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RECORDS OF SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.



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BY  
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## DIGEST.—SHIP WRECKS.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COAST AND OF THE  
NATIVE TRIBES ALONG IT ACQUIRED BY THE PORTUGUESE  
DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

OF the Bantu tribes along the seaboard north of the Bashee a good deal of knowledge was obtained during the sixteenth century by the crews of wrecked ships, some of whom underwent almost incredible suffering before their restoration to the society of civilised men. By order of the king a flying survey of the coast between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Correntes was also made towards the close of this period, by which much information was supposed to have been gained.

Occasionally vessels disappeared after leaving Portugal or India, and were never heard of again. Some of these were probably lost on the African shore, though of this there is no certainty except in one instance, when part of a stranded ship was found at the mouth of the river now known as the Saint Lucia, but without a trace of any one that had sailed in her. Particulars, however, have been preserved of the loss successively of the *S. João*, the *S. Bento*, the *Santiago*, the *S. Thomé*, and the *S. Alberto*, from each of which some of the crew escaped, and after much intercourse with the natives succeeded in reaching Mozambique.

The *S. João* was a great galleon laden with a very valuable cargo, which left Cochin on the 3rd of February 1552 to return to Portugal. She had about two hundred and twenty Portuguese and nearly four hundred slaves on board, and, as was usual at that time, an officer of high rank who was going home was captain in command. The master of the ship directed the working, and the pilot pointed out the

course, but the captain gave instructions in such matters as what ports they were to put into and when they were to sail; he also preserved discipline and exercised general control. The captain of the *S. João*—Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda by name—was accompanied by his wife, Dona Leonor, a young and amiable lady of noble blood, his two little sons, and a large train of attendants and slaves, male and female.

On the 12th of May, when only seventy-five miles from the Cape of Good Hope, the galleon encountered a violent gale from the west-north-west, and soon a very heavy sea was running, as is usually the case when the wind and the Agulhas current oppose each other. Some sails had been lost in a storm on the equator, and there were no others on board than those in use, which were old and worn. On this account it was not considered prudent to attempt to lie to, and so the ship was put before the wind under her fore and main courses. After some days the gale veered to another quarter, shifting at last to the west-south-west, when the tremendous seas caused the ship to labour so heavily that she lost her masts and rudder. Those on board feared every moment that she would go down. An attempt was made, however, to set up jury masts, to fix a new rudder, and with some cloth that was on board converted into a substitute for sails to endeavour to reach Mozambique. But the new rudder, being too small, proved useless, and the galleon like a helpless log was driven towards the coast, from which there were no means of keeping her. On the 8th of June she was close to the land a little to the eastward of the mouth of the Umzimvubu, very near if not exactly off the spot where the English ship *Grosvenor* was lost two hundred and thirty years later. There, as the weather had moderated, the bower anchors were dropped, between which the galleon lay at a distance of two crossbow shots from the shore, almost waterlogged.

The captain now resolved to land the people and as much provisions and other necessaries as possible, to construct a temporary fort, and with materials taken from the ship to build a small caravel that could be sent to Sofala for aid.

There was no hope of saving the cargo, but he thought of getting out some calico with which to obtain food in barter from the natives of the country, if that should be needed. Only two boats were left, of which one was little larger than a skiff. In these the captain, his family, and about seventy others were conveyed to the shore. But on the third day the wind freshened and caused a heavy swell, both the boats were dashed to pieces on the rocks, and the seaward cable of the galleon parting, she was driven on shore and within a few hours broke into fragments. Over a hundred men and women were lost in the surf, and many of those who reached the land alive were badly bruised.

All hope of getting timber to build a caravel was now lost, and only a small quantity of food was secured. As soon therefore as the bruised people were sufficiently recovered to travel, the whole party set out to try to walk along the shore to the river of Lourenço Marques. To that place a small vessel was sent nearly every year from Mozambique to barter ivory, and the only faint chance of preserving their lives that remained to the shipwrecked people was to reach the river and find the trading party. They had seen some Kaffirs on the hills close by, and had heard those barbarians shouting to each other, but had not been able to obtain any information or provisions from them.

On the 7th of July they left the scene of the wreck. At the end of a month they were only ninety miles from it, for they had been obliged to make many detours in order to cross the rivers. Their sufferings from thirst were at times greater than from cold, hunger, and weariness combined. Of all the party Dona Leonor was the most cheerful, bidding the others take heart, and talking of the better days that were to come. They eked out their little supply of food with wild plants, oysters, and mussels, and sometimes they found quite an abundance of fish in pools among the rocks at low tide.

And now every day two or three fell behind exhausted, and perished. To add to their troubles, bands of Kaffirs hovered about them, and on several occasions they were attacked, though

as they had a few firelocks and some ammunition, they were easily able to drive their assailants back. At the end of three months those who were in advance reached the territory of the old Inyaka, whom Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira had named Garcia de Sá, and whose principal kraal was on the right bank of the Umfusi river, which flows into Delagoa Bay. This chief received them in a friendly manner, supplied them with food and lodging, and sent his men to search for those who were straggling on behind. In return, he asked for assistance against a chief living about twenty miles to the southward, with whom he was at war. De Sousa sent an officer and twenty men to help him, with whose aid he won a victory and got possession of all his opponent's cattle.

Garcia de Sá wished the white people to remain with him, and he warned them against a tribe that lived in front, but as soon as they were well rested and had recovered their strength, they resolved to push on. They crossed the Maputa in canoes furnished by the friendly chief, and five days later reached the Espirito Santo, where they learned from some natives, through the interpretation of a female slave from Sofala who had picked up a little of the dialect, that a vessel from Mozambique, having men like themselves on board, had been there, but was then a long time gone. Manuel de Sousa now became partly demented, and his brave wife, Dona Leonor, who had borne all the hardships of the journey so cheerfully, was plunged by this new misfortune into the greatest distress.

With what object is not stated, but for some reason they still pressed on northward. They were reduced to one hundred and twenty souls, all told, when they crossed the Espirito Santo or river of Lourenço Marques in canoes supplied by the natives at the price of a few nails, and entered the territory of the chief of whom Garcia de Sá had warned them. His kraal was about three miles farther on. He professed to receive them with favour, and for a few days supplied them with provisions, but at length informed them that they must entrust him with the care of their arms while they were in his country, as that was one of his laws. Dona Leonor objected to this, but the

males of the party complied with the chief's demand, in the belief that by doing so they would secure his friendship. As soon as they were in a defenceless condition he caused them to be separated, under pretence of distributing them among different kraals where they would be provided with food, but kept the captain with his family and about twenty others at his own residence.

Those who dispersed were immediately stripped of their clothing and driven away to perish. Then the captain was robbed of a quantity of precious stones—worth several thousand pounds—as well as some gold that he had with him, and he and his family and attendants were ordered to leave the kraal. They wandered about for two days, without meeting any of their late associates in misery, when some natives fell upon them and stripped them naked. Dona Leonor, who fought like a tigress while the savages were tearing her garments from her, sat down on the ground with her two little boys, her half demented husband, and a few faithful female slaves beside her. The white men of the party, who could do nothing to relieve such anguish as hers, went on in search of wild plants with which to prolong their lives. Shortly afterwards one of the boys died of hunger, when the father scraped a hole in the sand and buried the body. The next day he went to seek some roots or berries for his starving wife, and on his return found her and the other child dead and the slave women wailing loudly. They buried the mother and child in the sand, after which the sorely afflicted nobleman disappeared in a thicket, and was never seen again.

Eight Portuguese, fourteen male slaves, and three of the female slaves who were with Dona Leonor when she died, managed to preserve their lives. Some of them wandered to a distance of fifty miles from the scene of the last disaster. At length a trading vessel put into the bay in search of ivory, and her captain, hearing of the unfortunate people, rescued them by offering for each one a trifling reward in beads.

They reached Mozambique on the 25th of May 1553. Diogo de Mesquita, who was then captain of that island and the

stations south of the Zambesi, sent a little vessel to search along the coast, but no trace of any of the lost people could be found.

The *S. Bento* was one of a fleet of five ships sent by King John the third to India in March 1553. Among those who sailed in her on her outward passage was Luis de Camões, whose name still lives as that of the prince of Portuguese poets. She was one of the largest vessels of her time, and was commanded by Fernão d'Alvares Cabral, who was commodore of the squadron. Having reached her destination in safety, she took in a return cargo, and sailed from Cochin on the 1st of February 1554. On the passage stormy weather with a very heavy sea was encountered, in which the ship sustained great damage, and when she reached the African coast it was feared every moment that she would go to the bottom. On the 21st of April she struck upon a rocky ledge on the western side of the mouth of the Umtata,\* and in a few minutes broke into fragments.

Forty-four Portuguese and over a hundred slaves lost their lives in trying to reach the shore, and two hundred and twenty-four slaves and ninety-nine Portuguese, many of them severely bruised, managed to get to land. Among the latter was Manuel de Castro, one of the few survivors of the crew of the *S. João*, who died, however, a few hours later from injuries received during the breaking up of the ship. A small quantity of provisions was washed ashore with the débris of the cargo, but it was so much damaged with salt water that it could not long remain fit for use.

\* Termed the Infante in the account of the wreck given by one of the officers who was saved, but there is ample evidence in this document and in another by the same officer that the Umtata was the scene of the disaster. On that wild and little frequented coast the mouth of any considerable stream south of the Umzimvubu would be set down as the Infante by a Portuguese who saw it. He would know there was a large river of that name somewhere between the Umzimvubu and the islet of the Cross, and he would not know there were many others. The crew of the *S. Bento* passed over no stream of any importance before they reached the Umzimvubu, the *S. Christovão* as they termed it.



After this was collected and a temporary shelter was made of carpets and silks, a general consultation took place as to what was best to be done. Some thought it advisable to try to march overland to the Watering Place of Saldanha, but this was overruled by the majority, because of the fierceness of the natives in that direction, as had been proved by the slaughter of the viceroy D'Almeida and so many of his companions, and further because vessels very seldom called there and consequently, even if they should arrive with life, most probably all would perish before relief appeared. Others were of opinion that they should remain where they were and endeavour to construct some kind of craft that could be sent to Sofala for aid, but this too was overruled, as the supply of food would soon be exhausted and they had no proper materials for building a boat. There was then but one other plan. Before they left India Lourenço Marques was preparing for a voyage to the river which bore his name, in order to trade for ivory, and their only hope of life was to make their way northward and reach him before his departure, which would be some time in June, or, if that should fail, to push on to Sofala.

Accordingly, on the 27th of April they set out, each one heavily laden with food, pieces of calico, and nails or other iron for barter. A ship's boy and a female slave, who were too severely hurt to live long, were of necessity left behind. They had seen a few naked natives at the place of the wreck, but there were no huts or any indications of kraals in the neighbourhood, so after crossing the river they directed their course inland, towards the north-east, in hope of finding people from whom they could obtain guides and provisions in exchange for iron. But for four days they were disappointed, and when on the fifth day of their march they came to a kraal of about twenty huts, its inhabitants were found to be living on wild roots and plants, so that no food was to be had from them.

Finding the country almost uninhabited, a little later they resolved to turn towards the shore, where they could at least obtain shellfish, and where they believed the rivers could be more easily crossed than inland, as all had bars of sand at

their mouths. Before they reached the Umzimvubu several of the weakest of the party became utterly exhausted, and were abandoned on the way. The passage of this river was accomplished with the greatest difficulty, and on the following day, the thirteenth of the journey, the sea was reached at the place where the *S. João* was lost. Some of her timbers were still to be seen, and in a deserted kraal in the neighbourhood pieces of chinaware and other articles used by Europeans were found.

After this, keeping along the shore, they found a good supply of mussels and oysters, and considered the beach much better for travelling over than the rough mountains and valleys inland. The country was inhabited, but the natives were hostile, bands of them constantly hovering about, ready to attack loiterers. Five days after leaving the Umzimvubu they reached the Umtamvuna, which they crossed on rafts, after a skirmish with the natives. Four days later they were on the right bank of the Umzimkulu. Here the people were very friendly, singing and clapping their hands as they came forward to see the strangers, and bringing food to sell for little pieces of iron. It was the first they had been able to purchase since they set out on their journey twenty-two days before. Here was found a young man from Bengal who had been left behind by Manuel de Sousa's party, but as he could not speak Portuguese he was of little or no service. He declined to leave the connections he had formed, and when Cabral went on two Portuguese and about thirty slaves remained with him and the friendly natives.

Three days march farther brought them to the Umkomanzi, which they crossed at a ford pointed out by some Kaffirs, whose friendship they requited by endeavouring to make prize of a large basket of millet. This brought on a skirmish, which ended, however, in their opponents being compelled to retire. At the Umkomanzi they were joined by a young man named Gaspar, a Moor by birth, who was left behind by Manuel de Sousa. He had acquired the native language, but was glad of an opportunity to get away from the country,

and so went on with them and made himself useful as an interpreter.

At the end of another three days they were at a place which they called the mouth of the Pescaria, and which, from the description given, was in all probability the inlet on which the present city of Durban is situated. They were not the first white men, however, that saw it, for Manuel de Sousa had passed round its shores, and of his party a Portuguese named Rodrigo Tristão, a young man from Malabar, and two slaves were then living there. The natives were very friendly, and brought such a quantity of provisions, including goats, to sell for iron, that they easily supplied themselves with as much as they could consume and carry away. Rodrigo Tristão went on with them, but the Indian and the slaves preferred to remain where they were.

They were six days marching to the Tugela, which they termed the Saint Lucia, stopping on the journey only to purchase a cow and to take the needful rest, though they suffered greatly from thirst. The river was crossed on rafts, but the captain Fernão d'Alvares Cabral and another white man were overturned in the current and lost their lives. Francisco Pires, the boatswain, was then chosen to lead the party, and after resting a day they moved on.

South of the Tugela they had suffered much from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, but they had managed to move forward about eight miles a day in a direct line, perhaps actually walking thirteen or fourteen. They were now entering a district much more difficult to travel in, owing to the swamps and sheets of shallow water that abounded in it, the want of shellfish on the sandy coast, and the poverty of the natives, most of whom were hostile. Their iron for barter was nearly exhausted, and only on a very few occasions were they able to purchase a little food. One day's hardships resembled those of the next: struggling through marshes, fainting with hunger, skirmishing with natives, their number decreased rapidly. To such a condition were they reduced that some of them cooked and ate human flesh. At length, on the 7th of July fifty-six

Portuguese and six slaves, reduced almost to skeletons and covered with rags, reached the kraal of the Inyaka, Garcia de Sá, on the south-eastern shore of Delagoa Bay.

Here they were at first well received, but from the avidity with which the Portuguese ivory traders the year before had purchased the gold and jewels taken from Manuel de Sousa the chief had learned how valuable these things were, and presently he required the unfortunate men to give him everything they had in exchange for food. When they had done this they found that there was at the time such a scanty supply of provisions in the country that the chief, with the best intentions, could not furnish sufficient to keep them alive, and thus they were little better off than before. From their faulty chart they believed the river of Lourenço Marques to be still eighteen leagues distant, but they were so destitute and exhausted that they could go no farther. Hunger, sickness, ravenous animals, and vermin had to be contended with, and to add to their distress the interpreter Gaspar, who had ingratiated himself with the chief, treated them with the utmost cruelty and scorn.

Then they scattered about in different kraals, and were everywhere treated with such indignity and suffered such misery that the living envied those who died. At last, on the 3rd of November a sail appeared in the bay, to the inexpressible joy of the few who still survived. It was the trading vessel from Mozambique, commanded by Bastião de Lemos, who received his almost expiring countrymen with every mark of kindness, and did what he could to restore them to health and vigour. From him they learned that the cause of Lourenço Marques not having visited that part of the coast during the preceding season was his having suffered shipwreck on the passage.

Four months and a half the little vessel remained in the bay, her crew trading for ivory with the different chiefs in reach of their boats. On the 20th of March 1555 with the first westerly wind of the season she sailed for Mozambique, taking with her Rodrigo Tristão, of the *S. João*, and twenty

Portuguese and four slaves, of the *S. Bento*. Of the three hundred and twenty individuals who set out from the mouth of the Umtata, all the others had either perished or were left behind at native kraals on the line of march.

A few years later Francisco Barreto, shortly after being governor-general of India, narrowly escaped shipwreck on the African coast. Upon the arrival of his successor, the viceroy Dom Constantino de Bragança, on the 20th of January 1559 he left Goa in the ship *Aguia* to return to Portugal. Very heavy weather was encountered off the southern shore, and the ship was so disabled that it was with difficulty she could be kept afloat. Barreto then resolved to get as far back towards Mozambique as possible, to keep close to the land on the way, and to run the hulk aground in the last extremity. Fortunately, however, he was not obliged to resort to this extreme measure, for the wind was favourable and the island was reached without further disaster.

The *Aguia* was unladen and repaired at Mozambique, and on the 17th of November she set sail once more. She had not proceeded far when she again sprang a leak, and soon afterwards a westerly gale was encountered which lasted three days. The pilot, who was a veteran in the service, declared that such an occurrence at that time of the year had never been known before, and as all on board looked upon it as a warning from God not to persevere in the voyage, the ship's head was again turned towards Mozambique.

Barreto now abandoned the *Aguia* and proceeded to India in a little vessel, in which he nearly perished of thirst on the passage. After some delay at Goa he embarked in the homeward bound ship *S. Gião*, and without further mishap reached Lisbon in June 1561, twenty-nine months after he first set out to return to that city.

Owing to this occurrence and others of a similar nature, King Sebastião issued instructions to Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello, one of the surviving officers of the *S. Bento*, to survey the African coast from Cape Correntes to the Cape of Good Hope, and ascertain if there were any harbours in which

ships could winter if necessary and at all times find shelter during those gales from the westward that caused the heavy sea. For this purpose the experienced seaman left Mozambique in a small vessel on the 22nd of November 1575. No method of determining longitudes was then known, and the instrument used for ascertaining the sun's altitude at noon was so clumsy that observations made with it on shipboard were almost always incorrect. Some of the latitudes of points on the coast given by Manuel de Mesquita are more than fifty miles from their true position, and in his report, which was intended to be a guide for navigators, he lays down as a rule that the topography of the different places visited must alone be depended upon.

His survey therefore was nothing more than an inspection from the deck of his vessel of the shore from about the Kowie river westward, but soundings were taken, the compass bearings of the points of the bays from the anchorages within them were ascertained, and sketches—some of them almost grotesque—of the scenery at each one were made. Distances were laid down merely by guess. As far as the coast between the Bird islands and Delagoa Bay was concerned he depended upon his overland journey twenty-one years before, and as he mistook the Umtata for the river now known as the Fish, his observations upon that part of the seaboard were most inaccurate. Thus he estimated the mouth of the Umzimvubu—by him called the S. Christovão—as only about twenty-eight English miles from that of the Fish, and in his chart also he lays it down in that position. Here he actually made an error of fully one hundred and sixty English miles.

The best shelter along the whole coast, according to him, was to be found within the curve of the land at the mouth of the Breede river, to which as a compliment to the king he gave the name Saint Sebastian's Bay. There, he reported, a vessel would be protected from all winds except those from east-north-east to south-east. An east wind was blowing when he was there, to which he attributed the heavy surf on the bar at the mouth of the Breede river, but he thought that during

the westerly monsoon the passage would be smooth, and then a whole fleet might enter the inner harbour and be perfectly landlocked. The place abounded with fish, and plenty of fresh water was to be had.

Next in importance he regarded the Watering Place of Saint Bras, now called Mossel Bay. He described it as sheltered from all winds except those from north-east to south-east by east, and as having good holding ground for anchors. The islet in it he found covered with seals and penguins. Of the hermitage built there more than half a century earlier, and dedicated to Saint Bras, nothing now remained but portions of the walls three or four feet in height. On the highest point of the western cape on the 7th of January 1576 he set up a wooden cross, and attached to it a sealed tube containing a record of the event.

Fermosa Bay—now Plettenberg's Bay—and the bay which he named Saint Francis he also regarded as good ports for the purpose needed, both being sheltered from all winds excepting those from the north-east to the south, having good ground for anchoring, and plenty of fresh water within reach. Of the bay Da Lagoa—now Algoa—he thought less highly, though he was of opinion that shelter could be found near the islet of the Cross.

His latitudes and distances are so incorrect that it is impossible to state with precision the limits of his land of Natal, but he seems to have regarded the coast from about the Kei to the Umkomanzi as coming under that designation. He described it as being without ports or rivers into which large ships could enter. Of the inlet termed in modern times the bay of Natal he makes no mention whatever, though his Point Pescaria is most probably the present Bluff.

The bay into which the rivers Maputa, Santo Espirito, and Manisa flow he was able to describe more accurately than any other on the south-eastern coast, owing to his residence on its shores in former years. The old Inyaka Garcia de Sá, who had assisted the wrecked people of the *S. João* and the *S. Bento*, was still alive in 1576.

Of the remaining part of the survey it is needless to state anything more than that it was in all respects so defective that it could not have been of use to vessels frequenting the coast, if there had been any such. Manuel de Mesquita's report marks the highest point of knowledge of the African shore south of Delagoa Bay acquired by the Portuguese before they were superseded in the eastern traffic by the Dutch, but for any other purpose it is valueless. Saint Sebastian's Bay, Saint Francis Bay, and Point Delgada still retain the names which he gave to them, and it is interesting to remember that the first of these serves to connect South Africa with the young and gallant king who disappeared in battle with the Moors at El-Kasr el-Kebir, but who, in the belief of the lower classes of the Portuguese for generations, was one day to reappear and restore his country to its former glory.\*

The narrative of the wreck of the ship *Santiago* throws hardly any special light upon the condition of the natives, but from it some particulars concerning the trade of the Portuguese along the lower Zambesi are to be obtained. The *Santiago* sailed from Lisbon for Goa on the 1st of April 1585, with more than four hundred and fifty souls on board, and in the night of the 18th of August struck upon a shoal in the Mozambique channel, where she went to pieces. Five or six rafts were made, and on these and in two small boats some of the people tried to get to the African coast. One raft and the two boats succeeded in reaching the shore between the Luabo and the Quilimane mouths, the people on the other rafts were either drowned or perished from starvation.

