry it to sell in the rivers of Bagarabomba, Toto and Bala, and the other rivers which go from Serra Leoa to the South; and because of fear of the Sumbas - who will be discussed later - the Putazes moved this trade to the rivers of Nuno and Furna and abandoned Cagaças.

4. In this land, apart from the trade we have already discussed, there is some trade in gold. The blacks of this place go about dressed in cotton smocks and breeches; and the weapons they carry are spears, sword and arrows. The women go about dressed in local cloths. The trade-goods which are brought to this river are cotton cloths, black Indian cloth, reis cloths, red caps, black capes for chiefs, new and old dyed hats, cornelian beads and brandil from India, Venetian beads, coaching horns, brass basins and salt.

5. The custom of these blacks is that when people come to their houses either to stay or to visit, the first thing they do on their arrival to make them comfortable, before discussing the reasons for their coming, is to take them into a hut and give them hot water in which to wash themselves. After washing and changing their dress, the visitors come to the apartment where the master of the house is. They sit down and after the normal forms of polite greeting employed here state the reason for their visit. If the visitor has to spend several days in the place, the master of the house orders all his wives to appear, from whom he

demands that the guest should choose the one who seems to him the best, and the wife who is selected is obliged to serve him all the time he stays there, in all manner of service, so that the guest will have no excuse to take any of the other wives, and for this reason he is given this particular one of his choice. And if it comes about that he takes any of the others, by their laws he is obliged to forfeit the goods he brought. After this, no matter where he goes, each time he returns to the house this woman is under the same obligation as before to serve him. (In return,) the obligation of the guest to the woman ~~given~~ supplied him, to keep her content, is to give her clothes, that is, a length of cotton cloth, or some wraps, and a span of white India cloth or cotton cloth for a sash. The children the Sapes get by the wives they give to their guests are considered children of the master of the house, like the other children, but if one happens to be begotten by a white, he gives it to the father who takes it away.

6. Government and justice among these nations of the Sapes are conducted in the following way. In towns and villages they have a large house with a round porch, the residence of the king; and in the porch, which they call <u>funco</u>, the king has a seat, which corresponds to the throne in the Portuguese court from which our king or his representative listens to pleas. The <u>funco</u>, which is reached from the king's house, is decorated with a covering above and below, made up of finely-coloured mats. In this place the king is joined by the <u>solateguis</u>, who are the chief men of the kingdom, either in secret session, or in order to administer justice to the parties seeking it. When the king comes to the <u>funco</u>, he places himself on the high seat and the <u>solateguis</u> remain below him, seated on each side. On this porch the parties who are seeking justice appear and as their advocates there arrive certain men called <u>arons</u>, who are dressed in a costume of feathers and bells, and have their faces covered by very ugly masks, and carry spears in their hands, on

which they lean while they propound their arguments for their clients. First one of them speaks, and then when he stops the other speaks; and so they carry on and seek justice for their clients, until one defeats the other in argument. The reason these advocates are masked in this way is so that neither shame nor embarrassment will hinder them from speaking in the court before the king. When they have finished presenting their arguments, the king with his solateguis gives sentence, and immediately the execution of the sentence on the condemned man is publicly carried out. If it is a civil matter, the king orders the fine to which the loser has been condemned to be produced before he leaves the court. And this is the way they conclude their judgments. Witches they kill, cutting off their heads and throwing their bodies outside the town for animals to eat. Those who are condemned to death they sell to persons who buy them in order to kill them and become titled persons. For it is the custom among these people that they become persons of rank or title by killing others in war or in fights; and they prance around with the heads of the dead. And those who have not attained these honours in person buy condemned men at low price, paying not more than five or six gold cruzados, and kill them and become honoured men.

7. It was the custom of these blacks to carry out their wars unassisted by their neighbours, as (we shall see) when the war of the Sumbas is discussed later.

Variants in Chapter 14.

p.151 (14/4), note (a) : L reads in long shirts and breeches

p.152 (14/6), note (a) : L reads Adjoining the funco is an apartment which extends to the king's palace, with a door in the funco...

Chapter 15

How they create a king in the land of the Sapes, and the ceremonies involved, and how they invest solateguis, who are the noblemen.

1. In this land of the Sapes, sons and brothers, the relatives closest to the king, inherit the kingdoms, and this is the procedure among them. Whenever a king dies, after his death and after the funeral is completed, and if it is not a case where someone has already acquired the kingdom by conquest, they immediately hasten to the house of the man who ought to inherit. They tie him up and give him several lashes with a whip, in the royal palace where he has been brought. And after whipping him, they untie him, and everyone behaves very calmly as if nothing had happened. They wash him and dress him in the royal robes, the shirts, breeches and red cap, and (they produce) a weapon called queto, used as a ceremonial baton, which they put in his hand, to serve as a sceptre; and they bring him to the chief apartment, the funco, near the palace. When the leading men of the nation are assembled there, one of the chief solateguis, the oldest, makes a speech saying that by law it is right that this man should inherit the kingdom, on the death of his father or brother; and since it is necessary that the one who has to govern the kingdom should dispense justice most fairly to all parties, for this reason they began with him first, in order that he might administer it similarly to others, punishing those who deserve punishment and rewarding those who deserve well. When the speech finishes, they put in his hand the weapon called queto, the sceptre, with which the heads of those condemned are cut off. All the kings of the Serra carry in their hands these weapons, which are royal insignia. When this ceremony is finished, he becomes the king and is obeyed and feared by all.

2. The solateguis, the noblemen, are raised by the king to this title and dignity as each deserves it, in this way. They come to the funco, the royal chamber, where judgment is delivered, where they are seated on a round seat of carved wood, which serves as a chair. The pluck of a goat is brought, and with this the king himself strikes the solateguis on the cheeks, anointing their heads and feet with the blood, and rice flour is thrown over the blood, And the king puts red caps on their heads. When this ceremony is completed, each has become a solategui, which is a title of rank meaning royal councillor and nobleman. The title permits them to attend councils and judgments, where they share what is exacted from those condemned. When a solategui goes to any other kingdom, even though it is not his own, he continues to employ and enjoy his privileges and liberties just as if he were in his own land.