The commerce of the delta of the Zambesi and of the terri-

\* The names on Perestrello's chart are the following: Cabo de Boa Esperança, Cabo Falso, Cabo das Agulhas, Cabo do Infante, Bahia de S. Sebastião, Cabo das Vacas, Cabo de S. Bras, Agoada de S. Bras, Cabo Talhado, Bahia de S. Caterina, Cabo das Baxas, Ponta Delgada, Bahia Ferosa, Cabo das Serras, Bahia de S. Francisco, Cabo do Arrecife, Ilha da Cruz, Bahia da Lagoa, Ilheos Chaos, Ponta do Padrão, Rio do Infante, Rio de S. Christovão, Primeira Ponta do Natal, Ponta do Meio, Ponta Derradeira, Ponta de Pescaria, Ponta de S. Lucia, Rio de S. Lucia, Rio dos Medãos do Ouro, Ponta dos Fumos, Terra dos Fumos, Bahia de Lourenço Marques, Rio do Santo Espirito, Rio do Maniça, and Rio do Ouro.



tory bordering upon it to the south was at this time to a small extent in the hands of Arab mixed breeds, who professed to be vassals of the Portuguese. The principal man among them was one Muinha Sedaca, who was wealthy and had a large establishment. He showed much kindness to those of the wrecked people who landed near his residence, and assisted them to reach a place of safety.

The chief commerce, however, was in the hands of a Portuguese named Francisco Brochado, who had acquired great influence and power in the country. He was a man of good family, and had settled on the Zambesi thirty years before. He had two great establishments, consisting entirely of slaves, one at Quilimane, the other on the Luabo, and at each he resided during a portion of the year. His generosity to his wrecked countrymen was unbounded, and by him they were clothed and otherwise cared for until they could embark at Quilimane for Mozambique.

Francisco Brochado held the title of an office from the Portuguese government, but his power was not due to that: it was owing solely to the influence which a resolute, active, and able man had acquired over a community of barbarians. It was entirely personal. Portuguese rule existed at Quilimane, and, above the delta, at Sena, but except at those stations native chiefs governed their followers, and knew nothing of foreign supremacy beyond the influence which Brochado had gained among them. He had leased from the captain of Sofala and Mozambique a monopoly of the commerce of the delta, and all the boats on the rivers—excepting a few small ones owned by the Arab mixed breeds—were in his service. The profits were commonly enormous, but the trade was fluctuating and subject to many reverses.

In January 1589 the ship *S. Thomé* sailed from Cochin for Portugal. No vessel so richly laden had left the Indian seas for many years, but so widespread was corruption among the officials of all classes that she was very insufficiently furnished for the passage. Her captain was a man of little ability, named Estevão da Veiga. There were many passengers on board,

among whom were Dom Paul de Lima and his lady Dona Beatrice, Bernardim de Carvalho, Gregorio Botelho and his daughter Dona Mariana, who was proceeding to Portugal to rejoin her husband Guterre de Monroy, Dona Joanna de Mendoga, widow of Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo, who had her only child, a little girl not two years of age, with her, and Diogo de Couto, who had been wrecked before in the *Santiago*.

The officers were desirous of reaching the island of St. Helena before any of the other vessels which left Cochin at the same time, so they crowded on sail until the ship sprang a leak off the southern point of Madagascar. The leak was partly stopped, and the ship continued on her course until the 12th of March, when a south-westerly wind was encountered, and the water began anew to gain rapidly on the pumps. An effort was then made to reach Mozambique, pumping and baling were carried on incessantly, and the ship was lightened as much as possible, but a few days later it was seen that she could not float many hours longer.

There was a very large boat on the deck, which was now got into the water. A scramble took place, each man striving to fight his way into it, so that by the time it got clear of the ship it contained no fewer than one hundred and nine individuals. The three ladies were among the number, but the agony of the widow De Mendoga was intense, for her child was in the sinking ship, and its nurse would not give it up unless she too were rescued. This was not possible, for already the boat was so overcrowded that to lighten her twelve men were thrown out and drowned.

There was a Dominican friar, Nicolas of the Rosary by name, on board the *S. Thomé*, and those in the boat shouted to him to jump overboard and swim to them, when they would pick him up, but he would not leave the ship until he had attended to the spiritual needs of those who were about to die. When that was done, he sprang into the sea, swam to the boat, and was taken in.

At ten in the morning the ship was seen to go down. Early

next day, the 22nd of March, the boat reached the coast of the territory now called Tongaland, which was then occupied by the Makomata tribe. Some sailors landed, and found a kraal not far off, where they were treated in a friendly manner. The officers now resolved to proceed along the coast to the river of Lourenço Marques, but as the wind freshened they were unable to carry out that design in the boat, which would certainly have foundered. They therefore ran her ashore, and burned her to get nails to trade with, after which they set out to march overland. They were in all ninety-eight souls, and they had five guns with ammunition, as many swords, and a little food.

On their journey they encountered many natives, a few hostile, but the greater number friendly, and they were able to exchange their nails for hens, goats, fish, and bruised millet, so that they did not suffer much from hunger before their arrival at the kraal of the Inyaka chief, who was son and successor of Garcia de Sá. This chief treated them as well as he could, but his resources were insufficient for the maintenance of so many persons thrown thus suddenly upon him. He therefore proposed that they should take up their abode on Elephant Island, then called Setimuro, where he would send them as much food as he could collect until the arrival of the trading vessel from Mozambique in the following year. The one of this season had sailed only a few days before.

The wrecked people fell in with this proposal, and were conducted to Elephant Island, which was uninhabited. It was on that account used as their principal station by the Portuguese ivory traders when they visited the bay. The huts which they had put up provided accommodation for the cast-aways, and they had left there two native boats that could be turned to account. The want of food, which the Inyaka could not supply in sufficient quantity, here after a short time became so pressing that the party resolved to attempt to push on to Sofala as their only hope of life.

On the 18th of April sixty of them set out in the two

boats for the northern shore of the bay, after arranging that a few sailors should return for the others, thirty-six in number, who were left behind. One of the boats safely reached the mouth of the Manisa, where its crew were informed that at the kraal of the chief, twelve leagues up the stream, there were some Portuguese. They therefore went up the river, and found Jeronymo Leitão, the master of the trading vessel that had left Elephant Island about a month before, with his companions. He informed them that he had put into the Limpopo, where he had been robbed of his vessel and cargo, and had then travelled overland to the kraal of Manisa, who had treated him kindly. The chief received the people of the boat in a friendly manner, and provided for their wants.

The other boat got into the surf, and was run ashore near the mouth of the Limpopo, where she was of necessity abandoned. Her crew then set out to march northward. Most of the natives on the way gave them assistance, but their sufferings were so great from hunger, thirst, fatigue, and fever, that nearly half of them perished. The survivors passed through Gamba's country and Inhambane, and a little farther on found a Portuguese trader with a boat. He took them across to the island of Bazaruta, which was then occupied by Arabs of mixed blood, who treated them very well. There was also a native of Sofala living on the island, and this man procured a small vessel, in which they completed their journey to the Portuguese station, where their troubles ended.

Meantime fever attacked the Europeans at Manisa's kraal and those left on Elephant Island, so that it was some time before the latter could be taken across to their friends. Manisa was able to provide them all with food, so they did not attempt to go farther. Jeronymo Leitão, who was accustomed to deal with natives, had sent messengers overland to Sofala, to inform the captain there of what had occurred. That officer, on receiving the intelligence, at once sent a small pangayo with necessary articles, and as at that season of the year she could not sail to the river Manisa, her cargo was landed at Inhambane and then forwarded overland by native

carriers. Before this assistance arrived, Dom Paul de Lima, Bernardim de Carvalho, and many other males of the party had died, but the three ladies were still living. They remained at Manisa's kraal until the change of the monsoon permitted a pangayo to be sent for them, in which they went to Mozambique, and there embarked in a ship bound to Goa.

On the 21st of January 1593 the ship *Santo Alberto* sailed from Cochin for Lisbon. She was commanded by the captain Julião de Faria Cerveira, and had as pilot a man of experience named Rodrigo Migueis. Among those on board were Dona Isabella Pereira, daughter of Francisco Pereira, an officer at Goa, and widow of Diogo de Mello Coutinho, who had been captain of Ceylon, Dona Luiza, daughter of that lady, a girl sixteen years of age, Nuno Velho Pereira, recently captain of Sofala, and two friars. There were many other passengers, some of them gentlemen of position.

In latitude  $10^{\circ}$  S. the ship sprang a leak, and could not afterwards be freed of water. On the 21st of March the African coast was in sight, in latitude  $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  according to observations with the astrolabe, and here the leak increased greatly. The ship was lightened as much as possible, the pumps were kept constantly at work, and baling was resorted to, but the water in the hold continued to rise. In order therefore to save the lives of those on board, as there was no hope of being able to keep afloat much longer, the *Santo Alberto* was run ashore. Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning of the 24th of March she struck about three or four hundred yards from the beach. One hundred and twenty-five Portuguese, including the two ladies, and one hundred and sixty slaves got safely to land, and twenty-eight Portuguese and thirty-four slaves were drowned.

Fortunately a quantity of stores of different kinds, arms, ammunition, bales of calico, pieces of metal, beads, an astrolabe, some writing paper, and other articles were saved from the wreck. The pilot believed the latitude of the place to be  $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  S., but that was certainly an error, because there was only one

large river between it and the Umzimvubu, and if it had been correct the Bashee and the Umtata must have been crossed. The Portuguese maps were still so defective that the position of all but very prominent places upon them was uncertain. The wrecked crew of the *Santo Alberto* believed the remarkable rock now known as the Hole in the Wall, close to which they were, to be the Penedo das Fontes of Dias, and the first river beyond, which was the Umtata of our day, to be the Rio do Infante of that explorer. From this time onward until their arrival at Delagoa Bay, to which place they resolved to proceed, the pilot kept a journal, in which he noted the distances travelled, the direction, occasionally the latitude, particulars concerning barter, observations upon the natives, and other matters of interest. Many Bantu words given in this journal are easily made out, and from the observations recorded the route of the party can be laid down nearly—if not quite—accurately on a modern map.\*

The wrecked people commenced their journey from the streamlet Mpako, about ten miles west of the mouth of the Umtata. The great rock, which then, according to the journal, bore the name Tizombe, is now called Zikali. Nuno Velho Pereira, being a man of rank and experience, was elected leader, and Antonio Godinho, who had for a long time traded at stations in the Zambesi valley, took charge of the barter, on which the very lives of the travellers depended. Arrangements were made for the journey similar to those of a trading caravan. Calico, beads, and pieces of metal were done up in packs to be carried by the slaves, and the arms and provisions were borne by the Portuguese.

While these preparations were in progress, on the 27th of March a native chief with sixty followers made his appearance. His name, as recorded, was Luspance. Calling out Nanhata! Nanhata! in a friendly tone, the band came for-

\* I am indebted for assistance in tracing this route to Walter Stanford, Esquire, C.M.G., recently chief magistrate of Griqualand East. This gentleman is thoroughly acquainted with the territory, which I have not had an opportunity of examining.

ward, when the chief presented two large sheep with heavy tails like those of Ormus. Among the slaves was one who could make himself understood by Luspance, and who spoke also the language of the Bantu of Mozambique. Another slave spoke the last-named language and also Portuguese, so that through two intermediary interpreters the Europeans could make their wants known. And throughout one of the most remarkable journeys ever made in South Africa slaves of the party could always converse with the natives, a circumstance which tended greatly towards the safety of all.

Luspance is described as a man of good stature, light in colour, of a cheerful countenance, and about forty-five years of age. He and his people wore karosses of oxhide made soft by rubbing and greasing, and they had sandals on their feet. They could run with great speed. In their hands they carried sticks with jackals' tails attached to them, and the chief had as an ornament a piece of copper suspended from his left ear. They were husbandmen and graziers. Their grain was millet of the size of peppercorns, which was ground between two stones, and of which they also made beer. Their wealth consisted of cattle, whose milk was one of their ordinary articles of diet. Their huts were round and low, were covered with reed mats, and were not proof against rain. They had pots made of clay, used assagais in war and the chase, and kept dogs. They were without any form of worship, but were circumcised, as were nearly all the natives south of the twenty-ninth parallel of latitude. They were very sensual, each man having as many wives as he chose. Gold and silver were esteemed by them as of little value, but for very small pieces of iron or copper they were willing to sell oxen or sheep. Their language was a dialect of that in use by all the people of Kaffraria, and their chief, like the petty rulers in the country to the north, was termed an Inkosi.

From this description it is evident that Luspance's clan was of mixed Bantu and Hottentot blood, the former, however, prevailing, and that in 1593 the condition of things along the Umtata was similar to that along the Fish river two centuries

later, when the incorporation of the Gonaquas in the Xosa tribe had recently taken place.

On the 3rd of April the travellers commenced their march. Luspace sold them two cows and two sheep, and went with them himself as a guide as far as the Umtata. A negro boy, one of whose legs had been broken in getting to land, was left behind with the friendly natives. On the afternoon of the next day they crossed the Umtata, which they believed to be the Infante, and then Luspace bade them farewell, after directing a guide whose name is given as Inhancosa—(evidently Nyana wenkosi, *i.e.* son of the chief)—to conduct them onward.

On the 5th they obtained eight cows in barter, on the 7th they passed a field of millet, of which they purchased some, and on the 9th they reached a little kraal that was in possession of a hundred head of horned cattle and a hundred and twenty sheep of the large-tailed breed. The chief presented calabashes of milk, and sold them four cows for pieces of copper worth as many pence. A little farther on they reached a kraal under a chief named Ubabu, who was a brother of their guide. He was a man of middling stature, not very black in colour, with an open cheerful countenance. He entertained the strangers with a dance, in which about sixty men took part, the women clapping their hands and singing in time. Though Ubabu had about two hundred head of large cattle and as many sheep, he would not part with any except at prices which the Portuguese regarded as extortionate, but he was very pleased to accept of the presents they made him.

Soon after leaving his kraal some natives were seen with beads of Indian manufacture hanging from their ears, which the journalist conjectured must have been brought down from the trading station at Delagoa Bay, though it is much more likely that they were obtained from the wreck of the *S. João* or the *S. Bento*. Progress was slow, often little more than a league in a day being covered, but on the 14th the caravan reached the Umzimvubu at the ford now known as the Etyeni, where the passage of the stream was safely made.



After crossing this river, the largest in Kaffraria, the tone of the journal changes. The travellers found themselves now in a more thickly populated country, and the inhabitants were blacker in colour. They had not proceeded far when a chief named Vibo, who was much more powerful than any they had seen before, and who is described as being very black and about eighty years of age, came to meet them. After that chiefs in possession of kraals of considerable size were found at intervals along their whole line of march, except when they were on the high plateau from which rises the Drakensberg. They had no difficulty in purchasing as many horned cattle, sheep, hens, gourds, and millet cakes, and as much millet and milk as they needed. For the millet cakes, probably on account of their being so different from European bread, they used the native name *isinkwa*, which the journalist wrote *sincoa*. The gleeful exclamation *Halala! Halala!* they mistook for a form of greeting, but they were correct in believing that the word *manga* (properly *isimanga*) referred to the sea, though literally it means a wonder.

They passed over the high ground behind the present mission station *Palmerton*, along by the *Ingele* mountain, which they called *Moxangala*, and on the 3rd of May saw the *Drakensberg* to the northward and north-eastward covered with snow. This part of the country, being too cold in the winter season to be pleasant for *Bantu*, they found uninhabited. Turning now towards the lowlands, on the 13th of May they crossed a beautiful river which they called the *Mutangalo*, the *Umzimkulu* of our day.

The present colony of *Natal* they found thickly peopled. By this time they were inured to travel, the weather was in all respects favourable, and they could usually obtain competent guides, so they made much longer stages than at first. It took them only sixteen days to go over the ground from the *Umzimkulu* to the *Tugela*—the *Uchugel* they termed it,—which stream they crossed on the 29th of May.

Continuing at this rapid rate, they reached *Delagoa Bay* on the 30th of June, having marched as they computed three

hundred leagues in eighty-eight days. From the Mpako to the Espirito Santo a straight line measures only one hundred and fifty leagues, but they thought the various turns in the footpaths had doubled that distance. They had nineteen head of cattle when they reached the bay. On the journey they had been compelled to abandon nine Europeans who were worn out with sickness and fatigue, and they lost ninety-five slaves, mostly by desertion. This wonderful success was due to its being the best time of the year for travelling, to their being so strong and so well armed that no natives dared to attack them, to their being provided with means to purchase food, and to their having slaves who could make themselves understood by the Bantu along the route.

At Delagoa Bay they found the trading vessel *Nossa Senhora da Salvação* nearly ready to return to Mozambique. She was not large enough to contain them all, but her mixed-breed Moslem sailors, who had their wives with them, consented for liberal payment to remain behind, and thus she was lightened of forty-five individuals. It was the custom of these people, instead of receiving wages, to be allowed to trade in millet, honey, and anything else except ivory or ambergris on their own account, and therefore they would have little difficulty in providing for themselves on shore. From them the chief captain purchased an ample supply of millet for food on the passage. Twenty-eight Portuguese soldiers and sailors resolved to travel overland to Sofala, but only two of this party reached their destination; the others perished on the way in conflicts brought on by their own misconduct. Eighty-eight Portuguese, including the two ladies, and sixty-four slaves embarked in the trading vessel, which sailed on the 22nd of July, and reached Mozambique in safety on the 6th of August.

In all the region traversed by the crews of these wrecked ships not a single tribe is mentioned of the same name as any now existing. The people were all of the Bantu race as far south as the Umzimvubu, spoke dialects of the same language, had the same customs, but were not grouped as at present. South of the Umzimvubu there was a mixture of Bantu and

Hottentot blood, but how far the former extended in this diluted form cannot be ascertained. Probably not far, as the country was very sparsely populated. It is noticeable also that the whole of the high plateau from which the Drakensberg rises was without inhabitants at least as far north as the present colony of Natal.

It would serve no useful purpose to give the names of the tribes about Delagoa Bay and farther northward, as placed on record by the Portuguese writers, for even if those names were accurate at the time, the communities that bore them have long since ceased to exist, and never did anything to merit a place in history. Along the coast south of Delagoa Bay only four tribes of importance are mentioned. The first was that of the Inyaka, occupying the island now known by that name and the territory between the Maputa river and the sea. Joining them on the south were the Makomata, under a chief called Viragune by the Portuguese, whose kraals were scattered over the country from the coast ninety miles inland. Then came the Makalapapa, who lived about the St. Lucia lagoon. South of them was a tribe termed the Vambe by the Portuguese, which was to a certainty the Abambo of Hlubi, Zizi, and other traditions, from whom Natal is still called Embo by the Bantu.

All the paramount chiefs of these tribes were termed kings by the Portuguese, and the territories in which they lived were described as kingdoms. In the same way the heads of kraals were designated nobles. Phraseology of this kind, so liable to lead readers into error, ended, however, with the so-called Vambe kingdom, as farther south there were no tribes of any importance, no chiefs with more than three or four kraals under their control, and to these a high-sounding title could not be given. The Pondo, Pandomisi, Tembu, and Xosa tribes of our day were either not yet in existence as separate communities, or were little insignificant clans too feeble to attract notice.



# RECORDS OF SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.

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## EXTRACTOS

DO

LIVRO CHAMADO LENDAS DA INDIA,

POR GASPAR CORREA.

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[Of Gaspar Correa, the author of this work, very little is known with certainty except that he went to India in 1512, when he was a boy, that he was in Portugal in 1529, and that soon after this date he returned to India, where he was still living in 1561. It is supposed that he died at Goa about the year 1562. That he bestowed an enormous amount of time and labour upon the preparation of his volumes is unquestionable, though it is equally beyond doubt that he had not access to official documents of the highest importance. His information was derived from what he saw and what he heard from the actors in the events that he narrates. He left four large manuscript volumes, which were carefully preserved, though none were published before 1858. They cover a period of fifty-three years, beginning with the discovery of the ocean route to India by Vasco da Gama. In 1858 the first volume was published in quarto by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, aided by a grant from the government, and before the close of 1864 the three others appeared, all under the supervision of Senhor Rodrigo José de Lima Felner. The work is one of high value, though it is necessary to compare it carefully with the official documents of the time. A small portion of it, translated into English by the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley, was published in London by the Hakluyt Society in 1869, under the title *The three Voyages of Vasco da Gama and his Viceroyalty*.—G. M. T.]

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*Pedraluares Cabral, Anno de 1501.*

E porque o Capitão mór tinha tomado muyta informação de Cofalla, que era de grande riqueza, de grande resgate d'ouro, do que muyto lhe contarão os pilotos de Melinde, que deixou aqui em Moçambique que se quizerão tornar pera Melinde, e assy

muyta informação que lhe deo o Xeque, houve conselho com os Capitaes, em que assentou mandar descobrir Çofalla, e ordenou que fosse lá Sancho de Toar na nao de Luis Pires, que era naueta mais pequena e muyto veleira; e o Luis Pires vinha muyto doente pera morrer, o qual o Capitão mór recolheo á sua nao. E mandou com Sancho de Toar Gaspar o lingoa, e hum dos pilotos de Melinde que sabia bem o caminho, e na naueta forão mercadores honrados de Moçambique que leuarão roupas de Cambaya, e humas contas ruiuas, que era a principal mercadoria do trato; e Sancho de Toar leuou presente pera o Rey de peças de seda vermelha, e espelhos, barretes, cascaueis, campainhas de Frandes, e continhas de vidro cristalinas, e outras cousas que hauia na terra, com que em Çofalla folgauão; com que partio a naueta, e foi ter no rio de Çofalla que era grande em que entrou e sorgio; então forão a terra os mercadores visitar ElRey, e cada hum levar seo presente como he seo costume, que nenhuma pessoa vem de fóra parte, que hindo aparecer ante ElRey, ha lhe de levar qualquer cousa que lhe dê inda que seja hum só limão; e os mercadores fallarão a ElRey, que aquella nao era de Portugueses, e que o Capitão vinha pera lhe fallar, e pera isso lhe pedia licença pera sahir em terra. Do que ElRey houve muyto prazer porque já lhe tinhão dito e contado as muytas grandezas que os nossos fizerão em Moçambique as naos primeiras, e as que fizera Pedraluares Cabral, e lhe leuarão vinho e cousas de Portugal; e logo ElRey deo a licença e seguro com hum anel do seo dedo, e mandou que lhe fossem fallar, o que logo forão o Capitão Sancho de Toar com dez homens muyto bem concertados, e foi ante ElRey com muytas cortesias, e lhe apresentou o presente com que ElRey houve muyto prazer, e lhe derão o recado da parte do Capitão mór que ficaua em Moçambique, dizendo que sabendo elle que era tamanho Rey, e que fazia muyto bem aos mercadores que hião a sua terra, desejando ter sua amizade e tratar em sua terra mandaua lá a saber delle se seria contente pera sempre lá mandar muytas naos carregadas de fazendas a tratar, assi como fazião os outros mercadores: do que ElRey disse que era muyto contente, e haueria muyto prazer, dizendo que sempre seria grande amigo com os nossos em quanto lhe fizessem boa verdade; e que logo leuassem as mercadorias que trazião ante elle: o que assi se fez, e ElRey mandou chamar os mercadores, que logo tudo lhe comprarão a sua usança, e lhe derão por ella ouro enfiado em

contasinhas, com que o emprego se dobraua de hum doze e quinze ; e deste modo do resgatar na renda e compra ao diante em seo logar falarei mais largamente ; e com muytas amizades se despedio Sancho de Toar. E o Rey mandou de presente ao Capitão mór hum marco destas continhas d'ouro assi enfiadas que tinha mil crusados, e a Sancho de Toar deo outra de trezentos crusados, e lhe deo muytas cousas de mantimento, e muyto rogando ao Capitão mór que mandasse lá suas mercadorias, que primeiro serião vendidas, que de nenhuns outros mercadores. E tomando o que hauia mister d'agoa e lenha, se partio pera o Reyno, e pagou muyto bem ao piloto de Melinde, que quis ficar aqui em Çofalla, e se foi d'aqui a Moçambique onde achou o zambuco de Melinde em que se foy.

*Dom Vasco da Gama, Anno de 1502.*

Tanto que o Capitão mór chegou a Moçambique, o Xequo logo foy á nao com presente de vaccas e carneiros, e cabras e galinhas, que tinha prestes pera elle que já tinha sabido que elle era o primeiro com que tiuera a guerra. O qual entrando se quisera deitar a seus pés pedindo perdão. O Capitão mór com prazer o recebeo, e fez honra, e mandou pagar muyto bem o que lhe trouxera, e lhe mandou dar hum pedaço de pano de grã, com que se foy muyto contente, e elle e todos os da terra seruião ao Capitão mór, como se fôra senhor da terra, porque todos fazião muyto seu proueito com os nossos, que andauão na terra sem fazer escandalo, nem mal nenhum, o que lhe era muy defeso polo Capitão mór. O qual o dia que chegou logo mandou desembarcar em terra madeira, que trazia laurada e acertada, pera huma carauela, que não houve mais que assentar e pregar, e calafetar, com tanto auiamento que em doze dias foy posta no mar, onde lhe fizerão as obras de cima, a que poz nome a Pomposa, de que fez capitão João Serrão, caualleiro honrado. E tambem como assi chegou a Moçambique, pola informação que deu Sancho de Toar a ElRey das cousas de Çofalla, como ja se contou na armada de Pedralvarez Cabral, ElRey lhe encarregou que mandasse descobrir tudo, e assentasse trato e resgate, polo que logo mandou lá Pero Affonso d'Aguiar em duas carauellas, que leuou muytas sortes de roupa de Cambaya, e contas, e outras cousas que erão do trato, que houve alguma que o Xequo tinha, em que todo se fazia muyto proueito, porque hum pano, que valia cento e cincoenta reis,

dauão por elle hum peso d'ouro, que valia setecentos e cinquenta reis. E Pedro Affonso tomou muyta informação do Xequê do modo de resgatar, e o que se daua por cada sorte dos panos que leuaua e das outras cousas. E o Xequê deu bom piloto que sabia o caminho. E o Capitão mór mandou grande presente ao Rey, que era cafre gentio, que já em Çofala tinhaõ bem sabido nossas cousas e ficarão muyto contentes de quando lá fora Sancho de Toar.

Partio Pero Afonso, e em poucos dias foy a Çofala, e chegando dentro no rio, mandou em terra hum homem de Moçambique que já sabia nossa fala, e mandou pedir licença ao Rey pera lhe ir falar, e dar recado que lhe leuaua do Capitão mór d'ElRey de Portugal, que estaua em Moçambique. O Rey houve prazer, e lhe mandou dizer que fosse muyto embora, e lhe mandou seu anel, que daua por seguro, com que logo foy Pero Afonso muyto bem vestido, com vinte homens assi bem vestidos, que o Rey recebeo com muytas honras, e o fez assentar nas esteiras, em que elle estaua assentado com os seus mais honrados da terra; e lhe apresentou huma peça de grã muyto fina, e outros pedaços de panos finos de cores, e hum espelho de Frandes, muyto grande, e facas, e barretes vermelhos, e huma soma de continhas enfiadas cristalinas de feições, com que muyto folgou ElRey, e logo as tomou na mão, e esteue olhando, e muyto gabando aos seus.

Então lhe disse Pero Afonso que o Capitão mór o mandaua aly pera saber d'elle se folgaria de ser muyto amigo d'ElRey seu Senhor, que tinha muyta vontade de assentar com elle paz e amizade pera sempre. A qual paz e amizade hauia de ser pera mandar a sua terra os seus Portuguezes com mercadorias a tratar, assi como fazião os outros mercadores, que vinhão a sua terra, dandolhe as mercadorias assi polos preços que lhas dauão os outros mercadores. O que todo d'ElRey ouvido, e falado com os seus, respondeo, que elle estaua em sua terra sem fazer mal a ninguem, e fazia muyto bem a quantos a ella vinhão, e mórmente aos mercadores, porque disso lhe vinha muyto proueito; o que assi faria aos Portuguezes que a sua terra viessem tratar, assi como os outros mercadores fazião. E porque elle já isto assi tinha dito aos outros Portuguezes, que aly tinhão vindo, assi agora o tornaua a dizer, e folgaria de fazer bem, de que lhe nom viesse depois mal. Ao que lhe Pero Afonso respondeo que tal nunqua seria, mas que sendo elle bom amigo com ElRey de Portugal, esta paz pera sempre



seria firme, em quanto elle fizesse verdade, e com ElRey de Portugal seria como irmão. Do que o Rey se mostrou muyto contente, affirmando tudo o que dizia, jurando polo sol e polo ceo, e sua cabeça e barriga, que tudo compriria em quanto viuesse, e que compraria quantas mercadorias lhe trouxessem, e daria por ellas assi como daua aos outros mercadores, que era preço assentado de muyto tempo; e em sinal desta verdade tirou do dedo polegar hum anel d'ouro, que deu a Pero Afonso, e deu logo presente pera o Capitão mór hum maço de ramaes de continhas d'ouro enfiadas, a que elles chamão pingo, que pesaua mil maticaes, que cada matical val quinhentos reis; e deu pera ElRey outro que tinha peso de tres mil maticaes; e deu a Pero Afonso outro de quinhentos maticaes, dizendo que a ElRey daua aquillo por sinal pera sempre cõmo irmão, com tanto que tambem lhe comprissem com elle, que nunca em seus tratos e mercadores lhe fizessem mal, nem em suas terras; e em firmesa de verdade de todo o que dizia, ElRey tocou sua mão direita com todos os seus, que hi estauão, e esta era toda firmesa de sua verdade, porque outro nenhum costume tinhão de escrever. O que todo Pero Afonso deu per escrito, por elle assinado com seis homens, assi como tinha dito. O que acabado, o papel foy lido, que o lingoa todo declarou, do que o Rey ficou muy espantado com os seus, porque nunca tinhão visto escrever, e dizião que o papel aquilo falaua por arte do diabo, e o recolheo em sua mão. Com que este dia se tornou Pero Afonso ás carauelas, onde o Rey lhe mandou galinhas e ovos, inhames, e outras cousas que hauia na terra.

Ao outro dia Pero Afonso tornou a ElRey, dizendo que mandasse trazer o que tiuesse, que logo seria vendido. Então lhe leuárão todo ante ElRey, o qual mandou vir ali os mercadores da terra que apartárão toda a roupa, cada sorte sobre si, e contada toda, pesárão ouro em balancinhas, e sobre cada sorte de pano lhe poserão seu preço com o ouro que cada hum valia. Então disse ElRey, que aquella roupa valia o ouro que estaua em cima della, que o tomassem, dizendo que os seus direitos já no peso lhe ficauão, que os mercadores lhos pagauão. O ouro mandou recolher Pero Affonso, e esteue falando com ElRey, e lhe parecia muyto bem o modo de comprar e vender, porque nom hauia prelias, que sempre tinhão os mercadores; e disse que tudo contaria ao Capitão mór, pedindo licença que se queria partir. ElRey disse

que com elle hauia de mandar hum seu homem que falasse com o Capitão mór, e lhe apresentasse o que lhe mandaue, e trouxesse outro papel da sua mão, o que Pero Affonso lhe disse que folgaua muyto. O qual homem ElRei lhe entregou com sua mão, com que se despedio, e se foy embarcar, e ElRey lhe mandou cabras e cousas de comer, com que se tornou a Moçambique onde nom achou já o Capitão mór que já era partido. Então entregou o messageiro ao Xequê, e lhe disse que ali aguardasse, que quando o Capitão mór tornasse, então lhe daria a repostá. Então Pero Affonso tomou o que hauia mister, e se partio caminho de Melinde pera onde o Capitão mór era partido, e lhe deixou disso recado per sua carta em mão do feitor Gonçallo Baixo que ficara pera o trato de Cofalla.

*Antonio de Saldanha, Anno de 1503.*

O Capitão mór Antonio de Saldanha nauegando se fez dobrado o Cabo, e foy demandar a terra, e achou se aqui, e tomou terra doze legoas á re do Cabo, e vendo huma angra d'area branca com huma Ilha, sendo o tempo bonança, deitou o batel fóra e foy sondando diante, e entrou na bahia onde sorgio, e buscando agoa achou hum ribeiro secco, e correo por elle, e dahi a um terço de mea legoa achou hum charco de muyto boa agoa nadiual, que vinha per antre humas pedras, a que nom acharão o nascimento; e tomarão aguada, e na Ilha fizerão carnagem de muytos passaros, que chamauão sutilicarios, e lobos marinhos, e tartarugas, que hauia muyto em estima. Na terra houverão fala de huns cafres nús, que lhe resgatarão cabras e vaccas por cascaueis, e espelinhos, e continhas de vidro. E hauendo seu conselho tornarão a sair ao mar, pera andarem ás voltas, e dobrar o Cabo, o que não poderão fazer, nem poderão tornar onde tomarão agoa, a que poserão a Agoada de Saldanha, e assi se chama oje em dia, a chamará quanto Nosso Senhor quiser.

*Dom Francisco d'Almeida, Visorey, Anno de 1505.*

Tambem era prestes pera partir com o Visorey outra armada de cinco nauios, de que era Capitão Pero da Nhaya, pera hir a Çofala fazer fortaleza, e assentar feitoria e trato; e estando de todo prestes, a nao Capitania fez huma agoa por popa, que nom

sentirão porque entrou no payol do biscouto, que foy embrandido, e carregou tanto que de noute entrou agoa pola almeida do leme, e a nao se foy ao fundo, que posto que o fundo era pouco nom se pôde tirar, com grandes trabalhos que nisso se poserão, porque a nao estaua carregada de cantaria laurada pera janellas e portas; mas partido o Visorey, ElRey tornou a reformar 'armada de seis nauios, que depois partio em Mayo, como adiante direy em seu logar.

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Lopo Sanches no paio abrio tamanha agoa, que a nom podia vencer com as bombas, polo que o Visorey lhe mandou que se fosse e dêsse totalas velas, e se fosse a Moçambique, e se nom dobrasse o Cabo se tornasse á Ilha de sam Thomé; porque o Visorey se foy muyto mettendo no mar por resguardo do Cabo, com que achou os frios e neues 'grandes, como já disse. Lopo Sanches passou o Cabo, e tanto lhe creceo 'agoa que foy buscar a terra, e varou nella alem do Cabo de sam Sebastião pera Çofala, e porque o mar era grande cortarão o masto, que ao cayr matou o Capitão e muytos homens, porque cayo em reués do que elles cuidauão, e outros sayrão a nado, tirando hum barril de biscouto que atarão em fardés ás costas, de que comerião; e se forão ao longo da praya, e toparão com huns Cafres, que sem lhe fazer mal os levarão a Çofala, que ElRey os agasalhou, e deu panos, e os mandou a Moçambique. Os quaes dahy se forão a Quiloa onde estaua o Visorey, poucos delles, porque polo caminho morrerão muytos.

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Estandose o Visorey fazendo prestes pera partir, chegou Lopo de Goes, que fora de Quiloa carregado de roupas de Çofala, de que em Moçambique achou tamanha falta quasi como em Çofala, e as vendeo a troco d'ouero e prata e marfim, em que fez muyto dinheiro, com que se tornou, e seguio o caminho pera a India, onde no golfam se encontrou com tres nauios que vinhão do Reyno, que vierão em companhia de Pero da Nhaya até Çofala, os quaes erão Pero Barreto de Magalhães, João Vaz d'Almada, Jorge Mendez, e todos juntos fizerão conserua, e chegarão a Angediuva, com que ouve muyto prazer, e contarão ao Visorey tudo o que era passado em Çofala per esta maneira.

Partido Dom Francisco pera a India, ElRey mandou muyto trabalhar por se tirar do fundo a nao de Pero da Nhaya, o qual

trabalho e despeza foy em vão. Então se ordenou outra nao, que logo em todo foy prouida com as outras da companhia, que erão per todas seis, de que fez Capitães Pero da Nhaya Capitão mór, e seu filho Francisco da Nhaya pera com dois nauios andar de Çofala pera a costa de Melinde no trato das roupas pera Çofala, e os outros quatro nauios mandar pera a India acabada a fortaleza; de que erão Capitães Pero Barreto de Magalhães, Pero Cão pera feitor, João Leite, João de Queiroz, que todos juntos nauegarão, e sem contraste passarão o Cabo; e depois dahy a hum mez partirão Pero Quaresma, Cide Barbudo, e nom passarão, e enuernarão em Quiloa. Pero da Nhaya, seguindo sua viagem pera Çofala, faleceo de sua doença Pero Cão feitor, e foy logo feito capitão do seu nauio e pera feitor Manuel Fernandez de Meireles bom caualleiro, e ficando em Çofala com seu cargo, foy pera a India no seu nauio Jorge Mendez Çacoto. João Leite, fisingando hum peixe, da proa cayo ao mar e morreo, e foy feito Capitão de seu nauio João Vaz d'Almada, e vendose já perto de Çofala, ficando atrás João de Queiroz, sayo em huma Ilha a matar vaccas, e o matarão com doze ou desaseis homens, e o mestre, e piloto; e chegou a Çofala e foy feito Capitão de seu nauio Gonçalo Alvarez, que depois foy piloto mór da India; e no nauio de Pero da Nhaya, que auia de andar no trato era Capitão João da Nhaya seu parente; e correndo seu caminho Jorge Mendez, topou com o batel da nao de Lopo Sanchez, que se perdeo, com doze Portuguezes já quasi pera morrer, porque nom comião senão caranguejos crus. Chegarão todos a Çofala, e entrarão os nauios dentro e a nao de Pero Barreto e de João Vaz d'Almada ficarão fóra porque erão grandes. Onde assy entrados, o Capitão mór mandou recado a ElRey, que estaua hy perto, pedindolhe licença pera lhe hir falar, a qual licença lhe ElRey deu com boa vontade, e então elle vestido de festa com os Capitães, sómente Pero Barreto que ficou nos nauios, e com cincoenta homens armados, e com suas trombetas diante, foy onde estaua o Rey, ao que se ajuntou muyta gente. As casas tinham grande cerca de sebe de espinhos muy fortes, com porta fechada. Entrarão em huma casa grande de terra, e todas as casas de palha, e nesta casa grande estauão muytos Mouros mercadores bem vestidos, e o Rey estaua em huma casinha pequena álem desta, armada de panos de Cambaya pintados de seda, e elle jazia deitado em hum esquite; muyto velho e cego, que mostrou muyto prazer com a chegadas dos nossos, e mandou

assentar o Capitão mór junto do esquife, em esteiras que erão muy fermosas, e a outra gente ficou em pé na casa dianteira. Então lhe disse o Capitão mór que ElRey de Portugal, pola amizade que já com elle tinha assentada com os seus Capitães que ahy vierão, por tanto, que por assy desejar de pera sempre com elle e com seus filhos e naturaes ter boa paz e amizade, e aly em sua terra ter feitoria com grande trato ambos muyto proueito sem lhe fazer ninguem mal nem escandalo a seus mercadores e naturaes, assy em Moçambique como por toda a India : e pera esta verdade e assento de boa paz se lhe a elle prouesse dar lhe licença pera fazer casa de feitoria e casas em que elle morasse com sua gente, de que elle auia de ser Capitão, pera que tudo estiuesse bem guardado, porque em tudo nom faria senão o que elle mandasse. O que ouvido polo Rey disse que muyto folgaua com sua vinda e que estiuesse em sua terra, e nella fizesse quanto quisesse, porque nom seria menos do que fazião nas outras, que lhe contaũo e tinha sabido que faziamos mal aos Reys máos ; e bem aos bons ; e porque em sua terra ninguem lhe auia de fazer mal nem nojo, com que estaria em paz sua terra e gente, elle tomasse lugar onde lhe bem parecesse, e fizesse feitoria e casas muyto á sua vontade ; com que o despedio, e com elle mandou hum seu Regedor que lhe fosse dar tudo quanto lhe pedisse, com que assy sayndo das casas acompanhado com o Regedor, que lhe fez grandes honras, se tornou aos nauios, donde logo mandou a ElRey grande presente, que lhe trazia, de peças de seda de cores, espelhos, continhas, coraes, facas, barretes vermelhos, e outro presente ao Regedor. O que leuou Francisco da Nhaya com suas trombetas diante, e tudo descoberto que o visse a gente. O que o Rey recebeo com grandes contentamentos, e assy o Regedor, offerecendose a lhe fazer muytos seruiços ; com que se tornarão aos nauios, onde logo lhe o Rey mandou galinhas, e inhames, e cabras, e cousas de comer que auia na terra, e lhe mandou vinte Portuguezes que estavam em outra pouoação muyto bem tratados e curados, que hy chegarão por terra da nao de Diogo Sanches, que se perdêra dahy a dozentas legoas ; com que o Capitão mór e todos ouuerão muyto prazer, e lhe contarão que todo o bem que tinhão o Regedor lho fazia.