3. These blacks, in their villages, have put it into the heads of the common people that their devil comes out on certain days of the year, a devil which they take to be God and call contuberia. Before it comes out they proclaim throughout the village that everyone must close his doors, and that no-one must appear in the streets, because the devil is coming out to proceed through the streets. So the commoners retire and shut their doors. But this devil contuberia is nothing other than the king in company with the solateguis and nobles. They go around naked, carrying a hollowed-out stick like a blow-pipe, which they keep playing like a trumpet, and it makes a loud unpleasant noise; and with sticks and rattles they make a great din in the streets throughout the village. If a dog barks or any living thing (makes a noise) in any house, those within must put the creature out immediately so that those (outside) can kill it. And if they happen to meet anyone from outside the village who has arrived there without knowing about the proclamation, they kill him

with blows, unless the king rescues him by throwing himself over him, and putting his own cap on the outsider's head. In this case, the outsider becomes a solategui and can observe and take part in the contuberia.

4. It is normal in these kingdoms to have a large house set apart from the others, called the House of Religion, whose guardian is an old noble, considered among them to be a good-living man. All the young maidens of the village or hamlet gather together in this house, in retirement from the world, and stay there for a year or more, being taught by the old man. Every day their fathers send them food, but they do not see them or talk with them. The old man changes the names of the girls, giving them different ones from the names they formerly had. When the girls emerge, they do so all together, in groups of singers, all very finely bedecked and decorated in their own style. They (make their way) through the village to the arifal, which is the central open place, where they dance to the sound of instruments called bambalos, which we have already discussed; and there are large and small forms of this instrument, and all of them play together harmoniously. At these balls or dances, the fathers come to see their daughters; and nobles and young men flock here, to look at the girls and ask for them as wives. The suitors give marriage payments to the fathers of the girls, and pay something to the old man who kept watch over them. They call these secluded girls mendas, just as we call ours 'nuns'.

5. Their burial practice is to bury the dead within their own houses, in their clothes and with gold in their ears and noses, which are pierced for this purpose, as has already been said, and with bracelets on their hands; and the ear-rings they carry, masucos, as they are called in these parts, are worth up to twenty or thirty cruzados. The wake is performed according to the rank of those involved, in the way already

stated, by assembling a great quantity of food, eating it and making merry. They perform this wake at the arifal, the open space. Kings are buried outside the town, along the road, for they say that as the king is a royal person and administers justice, he must be buried only in a public place where all can see him. And they make out of straw a sort of house above his grave. These blacks are circumcised when infants, before the eighth day (from birth).

6. The land of the Sapes begins at Cape Verga, in 9°40', and stretches to the Shoals of St. Anne, in 7°0', and there are eighty leagues of coast between the cape and the shoals, and South of it begins the Malagueta Coast. In this Kingdom of the Sapes are the following nations of people: Bagas, Taguchos, Sapes, Bolons (who eat human flesh), Temenes, Limbas, Itales, Jalungas; and all these understand one another. Along this whole eighty leagues of coast, in the hinterland and mountains, in a belt behind all these others, stretches another nation of blacks called Souzos and Putazes. And beyond these Souzos and Putazes, who lie along and around the nations mentioned earlier like a wall, there live the Fulos, who begin at the river and streams of Sanaga (Senegal), a land at 16° North, and extend through the interior behind all the blacks named. The Fulos have trade with the Souzos, and the clothing which is brought from the Souzos to the Sapes comes from the Fulos. Gold comes down from the Souzos to buy salt. And there is so little salt that there is not enough for the people of the interior, and some nations and people never see or eat salt, for instance, those in the land of the Limbas, which never ever has any or eats any. Hence, if these Limbas go to other parts and eat salt there, they immediately swell up and die from it.

7. Within these eighty leagues, the limits of Serra Leoa, there are many salubrious and very refreshing rivers which run into the sea from the interior, with the result that ships go up them many leagues. Their banks are covered with a multitude of trees and their population is settled in villages on each bank; and from the villages comes down much trade. The chief rivers are the following: the River of Stones, the rivers of Capor, Tambacira, Macamala [where the Hills of Crystal lie], Calenchecafu, the River of the Calus, the River of the Cases, the rivers of Tagarim and of Mitombo - which runs alongside the Serra Leoa. I make this statement for those who have not seen this River Tagarim and Mitombo, since the River of Tagarim runs alongside Serra Leoa - River Tagarim lying to the North and the Serra to the South. The River of Bangue cuts off the Serra on the other side, to such an extent that the separation (of the Serra from the mainland) could be completed with very little trouble, for the blacks take their boats overland from River Bangue to River Tagarim, by portage. If this (neck of land) were cut through, it would make the headland of the Serra, which is Cape Joyous, into an island.

8. The River of Calanchecafu circles the Hills of Crystal on the South side, and the River of Tambacira goes to their foot on the other side. The River of Toto has along it many orange-trees, its bar is all loose mud, and ships go up it by sail. The River of Tanglecu, the River of Butibum, and the River of the Alliances are all very fresh-looking and well-wooded, with many palm-trees and many orange-trees. In these districts there is Brazil wood, called camo, from which dyes are made; and they say that the dye is so potent that it can be used seven times and the last application is still a strong colour. This tree is found in the River of Bagarabomba. There are sugar-canes here, and cotton and malagueta spice, which is produced on little trees like banana-trees, in bunches; at the foot of the tree is found mantubilha, another sort

of malagueta spice, which burns and stains like saffron. The people in these parts are able to make many boats, since there is much wood which is very suitable for this purpose. A large quantity of foodstuffs is available here, in the form of clean rice and rice in the husk, and of milho called 'white milho'. And there is much wax and ivory, and cola, which is the chief commodity of trade from here to River Gambia and to the other rivers of Guinea; it is produced on trees as chestnuts are, in spineless burs. Iron is found in the land; and gold, which is also a trade-commodity in these districts.