O Capitão mór, olhando a desposição da terra, com o conselho de todos tomou o lugar pera fazer a fortaleza perto do rio, junto de hum palmar, em que estauão humas casinhas de palha, que bem pagou a seus donos, e logo fez casa grande pera a feitoria e

outras casas pera a gente, ao que se fez grande cerqua, em que logo se puserão no trabalho de abrir grande caua; e repartio a gente com os Capitães ao trabalho com cauouqueiros, e pedreiros, e mestres, que trazia com muytas monições pera a obra; pera o que já trazia pedras lauradas e portas feitas pera porta grande, e janellas e portas; ao que o Regedor sempre era presente, dandolhe gente de trabalho e quanto podia, que tudo era bem pago. E muytas vezes hia estar com ElRey, e muyto folgaua de falar com os nossos, que lhe contaão as cousas da India que os nossos passauão. Sendo a caua aberta, e querendo abrir os aliceces pera a fortaleza, em que auia mester muyto tempo pera a obra, ouuerão por melhor conselho nom começar a fortaleza, porque nom seria feita, nem estauão fortes, e que os nauios auião de hir pera a India, e mórmente as duas naos que estauão na barra, que corrião muyto risco dos grandes temporaes que sempre aly auia; e porque pareceo bem a todos fazer a obra que se pudesse acabar, com que a gente estiuessa segura d'algum mal que succedesse, fizerão de dentro da caua huma forte tranqueira de grossos paos mettidos na terra, e por dentro outra, e contra ambas muy forte antulho, mais que hum muro, em que assentarão artelharia, e fizerão muytas casas, em que recolherão as moniões, fazendas e mantimentos. Do qual trabalho, por a terra ser doentia, começou a gente adoecer e morrer; pelo que ouuerão por bem acertado conselho no que tinhão feito em nom ter começado fortaleza; e a tranqueira e toda a mais obra foy acabada em fim d'Outubro, sendo muyta gente doente de grandes febres dos maos ares da terra. Então o Capitão mór despedio Pero Barreto por Capitão mór das outras tres naos, que se fossem á India, escreuendo ao Visorey que o escreuesse a ElRey, que parecia escusado aly fortaleza e gasto de gente, que nom senhoreaua nada, porque se com paz e amizade se nom fizesse o resgate, ninguem lho podia fazer por força, por a terra ser má de doença. Abastaua vir aly resgatar e tornar pera Moçambique, onde estaria melhor a fortaleza e feitoria do trato de Çofala, que dahy hiria e viria sem nenhum impedimento. Com que partidos os nauios, os nossos ficarão assy trabalhados com as doenças, mas passando alguns mezes que nom morrião, tornauão a conualecer ficando em boa saude, sendo senhores da terra com muyto fauor que tinhão do Rey, e do Regedor que mandaua como Rey; mas como os Portuguezes de sua propria constellação são soberbos e altiuos onde

nom tem sogeição, com o muyto fauor do Rey que era muyto nosso amigo, que se chamava Maná Matapá, que era filho do outro Rey chamado Vnhamuda, tanto os nossos se soberbearão em males, que trataão a gente da terra pior que catiuos, de que se muyto queixauão ao Regedor e a ElRey, que sobre isso mandou recado ao Capitão mór, que posto que por isso os castigasse como parece razão, os males nom cessarão, e forão em tanto crescimento com todos, os da terra se muyto queixando com ElRey por assy dar tanta possança aos nossos, brandandolhe que os deitasse fóra da terra primeyro que o matassem, e toda sua gente, segundo leuauão caminho em tantos males que fazião, que então o Rey mandou polo Regedor dizer ao Capitão mór que tinha grande paixão dos males que fazião a sua gente, o que elle nom queria castigar, nem emmendar, senão cada vez pior; que por tanto nom queria que estiuesses em sua terra, e logo se fossem, e embarcassem em seus nauios. Deste recado mandou o Capitão mór muytas desculpas a ElRey, dizendo que sua doença era a causa da sua gente andar desmandada, mas que elle tudo castigaria como se emmendasse; a qual reposta o Rey nom aceytou por estar já muy danado com os conselhos dos Mouros, que erão os principaes senhores da terra, que erão Cafres naturaes que se tornarão Mouros, per conuersação e amizade que tomarão com os Mouros tratantes estrangeiros, que vinhão tratar a Çofala, que lhe fazião grandes amizades; e tornou a mandar dizer ao Capitão que nom queria que estiuesses em sua terra, que se fosse a Moçambique, ou onde quisesse, e de lá mandasse as mercadorias, e lhe faria dellas resgate, como se fazia aos outros mercadores; e que se isto nom fizesse, e per força, contra sua vontade, quisesse estar em sua terra, então entenderia que nom viera a sua terra pera lhe fazer bem, senom mal; e por tanto cresce que em sua terra nom auia de estar contra sua vontade. Do que o Capitão nom fez a estima que deuera, e respondeo ao Rey, que os Portuguezes nom erão homens que ninguem os deitasse fora da terra onde estauão assentados, e que elle viera aly por mandado d'ElRey seu senhor, e que por tanto daly se nom auia de hir, senão quando lho mandasse ElRey seu senhor, porque nom auia de fazer o mandado d'outrem, e sobre isto aly donde estaua auia de morrer com quantos com elle estauão. O que ouvido polo Rey e os seus, fizerão grandes aluoroços, dizendo que assy era nosso costume, entrar na terra com boas palauras e mansidão e depois as tomar por força com

males e roubos; que tal nom consentisse, pois tinha tanta gente em sua terra pera ninguem lhe fazer força, que era cousa que tanto compria a sua honra nom consentir. Ao que logo mandou ajuntar muyta gente, que erão Cafres nós, com fundas, e paos tostados como meas lanças, assy agudos e fortes, com que tirauão d'arremesso, que nom auia cousa que nom passassem, mas com fundas era a mór sua guerra, porque são homens de muyta força e muy certos. Vendo os nossos tanta multidão de Cafres ouuerão muyto medo, que como gente bestial, viessem abalroar a tranqueira por todas as partes, onde por muytos que elles matassem, os entrarião e matarião a todos, que erão até cento e trinta homens que podião pelejar. Diante da tranqueira hauia hum grande recío, que era mato, que os nossos cortarão e alimparão, que ficou campo raso, mas derredor do campo do recío auia grandes matos de grandes aruoredos, onde a multidão dos Cafres estauão, donde sayão ao campo com muytos atabaques, e bozinas, com grandes gritas e sonios, esgremindo com seus paos e arcos com frechas grandes, mas arcos erão poucos; e vinhão de corrida como que querião abalroar a tranqueira, e sem fazer obra se tornauão a recolher ao mato. Os nossos estauão prestes com suas armas, postos em ordem pola tranqueira com toda a artelaria prestes, e nunca tirarão nem sayrão fóra ás arremetidas dos Cafres; e de dia, e de noite tinhão grande vigia de fogo, de que era o principal medo que tinhão, e nom ousauão de bolir comsiguo, somente se defenderem, se os Cafres os cometessem, de muytas arremetidas que cada dia fazião, sem nunca cometer abalroar, no que assy estiuerão passante de hum mês, esperando que tornassem assentar paz, pois os Cafres nom rompião com elles com os cometimentos que fazião, sem nunca neste tempo poderem auer nenhuma falla com elles.

Então o Capitão, auendo seu conselho que estando assy encarados tinhão gastado muyto mantimento, e que podião acabar de o gastar antes que assentassem paz, e que postoque os mantimentos lhe nom faltassem nom conuinha estarem assy aleuantados, com que o resgate era perdido se nom assentassem paz, a qual os Cafres nom querião ouvir, e inda que o rio tinha tomado lhe nom tiraua seu trato, que lhe vinhão muytas roupas por terra d'outros rios onde se desembarcauão; por conselho assentou de romper a guerra, e sempre assentaria a paz cada vez que elles quisessem, e se a nom quisessem assentar, então se recolherião aos nauios, e se



hirião a Moçambique, onde estarião até o Visorey mandar o que lhe aprouvesse. E com este acordo auido ordenarão sua artelharia, e sayndo os Cafres ao campo fazer suas corridas, como só sayão muy seguros porque os nossos nunca lhe fazião mal, o Capitão mandou dar fogo em outo peças grossas que tinha pera o campo, carregadas com pelouros, e rocas de pedra, que os Cafres inda nom tinhão visto tirar artelharia, com que o campo ficou coberto delles mortos e feridos, caydos no chão das pedras. Os pelouros fazendo pulos, dando polas aruores, que quebrauão e espedaçavão com grande terramoto, e passando além do mato, forão dar em hum campo em que andauão alifantes brauos, que com os Cafres são misticos, como a nossa caça, que anda á nossa vista, e nom lhe fazem mal senão quando os assanhão. Dando os pelouros antre elles, e os alifantes ouvindo o zonido dos pelouros, e tremor do chão, e o estourar d'artelharia, com grande medo forão fogindo com seus grandes urros e bramidos, matando os Cafres que alcançauão.

Vendo os Cafres o grande mal que lhe fizerão a altelharia assy de supito com tamanho terramoto, assentarão que os nossos o fizerão por arte do diabo, e vendo o medo tamanho dos alifantes, que elles tinhão que nom auia cousa no mundo de que fogissem, mais espantados os Cafres de tanto fogo e fumo logo morto, e os pelouros que com tanta força corrião tão longe, com que nelles entrou muy grande medo, os que erão vindos a chamado d'ElRey se queixarão muyto contra elle, dizendo que os mandaua chamar pera pelejarem com diabos, e se forão pera suas terras os Cafres, ficando com muyto medo e espanto de tão supito e tamanho mal, que os nossos lhe fizerão assy supito, e logo se calarão. Porque os nossos nom tirarão mais que esta çurriada, crerão verdadeiramente que os nossos por arte dos diabos lhe fizerão tamanho mal, com que o Rey com toda a gente fogião, e se meteo pera dentro pola terra. O Regedor lhe foy á mão, dizendo que os nossos, de se verem affrontados dos Cafres, que lhe querião entrar a tranqueira, lhe fizerão a elles o mal, e nom deitarão nenhum tiro pera suas casas; que por tanto tornasse á assentar com os nossos paz como estaua de primeyro, e se tornassem a fazer mal o mandaria dizer ao Capitão de Quiloa, que mandaria outro Capitão, ou quando as naos chegassem a Moçambique. Este conselho do Regedor aceitou ElRey, e os seus disserão que era bom e estiuerão assy alguns dias, que os nossos nom ousauão sayr fora. Mas vendo o

Capitão que já tudo estaua calado, e nom parecião Cafres de dia nem de noite, mandou tirar hum tiro sem pelouro. Os Cafres estiuerão esperando quando o pelouro daria, e nom o vendo, nem lhe fazendo mal, então o Regedor mandou recado ao Capitão porque assy matára tanta gente sem lhe fazerem mal a elle. Elle mandou dizer que elle nom viera aly pera fazer mal, e por isso, vendo que os Cafres lho querião fazer, se recolhera com a sua gente pera dentro da tranqueira, e muytas vezes lhe mandara recado pera nom auer mal, e que lho nom quiserão ouvir, e aguardára hum mês pera tornarem a ser amigos, o que elles nom quiserão, e então mandauão os Cafres, que os hião ameaçar e affrontar com gritas e souios, do que a gente se auendo por injuriada fizerão o que era feito, de que lhe muyto pesaua; e que tornassem a ser amigos e nom se faria mais mal. Do que o Regedor, e o Rey, e todos forão contentes, e foy assentada a paz, e então o Capitão, com conselho de todos, que já nom auia homens doentes, abrirão logo os aliceces, o começarão a fazer a fortaleza que lhe era mandado que fizesse, de que ElRey lhe dera a traça do tamanho que auia de ser; ao que o Rey, nem os seus nom lhe ousarão hir á mão, antes lhe mandou dar trabalhadores que lhe mandára pedir, porque a gente nom bastaua, que era muyta morta de doença.

Começada assy a fortaleza foy acabada no anno de 1506, assy da feição que na pintura parece. Mas despois, em tempo de Antonio de Saldanha, que foy Capitão, elle fez derredor da fortaleza huma barbacan, e antre ella e a fortaleza se fizerão as casas pera a gente, e se tirarão de dentro da fortaleza, porque dentro se fez huma cisterna, cortada em huma pedra que se achou, em que se recolhião mil pipas d'agoa da chuiua, que parece por que na pedra se concertaua, e clarificaua, era fria e tão excellente, que era a propria saude da gente, e ainda oje em dia he.

Pero Barreto, partido de Çofala, correo a costa com seus quatro nauios, e foy a Quiloa, onde deixou degradados que trazia pera ahy deixar, e apontamentos e cartas d'ElRey. Pero Ferreira lhe deu o que ouve mester, e se partio, e sayndo pola barra a seu nao tocou, e se perdeo, de que tudo se saluou, somente e casco se perdeo, e Pero Barreto se metteo na nao de Gonçalo Aluares, e com Jorge Mendes Çacoto, e João Vaz d'Almada seguio caminho pera a India, onde sendo na linha acharão tanta calmaria, que forão em ponto de se perderem á sede. Acodiolhe o vento, com

que assy chegarão a Angediua, como já disse, e Pero Barreto deu ao Visorey muytas cartas que trasia, e lhe deu conta de como assy ficaua Pero da Nhaya em Çofala mettido na tranqueira, com tanto mando e poder na terra, que ficaua em proposito de nom fazer fortaleza de pedra, por ser escusada, pois o trato se nom faria por força, senom com boa paz, polas razões, que já dixee, de lhe nom poder tolher as roupas que lhe vinhão pola terra, e a terra assy ser doentia, e mataria muyta gente, o que todo se escusaria, pois bastaua vir aly hum nauio com a roupa quanta quisesse, e a resgatar, e se tornar sem nenhum inconueniente mais que o do mar; o que todo assy pareceo bem ao Visorey com tenção de assy o escrever a ElRey, que escusasse o gasto de ter fortaleza em Çofala por ser tão desnecessario.

Anno de 1506. Então se partio (Rodrigo Rabello) pera Angediua, e deu carta ao Capitão, que lhe o Visorey escreuia o que tinha feito, e que mandasse laurar as portas e janellas; e d'ahy se tornou a armada a Batalalá, e arrecadou o arrôs das pareas, e tornou pera Cananor, e vindo aos Ilheos de Sancta Maria ouuerão vista de duas velas grandes, a que logo arribarão, e souberão que erão Pedro Coresma, e Cide Barbudo, que inuernarão em Moçambique, onde lhe morrera muyta gente, e que atrás vinha hum nauio de Çofala, e daua noua que Pero da Nhaya era falecido de doença com mais de metade da gente, por a terra ser muyto doentia, e que Francisco da Nhaya seruia de Capitão, e que João da Noua no Cabo abrira muyta agoa, e tornára a Moçambique, onde estaua, e inuernara nos Ilheos d'Angoja. Com as quaes nouas ao Visorey, e nom lhe derão nouas de naos do Reyno, porque partirão de Moçambique a dez de Julho.

O Visorey mandou logo concertar estas naos, e dar pendores, porque erão grandes e já do anno passado, e se ficassem na India de todo se perderião; e assy mandou concertar a nao Judia, e a Condoná, em que ouuerão de hir Leonel de Castro, e Dom Francisco da Cunha, como atrás disse, que ficarão d'armada do Visorey. E entrou por feitor de Cochym Lourenço Moreno, escriuão, que n'estas naos lhe viera prouisão d'ElRey. Deu o Visorey apressado auiamento a estas coatro naos com fundamento que estas carregassem primeyro, e que se nom ouvesse carga pera todas, que então ficarião as que viessem este ano, que nom podessem carregar; e deu a capitania destas duas naos, huma a Vasco Gomes d'Abreu, que se quis tornar ao Reyno por andar

fôra da graça do Visorey, e a outra deu a Francisco da Silua; e despedio logo Duarte de Mello em hum nauio que fosse leuar a Çofala a Nuno Vaz Pereira pera Capitão, e que fosse a Quiloa tomar roupas que leuasse o nauio carregado; e mandou trinta homens pera ficar em Çofala, e como os lá possesse se tornasse á India, como fez; e mandou que Francisco da Nhaya ficasse nos seus nauios do trato, que trouxera, e que se por ventura tiuesse prouisão d'ElRey pera ficar capitão na soçessão de seu pay, que então ficasse Nuno Vaz nos nauios do trato, se quizesse, e se não que se tornasse pera a India; e tudo assy auindo o Visorey, e trabalhando na carga das naos, se foy passando o tempo, e Rodrigo Rabello andando guerreando a costa.

Anno de 1507. Trouxe Vasco Gomes d'Abreu em sua companhia Ruy de Brito Patalim pera feitor, e alcaide mór, e com regimento que ficasse por Capitão em Çofala em quanto Vasco Gomes fosse visitar Moçambique; trouxe mais em outro nauio Ruy de valadares, e Lopo Cabreira, e Martim Coelho, e Diogo de Mello, e trouxe moradores que auião de Viuer em Çofala, e os nauios ordenados que auia de trazer na costa ao trato da roupa, o que se depois soube, que partido de Lisboa Vasco Gomes d'Abreu com sua armada, despedio a João Chanoca na carauella, que fosse costeando a costa de Jalofa, a qual assy hindo se perdeu de noyte por má vigia, que depois forão a Bizeguiche ter homens d'ella, que contarão como se perdera. O qual Vasco Gomes correu seu caminho com muyto bons tempos que achou, com que chegou a Çofala a saluamento, e achou a terra muyto assentada, e com muyto trato que fazia Nuno Vas Pereira, que o Visorey lá mandára por Capitão quando falecera Pero da Nhaya, como atrás contey; e chegando Vasco Gomes deu a Nuno Vaz Pereira hum dos nauios em que se fosse a Moçambique, e sabendo que tinha Nuno Vaz muyto ouro, que resgatára, lho pediu que lho entregasse. Nuno Vaz lhe disse que o ouro que se resgataua em Çofala era pera ElRey, e nom pera os Capitães, "e porque o Visorey me deu este regimento lhe leuo o ouro que resgatey." E se partio de Çofala, e chegou a Moçambique, e hy enuernou com as naos que nom passarão, e como o tempo lhe deu logar logo se partio pera a India, sem aguardar polas naos, porque o seu nauio era muyto bom de vela.

Vasco Gomes, achando a terra assy pacifica, logo se metteo a fazer a fortaleza, que logo çarrou no andar das ameas, porque

tinha grande ajuda da gente da terra, onde soube que as naos enuernarão. Deixando em Çofala prouido todo o que compria, e deixando por Capitão o alcaide mór Ruy de Brito Patalim, se partio pera Moçambique com os quatro nauios, pera onde trazia apontamentos do que auia de fazer, e d'ahy mandar nauios ao trato da roupa, e elle passar á Ilha de sam Lourenço a buscar as drogas que lá achára Job Queimado, segundo as cartas que Tristão da Cunha escreuera a ElRey per Antonio de Saldanha, que leuára a pimenta da nao de João da Noua, que atrás contey. O qual Vasco Gomes, assy hindo de Çofala, desapareceo que nunca mais foy visto, e se creio que o comeo o mar, com hum grande temporal que logo sobreueo, de grande vento da terra, que trouxe as aruores ao mar, e derribou parte da fortaleza em Çofala, de que outros nauios escaparão, que tiuerão melhor vigia, e erão mais perto da terra.

Vasco Gomes trazia em regimento que em Moçambique fizesse huma torre de dous sobrados, em que se aposentasse, e fizesse grandes casas pera recolhimento das fazendas que se descarregassem, e sobre tudo fizesse hum espirital pera os doentes que hy chegauão do Reyno, e que pera estes trabalhos lhe fizessem ajuda quaesquer Capitães que enuernassem. Quando de Çofala partio Nuno Vaz, Vasco Gomes escreueo aos Capitães a Moçambique, e lhes mandou o trelado dos apontamentos d'ElRey, e lhe escreueo pedindo por mercè, que por seruiço de Deos e d'ElRey, quigessem mandar fazer algum ajuntamento de pedra e cal pera se fazerem estas cousas, que elle logo hiria a fazer o que ElRey mandaua, e que se elle tardesse, e elles quigessem, com seus bons pareceres mandassem fazer a obra, mandandolhe a vitola, que ElRey dera, de como as casas se auião de fazer.

Chegando Nuno Vaz a Moçambique, que falou ysto com os Capitães, todos muyto folgarão, porque auião grande piedade dos muytos doentes que morrião, e todos com muyta vontade, com a gente que era sã se poserão no trabalho de fazer o espirital, pera que fizerão huma casa grande com grande varanda detrás, e casa apartada pera o enfermeiro, e outra pera botica, e aposento do mestre, em que derão tanto auiamto que em pouco tempo foy feita, em que metterão os doentes em cateres que se fizerão, e escrauos catiuos do espirital pera seruiço dos doentes, porque os que morrião tudo deixauão pera o espirital, onde os Capitães por suas doações tomarão cuidado do espirital, e seruião d'enfermeiros

cada hum mês, em que se muyto acupauão no bom seruiço e repario dos doentes, a que dauão muytas marmeladas, e conseruas, e do comer erão muyto repairados.

Acabando assy o espirital se metterão n'acupação de fazer Sam Gabriel, que já estaua feita huma casinha, como atrás fica, e fizerão a Igreja grande, muyto bem concertada, com ornamentos, e capellão pera dizer missa, com seu mantimento ordenado, e lhe fizerão grande circuito de sebe d'espinhos pera dentro ser adro, em que já auia muytas couas de defuntos dos tempos passados. E os Capitães antre sy ouuerão conselho, e do dinheiro dos cofres pagarão á gente hum cruzado de mantimento per mês, com que se os homens muyto repairarão, e fizerão João de Brionis feitor destes pagamentos; onde tambem os Capitães contenderão com Nuno Vaz Pereira, que o ouro de Çofala, que tinha, o mettesse nos cofres, mas elle nom quis, dizendo que 'o Visorey o auia d'apresentar, e elle fizesse delle o que quigesse. E porque tudo assy estaua bem encaminhado, e a gente já bem disposta, que todos trabalhauão, os Capitães, por nom estarem ociosos e gastarem o tempo embalde, vendo a traça que ElRey mandara, e tanto emcomendaua que se fizesse aly castello, se metterão no castello, e fizerão huma torre quadrada de dous sobrados, e em quadra della fizerão grande cerqua de pedra, com amêas e bombardeiras, e nas quadras outras torres no andar das amêas, e dentro fizerão grandes casas pera recolhimento das fazendas, e casas pera almazem, e nos cubellos o feitor e officiaes aposentados, e tudo bem concertado.

Em quanto estas cousas se fazião, mandarão Martim Coelho, e Diogo de Mello com seus nauios a Quiloa com fazenda, e trouxerão os nauios carregados de roupas, que foy grande repario á gente, porque della se vestião, e comprauão o que auião mester; e mandarão a Çofala hum nauio carregado de roupa, e corrião estes nauios a costa de Melinde, trazendo muytos mantimentos.

Ouve ElRey muyto prazer quando soube estas obras que erão feitas, e depois mandou que sempre em Moçambique ouvesse feitor, e alcaide mór, sob a jurdição do Capitão de Çofala, que auia de vir a Moçambique ao tempo que chegão as naos do Reyno, pera nellas mandarem o ouro que tiuessem resgatado pera carga da pimenta. Quando se estes Capitães partirão deixarão com o feitor dezaseis homens, e alguns degredados, e com muytas roupas e tudo bem repairado.

Anno de 1509. O que assy fez o Visorey, que andou polas naos, e as fez pôr sobre huma amarra, e ao outro dia de noite com o terreno se partio, que forão onze d'Outubro d'este ano, com as duas naos de sua companhia, com bom tempo; e passarão sem tomar Moçambique, por d'isso nom terem necessidade, e forão seu caminho áuante, em que nom acharão contraste de tempo, com que forão todos tres entrar n'agoada de Saldanha, onde o Visorey deu pressa a tomar agoa e lenha, e por fazer mais apressar a gente elle foy a terra, e lá jantaua, e se recolhia a dormir ás naos. No que se nom escusou detença de dez dias, porque 'agoa era longe, e os marinheiros a trazião em barris, e enchião as pipas nos batés. O caminho porque hiao tomar agoa era per antre huns matos, dentro do qual auia pouoações de Cafres, que tem criações de cabras e vaccas, pera sua mantença de seu leite e manteiga; gente enxouvia, sem senhor. E tem muytas pouoações aquy junto d'esta agoada, por caso d'esta agoa pera seus gados; e a agoa nasce em huns pedregaes de huma ribeira secca, que deue correr em tempo d'inuerno. Aquy ouuerão estes Cafres fala com os nossos d'outras naos que por aquy já passarão, e com elles fizerão resgate, dandolhe cabras e vaccas, de que se já nom aproueitauão, a troco de cousas de pouca valia, de cascaueis, continhas, espelhinhos, e cousas de ferro, polo que elles já tinhamo sentido que ao tempo que aly hião ter nossas naos acodião aquy a esta agoada pera fazerem seus resgates; e porque d'esta vez virão tres naos e tanta gente, e sabendo polas gentes da terra que os nossos em Çofala tinhamo fortaleza, cuidarão elles, vendo tanta gente, que tambem os nossos aly querião fazer fortaleza, e tomar aquella agoada, o que assy sendo perderião seus gados se nom tiuessem agoa. Fizerão grandes ajuntamentos antre sy, armados de huns páos como meas lanças, agudos, e tostados, tão fortes como ferro, e muytas fundas, de que elles são muyto certos, e homens muy forçosos, e andauão polos matos escondidos, junto do caminho porque os nossos acarretauão agoa, que era longe quasy dous tiros de berço, e tomauão agoa em humas alagoas debaixo de humas grandes aruores, onde ás vezes o Visorey comia e passaua a calma.