9. Twenty five leagues South from Cape Verga are the Idols, which are three islands, one of them inhabited and with a king. The land is hilly and covered with trees, including palm-trees, and is cooled by streams of water. The blacks go from this island to the uninhabited islands to make their farms. The islands are called the Idols because when the Portuguese went there for the first time they found wooden figures and idols called chinas belonging to the blacks, which they used to reverence.

10. Facing the Scarcies River (Rio da Case) is another island called Tamara. Facing Cape Joyous, the headland of Serra Leoa, are two islands called the Wild Islands; they are fresh-looking, with many streams, and have orange-trees, citron-trees, lemon-trees, sugar-canes, bananas and a large number of palm-trees, from which the blacks draw sura, their wine. These are little islands. As one passes over the sea near Serra Leoa, great roaring noises can be heard. It must be the sea, it seems, which on this coast beats on the land and makes an echo ring out, since it is heard by those who pass by, while those on land hear nothing. And truly it must be the sea, together with some thunder-claps.

11. Next to the Shoals of St. Anne are some islands called the Islands of Toto. Formerly they were inhabited, and may again be so today, since they were deserted on account of the Sumbas; they are fresh-looking, being well-wooded. In these shoals, pearls are often found in oysters. Between the Toto Islands and the mainland lies an island called the Island of Tausente, twelve leagues long and ten broad, freshened with many trees which produce cola, and with palm-trees, and with much rice and milho. This island lies at the entrance to the Butibum River and the River of Alliances.

12. In these parts there are many animals, such as elephants, lions, leopards, wolves, buffalo, and antelopes. There are no cattle bred there, since the blacks of these districts are not in the habit of breeding them; but this does not hinder some arriving there by way of the Fulos.

13. The Conchos live in the hinterland of these Sapes, and they and the Sapes understand each other. The land there has much gold, and it comes down to the coast along this whole region. And they (Conchos ?) are blacks who understand one another.

14. These eighty leagues of coast are the best part of Guinea, having most trade at least expense. Formerly poor men never went to any (river) other than this one, since with little capital they could make a large profit. Many ships trading out of Santiago Island and out of Rio de São Domingas and Rio Grande made their way to this Serra; those from the island to trade in slaves, wax, ivory and other goods, and those from the rivers to trade in cola and foodstuffs to take back to sell in other rivers. The trade-goods of most value in the Serra are salt and the other things mentioned earlier.

15. In Serra Leoa there lives a kind of monkey not found elsewhere in Guinea; they are called daris, and have no tail, and if they were not hairy it would be possible to declare that they were human like ourselves, for in other respects there is little difference. They walk on their feet, and some are so clever that if they happen to be captured when young and are brought up in a house, they go to the river to seek water and bring it back in a pot on their head. But their temperament is such that, when one of them reaches the door of the dwelling, it has quickly to be helped to take the pot from its head, because if no help is forthcoming it throws it on the ground and begins to bewail with great cries. They pound foodstuffs in the blacks' mortars like a human being. They are short and thick in body, with good legs and arms. They are fond of the conversation of young women, and if they meet any who have lost their way and are alone, they seize them and carry them off with them, and give them many caresses in their fashion. There are many other animals of interest, both large and small, and many birds of all kinds.

16. These blacks are not as warlike as those of Rio Grande and Westwards. Most of them are cowards. The Limbas and Jalungas are excluded, whom to date the Sumbas have not been able to conquer entirely, because they have their dwellings underground, hidden away, and when enemies advance against them, being warned they burn their villages and assemble in the dwellings they have made (underground). Then, when the enemy forces are withdrawn, they emerge from the underground dwellings and strike their rearguard, and in this way give them cause to mourn. The other Sapes are given to pleasures and the making of feasts, which are held all the time, since the land has such abundance of everything. And formerly they neither used weapons nor practised with them like oth nations.

17. It is the habit of the people of this nation to eat their food very hot, so hot it burns (their mouths). This they do now, after having been conquered by the Manes, whom we can say are the same as the Sapes today; and they say that they employ this way of eating their food hot as a result of their military experience, since they dared not wait until it cooled. The people of this nation, who formerly were thought little of and were feeble in war-like pursuits, have, by the continued presence of the Manes and continual practice in arms, become fine soldiers. They are an intelligent people; they pick up all that is taught them quickly, more quickly than any other nation. The black women are very obliging and clean.

18. Men and women file their front teeth, above as well as below; the Manes do not.

Variants in Chapter 15

p.155 (15/1), note (e) : L reads ... the funco, within the palace.

p.155 (15/1), note (f) : L reads ... makes a speech to the king...

p.157 (15/4), note (1) : L reads ... the fathers and mothers come...

p.158 (15/5), note (b) : P reads ... in their ears and noses and on their wrists...

p.158 (15/5), note (f) : P reads masucos... in weight equal to twenty or thirty cruzados

p.159 (15/6), note (o) : L reads ... eat salt there, obtained mainly from the hands of the whites, they...

p.162 (15/12), note (b) : L reads ... the blacks of these parts do not breed them, and those that come here come by way of the Fulos.

p.162 (15/13), notes (c) and (d) : P reads ... and they come down to the coast of this whole region, and understand one another.