Os Cafres, vendo que os nossos se nom occupauão senão em tomar agoa, cesarão de seu mau proposito, e vierão a falar com os nossos, a trazer cousas pera resgatar, vaccas e cabras; e por a condição dos Portuguezes ser assy, que sempre querem tomar o

alheo ás pobres gentes da terra, ouve aquy huns marinheiros que quizerão tomar huma vacca, nom dando por ella o que lhe os negros pedião; sobre o que vierao a briga, e acodirão outros Portuguezes, e acodirão negros, que com assouios chamaão huns a outros, que acodirão muytos, que brigauão com os paos tostados e pedras das fundas, ao que acodirão dos batés homens com lanças, que ferirão alguns Cafres, e tomarão as vaccas. Os Cafres por seus assouios falauão ás vaccas, com que se ajuntauão antre os nossos e os Cafres, que por cyma dellas com seus páos e pedras fazião muyto mal aos nossos, que com hum d'aquelles paos tostados passauão hum homem melhor que se fora lança com ferro; com que os nossos forão fogindo pera os batés. Do que foy dado rebate ao Visorey, que estaua mais acyma, e veo com alguns homens, que com elle estauão, recolhendo-se pera os batés, e chegando ao lugar da peleja se veo recolhendo com os que tinha, defendendo-se das vaccas, que fazião toda' guerra ouvindo os assouios dos negros, que vinhão seguindo após o Visorey, cobiçosos de o derrubarem, por lhe tomarem hum sayo de pano vermelho que trazia. E quis a desventura de pecado que lhe derão com huma pedra em hum joelho, de que logo cayo, e ficou atrás, porque todos hião em fogida. O que vendo Jorge de Mello, que acodia dos batés, bradou á gente que acodissem ao Visorey, e foy ao Visorey, e o tomou ás costas, que era homem forçoso, e o leuou caminho dos batés, dizendo, "Senhor, pera os taes tempos bom he ter amigos." E vindo assy ás costas de Jorge de Mello, derão ao Visorey com hum páo tostado, com que lhe atravessarão o pescoço, e garganta, e cayo morto, e Jorge de Mello o nom pôde levar, e o deixou, e se acolheo. Os Cafres acodirão todos sobre o Visorey a lhe despirem o sayo, e espedaçarem, huns com outros pelejando em tal maneira, que a gente teue tempo de se salvar nos batés, onde chegando Jorge de Mello, e Pero Barreto com todá gente, tornarão aos Cafres pera cobrar o corpo do Visorey; em que a peleja foy tal que dos Portuguezes forão mortos mais de vinte, e muytos feridos, e os mais delles criados do Visorey, e Jorge de Mello ferido de huma lança per hum braço. Assy que todos á pressa se colherão aos batés, e com muyta pressa se afastarão da praya, porque as pedras os muyto alcançauão, e ficarão na terra mortos mais de trinta, e quasy todos feridos. Chegados os batés ás naos, onde estaua Lourenço de Brito, que por mal desposto nom sayra a terra, a que sendo dito que o



Visorey ficaua morto, com grande dor, por ser seu grande amigo, mandou armar toda' gente que auia, e nos batés foy a terra com berços postos, por cobrar o corpo do Visorey; e chegando a terra, que os berços tirarão, fogirão todos os Cafres polo mato dentro, donde ferirão os nossos com fundas, sem os nossos lhe poderem empecer. Lourenço de Brito vendo o tão manifesto perigo, e duvidosa vingança, e que era longe onde ficára o Visorey, que era cousa sem remedio, se tornou pera as naos, e se foy á nao do Visorey, e mandou escrever todo o fato do Visorey, e metter em arcas pregadas, e asseladas as fechaduras, e mettidas em camaras pregadas, e tudo assy posto a bom recado, deu de tudo cargo a hum camareiro do Visorey chamado Jorge de Figueiredo, a que mandou que da despensa do Visorey gastasse com seus criados e seus escrauos; e mandou ao mestre, e piloto que seguissem seu forol, que lhe sempre faria, e se concertarão que todos assy fossem juntos, que nunca se apartassem da nao. E se partirão pera Portugal todos com muyta tristeza.

Anno de 1512. Jorge de Mello mandou pera Çofala Simão de Miranda, que vinha prouido de capitão, que acabaua Antonio de Saldanha que lá estaua; o qual Simão de Miranda sendo capitão falleceo, e ficou por capitão Francisco Marecos, que seruia d'alcaide mór; e a nao de Simão de Miranda deu 'Antonio de Saldanha, e mandou que fosse desfazer a fortaleza de Quiloa, que o mandaua ElRey, e recolhesse Francisco Ferreira Pestana que estaua por capitão.

Anno de 1515. Com toda esta armada Lopo Soares chegou a Moçambique, onde logo ficou Christouão de Tauora pera se hir a Çofala, e se vir Francisco Marecos, que lá estaua por capitão.

Anno de 1518. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira veo com grossa armada e honrados fidalgos, a saber: \* \* \* \* Sancho de Toar, fidalgo castelhano, pera capitão de Çofala, pera o que logo foy despachado em Moçambique, e na sua nao veo pera' India Christovão de Tauora.

Anno de 1521. \* \* Diogo de Sepulueda pera capitão de Çofala, pera o que logo ficou em Moçambique, e na sua nao veo pera a India Pero de Mello.

No anno atrás de 527 partirão de França tres nauios armados cossairos, e caminharão pera' India, e no mar se apartarão e huma d'ellas, de que era capitão hum Esteuão Dias Brigas, piloto, homem portugûês, foy portar na barra de Dio, com quarenta e

oito homens, e o nauio com muyta artelharía, que mais de sessenta lhe erão mortos. E chegando assy ao porto, o capitão Brigas foy a terra, fingindo que era messigeiro mandado per outrem, e dixe aos do batel que se lhe perguntassem que dizessem que o capitão ficaua na nao, e que elle era seu criado. O qual foy falar ao capitão de Dio, que então era chamado Camalmaluço, e lhe dixe que o capitão d'aquella nao lhe mandaua pedir seguro pera ally tratar vendendo mercadarias que trazia, e comprar as que ouvesse na terra, de que pagaria seus direitos como mercador que era estrangeiro, que nunca passara a estas partes; que era vassallo de hum grande Rey com que elle folgaria de ter amizade. O capitão de Dio lhe perguntou se tinha amizade com os portugueses. Elle respondeo que se conhecião, mas que inda se nom topara com os nossos. O mouro lhe dixe que folgaua com sua vinda; que seguramente podião estar na cidade como mercatores; e por seguro lhe deu huma frecha do seu arco; o que assy costumaua dar por seguro real. Com que o Brigas se tornou á nao, e deu licença á gente que fosse a terra vender e comprar. Com o capitão mouro andauão huns portugueses arrenegados, a que perguntou que gente era a da nao, e elles lhe disserão que erão francezas, de huma terra que se chamaua França, que andauão estes, sem licença de seu Rey, a roubar polo mar quanto achauão; que erão ladrões, e que se os nossos os topassem que todos auião de matar como a rumes. Ao que se o mouro calou, e vendo os francezes rotos e sujós, bargantes que andauão arruando as ruas e se metião nas tauernas a beber o vinho da terra, e que nom trazião mercadarias, sómente vendião machadinhas e machados, e fouces, e espadas, e espingardas, tudo cousas de ferro, e nenhumas mercadarias, e comprauão pannos pintados de que se vestião, e todo seu negocio era comer e beber, tudo o capitão de Dio escreueo a ElRey de Cambaya seu senhor dandolhe toda' enformação do que passaua, e a gente que era, e o que fazião, e o que lhe tinhão dito os arrenegados. O que ouvido por ElRey se veo a Dio, e mandou fustas á nao, e lhe trouxerão o Brigas e toda a gente, que ficou a nao só; os quaes todos forão metidos em huma casa bem guardados. E logo forão tirar da nao quanto tinha, que foy muyto boa artelharía grossa e miuda, e armas brancas, e a nao foy metida no rio e varada, que seria de duzentos e cincoenta tonés, muyto podre. Quando este nauio vinha atrauessando o golfam pera Dio o topou hum nauio nosso que

vinha de Melinde, e arribou a elle, que lhe fogio porque corria muyto á vela, e o francês nom entendeo com o nosso, parece que seria por o Brigas nom querer contender com os nossos, e quereria andar a roubar os mouros.

ElRey mandou leuar ante sy o Brigas com os francezes, e lhe dixeu que se tornassem mouros e o seruissem, que lhe daria soldo e lhe faria as mercês que merecessem, porque d'outra maneyra os nom auia mester em sua terra se nom fossem mouros, e os que o nom quigessem ser os auia de mandar matar. Ao que lhe respondeo o capitão Brigas: "Senhor, em teu poder estamos debaixo de teus pés; mas tal nos nom podes fazer com rezão, pois temos teu seguro real. De mim podes fazer tua vontade, porque eu nom hey de ser mouro. Ess'outros farão suas vontades." Os outros, ouvindo a tenção d'ElRey, ouverão muyto medo que os mandasse matar, e disserão ao Brigas que fizesse a vontade d'ElRey, e que depois Deos daria remedio; que pois ally os trouxera nom fosse caso de suas mortes. Polo que todos se conformarão antes saluar as vidas, e se tornarão mouros. E pois que então se fizerão com esta tenção depois folgarão e forão feitos mouros de vontade, e todos morrerão mouros. ElRey deu cabaya ao Brigas, e lhe deu soldo e o trouxe sempre comsigo. Os outros como era gente ciuel, fazião bargantarias, com que ElRey os mandou leuar á serra de Champanel, que lá trabalhassem nas obras, pois nom erão homens pera andarem na terra. E o Brigas se fez bom seruidor, sempre diante d'ElRey, que lhe fazia mercê; e depois ElRey o mandou casar com huma mulher castelhana chamada a Marqueza, que foy catiua em huma galé nossa, que foy tomada por huma nao de Meca que hia pera Dio em tempo do Governador dom Duarte, como já atrás contey em seu lugar; e estiuerão muyto tempo casados, e faleceo o Brigas bom christão, e esta molher depois foy liure do catiueiro quando Nuno da Cunha ouve a fortaleza em Dio, como adiante direy em seu tempo.

A outra nao da companhia esgarrou polo mar do cabo da Boa Esperança pera a banda do sul, nom sabendo por onde hia, e foy tomar nas costas da ilha de Çamatra, onde foy ter na ilha do ouro, que 'arêa da praya, grossa e miuda, era tudo ouro; a terra muy viçosa, e grandes aruoredos e ribeiras de boas agoas, e muytas fruytas das aruores, muy gostosas; a gente nua e bestial, que se cobrião com pannos feitos das folhas d'heruas, e nom tolhião nada do que lhe tomauão. Carregarão mais seruiria o vento,

com que forão ter na costa de Çamatra já muy desbaratados, com a mais da gente morta e doente, e fazendo tanta agoa que se hia ao fundo; e correrão pera terra pera varar, e antes de chegar a ella derão em huma restinga em que se perdeo a nao; e os que puderão trabalhar concertarão o batel, em que se forão a terra com muyto ouro que cada hum meteo, e na terra forão mortos per barços de pescadores, que os toparão e leuarão o ouro. Ysto se soube em Malaca por mercadores de Çamatra que lá hião tratar, que por toda a terra se falaua d'este batel que acharão pescadores carregado d'ouro, e que os homens que falauão como bombardeiros, de que trouxerão hum a ElRey de huma terra, que o mandou espetar em hum páo porque lhe dixee que nom sabia tornar á ilha onde assy acharão aquella ilha do ouro, pola qual enformação se soube que esta nao fôra da companhia de Brigas.

A outra nao foy ter á ilha de São Lourenço e correndo com tromenta, que ouve vista da ilha e foy pera varar, per acerto entrou em huma baya que era abrigada da tromenta, em que esteue á sua vontade, e achou boa gente na terra, que lhe fizerão bom trato; onde se concertarão de tudo o que ouverão mester a troquo de machados e cousas de ferro, e ouverão pannos, e pimenta vã e fraça que parece que he pimenta braua, e páos cheirosos que hão que he sandolo roym, e canella braua, tudo cousa de pouqua valia, e outras cousas que ouverão, com que cuidarão que tinham achada a India; e se partirão, e se tornarão nauegando pola derrota que vierão, e passarão o cabo e forão tomar na ilha de Santa Elena, e tomarão agoa, e n'ella se embarcarão tres homens nossos que ficarão 'hy fogidos das naos da carga, em que hião presos pera Portugal degredados pera o Brasil, e se partirão e forão a França ao porto de Neypa donde partiraõ; onde vendo que as mercadarias que erão falsas e roys nom se acuparão outros n'este trabalho, por que estes, que erão cossairos, nom hião senão buscar que roubar; e os portuguezes que com elles forão ouverão d'ElRey perdões de seus degredos em que hião condenados pera o Brasil pera sempre, que Lopo Vaz os condenára por andarem em companhia d'aleuantados na India; os quaes contarão a ElRey todo o feito d'esta nao.

Anno de 1530. Partidos de Lisboa estes irmãos, logo em mayo d'este anno partio de Lisboa Vicente Pegado, moço da camara d'ElRey, em hum nauio, pera capitão de Çofala e Moçambique, e em sua companhia, em huma carauella latina, Baltezar Gonçalues,

caualleiro honrado, pera n'estes dous nauios andar no trato das roupas de Melinde pera Çofala; e por a carauella mal governar se tornou a Lisboa, e Vicente Pegado seguio seu caminho e foy tomar em Çofala, que trazia piloto pera yssso. Onde em Çofala estaua João da Costa por capitão e feitor, que s'embarcou no nauio de Vicente Pegado e fez seu caminho pera' India sem tomar Moçambique, e chegou a Goa.

Anno de 1535. E por este frade (dominico pregador) algumas vezes em pratica dizer que Maluco era do Emperador, Lopo Vaz o mandou que se fosse pera o Reyno pera seu mosteiro; nom que lhe dicesse causa nenhuma porque o mandaua. Do que nom faltou quem o dicesse a ElRey, o qual por isso o mandou a Çofala, e ahi acabou a vida.

Anno de 1538. Neste anno presente veo por Governador e Visorey da India dom Gracia de Noronha. Trouxe onze naos grossas pera carregar, a saber \* \* \* e João de Sepulueda na nao *Junço*, pera capitão de Çofala, acabando Aleyxos de Sousa; e Aleyxos de Sousa na nao *Cyça*, pera capitão de Çofala, onde logo ficou em Moçambique, e na nao veo pera' India Vicente Pegado, que lá seruia.

Anno de 1539. Veo do Reyno n'armada do Visorey o bispo dom João d'Albuquerque, com titulo de bispo da India, perpetu de toda a India, do cabo da Boa Esperança pera dentro, com prouisão d'ElRei que a igreja de Santa Caterina de Goa fosse feita sé catedral; e porque quando assy chegou a Goa auia a grande pressa do apercebimento pera os rumes, nom quis o bispo então fallar no caso, e sendo ora assy o Visorey tornado a Goa, em dia de Nossa Senhora de março d'este presente anno de 539, o bispo pregou, e disse missa em pontifical, a qual acabada, o bispo com grandes cerimonias apresentou ao Visorey huma patente d'ElRey nosso senhor, em que lhe dava o bispado de Goa, com todolos poderes do cabo da Boa Esperança pera dentro, em todolas cidades, villas, fortelezas, e terras de seu mando e senhorios, que ao presente tem, e ao diante tiuer, em todo o estado ecclesiastico; e em cabeça de seu bispado a cidade de Goa.

Anno de 1549. Onde sendo (o governador Gracia de Sá) enterrado na capella mór, logo Cosme Anes, que então já era veador da fazenda, apresentou as soccessões, a que se fizerão os izames acostumados: de que já erão abertas na morte de dom João de Crasto duas, a saber, a primeira de dom João Mascarenhas,

e a segunda em que se achou Gracia de Sá, ora fallecido, e se abriu agora a terceira, e n'ella se achou nomeado por Governador dom Jorge Tello, que fôra capitão em Çofalla, e era hido pera o Reyno. Polo que então se abriu a quarta soessão, em que se achou nomeado por Governador Jorge Cabral, que estaua por capitão de Bacaim.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

## EXTRACTS

FROM THE

BOOK CALLED LENDAS DA INDIA,

By GASPAR CORREA.

*Pedro Alvares Cabral.* 1501.

And because the chief captain had acquired much information concerning Sofala, that it was very rich and had an extensive gold trade, of which he heard much from the pilots of Melinde whom he left in Mozambique, as they wished to return to their homes, and also from the sheik, he called a council of his captains, in which it was decided to proceed to the exploration of Sofala. Sancho de Toar was therefore instructed to go thither in the ship of Luis Pires, which was a small vessel and a very fast sailer; and as Luis Pires was very ill and at the point of death, the chief captain took him into his own ship. He sent with Sancho de Toar the interpreter and one of the pilots of Melinde, who was well acquainted with the course, and there went also in the little ship some honourable merchants of Mozambique, who carried with them cloth of Cambaya and red beads, these being the principal articles used in that trade. Sancho de Toar took also for the king a present of pieces of crimson silk, mirrors, caps, trappings for hawks, little bells from Flanders, small transparent glass beads, and other things to be had in that country, and which delight the people of Sofala.

The little ship set out and reached the river of Sofala, which was large, and which they entered and cast anchor. Then the merchants landed, and went to visit the king, each one taking a

present with him in accordance with a custom that no stranger should appear before the ruler without bringing him something, although it might be but a single lemon. The merchants told the king that this was a Portuguese ship, and that the captain had come to see him and therefore asked his permission to land.

The king was much pleased, for he had already heard of the great things done by our people who went to Mozambique in the first ships and by Pedro Alvares Cabral. They presented him wine and other things from Portugal, and he immediately gave them the leave applied for and a ring from his finger as a safe-conduct, ordering that the captain should come and speak to him.

Sancho de Toar immediately did so, accompanied by ten men very well equipped. He appeared before the king with many courtesies, and presented his gifts, which were received with great pleasure. And he delivered him the message from the chief captain, who had remained at Mozambique, which was that knowing him to be so great a king, who acted well towards merchants who went to his country desiring his friendship and to carry on commerce in his kingdom, he sent to know if he were willing that ships should always be sent thither laden with goods to trade with him, as was done by other merchants.

The king replied that he was well content and it would give him great pleasure, saying that he would always be very friendly with our people as long as they kept good faith with him, and desiring that the merchandise should be brought before him. This was immediately done, the merchants producing everything according to custom, and he gave them \* for it gold beads strung on threads to twelve or fifteen times the value. Of this mode of trading and the profit of it I shall speak more fully in its place. Then with many tokens of friendship he dismissed Sancho de Toar.

The king sent the chief captain a present of a quantity of gold beads threaded together, worth a thousand cruzados, and one to Sancho de Toar worth three hundred, giving him also an abundance of provisions, and requesting that the chief captain would send his goods thither, which should be sold before that of any other merchants.

\* The text reads as if they gave him the gold beads, but from the context it is evident that this is incorrect.

Taking in what wood and water he required, Sancho de Toar set out for Portugal, having liberally paid the pilot of Melinde, who chose to remain behind at Sofala, and he went thence to Mozambique, where he found the vessel of Melinde, in which he returned.

*Dom Vasco da Gama. 1502.*

As soon as the chief captain reached Mozambique, the sheik went to the ship with a present of cows, sheep, goats, and hens, which he had prepared for him, knowing that he was the first with whom there had been war, and wishing to fall at his feet and entreat pardon. The chief captain received him with pleasure, and did him honour, commanding what he had brought to be well paid for, and ordering a piece of scarlet cloth to be given to him, with which he departed well satisfied. He and all those in the island served the chief captain as if he had been the lord of the land, for all derived much profit from our people, who traversed the country without causing scandal or giving offence to any one, as this was strictly forbidden by the chief captain.

The latter on the day of his arrival ordered some timber to be put on shore, that he had brought with him ready fashioned and planned to construct a caravel, which only required to be put together, nailed, and caulked. This was done so speedily that in twelve days the caravel was ready for the water, where the upper parts were completed. She was named the *Pomposa*, and João Serrão, an honourable gentleman, was appointed captain.

When the chief captain thus reached Mozambique, as owing to the information given by Sancho de Toar to the king concerning Sofala, as already related in connection with the fleet of Pedro Alvares Cabral, the king had charged him to complete the exploration and establish a trade there, he sent for this purpose Pedro Affonso d'Aguiar with two caravels, which carried many kinds of cloth of Cambaya, beads, and other things suitable for that commerce, which was already carried on by the sheik to a certain extent, all of which brought large profit, as for a piece of cloth worth a hundred and fifty reis was paid gold worth seven hundred and fifty. Pedro Affonso obtained much information from the sheik concerning the method of trading and what was paid for the different kinds of cloth which he took with him, as well as for other things, and the sheik gave him a good pilot who



knew the course. The chief captain sent a large present to the king, who was a heathen Kaffir that in Sofala already had knowledge of our affairs, and was very pleased when Sancho de Toar went there.

Pedro Affonso set out, and in a few days reached Sofala. Having entered the river, he sent ashore a man from Mozambique who knew our language, to ask the king's permission to go and speak to him and to deliver the message which he brought from the chief captain of the king of Portugal, who was in Mozambique. The king was pleased, and said that it should be as he wished, sending him his ring as a safe conduct. Upon this Pedro Affonso immediately went with twenty men, all of them very well dressed, whom the king received with great honour, and he made them sit down on the mats upon which he was seated with the greatest of the land.

They presented to him a very fine piece of scarlet cloth, other pieces of fine coloured cloth, a mirror of Flanders, very large, knives, red caps, and a quantity of threaded transparent beads, with which the king was much delighted. He took them in his hands, and examined them, boasting greatly to his people.

Then Pedro Affonso told him that the chief captain sent to ascertain if he would be pleased to be on terms of friendship with the king his master, who was very willing to establish perpetual peace and friendship with him, the purpose of which peace and friendship was to be that Portuguese might be sent to his country with goods to trade, as was done by other merchants who came to his kingdom, they giving their wares at the same price. The king having heard this and consulted with his people, replied that he was in his kingdom where he harmed no one, but treated well all who came there, especially the merchants, because he derived great advantage from them, and he would do to the Portuguese who should come there to trade as he did to other merchants. And as he had already said as much to the other Portuguese who had visited him before, and now repeated it, he would rejoice to do any good from which no evil would afterwards result to himself. To which Pedro Affonso replied that this would never be, but he being a good friend of the king of Portugal, the peace would be firm as long as he kept faith, and the king of Portugal would be as his brother.

Upon this the king showed great satisfaction, affirming what

he had said before, and swearing by the sun, the sky, his head, and his belly that he would fulfil his part as long as he lived, and would buy all the merchandise brought to him, and would pay for it, as he paid to the other merchants, what had long been the settled price. In pledge of his faith he took a gold ring from his thumb, which he gave to Pedro Affonso.

Then he gave as a present for the chief captain a packet of strings of threaded gold beads, which they call pingo, which weighed a thousand miticals, each mitical being worth five hundred reis, and he gave another for the king which weighed three thousand miticals. To Pedro Affonso he gave also another of five hundred miticals, saying that he presented this to the king as a token that he would be as his brother so long as he kept faith with him and did him no harm in dealings or merchandise, or in his lands; and in confirmation of the truth of what he said he touched right hands with all his people who were present, for this is their only confirmation of faith, as they have no knowledge of writing.

All this which has been related Pedro Affonso drew up in writing, and the document was signed by him and six others. Which being done, the paper was read aloud and explained by the interpreter, at which the king and his people were lost in amazement, for they had never before seen any writing, and said that the paper spoke by art of the devil; and the king took it in his hand. Upon which that same day Pedro Affonso returned to the caravels, where the king sent him hens, eggs, yams, and other produce of the country.

The next day Pedro Affonso returned to the king, who bade him bring all the merchandise he had, and it should be sold. Then everything was brought before the king, and he sent for the merchants of the country, who sorted all the goods, placing each kind apart from the rest; and having estimated all, they weighed gold in small scales and on every heap of goods they laid the price which it was worth in gold. Then the king said that those goods were worth the gold which was laid upon them, and they might take it, for his dues were counted in the weight and were paid by the merchants. Pedro Affonso, who was talking to the king, ordered the gold to be gathered, and this way of buying and selling seemed very good to him, because there was no bargaining to which merchants are always accustomed.

Then he said he would relate everything to the chief captain, and asked leave to depart. The king replied that he must send one of his people with him to speak to the chief captain and present what he had sent him, as also to bring another paper from his hand, with which Pedro Affonso declared himself well pleased. This man the king delivered to him with his own hand, upon which he took leave, and embarked; and the king sent him goats and provisions, with which he returned to Mozambique, where he did not find the chief captain, who had already left. Therefore he entrusted the messenger to the sheik, and bade him await the return of the chief captain, who would give his answer. Then Pedro Affonso took in that of which he had need, and sailed for Melinde, whither the chief captain had gone, having left word to that effect in a letter in the hands of the factor Gonçalo Baixo, who remained to conduct the trade with Sofala.

*Antonio de Saldanha.* 1503.

The chief captain Antonio de Saldanha in the course of his voyage was doubling the Cape, and looked for the land, which he found here. He stood in twelve leagues above the Cape, and seeing a recess in the coast bordered with white sand, and an island, the weather being fine, he got out a boat and went forward taking soundings, and entered the bay, where he anchored. And seeking water he found the bed of a dried up river and travelled along it, and at about the sixth of a league found a pool of very good water, fit for swimming in, which came from between some rocks, and of which they could not discover the source. They took in water, and on the island they killed many birds which they called penguins, and seals, and tortoises of which there was great abundance. On the main land they spoke to some naked Kaffirs, who bartered with them cows and goats in exchange for rattles, small mirrors, and glass beads. Following their advice, they put to sea again, in order to double the Cape by tacking, which they were not able to accomplish, nor could they return to the watering-place, which they named Agoada de Saldanha, and so it is called to this day, and shall be as long as our Lord pleases.

*Dom Francisco d'Almeida, Viceroy. 1505.*

Another fleet of five ships was also ready to leave with the viceroy, of which Pedro da Nhaya was captain, to proceed to Sofala to build a fortress and establish a factory for commerce. All being ready, the captain's ship sprang a leak in the stern, which was not noticed, because it was in the biscuit-room, which was soaked and weighed so heavy that in the night the water came in at the opening for the helm, and the ship foundered. Though the depth of water was not great the ship could not be raised, in spite of the great efforts made for the purpose, because she was laden with worked masonry for windows and doors. But after the viceroy set out another fleet of six ships was prepared, which sailed in May, as will be related in its place.

Lopo Sanches when tacking also sprang a leak, which could not be overcome by the pumps, and therefore the viceroy ordered him to press on under full sail to Mozambique, and if he could not double the Cape to return to the island of St. Thomas, for the viceroy put far out to sea to avoid the Cape, and met with cold and heavy snowstorms as aforesaid. Lopo Sanches passed the Cape, and the leak increasing so much he made for land, and ran ashore beyond Cape St. Sebastian on the side of Sofala. The sea being heavy, they cut away the mast, which in falling killed the captain and many men, because it fell on the opposite side to what they expected. Others jumped overboard and swam ashore, and taking with them a barrel of biscuit, which they carried in packages upon their shoulders, and upon which they subsisted, they travelled along the coast and met some Kaffirs, who did them no harm, but took them to Sofala, where the king entertained them and gave them clothes, and sent them to Mozambique. Thence they went to join the viceroy at Kilwa, that is a few of them, for many died on the way.

When the viceroy was making ready to depart there arrived Lopo de Goes who had gone from Kilwa with goods to Sofala, of which he found almost as great a want in Mozambique as in Sofala, and bartered them for gold, silver, and ivory, making a large sum of money with which he returned, following the course for India. In the gulf he fell in with three ships from Portugal, which came in company with Pedro da Nhaya as far as Sofala, which were those of Pedro Barreto de Magalhaens, João Vaz

d'Almada, and Jorge Mendez, and all proceeded in company and reached Angediva, where they caused great rejoicing. By this means the viceroy was made acquainted with all that had passed at Sofala.

Dom Francisco having left for India, the king commanded great efforts to be made to recover the sunken ship of Pedro da Nhaya, but the labour and expense were all in vain. Another ship was then prepared, which was fully equipped with the rest of the fleet, six in all, of which were appointed captains Pedro da Nhaya as chief captain, and his son Francisco da Nhaya, who was to cruise with two ships along the coast from Sofala to Melinde and procure goods for the Sofala trade, and the other four ships were to go to India when the fortress was completed, of which the captains were Pedro Barreto de Magalhaês, Pedro Cão as factor, João Leite, and João de Queiroz. They kept in company, and passed the Cape without misadventure. A month afterwards Pedro Quaresma and Cide Barbudo left, and went no farther than Kilwa, where they wintered.

While Pedro da Nhaya was pursuing his voyage to Sofala, Pedro Cão died of illness, and Manuel Fernandes de Meireles, a gallant gentleman, was appointed factor and captain of his ship, but as he remained at Sofala in the capacity of factor, Jorge Mendes Çacoto went to India in his ship. João Leite, while spearing a fish from the prow, fell overboard and was lost, and João Vaz d'Almada was made captain of his ship. When near Sofala João de Queiroz remained behind, and landing on an island to kill cows, was killed with twelve or sixteen men, the master, and the pilot; and on the ship reaching Sofala Gonçalo Alvares, who was afterwards chief pilot of India, was made captain of her.

In the ship of Pedro da Nhaya which was to be employed in the trade was his relative, Captain João da Nhaya. Going upon his course Jorge Mendes came upon the boat from the ship of Lopo Sanches which was lost, with twelve Portuguese who were already at the point of death, having had nothing to eat but raw crabs.

On reaching Sofala all the ships entered the river except those of Pedro Barreto and João Vaz d'Almada, which being large remained outside. When all had thus put in, the chief captain sent a message to the king that he was close by, and asked leave

to go and speak to him, which the king granted with great good will. Then he, with all the captains dressed in their best, (except Pedro Barreto who remained with the ships) went with fifty armed men and trumpets before him to the place where the king was, followed by a multitude of people. The houses were surrounded with very strong hedges of thorns, with closed doors.

They entered a large house built of earth, all the rest being of straw, and in this large house were many Moorish merchants well dressed. The king was in a small house apart from this, which was ornamented with coloured silk hangings of Cambaya. He was lying upon a couch, as he was very old and blind, and he showed great pleasure at the arrival of our people. He ordered the chief captain to sit down on some very handsome mats near his couch, and the rest of the people remained standing before the house.

Then the chief captain told him that the king of Portugal, owing to the friendship he had already established with him through the captains who had previously visited him, now wished, as he ever desired to keep good peace and friendship with him, his sons, and his subjects, to have a factory in his country and a large commerce, which would be very profitable to both, without causing any harm or scandal to his merchants and subjects, as in Mozambique and the whole of India. In proof and establishment of this good peace he asked the king to give him leave to build the said factory and houses in which he might live with his people, of whom he was to be the captain, that everything might be well ordered, for nothing would be done except by his command.

The king, on hearing this, said that he rejoiced much at his coming, and that he should remain in his kingdom, and might do as he pleased therein, which would be the same as in other places, where he knew and had heard that we did ill to bad kings and good to good ones, and no one in his kingdom should do him hurt or injury, so that as the land and people were at peace he might choose what place he liked and build a factory and houses at his pleasure. Upon which he dismissed him, and sent his lieutenant with him to give him all he asked for. Leaving the houses, accompanied by the lieutenant who showed him great honour, he returned to the ships, whence he immediately sent to the king a large present he had brought for him of pieces of

coloured silk, mirrors, beads, corals, knives, and red caps ; and he made another present to the lieutenant. The presents were taken to the king by Francisco da Nhaya with his trumpets going before, and all uncovered to the view of the people.

The king received him with great pleasure, as did also the lieutenant, offering to do him many services, upon which he returned to the ships, where the king immediately sent hens, yams, goats, and other provisions of the country. He also sent twenty Portuguese who were in another town, well treated and cared for, who came there by land from the ship of Diogo (*sic*) Sanches which was lost at a distance of about two hundred leagues ; at whose appearance the chief captain and all the others were greatly rejoiced, and they told him that all the good which had been done to them was due to the lieutenant (or regent).

The chief captain, on examining the situation of the land, by the advice of all chose a site for the fortress near the river and close to a palm grove in which there were some straw huts, for which he paid the owners well. And then he built a large house for the factory and other houses for the people, round which they immediately commenced the work of opening a deep trench. The people were divided among the captains, with diggers, stone-masons, and master-builders whom they had brought with them with many materials for the work, for which they had brought stone ready cut and a door for the great entrance, besides windows and doors. The lieutenant was always present, and provided labourers and whatever he could, all of which was well paid for. He often went to see the king, and he was very glad to talk to our people, who told him of their experiences in India.

The trench being finished, and wishing to dig the foundations of the fortress, which would require a long time, it was thought a better plan not to commence the fortress then, which could not be finished as the ships were obliged to leave for India, especially the two outside the bar, which ran great risks from the violent storms always prevalent there. And because it seemed proper to all to do work which could be finished, that the people might be secure from any ill chance, inside the trench they made a strong palisade of large stakes driven into the ground, and another within that, the space between being filled with earth thicker than a wall, upon which they mounted artillery, and they built

many houses in which they placed the military stores, merchandise, and provisions.

From this labour and the unhealthiness of the country the people began to fall sick and die, by which it appeared that they had acted prudently in not commencing the fortress. The palisade and all the rest of the work was finished by the end of October, many of the people being then ill with severe fevers from the bad air of that country. Then the chief captain despatched Pedro Barreto as commodore of the three ships that were to go to India, and wrote to the viceroy to inform the king that it seemed useless to build a fortress and waste people there to have dominion over nothing, for if the commerce was not carried on in peace and friendship, it could not be done by force, the country being so unhealthy; but it would be sufficient to go and trade there and return to Mozambique, where the fortress and factory would be better situated for the trade with Sofala, whence they could come and go without obstacle.

The ships being gone, our people remained, suffering from sickness, but some months passed without any dying, and they became convalescent, and were afterwards in good health, being lords of the country, and receiving great favour from the king and the lieutenant who commanded like a king. But as the Portuguese are by their nature proud and haughty when they are not under authority, through the great favour of the king who was very friendly to us and was called Monomotapa, son of the other king called Unhamuda, our people grew so overbearing in evil-doing that they treated the natives of the country worse than slaves, of which they complained bitterly to the lieutenant and the king. These sent a message to the chief captain concerning it, and though he punished the culprits for it as seemed just, the evils did not cease, but increased so much that the people of the country complained to the king that he had given our people so much power, calling upon him to drive them out of the country before they killed him and all his subjects, as they were in a fair way of doing by the injuries they inflicted.

Then the king sent a message by the lieutenant to tell the chief captain that he was much incensed at the harm done to his people, which he did not punish or amend, but allowed it to get worse each time, and therefore he would not have the Portuguese remain in his country, but they must depart at once, and embark



in their ships. To this message the captain replied with many excuses, saying that his illness was the cause of his people's disorderly behaviour, but he would punish them and amend all. The king would not accept this answer, because he was already very prejudiced by the counsel of the Moors who are the principal lords of that country, and were native Kaffirs who turned Moors owing to their dealings and friendship with foreign Moorish merchants who come to Sofala to trade, and show them great friendship.

He therefore again sent word to the captain that he would not have him remain in his country, that he must go to Mozambique or wherever he pleased, and send his merchandise, and he would buy it as he did that of the other traders, but if he did not do this, and insisted on remaining in his country against his will, then the king would know that he had come into his country to do him harm and not good, and the captain must know that he could not remain in his kingdom against his will.

The captain did not attach the importance to this message which it deserved, and answered the king that the Portuguese were not the men to suffer anyone to drive them out of a land where they had established themselves, that he came there at the command of the king his master, and could not withdraw except at the command of the said king his master, for he could obey no other, and therefore must die where he was with all his people.

On hearing this the king and his people made a loud outcry, saying that such was our custom to enter a country with fair words and gentleness, and then to take it by force with evil-doing and theft, which he would not permit, for he had so many people in his kingdom that no one should move him by force, a thing which it touched his honour not to allow. Then he assembled a multitude of his people, naked Kaffirs, armed with stakes for throwing, hardened in the fire, like small lances, so strong and sharp that they can pierce anything; but hurling them is their principal mode of warfare, for they are very strong men and of certain aim.

Our people, seeing this multitude of Kaffirs, greatly feared that like savages they would storm the palisaded enclosure on every side, and however many might be killed, that they would enter and slay all within, who were a hundred and thirty fighting men. Before the enclosure there was a large open space, which

had been a thicket, but our people had cleared it, and it was now a level field. Behind it, however, there were extensive forests of great trees, where the Kaffirs were, and whence they came out into the field with kettle-drums and trumpets and loud cries and shouts, flourishing their darts and bows with large arrows—though the bows were few—and making as if they would storm the enclosure; but without doing anything more they would retire again to the wood.

Our people were ready with their arms, arranged in order along the bank, with their artillery prepared, though they never fired or sallied out to attack the Kaffirs, but day and night kept a vigilant watch against fire, which was their chief fear. They did not dare to act on the offensive, but thought only of defending themselves if the Kaffirs should attack them in the many appearances they made each day without ever attempting to storm the wall. They remained thus more than a month, waiting till peace should be re-established, since the Kaffirs did not come to a close engagement with them, and in all that time they could never get speech with them.

Then the captain,—seeing that while they were thus defied they were consuming their provisions which might come to an end before peace was established, and being of opinion that even if food was plentiful it was not fitting to allow this rising by which the commerce would be ruined, unless peace was established, to which the Kaffirs would not listen, and that even though the river were seized that would not destroy the trade, for many goods came into the country from other rivers where they were lauded,—taking counsel resolved to make active war, being ready to establish peace whenever they liked, and if they should refuse it, to retire to the ships and go to Mozambique, there to remain until orders could be received from the viceroy.

Having come to this decision, the artillery was prepared, and when the Kaffirs sallied out, as they did with great security owing to our people never harming them, the captain ordered eight large cannon which were turned upon the open space, loaded with ball and stones, to be discharged, so that the Kaffirs, who had never seen artillery before, found the field strewn with their dead and wounded from the volley of stones. The balls passed through the trees, which they split and shattered like a great earthquake, and fell in a place where there were some wild

elephants, which live among the Kaffirs like our game that goes about under our eyes, and never harm them unless provoked. The balls falling among them, and the elephants hearing their noise with the trembling of the ground and the roar of the artillery, fled in great terror with loud trumpeting and screams, killing all the Kaffirs they came across.

The Kaffirs, perceiving the harm done them by the artillery, accompanied by the shaking of the earth, imagined it was caused by the art of the devil. Seeing also the terror of the elephants, that they thought would not flee from anything on earth, and being still more astonished by their companions being killed at once with fire and smoke and the balls which reached so far, they were seized with great fear, and those who had assembled at the command of the king complained bitterly of him, saying that he had summoned them to fight with devils. They therefore returned to their own lands in fear and wonder at the great and sudden damage done to them by our people, and concealed themselves.

As our people fired only the one volley, the Kaffirs were really persuaded that they had been injured by the art of devils, so that the king and all his people fled into the interior. The lieutenant opposed him in this, saying that our people had done them so much damage because they were offended by the Kaffirs wishing to storm their camps, but had not fired upon their houses, and therefore he should re-establish peace with us as at first, and if ours did them any further injury he should send to inform the captain of Kilwa, who would appoint another captain either at once or when the ships arrived at Mozambique.

The king accepted the lieutenant's counsel, to which his people also agreed, and matters remained thus for some days, during which our people dared not move out. The captain then, seeing that no Kaffirs appeared by day or by night, ordered a blank charge to be fired. The Kaffirs were expecting the ball, and seeing none and finding no harm done, the lieutenant sent a message to the captain asking why he had killed so many people who had done him no injury. The captain replied that he had not come there to harm them, but seeing that the Kaffirs wished to injure him, he had retired into his defences with his people, and had often sent messages in order that no evil might come to them, to which they had refused to listen. He had waited a

month that they might be his friends again, and they would not, but had sent the Kaffirs to threaten him with shouts and noise, at which his people held themselves injured and had been the cause of what had happened. He was sorry for it, and if they would be friends again no further harm should be done to them. At this the lieutenant and the king with all the others were very glad, and peace was reëstablished.

Then the captain, with the advice of all, there being no further sickness among them, opened the trenches for the foundations of the fortress, and began to build it as was commanded by his Majesty; who had given him the plan and the size it was to be. To which the king and his people dared offer no opposition, but on the contrary provided him with the labourers he asked for, his own people not being sufficient, as so many had died of illness.

The fortress thus commenced was finished in the year 1506, as is shown in the picture; but afterwards, when Antonio de Saldanha was captain, a barbican was built behind it, and houses for the people were put up on the ground between. They then moved out of the fortress, in order that a cistern might be cut out of the rock which was found within it. In this was preserved a thousand pipes of rain water, which from being kept in the rock and clarified became so cold and excellent that it was health to all the people, as it is to this day.

Pedro Barreto having sailed from Sofala ran along the coast with his four ships, and reached Kilwa, where he left some convicts destined for that place, and orders and letters from the king. Pedro Ferreira gave him all he stood in need of, and he set out again, and in crossing the bar his ship struck and was lost, but everything in it was saved. He then went on board the ship of Gonçalo Alvares, and with Jorge Mendes Çacoto and João Vaz d'Almada followed the course for India, but upon the equator they were becalmed and nearly perished of thirst.

The wind springing up again, they reached Angediva as before stated, and Pedro Barreto gave the viceroy many letters which he had brought, and informed him how he had left Pedro da Nhaya in Sofala within the palisade, with so much power and authority in the land that it was unnecessary to build a stone fortress, for it was not required, as the commerce could not be carried on by force, but could be conducted in peace and friendship for the reasons already stated; that they could not prevent

goods reaching the place by land, and the unhealthiness of the country would cause the death of many, which might be prevented, as it would answer every purpose for a ship to go there with the merchandise required, and when the barter was completed it could return without any other danger than that of the sea.

All this appeared good to the viceroy, who resolved to inform the king that the expense of a fortress at Sofala might be spared, as it was unnecessary.

### *The Year 1506.*

Then Rodrigo Rabello left for Angediva, and gave a letter to the captain from the viceroy telling him what had been done and instructing him to order doors and windows to be made ready. From that place the fleet returned to Baticalá, and collected the rice due as tribute. Sailing then for Cananor, on approaching the islands of St. Mary they saw two large sails, which they ran close to, and these proved to be Pedro Quaresma and Cide Barbudo, who had wintered at Mozambique, where they lost many of their people, after which came a ship from Sofala with intelligence that Pedro da Nhaya had died of illness with more than half his company, the country being so very unhealthy, and that Francisco da Nhaya filled the post of captain; that João da Nova's ship had sprung a leak off the Cape and returned to Mozambique, where she still was, having wintered at the islands of Angoya. This intelligence was sent to the viceroy, but they brought no word of the ships from Portugal, for they left Mozambique on the 10th of July.