Chapter 16

Which discusses the Sumbas, called among themselves Manes; how they came, and the wars they made

1. At one time Serra Leoa was peaceful and its inhabitants were happy, since if there was a fine country among (those possessed by) the blacks of our Guinea of Cape Verde, this was it, for it had everything in abundance. Those who went to Guinea thought they had seen nothing if they did not go to this place. Just as today we Portuguese feel about visiting Italy, France and Germany, so those who conquered and traded in these parts did not consider that they had inspected it properly until they had seen the Serra. For apart from being productive in everything and having many fine products, it was a shelter and refuge for many persons, who going there with nothing raised themselves (in the world). (Yet) it seems that for some hidden sins of this nation, although they were heathens, the Maker of All Things wished to punish them in a way which would make them more wretched than any of the other nations of Guinea. To accomplish this end, if I may say so, He did not choose to have it done by others but by those of their own kind, for although they (the Sapes and Manes) are not of the same nation, when the Manes reached here they understood one another. He did not choose that the Caribs of the Indies, or the Brazilians, should come there, since, though barbarians, these are of a different colour; nor did He choose to send wild beasts who might have chastised them severely - only those of their own race and colour he sent, and in order that the shock might be greater, when they reached the land of the Sapes they understood one another.

2. This nation of blacks which came to wage war against the others is commonly called, by all, the 'Sumbas'. Today it is not certainly known where these people originated nor does anyone know where they began their march with their army. For, up to the present time, which is more than forty years since they conquered Serra Leoa, the Sapes have only seen the vanguard of the army and the rearguard has not yet arrived. Old men among the Sapes say that these nations of blacks come to this land century after century bringing war. They ought to be telling the truth in this matter, and it seems to me that, as far as we can surmise, what these blacks say is true. And so, from the year 1550 onwards, these (Sumba) blacks have penetrated into Guinea with more force and ferocity than ever seen in any other nation. For if the Numantines began to eat human flesh, that was because they found themselves besieged for a long period and lacked food, which made it necessary for them to eat the flesh of those they killed. But these people were not besieged, on the contrary, they were themselves the besiegers. They had no lack of food for they had more than enough. It appears to me that what led the Manes to make the soldiers they brought with them eat human flesh was sheer ferocity and bloody-mindedness, for they themselves do not eat it.

3. I return to what those (old men) of this (Sape) nation say, that century after century war comes to these parts. Hence, when the Sumbas came to this land, there was already here a nation of blacks who ate human flesh. This suggests that they must have remained here after another war like the one under way. So it was about forty years ago that the Sumbas began to conquer the land, and as they found it a good land they halted here. Now they inhabit it and are dwellers here.

4. They sent word to the rearguard that they would march no further, because they had made the land their own. From here they send back the royal dues, which they call in the language of the land <u>marefe.</u> And today they no longer eat human flesh except, that is, a very few of the Nor do they call themselves 'Sumbas' or else 'Manes', but are now generally called by all, 'Sapes'.

5. It may be that the kings who live here and people this land, from time to time omit to send tribute and royal dues to the kings and captains who remain behind, and that the latter then resume their march towards these parts with another army, and accompanied by the same people; and they come in order to eat the kings who have by now forgotten their origin and are considered themselves Sapes. Thus it may be true, as they say, that this war comes century after century. Be that as it may, this terrifying army entered the land of the Sapes, eating the living and disinterring the dead.

6. As I have said, it cannot be stated with certainty where they came from, and the most that is known of them is that they emerged among a series of black nations, some of which encircle the others like a wall. As for me, I hold that they came from the blacks of Mandimansa, because these speak the same language as the Sumbas speak, or if it is not the same, (at least) they carry the same weapons and wear the same clothes as the Sumbas do, without there being any difference between them, other than in the matter of eating human flesh. Mandimansa is emperor of the blacks, as I have already said, so that when the other blacks of our Guinea hear the name of Mandimansa, they all uncover their heads. The weapons of the Sumbas and of the people of Mandimansa are short bows and small arrows. They make them this way, they say, because their arrows being small and the bows of their enemies large, their weapons can be of no service to the enemy, since they cannot shoot (short arrows on long bows) or hurl them forcefully. But they themsel

can make use of the arrows of their enemies in their (short) bows, since these arrows are long. The shields they carry are made from switches of wood and rattan, very well woven together, and strong, and of a size to cover a whole man completely. They also carry short swords, and a knife in place of a dagger, and another knife tied to the thick of their left arm, and spears made out of long iron bars, with each end made the same shape in order to wound either way. In war they carry two containers, or quivers, containing many arrows. The poisonous substance they use (on arrows) is not obtained by boiling various herbs as in other parts; it is from the sap of a tree which is so venomous that the sap alone is enough. They dress in smocks of cotton cloth which they commonly call shirts; these stop above the knees, and the wide sleeves go to the elbows. Their trousers almost reach the ground, with the bottoms more than a span below the knees; the trousers are wide and the smocks large. They wear many plumes of birds' feathers in their shirts and caps.

7. These blacks arrived with this terrifying army, after having traversed parts lying above the Kingdom of Congo. From these parts they brought with them blacks who eat human flesh. They undoubtedly met many other peoples, for they came across behind Mina and along the Malagueta Coast. From the Malagueta Coast they were actually accompanied by two of our men, a white from Alentejo named Francisco Vaz and a black named Paulo Palha, who had been ship-wrecked on the coast in one of our galleons. They made their way dressed like the Sumbas, and carrying the same weapons; and they served as soldiers until they reached the Serra, where they met our people, to whom they fled, and from the Serra they went to Santiago Island. It must be understood that wherever this army went it recruited many people from the lands it passed through; they came as serving soldiers and it was these people who ate human flesh, as already we have said. They like to say that the chief captain of this army was a

woman, and they swear that this was so. Be that as it may, as soon as (they [vangnabó] reached the Serra, the rearguard of the army did not advance furth towards it. I have no certain information whether it was a woman or not but I am told that this general who remained behind is called by them Mestre, and that it is to this person and the other captains who remain with this person that they send marefe, that is, royal dues.