The viceroy ordered these ships to be repaired and careened, for they were large and had been out since the preceding year, and if they remained in India would be lost. He also ordered the ships *Judia* and *Con dona*, which remained from his own fleet, to be equipped, in which Leonel de Castro and Dom Francisco da Cunha were to go, as aforesaid. Lourenço Moreno, notary, entered upon the office of factor of Cochin, having received that appointment from the king. The viceroy hastened the preparation of these ships, intending them to be first loaded, and if there was not sufficient cargo for all, then such as came this year and could not be laden were to remain behind. He gave the command of these two ships, one to Vasco Gomes

d'Abreu, who wished to return to Portugal, being out of favour with the viceroy, and the other to Francisco da Silva.

Then he sent Duarte de Mello in a ship which was to convey Nuno Vaz Pereira to Sofala as captain, and instructed him to go to Kilwa and take there some goods with which the vessel was laden. He sent in her thirty men to remain at Sofala, and having disembarked them there the ship was to return to India, which was done. He sent orders to Francisco da Nhaya to take charge of the trading ships which went there with him, and if by chance he should receive an appointment from the king to succeed his father as captain, then Nuno Vaz should take over the trading ships if he chose, and if not he should return to India. The viceroy thus attending to everything and seeing to the loading of the ships, time went on, and Rodrigo Rabello was still making war upon the coast.

#### *The Year 1507.*

Vasco Gomes d'Abreu took with him Ruy de Brito Patalim as factor and chief magistrate, with orders that he was to act at Sofala as captain while Vasco Gomes went to visit Mozambique. He also took with him in another ship Ruy de Valadares, Lopo Cabreira, Martim Coelho, Diogo de Mello, and some settlers who were to live at Sofala, and the ships which were to be kept on the coast to trade in goods. It was afterwards ascertained that Vasco Gomes d'Abreu, having left Lisbon with his fleet, sent João Chanoca in a caravel, which cruised along the coast of Jalofo, and proceeding thus on its way was lost at night through want of vigilance by the watch. Some of the crew subsequently reached Bizeguiche and related the manner of the wreck.

Vasco Gomes pursued his course with favourable weather, and arrived safely at Sofala, where he found the country in a very settled state and a large trade being carried on by Nuno Vaz Pereira, whom the viceroy sent there as captain when Pedro da Nhaya died, as before related. On his arrival he gave Nuno Vaz Pereira one of the ships, in which that officer went to Mozambique, and knowing that Nuno Vaz had much gold from the commerce, he asked him to deliver it to him. But Nuno Vaz replied that the gold from the trade of Sofala was for the king, and not for the captains, "and as the viceroy gave me

the order, I shall deliver to him the gold for which I have traded." And he left Sofala and proceeded to Mozambique, where he wintered with the ships which went no farther, and when the season permitted he left for India without waiting for the ships, as his vessel was a very fast sailer.

Vasco Gomes, finding the country in a peaceful condition, began to build the fortress, which he then surrounded with battlements. He received much help from the people of the country, where it was known that the ships were wintering. Having provided for everything necessary at Sofala, and leaving as captain the chief magistrate Ruy de Brito Patalim, he sailed for Mozambique with the four ships, according to the orders he had received. He intended to send ships from Mozambique to trade in goods (along the coast) and to proceed himself to the island of Madagascar to search for the commodities which Job Queimado had found there, according to the letters that Tristão da Cunha wrote to the king by Antonio de Saldanha, that he had taken the pepper from the ship of João da Nova, as I related before.

The said Vasco Gomes, going thus from Sofala, disappeared and was never seen again. It is supposed that he was swallowed by the sea in a great storm which came on, with a strong gale from the land, which blew trees into the sea and ruined part of the fortress in Sofala, from which disaster other ships escaped that kept better watch and were nearer the coast.

Vasco Gomes had orders to build at Mozambique a tower of two stories in which people might lodge, large houses in which to store merchandise landed there, and above all a hospital for those arriving sick from Portugal; and that any captains wintering there should assist in this work. When Nuno Vaz left Sofala, Vasco Gomes wrote to the captains at Mozambique, sending them a copy of the king's orders, and asking them as a favour and for the service of God and the king to be pleased to see that a quantity of stone and lime was got together for this purpose, while he was carrying out the king's commands; and if he should be delayed, they might cause the work to be executed, forwarding them the orders given by the king concerning the manner in which the houses were to be built.

Nuno Vaz, on his arrival at Mozambique, communicated this to the captains, who were all much rejoiced, as they had great

pity for the many sick who died. All of them very willingly, with the people who were in good health, began the work of building the hospital, for which they constructed a large house with a wide verandah at the back, a separate building for the infirmary, and another for a dispensary and lodging for the superintendent; and they pushed forward the work so speedily that in a short time it was finished. The sick were then moved into it and placed on beds which had been prepared, and slaves were provided as attendants in the hospital for the service of the sick. Those who died left all they had to the institution, and the captains, as their donations, took care of it, and served as superintendents for a month each, occupying themselves earnestly in serving and curing the sick, giving them many marmalades and preserves, which contributed greatly to their recovery.

The hospital being thus completed, they occupied themselves with building (the church of) Saint Gabriel. There was already a small structure, as already stated, and they built a large church, well arranged, with ornaments; and a chaplain was appointed to say Mass, with a sum allowed for his maintenance. They enclosed a large space round it with a thorny hedge for a churchyard, in which there were already many graves of those who had died in past times. The captains took counsel among themselves, and from the money in the coffers allowed the men a cruzado a month for their maintenance, by which they were much benefited, and they made João de Brionis their agent for these payments. They also contended with Nuno Vaz Pereira that he should place the gold he had brought from Sofala in the coffers, but he refused, saying that he must deliver it to the viceroy, who could then do what he pleased with it.

As all this was now fairly established and the people well disposed and all at work, the captains, that they might not be idle and waste the time in vain, seeing the plan sent by the king and his earnest recommendation that a fortress should be erected, undertook this work, and built a square two-storied tower and enclosed it in a quadrangle of stone walls with battlements and embrasures, with other towers at the corners on the battlements; and within they built large houses for the merchandise and military stores, and in the towers lodgings for the factor and officers, all very well arranged.



While these works were in progress they sent Martin Coelho and Diogo de Mello with their ships to Kilwa with merchandise, and they came back with the ships laden with cloth, which was a great relief to the people, who were able to clothe themselves, and bought what they required. They also sent a ship laden with cloth to Sofala, and these ships cruised along the coast of Melinde, bringing back a quantity of provisions.

The king was greatly pleased when he heard that these works were accomplished, and he afterwards commanded that there should always be a factor at Mozambique and a chief magistrate, under the jurisdiction of the captain of Sofala, who was to repair to Mozambique at the time when the ships came from Portugal to send with them the gold to be exchanged for cargoes of pepper. When the captains sailed they left with the factor sixteen men, a few convicts, and a quantity of goods, with everything in good order.

*The Year 1509.*

Thus did the viceroy, who went on board the ships and caused them to be anchored, and the next day with the evening land breeze he set out, which was the 11th of October of this year, with the other two ships of his squadron, with fair weather. They passed Mozambique without touching, which was unnecessary, and pushed forward on their course, meeting with no bad weather, so that all three put into the Watering Place of Saldanha, where the viceroy at once began to take in wood and water.

To hurry on his people he landed and dined on shore, returning to the ships to sleep. But a delay of ten days was unavoidable, for the water was at a distance, and the sailors carried it in kegs and filled the pipes in the boats. The road by which they went to get the water was through thickets, in which there were villages of Kaffirs who have herds of goats and cows, subsisting on their milk and butter: a savage people without a lord. They have many villages near this water which they value for their cattle, and the water rises among the stones of a dry river bed which must be full in winter time.

Here these Kaffirs previously had dealings with our people who came there in other ships and traded with them, exchanging goats and cows, of which they had a superfluity, for things of

little value, rattles, beads, small mirrors, and articles made of iron. They were thus accustomed whenever our ships were there to come to this water to trade, and on this occasion, seeing three ships and so many people and hearing from the natives of the country that we had a fortress at Sofala, they feared we might wish to build a fortress there also and take their watering place, and thus they would lose their cattle, which would have no water.

They assembled in great numbers, armed with pieces of wood half as long as lances, sharpened and hardened by fire till they were as strong as iron, and many slings, with which their aim is most accurate, and they are very strong men. They lay in ambush in the thickets near the road by which our people were carrying water, which was about two cannon shots in length, and they drew the water from pools under some great trees, where the viceroy sometimes dined and sat during the heat of the day.

The Kaffirs, seeing that our people only occupied themselves with drawing water, desisted from their evil purpose, and came to speak to them, bidding them bring things to exchange for cows and goats. As it is always the character of the Portuguese to endeavour to rob the poor natives of the country of their property, there were some sailors who tried to take a cow without giving what the negroes asked for it, upon which they came to blows. The combatants were joined by other Portuguese, and the negroes summoned their comrades with cries, so that many assembled who fought with the hardened sticks and the stones of their slings, and then men from the ships came with lances and wounded some Kaffirs and took the cows.

The Kaffirs called to the cows, which rushed in between them and our people, and over them they inflicted great damage on our people with their sticks and stones, for with their fire-hardened sticks they can pierce a man through better than with an iron-headed lance. Upon this our people fled towards the boats.

The alarm was given to the viceroy, who was farther up, and with those who were with him he made towards the boats. On arriving at the scene of the quarrel he and his attendants had to retreat, defending themselves from the cows, which had joined the fray on hearing the cries of the Kaffirs. The negroes pursued the viceroy, being anxious to kill him in order to take the

coat of scarlet cloth which he wore. And by the misfortune caused by sin, it happened that a stone struck him on the knee and he fell, and was left behind all the rest, who were in full flight.

On seeing this, Jorge de Mello came from the boats, calling upon the people to succour the viceroy, and going to him he took him on his shoulders—for he was a strong man—and carried him towards the boats, saying, “My Lord, at such times it is well to have friends.” While he was thus carried on the shoulders of Jorge de Mello, he was struck by one of the sticks, which pierced his neck and throat, and he fell dead. Jorge de Mello could not carry the body, but left it there, and saved himself.

The Kaffirs threw themselves upon the viceroy, and stripped off his coat, which they tore in pieces, quarrelling among themselves in such a manner that the people had time to save themselves in the boats. When Jorge de Mello reached them, he and Pedro Barreto returned with all the men against the Kaffirs, to recover the body of the viceroy. The fight was so severe that more than twenty Portuguese were killed and many were wounded, most of them servants of the viceroy, and Jorge de Mello was wounded in the arm by a lance. Whereupon they hastily retreated to the boats, and quickly got away from the shore, because many of the stones still reached them. More than thirty were left dead upon the ground, and almost all the others were wounded.

When the boats reached the ships, Lourenço de Brito, who being unwell had not gone ashore, on hearing of the viceroy's death was plunged into deep grief, being his great friend. He commanded all the people to be armed and to go ashore in the boats with loaded cannons to recover the body of the viceroy. On getting within range they fired their cannons, but the Kaffirs fled into the thicket, where with slings they wounded our people, who could not protect themselves. Lourenço de Brito, seeing the manifest danger and that it was doubtful if they could take vengeance, and that the spot where the viceroy had fallen was far off, so that there was no remedy, returned to the ships.

Then he went on board the viceroy's ship and had an inventory made of all his property, which he nailed up in chests and sealed the fastenings, and placed them in cabins which were nailed up.

Having thus put everything in order, he gave charge of all to a valet of the viceroy named Jorge de Figuieredo, whom he commanded to provide from the viceroy's stores for his servants and slaves. He bade the master and pilot follow the watchlight which he would constantly show, and they arranged that all should proceed in company, and not separate the ships. And with great sorrow they steered their course for Portugal.

*The Year 1512.*

Jorge de Mello sent to Sofala Simão de Miranda, who was appointed captain, to replace Antonio de Saldanha, whose term of office was expiring. This Simão de Miranda died, and Francisco Marecos, who served as chief magistrate, filled the post of captain. The ship of Simão de Miranda was given to Antonio de Saldanha, and he went to destroy the fortress of Kilwa, for so the king commanded, and to take away Francisco Ferreira Pestana, who was captain of it.

*The Year 1515.*

Lopo Soares reached Mozambique with all this fleet, where Christovão de Tavora remained in order to proceed to Sofala, because Francisco Marecos, who was there as captain, was leaving.

*The Year 1518.*

Diogo Lopes de Sequeira came with a large fleet, and honourable noblemen, namely . . . . Sancho de Toar, a Castilian nobleman, as captain of Sofala, in which capacity he was sent on from Mozambique, and Christovão de Tavora returned in his ship in order to proceed to India.

*The Year 1521.*

. . . . Diogo de Sepulveda as captain of Sofala, for which purpose he remained at Mozambique, and Pedro de Mello proceeded in his ship to India.

*The Year 1528.*

In the preceding year (1527) three armed corsairs sailed from France, and steered their course for India. At sea they sepa-

rated, and one of them, whose captain was a certain Estevão Dias Brigas, a pilot, a Portuguese subject, put into Diu with forty-eight men, more than sixty having died; and the ship was well furnished with artillery. Having arrived thus at the port, Captain Brigas went ashore, pretending to be a messenger sent by another, telling those in the boat, if they were asked, to say that the captain remained in the ship and he was his servant.

He went to speak to the captain of Diu, who was named Camalmaluko, and told him that the captain of the ship requested a safe conduct to trade and sell the merchandise he had brought, buying that of the country, on which he would pay duty as a foreign merchant, that he had never been in those parts before, and was the subject of a great king with whom it might please him to have friendship. The captain of Diu asked him if he was on good terms with the Portuguese. He replied that he knew of them, but had not come across them yet. The Moor said he was rejoiced at his arrival, and he and his people might safely frequent the city as merchants. As a protection he gave him an arrow from his bow, which was the usual royal safe conduct.

Upon this Brigas returned to the ship, and gave the people leave to go ashore to buy and sell. There were some Portuguese renegades with the Moorish captain, and he enquired of them about the people in the strange ship. They informed him that the strangers were French, from a land called France, and went about without license from their king, robbing on the seas whatever they found; that they were thieves, and if our people met with them they would kill them all as if they were Rumes.

The Moor kept silence, and seeing the French, ragged and dirty vagabonds who wandered about the streets and went into the taverns to drink the wine of the country, who brought no other merchandise than axes, hatchets, scythes, swords, guns, and other iron implements, and bought coloured cloths with which they clothed themselves, and that their only business was to eat and drink, he wrote to his lord the king of Cambaya, informing him of what was going on, who these people were, how they occupied themselves, and what had been told him by the renegades.

The king, on hearing this, came to Diu and sent many boats to the ship, which brought back Brigas and all his people, leaving the ship without a crew; and they were all confined in

a house well guarded. Then everything was taken out of the ship, which was found to contain many good cannon, large and small, and all sorts of steel arms; and the ship, which was of about two hundred and fifty tons burden and very rotten, was sunk in the river. When this vessel was passing through the gulf bound to Diu, she met with one of our ships coming from Melinde, which approached her, but she fled as she carried much sail, and the French had no communication with our people, seemingly because Brigas did not wish to have any discussion with them, and wanted to go and rob the Moors.

The king ordered Brigas and the French to be brought before him, and told them that if they would become Moors and serve him he would give them pay and show them favour according to their merits, but otherwise he did not want them in his country, and would command those who refused to be put to death. To which their captain Brigas replied: "My Lord, we are in your power and under your feet; but you cannot justly do this, because we have your royal safe conduct; you may do what you please to me, for I will never turn Moor, and these others must answer for themselves." The others, hearing the king's resolution, were greatly afraid that he would have them killed, and begged Brigas to obey his will, and God would afterwards provide a remedy; that since he had brought them there, he ought not to be the cause of their death.

All agreed to conform in order to save their lives, and turned Moors. Though in the first place they did this for the one object, they were afterwards pleased to remain Moors of their own free will, and all died Moors. The king gave Brigas a rich garment and a salary, and always kept him with him. The others, being unskilful, became wanderers, so that the king commanded them to be taken to the mountain of Champanel to be employed in the works there, as they were not fit men to be roaming about the country.

Brigas was a good servant to the king, who showed him favour, and after a time ordered him to be married to a Spanish woman named Marqueza, who was made a captive by one of our galleys being taken by a ship from Mecca which was going to Diu in the time of the governor Dom Duarte, as was previously related in its place. They lived together after marriage a long time, and Brigas died a good Christian. The woman was afterwards

freed from captivity, when Nuno da Cunha held the fortress of Diu, as will be related in its place.

Another ship of this company parted from her consort south of the Cape of Good Hope, and not knowing where she was going went round back of the island of Sumatra, where she came to the island of gold. The sand on the shore, coarse or fine, was all gold; the land had many shrubs, large trees, rivers of good water, and many kinds of very delicious fruit on the trees. The people were naked and savage, or covered themselves merely with cloth made from the leaves of plants, and did not hinder them from taking what they liked. They took in a cargo, and the wind serving they came to the coast of Sumatra in a wretched state, with most of the people dead and sick, and the ship so leaky that it was almost sinking.

They ran towards the land in order to beach her, but before they reached it they struck upon a reef, and the ship was lost. Those who were able to work got out a boat, in which they reached the land with much gold that each one took with him. After reaching the shore they were killed by the crews of some fishing vessels, who fell upon them and took away the gold. This became known in Malacca, through some merchants of Sumatra who went there to trade, and there was much talk all over the country of the boat laden with gold found by the fishermen, and of the men who talked as if they were gunners. One of them was taken to the king of a certain country, who ordered him to be impaled upon a stake, because he said he did not know how to return to the island where they thus found the gold. From this information it was known that the ship was of the company of Brigas.

The other ship steered for the island of Madagascar, and driven by a storm which arose, she came in sight of the island and made for the shore; by good luck she entered a bay which was sheltered from the storm, where she remained as long as her people wished to. They found good people on the land, who treated them well. Here they provided themselves with all they required, in exchange for hatchets and iron goods, and they obtained cloth, a kind of weak pepper which appeared to be wild, scented wood like bad sandal, and wild cinnamon, all things of little value; they obtained also other things which made them imagine they had reached India.

They set out again, and following the same course by which they came they passed the Cape and touched at the island of St. Helena where they took in water. Three Portuguese joined them there, who had escaped from a trading vessel in which were prisoners on the way to Portugal to be sent to Brazil. They set sail once more, and reached France at the port of Neypa, from which they had first set out; and finding their merchandise was bad and useless, no others occupied themselves in this business, for these were pirates who only went to seek something to steal. The Portuguese who were with them received from the king a remission of their sentence, by which they had been condemned by Lopo Vaz to banishment to Brazil for life for having been in company with rebels in India; and these men told the king all about this ship.

*The Year 1530.*

These brothers having left Lisbon, in May of this year there set out from that city Vicente Pegado, a groom of the king's bedchamber, in a ship, to be captain of Sofala and Mozambique, and in his company Balthezar Gonçalves, an honourable gentleman, in a caravel with lateen sails, to engage with these two ships in the trade of goods from Melinde to Sofala. But the caravel, not steering well, returned to Lisbon, and Vicente Pegado pursued his journey and reached Sofala, having a pilot with him for the purpose. At Sofala João da Costa was then captain and factor, who embarked in the ship of Vicente Pegado and steered his course for India, without touching at Mozambique, and arrived at Goa.

*The Year 1535.*

And this friar (a Dominican preacher) having said several times in his sermons that Maluco belonged to the emperor, Lopo Vaz ordered him to return to his monastery in Portugal, without giving him any reason for this order. But there was not wanting some one to tell it to the king, who on that account sent him to Sofala, and there he ended his life.

*The Year 1538.*

In this year came Dom Garcia de Noronha as governor and viceroy of India. He brought eleven great ships to be laden,



namely . . . . and João de Sepulveda in the ship *Junco* as captain of Sofala when Aleyxos de Sousa should finish his term of office, and Aleyxos de Sousa in the ship *Cysa* as captain of Sofala, who was left behind at Mozambique, Vicente Pegado, who was serving there, proceeding in his ship to India.

*The Year 1539.*

There came from Portugal in the viceroy's fleet the bishop Dom João d'Albuquerque, with the title of bishop of India, embracing all India from the Cape of Good Hope onward, with an order from the king that the church of Saint Catherine at Goa should be made his cathedral. And because on his arrival there was great urgency in preparing for the Rumes, the bishop would not speak of the matter at that time, but the viceroy being now returned to Goa, on the day of our Lady in March of this present year 1539 the bishop preached and said mass in his pontificals, which being over, the bishop with much ceremony presented to the viceroy a patent from our lord the king, in which he conferred upon him the bishopric of Goa with all ecclesiastical power from the Cape of Good Hope onward in all the cities, towns, fortresses, and territories of his dominion and government of which he was then possessed or should possess in the future, and as the chief seat of his bishopric the city of Goa.

*The Year 1549.*

When the governor Garcia de Sá had been buried in the principal chapel, Cosme Anes, who was then overseer of the revenue, presented the successions, which were examined in the usual manner, two having been already opened at the death of Dom João de Castro, namely the first appointing Dom João Mascarenhas and the second Garcia de Sá, now dead; the third was now opened, which appointed Dom Jorge Tello, who had been captain of Sofala and had gone to Portugal. The fourth succession was therefore opened, which appointed as governor Jorge Cabral, who was captain of Bacaim.

LETTERS FROM THE FIRST MISSIONARIES OF THE  
SOCIETY OF JESUS IN THE COUNTRY SOUTH  
OF THE ZAMBESI, WITH OTHER DOCUMENTS  
REFERRING TO THEIR LABOURS.

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[The following documents were copied from previously unpublished papers formerly in the College at Evora, now in the Library of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, and with some others were published by Senhor Paiva e Pona in a pamphlet issued at Lisbon in 1892, from which I have taken them.—G. M. T.]

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*Extracto da Carta que o Padre DOM GONÇALO DA SILVEIRA  
escreveu de Moçambique a Goa ao Padre Provincial.\**

Em Sofala e Inhambane procuramos de nos irmos eu e os companheiros n'um pangaio, que para o tempo em que partimos e para esta navegação de cá é melhor embarcação que navio d'alto bordo e tam seguro ou mais. Levamos dois portuguezes em nossa companhia, e outro homem da terra muy de bem, e intelligente d'esta costa de cá. Um dos homens portuguezes que é um creado do capitão que sabe d'aquella terra vae para nos guiar e aposentar. Achamos cá mores esperanças, do que pretendemos que trouxemos de lá, ainda que as trouxemos muito boas, e de Manamotapa achei muy melhor informação, e creio que foi esta missão de tanta edifacção para cá segundo em todos se sente.