8. I myself hold that if these blacks had attacked the nations they passed through with as much force and fury as they attacked the Kingdom of the Sapes, nothing could have remained behind them. But, as has been said, it seems that God allowed this nation of Sapes to be (especially) chastised in this way. For the Manes depopulated many old towns, laying waste everything, and when the Sapes saw that their burial-place would be (in the stomachs of) those same enemies they fought, they were utter stupefied; to the extent that with little trouble the enemy laid all waste.

9. These blacks did not leave their land with as large an army as arrived here; on the way they built it up out of the other nations as they passed through.

10. They did it this way. In the places they took, the people they brought with them immediately ate the leading men, the kings, nobles and governors. From the rest of the population, they spared some of the y men, whom they trained in their ways, and made them into good soldiers. They were kept under the control of the Manes, those who do not eat hu flesh and never have eaten it, and who pride themselves on speaking in a loud and proud voice. And the Manes had human flesh given as food to soldiers whom thus they led, who with time and practice became masters this art. As has been said, they ate those they took prisoner and those they killed in the wars. And they disinterred the dead for the sake o the gold they found in the graves. It is a custom of the Sapes, as already said, to bury the dead with the golden jewelry they own, that

bracelets on their arms, and in their ears masucos of thirty cruzados and more in weight, and in their noses another ornament like a bridle bit; and this is the reason they dug up the bodies.

11. It was the practice of those who controlled this army, when they came near a place, to send ambassadors to the governors and to the king, bearing smocks and trousers of their own sort as a present, together with a quiver of their arrows, a bow, a shield, and a spear, in short, they sent a specimen of all the weapons they carried. The ambassadors said that they offered them the clothes as a sign of friendship, but if they did not wish friendship they gave them a sample of the weapons with which they would conquer them if they spurned friendship. And they said that they were leading a great number of men whose stomachs would then serve as their graves. The poor people could not decide whose command and jurisdiction to obey: if they surrendered, the Sumbas would not hesitate to eat them, if they fought, they would be defeated and still eaten. There was much cowardice among these nations of Sapes, for though there were so many of them that they peopled more than eighty leagues of coastline and many leagues inland, they never came together to fight against the enemy. They did nothing; it seems this must have been because they had little practice with weapons. For when the enemy came to a settlement or a village, and the Sapes sought help from their neighbours, their neighbours replied that they must fight and defend themselves (as best they could), and that when the enemy reached them, they too would fight. Because of this lack of organisation, the Sapes were crushed, so that many villages were emptied of people: they were destroyed and burnt, and the inhabitants, done to death, were burnt or eaten. Others abandoned what they possessed and came aboard our ships. Like birds, which, when a wood is set on fire, often fly alongside, hoping that some creature will come out that they can snap up, our

men in their small ships and boats travelled along streams and rivers, near the enemy army, and took into their vessels many of those who fled from the fury of the enemy. And our men held them and made them prisoners, and then proceeded to sell them, at the mouths of the rivers, to the large ships which were unable to go where they had been.

12. What they saw was a spectacle as striking as one could ever see. For this army, since it brought provisions only for the Manes, and since when the other soldiers ate rice and grain, the flesh which they ate (with these) was human, - thus had slaughter-houses for people like those for animals. As soon as they lacked food, the soldiers took men and killed them as if they were cows or sheep. Some men the Manes sold at a low price; and when they sold them, if our people refused(to buy), they said that it was of no account, for if our people did not buy them they would eat them. The prisoners themselves clung to our people, asking and begging them for the love of God to buy them. Often the Manes gave a slave for a belt, or for a red cap, or for a cloth which was then worth at Cape Verde Island seven <u>vintens.</u> Before the Manes saw our men, one night they arrived beside a river in which one of our boats was lying. It was hoping to obtain some 'come-along-ins', as they called those who were in full flight from the Sumbas. In this boat was a man who, during the night, played very ably on a flute. Hearing the flute, the enemy came down to the river, and called out to ask those on the boat what it was that made that sound, and if it was a thing from heaven or earth. Those aboard replied that a man there made the sound. The Manes asked if they would sell him. Our men replied, yes, and asked how many slaves they would give for him. They replied, one hundred slaves, and they promised fifty immediately. Our men laughed at them, saying that this man was a white, and whites did not sell each other. They were not like blacks.

Variants in Chapter 16

p. 167 (16/3), note (a) : P reads So it was more than forty years...

p. 167 (16/6), note (f) : P reads ... they came from Mandimansa...

p. 168 (16/6), note (g) : P reads ... smocks of cotton cloth, wide and long, cut away at the neck, with wide sleeves as far as the elbow; their trousers very wide, going down below the knee half a span, from there they narrow like conhões.

p. 170 (16/10), note (h) : L reads ... thirty cruzados and more in value.

Chapter 17

Which discusses Some wars undertaken by these Manes called Sumbas

1. As already stated, the Manes drew into their army many people from the nations they passed through and conquered. By eating some of the people, they drew the others into their army; and these in turn ate human flesh, in order to put fear and dread into the nations through which they passed conquering. It was these people who were recruited by force who ate human flesh and not the Manes, as has been many times said. But since they came all together, both sorts were commonly called 'Sumbas', which means in their language, people who eat human flesh. The Sapes produced this saying: Suma fumo cachin, which means, "They eat meat freely without it costing them a penny."

2. The first battle which this people had as they emerged from the Malagueta Coast and came through the Shoals of St. Anne, the first land of the Sapes coming up this coast, was with a Boulan king, as will be described later. Some of the Mane captains came along the coast, others came through the interior, marching in this order and conquering one place after another. A captain called Macarico, with some fine warriors, conquered the coastal area. They conquered the (coastal) mainland and, penetrating by the Islands of Toto, they destro Tausente Island, which had settlements all over it. Some of the people came aboard our ships, which were travelling around as has already been described, others were eaten by the enemy. The advance-guard clashed with a king of the Bolons, a people who seem to me to have been the residue of other (invaders) who in former times came to these parts. This king exerted himself most vigorously. He assembled his people, put before them the danger they faced of being eaten, and said that it was better to die as men than to allow themselves to be overcome like women and eaten like animals. He assembled his people and awaited the enemy,

and met them in a hard-fought battle, in which he killed Captain Maçarico. But after this victory had been won, he did not dare to hope for a similar outcome again; for other captains were on the way, marching as rearguard to the first. Seeing that the neighbouring kings would not help him, he decided to surrender, and preferred to surrender to our men rather than to the enemy, having confidence in our people that even if they made him and his fellow Sapes prisoners they would not eat them. He came aboard with many people and his wives, all of whom were sold by our men, except the king himself, who, to satisfy the conscience of the person on whose ship he had embarked, was charitably sent to the Misericordia (Charity Home) of Santiago Island. The Misericordia, being ignorant of what had happened, sold the black king. He served his master as if he had never been a king, but had been a slave all his life, serving very efficiently and very patiently, without complaining of his misfortune. He was baptised and named Pedro; and went to Lisbon and returned to the island with his master. When António Velho Tinoco was governing the island, he gave their freedom to many of this nation who had embarked on our ships. But Pedro never chose to claim his liberty, saying that after becoming a slave he preferred to remain one, and to continue serving a master as long as he lived.

3. Of the men of our nation who travelled along these rivers and beaches waiting for the Sapes to take them aboard and then sell them, we have observed that though their enterprise brought them riches, many afterwards died poor, leaving very little to their children.

4. When Captain Maçarico died, his men did not eat him as they ate those they had captured. (Instead) they buried him, and held a funeral for him, in their own way. His wives and one of his sisters came by sea in many canoes, accompanied by a large number of warriors; and as they disembarked they marched in battle order to the sound of bombalos. At the wake which was held, some beasts were killed to feed the Manes;

but, for the rest of the army, they killed, in place of beasts, many of the persons whom they had brought along as prisoners. At this wake his sister performed a gesture indicating her depth of feeling, a gesture horrible to behold. Drawing a large knife which she carried in her belt, and putting the little finger of her left hand on a log, she chopped it off. And she said that out of feeling for the memory of her brother his wives ought to do the same. Some did it and others not, and the latter were held in little esteem thereafter by the Mane captains. After these duties were carried out, the other captains entered the land of the Sapes and devastated it, in such a way that in many parts no-one was left. The inhabitants either fled aboard ships or were eaten. Each one sought his own safety, in some place of refuge.

5. These Manes were great warriors. When attempting any place, as soon as they were in position, they dug themselves in, and made fortifications of their own type, which they called atabancar. It seems that it was by divine intention that these blacks came from so far to this land to do so much damage in it, for although wherever they passed they did damage, yet it was not elsewhere the total ruin it was in this land. And finding it a good land they did not choose to leave it, but made themselves lords over it and installed themselves in it, as has already been said. They did not hesitate to eat in the course of these hostilities any of our men whom they might occasionally seize. For instance, having captured a group of four companions, they first put them in pairs, and then took away one individual, saying that they were moving him to another place. They killed him and cooked his flesh, and in the broth cooked rice. They gave this rice to the remaining Portug to eat; underneath the rice there happened to be a finger, and when they

were eating it they found it and realised that it belonged to their companion who had been taken away from them, because the finger was a twisted one and they recognised it. They were very upset, each expecting his last hour. But it was the will of God that they should escape from captivity, and find safety in flight.

Chapter 18

How the Manes wished to conquer the land of the Soussos, who live beyond the Sapes in the interior, and what happened between them.

1. The Manes had already conquered much of this land, laying it waste and destroying it, in a way that brought fear on those who saw this happening. The land was almost depopulated, out of fear of the army of an enemy who had made himself master over all. It seemed to those watching that the Manes tackled nothing which they did not conquer and destroy by means of their brutish animals (the Sumbas), whose stomachs were the burial-ground of the conquered. Having become masters of a large part of the coast and many leagues into the interior, it remained for the Manes to master the Souzos, who lived in a region stretching beyond and around these nations (of Sapes), as already stated. They determined to conquer them so they sent ambassadors to them with the usual presents of clothes and arms. When the arms were examined, they were just the same (as the Souzos' own), with no real difference between them. The Souzos then sent their own weapons to the Manes, saying that if the Manes wished to accept them as friends, they would be their friends, and would enter into relations with them and undertake trade with them, as they had previously done with the Sapes; but that otherwise they would not allow them to enter into their lands. And the Souzos said that they had no intention of taking away from the Manes the lands which they had conquered and seized from their (Sape) owners.

2. Faced with this reply, the Manes decided to march against them. They made great preparations and assembled a large quantity of military equipment, and they took with them many of the people whom they had conquered. It was often said that it was the largest army and the largest collection of material that they had brought together since the start of the conquest of the Sapes. They even had with them one of our people,

man named Salvador Homem da Costa, who carried three muskets and whom they thought much of, because he was a good shot and a brave man. When the Souzos had given their reply, and when they saw that the Manes were making no further reply, they began to prepare (for war) and to gather together their people. They formed a large force jointly with the Fulos who neighbour them, and when the army seemed large enough to defend them from the enemy and to launch an attack, they marched out with scouts and sentinels. Knowing that the enemy was a few days' march away, they sent patrols ahead. These men took with them some cows, which they killed, and then cooked in great pots into which they had cast poison. As soon as the enemy came upon them, they pretended to flee, abandoning the pots. On arrival, the enemy rushed to eat the meat, and gobbled it up, and as a result they began to die, a few at a time, until the number became many. Although the Manes were very confident because of the many victories they had won in these parts, and although they were accustomed to seek out the enemy on his own ground, they had lost some of their great self-assurance, and showed some hesitation. Precisely why I do not know, unless it was because the people they led were soldiers made out of Sapes whom they had captured in their own homeland and were not all (true) Manes, or else because they saw some sign which they took as a bad omen. Whatever it was, when they had passed over a river after entering the land of the Souzos, and were warned that the Souzos were marching against them, the captains and governors called a halt, and the Manes threw up strong entrenchments and stayed there, using the river as a wall.

3. They sent out scouts, and found that the enemy had done the same. But when the Souzos learnt that the Manes were not advancing, they went forward in very good order to meet them, until they camped near them, and fortified the camp. The next day, at sun-rise, the Souzo and Fulo captains began to deploy their men and arrange them in order

of battle. When they were all in position and ready, the king addressed the whole army, through many heralds. For it is not the custom in these parts for kings to speak directly to even a single individual, though the king may know the language and could talk to him, but to speak only through heralds, and these must speak loudly so that all can hear and understand, especially if judgments are being given. While he was still in the camp, and was in the presence of many people, the king made his speech to the assembled captains and officers of war, in the following words: 'Until now these Sumbas have not met anyone who resisted them, and they have eaten the flesh of as many as they have killed, without it costing them a penny; and they have devastated all this land, as you know, up to and even within the very palaces where the lords of the land were accustomed to display their strength. But these lords did not withstand them, and they let themselves be destroyed by a foreign people. The Sumbas believe that they can do to us as they did to these wretches. I promise you, brave captains, by the experience I have of you, although I have not yet fought this enemy, I promise you that we shall be victorious. And this would be so even if we did not have as our ally the brave and valiant Fulos, whose wars and victories are well- known to us. We have justice on our side, since these Sumbas come to attack us, and seek us out within our own land, in order to make prisoners of us, and to eat and sell us, and with us our wives and children. If there is one man among us whose heart has said that he should not fight, I here give hi permission to go back and join the company of the women.'

4. The king spoke these words with much courage and force, bearing his weapons and leaning on a bow which he held like a stick. When he had finished his speech, and all had assured him that they would not return home as conquered men, unless (they were carried there) dead, he ordered the

musical-instruments of the army to be played, and at the sound of these they began to march towards the enemy camp. Seeing them coming, the Manes remained behind their fortifications, as if they feared the outcome of what was to follow. They did not care to sally out or place themselves in order of battle, as they saw the Souzos doing. They sent out only some small detachments, which advanced to attack the Souzos on the flank. But the Souzos were not at all disordered by these attacks, and continued to march in step, all together.

5. At the head of the army came seven men mounted on horses which were as small as ponies, but were saddled and bridled. These horses had hairy manes - and must certainly have been Fulo horses - and carried great bells on their breast-bands. All together in step, this well-ordered army advanced, shield-bearers in front and on the flanks, archers in the centre. When they were near (the enemy) they simultaneously threw themselves into the attack and assaulted (the camp). Those on horseback placed their hands on the atabanca - as they called the entrenchments in this language - and broke them down. It must be said that on the Mane side they did not fail to fight back very strongly, for there were many of them; but their opponents were very brave. They were not an army of mixed nations (as the Mane army was); they had only the Fulos, who are a very bold people. And the Souzos knew that it was vital to exert all their strength in this battle, since if they were once conquered, they would never regain their security. Their whole land would be destroyed, and their wives and children killed; and on this victory depended their security. (In contrast,) the Manes, if defeated, would remain masters of all the lands they had previously gained; they kept men in these lands and waged war on the same people they brought with them. But if they had the victory, they would not stop until they had conquered all of the Souzos, as they had done with the Sapes; and therefore the Souzos put forward all their strength in this battle.

6. The Manes, after coming to these parts and to the Malagueta Coast, had conquered the coastal lands and were (therefore) experienced in travelling by sea; hence, they were good sailors and swimmers. When they were defeated (in this battle) they retreated (across the river) by swimming, particularly the Bolons and Temenes whom they had brought in their army, but many were killed and made captive. The Souzos, since they had been in the habit of crossing this river frequently on trading excursions, and knew the fords, went over in military order and pursued the enemy, killing and capturing many of them, so that, according to the blacks who took part in this war, only the bravest and speediest of the men escaped. For as soon as they stopped at one place and tried to draw breath, the Souzos were on them, killing and capturing them. Our man, Salvador Homem da Costa, who found himself in this battle on the Mane side and possessed three muskets which a slave of his carried and loaded, stated that he had no time to fire more than once after the enemy launched the attack, and that since he knew the terrain, after the entrenchments were overthrown, he withdrew and hid himself, and in this way was saved.

7. It was the worst defeat that the Manes had suffered since they left their land, and they did not again try to conquer the Souzos. It is significant that when the Sapes, Bolons, Temenes, and other nations who were involved in this defeat, speak of it, they put their hands to their mouths, to express great emotion.

8. The Souzos abandoned the trade which they formerly carried on in this land and made their way to Rio do Numo; but now they have returned to undertake trade in the land, since the Manes are today more like natives, most of them having been born there. As (the original Manes) found it a good country, they made their home there. Yet there are (still living) some captains who came along with the others, and the principal king who rules in the Serra today is one of the captains who

came in this war. Here he took the title of king, and is called Farma; he is King of Mitombo. There are other Mane kings who live in kingdoms which formerly belonged to the Sapes, and even today they have wars among themselves over these kingdoms.

9. It is a custom among them that when a vassal has to be killed, this takes place at the time when he comes to make his obeisance and to speak (to the king). For it is their custom, when speaking to their superiors, to kneel down, with both knees on the ground, and to put their hands on the ground, as if they were going to prostrate themselves. In this position, they place their right elbow on the ground, with the hand stretched above it, and they say Atuao, which means in this language, 'Here I am, lord, at your disposal'. The king replies Anamati, which means 'Begone!'. And if he is to be killed, they must do it while his elbow is on the ground, before the king replies, for as soon as he replies to the man, he may consider himself safe.

10. When they wish to obtain people for a war, it is the custom for the king to leave the town, and have a tall wooden house made and placed in a clearing called by them an arifal, meaning a 'plaza' or open space. The district governors present themselves here, with their regiments prepared for war. These governors come in great fear and trembling, because they know they may be killed when they make their obeisance. But as soon as the king replies to them, they are safe; so (then) they stand up and are very happy. And they parade about here and there. The governors present themselves in this way, and when this has been done, they line up all the people they have brought with them, until the force reaches the size which seems to the king and the captains to be necessary for the war which they have decided to undertake. They never attack the enemy except at the time of the new moon.

11. The Sapes living at Serra Leoa and within its limits used to be a weak and cowardly people. But after the Manes found their way there, those of today are a war-like people and behave very gallantly, under Mane discipline, the Manes being good captains; and they have many wars among themselves. They besiege settlements and villages, and those surrounded break out; and already some kings in these parts have guns on their atabancas (fortifications). One Mane black is a very good gun setter, and some of them have muskets, and when there is war between them they fortify themselves and place guns in the forts. They are delighted to have our people with muskets (helping them), and they buy muskets. In these lands, they were always the enemies of the French and English, and they fought battles with an English captain called Janaques (John Hawkins). And Bertolomeu Bayão, when he traitorously went there, fought in this Serra with King Sacena, who built fortifications and had many of our men in his town, and they very strongly resisted the English, who left there after losing some men and boats.

12. This captain Sacena in his fashion honoured and rewarded the Portuguese soldiers who had been there with his people at that time. These blacks will never be friends of the French or the English, and will never consent that they should have any trade in their land, as happens in the land of the Jalofos, unless they are so persuaded by our own people who are runaways and adventurers in those parts, because the blacks have always entertained a hatred for those nations.

Variants in chapter 18

p.179 (18/2), note (a) : L reads ... that more than forty thousand men went;

p.185 (18/9), note (f) : P reads Atuaco

Chapter 19

About the richness of this land

1. This land has such abundance of everything that nothing is lacking in it. It is enrichened with many kinds of provisions, and it is greatly freshened by many streams of water, by orange-trees, citron-trees, lemon-trees, sugar-canes and many palm-trees. It possesses much excellent timber and in such quantities that many boats of any kind desired could be made in it. Once settled, it would come to have greater trade than Brazil, since in Brazil there is only sugar, timber and cotton; in this land there is cotton, and the timber that there is in Brazil (i.e. Brazil-wood), also ivory, wax, gold, ambergris, and spice. It would be possible to build many sugar-mills: iron and plentiful timber are available to build the mills, and there are slaves to work them. Great profit for His Majesty's Treasury would result from a settlement here, since the ships which voyage to India could winter in the River Mitombo to refit, and from here could pursue their voyages again without returning to the Kingdom (of Portugal).

2. It is not possible to list all the benefits that would eventually result from a settlement. I remember having heard very old men who lived with their wives and children on Santiago Island, where I was born, often say that they would move to no other place, unless His Majesty ordered Serra Leoa to be settled; there they would very willingly go, and would give up all they had in the island. Today, when the island is exhausted by the many troubles it has experienced, it would be well if His Majesty were to order this Serra Leoa to be settled, so that the inhabitants and citizens of the island could all leave it and go over to the Serra. I remember that some years ago, it may have been twelve or thirteen, I was chosen by the people in the island to approach His Majesty with regard to the settling of the Serra and their transference to it. Doctor Gaspar d'Andrade being governor of the island, I secretly discussed this business

with him. He told to me that it would better serve His Majesty if I stayed on the island and if this business of the Serra was not discussed further at that time, for if it was pursued the island might be deserted.

3. Today this very excellent land is at our doors, this land where nothing lacks, this land which one can reach from Lisbon in fifteen or twenty days, with the bread and water still fresh. (Yet) it is almost abandoned by our people; the reason being that, because of the continual activities of the French and the English, ships are not being fitted out in Santiago Island to go there. And it seems to me that, with everything getting worse, they will go less and less to these parts. One particular aspect pains me greatly. Having this place on our doorstep, we leave it in order to seek out more doubtful and more troublesome enterprises.

4. If we settled the Serra, it could not fail to be of much value and profit to His Majesty's Treasury, since a trade as large as that of Brazil is conducted in it; since the voyage there takes little time either way, and it could be guarded and defended from foreigners; and since from there it would be possible to extend the trade to the Malagueta Coast. But today I only see laws directed against ourselves, for we are forbidden to go to the Malagueta Coast or further than the Serra, under penalty of losing ship and goods and other criminal punishments. Hence, we are withdrawing our support from our vassals and native (allies), and the lands remain unsubdued and unpacified. And furthermore (these lands) are (instead) conquered by our enemies, the French and the English, who, disregarding the laws and the penalties they imposed, are the ones who go to these parts and draw great profit from them. Why may the vassals of His Majesty not do what these enemies do? We are perfectly capable of travelling to the Malagueta Coast and conducting trade there, and from what we bring back we could pay dues to His Majesty's Treasury. And why may we not do the same in the Senegal River, where our enemies now obtain more trade than we do? It pains me to see the present situation.

ourselves forbidden, but the doors open for our enemies, so that from their trade in these parts the Kingdoms (of Portugal and Spain) receive no profit, but rather a loss.

5. May God provide for all, by His Holy Mercy. Now that we see almost the greater part of Europe poisoned by a variety of Lutherite sects, it may be that by settling some part of Black Africa God's Holy Faith will be extended there. This would be a great service to Him, and many souls might be saved among these heathen, who, although they follow many pagan customs and rites in their own lands, when they come to ours, themselves ask for baptism. Since it is not possible to describe everything, with these remarks I conclude this Treatise.

Variants in Chapter 19

p.189 (19/2), note (c) : P reads Fourteen years ago...