Moçambique, a 12 de fevereiro de 1560.

DOM GONÇALO.

\* The Father Gonçalo da Silveira with his two associates left Chaul on the 2nd of January 1560, and reached Mozambique after a favourable passage. They were ready to embark in a pangaio, or native vessel, for Sofala when this letter was written.

[English translation of the foregoing.]

*Extract from a Letter that the Father DOM GONÇALO DA SILVEIRA wrote from Mozambique to Goa, to the Father Provincial.*

I and my companions proceed to Sofala and Inhambane in a pangaió, which for the season in which we leave and for this navigation is a better conveyance than a large ship, and just as safe, or even more so. We take in our company two Portuguese and a very honest native who is acquainted with this coast. One of the Portuguese, who is a servant of the captain and knows that country, goes as a guide and to provide us with lodgings. We found things here more hopeful than we anticipated, although we brought with us very good expectations. Of Monomotapa I found much better information, and I think the mission tended to much edification for this place, according to what is felt by every one.

Mozambique, 12th of February 1560.

DOM GONÇALO.

*Carta do Padre ANDRÉ FERNANDES para o Padre Provincial da Índia.*

MUITO REVERENDO EM CHRISTO PADRE,—A graça e amor do Espirito Sancto seja sempre em nossas almas. Amen. Porque já começo a ter occupações que importam e o tempo é breve serei n'esta mais curto do que quizera. A nossa viagem até Moçambique foi muito boa, e chegando nos aviámos logo em muito poucos dias, e o padre não quiz que viessemos nas caravelas até Sofala; mas em um zambuco, que me parece não ha em todo mar mais ruim genero de embarcação, por cuja causa passámos alguns perigos e muitos trabalhos com chuvas e contrastes e muito mal de comer de quaresma que nos tomou no mar.

Até Sofala tivemos 27 dias e o capitão dez não mais. Com este trabalho o irmão André da Costa cançou e disse que não podia mais e eu o disse ao padre e mandou-lhe que não jejuasse mais e que comesse carne até que chegámos a Sofala onde foi muito bem curado os dias que ahi estivemos e achou-se melhor. D'ahi nos partimos e d'ahi a dois ou tres dias adoeceu o padre.

Tambem me parece foi do trabalho e mal comer e jejuar e achou-se tão mal que tive medo, se a viagem nos durasse mais que oito dias que morresse; mas quiz N. S. abreviarnol-a.

Na terra se achou ainda alguns dias mal; quiz N. S. dar-lhe saude, e como se viu fóra de perigo me mandou a este Rey. Recebeu-me com contentamento dizendo-me *que vieramos buscar nossa terra e que a acharamos*, e logo me deu poder para ir buscar o padre, e foram lá tambem filhos e sobrinhos seus os quaes com outros se me convidaram para ser christãos antes da partida e um dizia que o não queria ser.

Eu adoeci logo de febres que é ordinario a quem anda este caminho a cavallo, quanto mais eu que o andei a pé:

Aqui está um João Raposo mulato nascido em Sofala, que já foi a Portugal que agora aqui fica comigo por lingua, que me agasalhou e sangrou que o sabe muito bem fazer para as pressas. Duram quanto podem as febres, foram um pouco rijo, mas não duraram muito.

Depois de minha chegada aqui a dezesete dias veiu o padre; estava fraco e debilitado do caminho, que em chegando ao povo d'este logar se deixou cahir em uma areia, donde me vieram dizer que estava e sem poder alevantar a cabeça me fallou. Ahi lhe trouxemos que comesse e bebesse e depois o levámos sobraçado para a borda do rio onde quiz estar a noite, e depois veiu o irmão André da Costa da mesma maneira e assim um moço que traziam.

O padre se achou logo alguma cousa melhor ainda que até agora dura sua convalescencia; o irmão se achava cada vez peor por onde o padre o mandou para a praia a convalescer-se. Assim manquejando foi o padre a El Rey que o recebeu muito bem e mostrou muito contentamento com a carta do Viso-Rey.

Logo nos deu licença para baptisarmos os que se quizessem fazer xpãos, e a elles para o serem, de maneira que em poucos dias se determinaram todos. Logo se fez El Rey, sua casa e filhos e todo o mais povo: elles nos vinham buscar que não nós a elles, finalmente em sete semanas que aqui esteve o padre se baptisaram perto de quatrocentas pessoas e segundo tenho por novas que o padre vae baptisando por esse caminho. Pelos logares d'este Rey eu tambem tenho já feito alguns depois que se elle foi.

A terra é toda d'este rei em que dizem haverá dez ou doze mil almas, em que ha senhores dos logares, como um seu irmão e

genro e sobrinho, e outro que é maior de todos, que agora aqui veiu a tomar posse do senhorio por morte de seu pae está muito disposto, esperando por nós para receberem o baptismo e ainda os vizinhos lhes teem inveja de sorte que aqui ha messe para muitos obreiros. E não sei em que se fundava o padre D. Gonçalo que nunca lhe pude tirar outra cousa senão que abastava para aqui um irmão e eu, e outro padre e outro irmão na praya e que nos communicariamos pelas festas, sabendo a gente que ha n'este reino, que toda está esperando por nós, e haver tanto que fazer n'elles a bem do baptismo e saber tão bem que se não passa este caminho sem uma grande camada de febres se não for n'estes tres mezes S. desde meado mayo até meado agosto, que se não pode mover nenhum de nós sem levar consigo pelo menos oito a quem dá de comer doze dias que tem no caminho da ida e vinda sem os que ha de estar e cada um seu panno que vale um cruzado, em cada logar outro e outras gayas que chegam a muito. E esta gente serve d'isto S.\* seis que nos levam ás costas e um a cama e outro o mantimento. E o terem as febres é tam certo como o andar o caminho porque de seis que vieram cá este anno todos as tiveram muitos dias afóra um que veiu a pé e morreo. Tambem eu vim a pé; só com febres me visitou N. S. e tambem afóra nós o moço que o padre trouxe que ainda vae doente; assim que o meu parecer, ao qual eu antepoño qualquer outro que melhor o sentir, não havendo gente para tudo n'este reino que sam moarangas, nos haviamos de empregar em seu visinho até se homem fazer á terra e ares d'ella que sem perigo o pudessemos, andar e, o que pudessemos, praticar na lingua, e então, ainda que fossemos poucos, podiamos estar divididos, e por estarmos já feitos á terra visitar-nos mais a meude que agora no principio pelas causas que digo, e todavia como V<sup>a</sup> R<sup>a</sup> ordenar será melhor feito.

A qualidade d'esta terra é destemperada, porque é agora muito secca, e no verão, que é outubro até todo março, que dizem que as calmas são grandissimas commumente. Toda esta costa pela terra dentro é enferma, e assim é aqui, ainda que estas febres não sam muito perigosas e se duram, como de feito a todos teem muitos dias, pode ser que seja a causa a falta das mezinhas e cousas necessarias, porque a dieta é camisa de milho com agua e sal, purga, nem enxarope, nem assuquere rosado, nem sem rosas, não

\* Scillicet.

no ha; porquanto como digo me não maravilho durarem as febres.

Este logar está assentado, sobre um grande rio que do mar aqui chega ainda que não ha maré aqui muito perto entra n'elle um pequeno. No inverno dizem que bebem d'elle, agora não, porque é algum tanto salobre. Está toda cercada de montes algum tanto altos que se não deixam lavar dos ventos senão quando sam muito grandes, por onde me parece será aqui o verão trabalhoso.

A agua para beber segundo tardam os que vam por ella será como a S. João e é boa. Na terra ha milho, meijueira, feijões bons, mungo e outros grãos que nascem debaixo do chão e como o milho é maior e melhor parte de mantimento, e o que podiam comer em trinta dias bebem em um *empombe*, que fazem d'elle. Muitas vezes dizem que morrem de fome.

Nenhum d'elles põe mão em cousa de semear como se as não tivessem, nem buscar lenha nem agua, e as mulheres vam fora d'aqui buscar alguma cousa ainda que pouca, porque todos sam pobres para ganharem n'ella, e levam d'aqui á praia o marfim ás costas aos portuguezes e trazem de lá a fazenda. E fazem qualquer cousa que lhes mandaes com tal que lh'o pagueis muito á sua vontade e ainda que seja o maior vosso amigo do mundo e lhe tenhaes hoje pela manhã dado cousa que vale mais que tudo o que elle tem, e logo ao meio dia lhe mandardes uma muito pequena cousa, se lhe não pagardes muito á sua vontade, tudo é entornado.

E assim sam pacificos, senão quando se embebedam e depois que eu aqui estou um bebado matou um mancebo. Por estes delictos nem por nenhum se faz entre elles nenhuma justiça, nem pae castiga ao filho de nenhuma maneira, e por isto me parece tomam muito mal reprehenderem-os de seus defeitos.

Entre elles sam fieis uns com os outros, e não me parece haver furtos, mas se topam a nossa fazenda á mão, digo contas ou roupa, perdoae-lhes; isto commumente, mas não todos, porque aqui anda um mancebo a quem muitas vezes entrego assim cousas, e sempre dá boa conta, e assim haverá outros.

Muitos gostam muito de ouvir e entender a doutrina christã, e facilmente deixam seus abusos. Todas as mulheres mostram muita devoçam á imagem de N. S<sup>a</sup>; vam muitas á igreja ver a sua imagem e isto que vem ao olho faz n'elles muita impressão,

e quadra-lhes muito declarar-lhes o que significam as imagens, e por isso mando lá pedir um retabulo do juizo, porque me parece o mais proprio para elles, como quem aos principiantes dá exercicio da primeira semana.

Sam domesticos e familiares mais do que vós quereis, se tivessemos aqui gente e que aporfiasse não duvido se não que se fizesse aqui uma Republica excellente. Desejo grandemente introduzir-lhe a justiça, e haver-lhes aqui algum tronco e depois pouco a pouco algumas peninhas com que pudessem, e por isso desejo cá muito o retabulo que digo para por ahi começar a cousa.

Em todas estas terras ha muitas gallinhas, e muito gado, em algumas partes vaccas grandes e muito gordas e baratas. Aqui não as ha porque dizem que ha uma herva que as mata mas trazem las aqui.

De terra menos fertil d'esta provincia me parece ser esta, mas é povoada da melhor gente porque todos os sujeitos a este Rey sam como digo Mocarangas que entre os Cafres sam tidos por melhor gente que os Bongoe que d'estas duas gentes é povoada a maior parte d'esta Cafraria.

Os Bongas sam todos circumcidados estes não, a causa de todos estes Mocarangas estarem entre os Botongas, cercados de todas as partes, foi porque um pae d'este tinha o seu senhorio dentro no Bocolonga e teve guerra com outro senhor mais potente que elle e venceu.

Este filhó com a gente que ficou do desbarate se veio aqui e pelejou com o senhor d'elle e tomou-lhe a terra e assim ficou entre os Botongas.

Para Cafre é muito bom homem, mas bebe mais do que eu quizera, mas diz-me este lingua, que dos senhores que elle viu entre os Cafres, que este bebe pouco em sua comparação. Tem quatro filhos homens todos bem acondicionados, e os d'elles de muito boas presenças para Cafres; tem outros muitos machos e femeas entre os quaes tem dois de idade cada um de doze a treze annos.

Disse ao padre que lh'os pedisse para levar para aprenderem n'esse Collegio, parece não se atreveu. Se não ha algum inconveniente para o anno lh'os pedirei.

O porto onde desembarcamos é um rio largo como o de Lisboa a Almada e o logar me parece que está da foz como Lisboa está á

do Tejo. Desembarca-se de outra banda, porque d'esta é baixo, e aquelle logar se chama Inhambane e é muito pequeno, a terra alli muito pobre. Está alli um Cafre que se chama Antonio Fernandes sem ser baptisado, e preza-se de grande amigo dos portuguezes, mas, como dizem, esfolta-os, e o padre me fez queixume d'elle que lhe levava muitos pannos.

Aqui parece que não cumpre assentar pela pobreza da terra, assim da gente toda commarcã como da mais, se não fôr para d'alli vir provar est'outra banda na qual onde desembarcaram para vir para cá está um Cafre por senhor que sem valer nem poder nada faz aos portuguezes forças e tyrantias muitas vezes que é maravilha, de sorte que está aquella gente tam aforada a fazer mal aos portuguezes que nenhum passa a que não obriguem ao que querem, e a mim me tomou o mesmo um panno sem lhe ser devido, de sorte que aqui tenho pouca confiança de fazer fruto por agora.

Mais abaixo para a foz do rio está um logar grande onde está o xeque de todos aquelles d'ali de redor, que é sogro do que digo e puzeram no alli para arrecadar aquillo que elles levam aos portuguezes por fazerem o caminho livre e dar lenha e agua, que segundo me disseram, que com as tyrantias que alli lhes fez, é tam rico que não obedece ao sogro.

Este logar está perto d'um rio d'agua doce onde ha muitas laranjas e limões, d'elles pequenos, d'elles parecem cidrões, e a terra por alli é abastada de carnes e mantimentos, mas até agora não tiveram alli os portuguezes nenhum commercio nem conversação, sómente os Cafres que sabem que nós folgamos com esta fruta nol'a trazem.

Alli a gente sam como digo a V. R. Botongas circumcisos todos, não sabemos se teem mais de Mouros, e n'este logar d'este Xeque se poderia fazer assento quando houvesse esperanza d'algun fruto, e então seria necessaria a carta do Viso Rey para o Xeque.

N'este rio morre muito e bom pescado s. pescadas, peixes serras, lulas, grandissimas tainhas e, finalmente muitos e grandes camarões, e a terra aqui é sadia, digo mais sã se os Cafres situassem seus logares ao longo da praia donde os ventos do mar refrescassem.

Elles não buscam senão o mais sombrio e abafado logar que acham e debaixo das maiores arvores de que penduram seus mantimentos por onde nenhum logar de Cafres pode ser sã.



Da praia aqui sam trinta leguas pouco mais ou menos. Agora n'este tempo que é frio pode-se muito bem caminhar sem perigo, acabando-se a nevoa que é quasi todo o anno; é tamanha a orvalhada que faz que se não pode crer e dizem-me que estas nevoas são nocivas á saude; mas no verão ha perigo do que atraz digo.

No inverno por serem estas terras todas chans se chovem muitas aguas enchem as ribeiras, que em este caminho ha muitas, de sorte que sahem das madres e cobrem toda a terra que parece um diluvio.

Este anno tomou assim uma cheia d'esta aos portuguezes, e os mais d'elles desembarraram o fato, outros ficaram ou a uma arvore ou ao pé d'ella.

Não me occorrem outras particularidades que escreva a V. R.; o padre Dom Gonçalo o fará abundantemente. O irmão André da Costa está na praia como já disse a V. R.; o padre vae determinado se o achar em disposição de o mandar para cá. Folgaria eu, ainda que não fosse mais que para me ajudar á missa e olhar pela casa até que vossa R. provesse d'outro em seu logar por sua indisposição. Se não vier já tenho feito a conta, baptisarei os que puder aqui n'estes logares de quarto de legua e mais se cumprir, ensinarei a doutrina christã aqui e lá, e encommendar me-ei a Deus até que V. R. proverá como lhe parecer mais fructo de Deus; mas ora seja só, ora com um irmão que me ajude, ora com um padre que me governe estou muito mais consolado e animado do que se estivera na metade da doce França entre meus irmãos por graça e bondade do senhor. Elle nos dê sua graça para que em tudo nos hajamos conforme a sua vontade.

D'este Otongue aos 24 de junho de 1560 annos.

Servo inutil

ANDRÉ FERNANDES.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Letter from the Father ANDRÉ FERNANDES to the Father Provincial in India.*

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,—May the grace and love of the Holy Spirit be always in our souls. Amen. As I begin to have occupations to attend to, and time is short, I shall in this

letter be more concise than I could wish. Our passage to Mozambique was very good, and upon arrival we finished in a very few days what we had to do. The Father (*i.e.* Dom Gonçalo da Silveira, the head of the mission party) would not let us come in the caravels to Sofala, but in a zambuco, than which I think there is not on the sea a worse kind of conveyance. Owing to this we passed through some dangers and many difficulties, with rains, and unsettled weather, and the scanty food of Lent that we passed at sea.

We took twenty-seven days to reach Sofala, and the captain not more than ten. In consequence of this hardship the brother André da Costa broke down, and said he could do no more. I told this to the Father, who ordered that he should not fast any longer, but should eat meat until we arrived at Sofala, where he was well looked after during the days we remained at that place, and found himself better. Two or three days after leaving Sofala the Father fell ill. I think also it was through the hardship and bad diet and fasting, and he was taken so ill that I feared he would die if the passage lasted more than eight days, but our Lord shortened it.

. On landing he still found himself ill for some days, but our Lord was pleased to give him health, and as soon as he found himself beyond danger he sent me to this king, who received me with pleasure, saying that we had come to look for our land and had found it. He at once gave me permission to send for the Father, and there went also sons and nephews of his own, who with others offered themselves to me to become Christians before starting, and one said that he did not want to do so.

I soon fell ill of fever, which usually happens to those who travel by this road on horseback, and the more so as I had to walk.

Here is a certain João Raposo, a mulatto born at Sofala, who has been in Portugal, and is now with me as interpreter. He has taken care of me and bled me, which he knows very well how to do in cases of pressure. The fever, as long as it lasted, was a little severe, but it did not continue long.

Seventeen days after my arrival the Father came here; he was weak and enfeebled with the journey, and as soon as he arrived at this place dropped on the sand, wherefore they came to tell me he was there, and without being able to raise his head,

he spoke to me. We brought him something to eat and drink, and then carried him to the bank of the river, where he wished to spend the night; afterwards the brother André da Costa came in the same manner, and also a servant they had with them.

The Father soon found himself a little better, although up to the present he has not fully regained his health; the brother got worse and worse, in consequence of which the Father sent him to the coast in order to recover. Thus staggering the Father went to the king, who received him very well, and showed great satisfaction with the letter of the viceroy.

He immediately gave permission to us to baptize those who wished to be Christians, and to them to become such, so that in a few days all resolved upon it. The king soon became a Christian, with his household, his children, and the whole of the people: they came to us, and we did not need to go to them. In short, during the seven weeks that the Father stayed here nearly four hundred persons were baptized, and, as I am informed, he continues baptizing as he proceeds on his journey. In the kraals of this king I have also baptized some since he left.

All the country belongs to this king, where they say there are ten or twelve thousand souls, in which there are heads of kraals, as in one his brother, and son-in-law, and nephew, and another the greatest of all, who came to take possession of his authority by the death of his father, is very well disposed and awaits our coming to receive baptism. The inhabitants have the same desire, so that here is a large harvest for many labourers. And I cannot understand the motive of Father Dom Gonçalo, for I can never get anything from him except that a brother and myself are sufficient here, and another Father and a brother on the shore, and that we should communicate with each other for feast-days, knowing the number of people who are in this kingdom waiting for us, and the good to be done among them by administering baptism; knowing so well that these roads cannot be travelled without severe fevers except during three months, namely from the middle of May to the middle of August; that not one of us can move without taking at least eight persons with us, who must be fed during the twelve days journey there and back and during the time we remain there, besides a piece of cloth to each worth a cruzado in each kraal, besides other gratuities which amount to a good deal. Six of these men are

required to carry us in litters on their shoulders, one to carry the bed, and another the provisions. The fever is a certain effect of the journey, for of six who came here, every one suffered from it for many days, except one who came on foot and died. I also came on foot, and our Lord only visited me with fever; and besides ourselves the servant whom the Father brought with him is still sick. So that in my opinion, to which I am ready to prefer a better, not having sufficient men for all in this kingdom who are Mocarangas, we should be employed in its vicinity until we are accustomed to the land and climate and can traverse it without danger, and can become practised in the language, and then though we may be few, we could separate, and being used to the country could visit each other more frequently than we can now do in the beginning, for the reasons I have stated, but nevertheless whatever your Reverence may order will be for the best.

The climate of this land is unequal, for at present it is very dry, and in summer, which is from October to the end of March, they say the heat is usually excessive. The whole of this coast towards the interior is full of illness, and it is the same here, although these fevers are not very dangerous, and last many days, as they have done with all those who had them, this may be for want of medicines and other things necessary, for the diet is husks of millet, with salt and water. Physic, or syrup, or sugar of roses or without roses, is not to be had, so that as I have said I do not wonder that the fever lasts.

This kraal is situated on a great river which comes hither from the sea, and though there is no tide very near, there is a slight tide in the river. In the winter they say the water can be used for drinking, but not at present, because it is somewhat brackish. It is surrounded by rather high mountains, which prevent the winds sweeping over it unless they are very boisterous, whence I conclude that the summer will be very trying.

The drinking water according to the delay of those who fetch it should be as at S. João, and is good. The land produces millet, meijueira, good beans, mungo, and other grains which grow beneath the ground, and as the millet is the best and chief part of their provisions and they use what would feed them for thirty days to make a drink called empombe for one occasion, it is said that they often die of hunger.

None of them make more use of their hands in sowing the land than if they had none, nor in fetching wood and water, and the women go from here and fetch a few things, but very little, because they are all too poor to gain by it. They carry ivory hence to the coast upon their shoulders, and dispose of it to the Portuguese, and return with other merchandise. They will do what they are ordered if paid according to their will, and though they should be your greatest friend in the world, and you had given them this morning something worth more than all they possess, and were to command them at midday to do the least little thing, and did not pay them exactly as they wished, all would be over between you.

They are peacefully inclined except when they are drunk, and since I have been here, a drunken man killed another young man. They execute no justice whatever among themselves for such crimes, or for any others; the father does not punish his son in any way, which I consider is the reason they are so ill-disposed to receive admonitions for their failings.

They are faithful in their dealings with each other, and I do not think there are any thefts, but if they can lay hands on any of our property, be it cloth or beads, you must forgive them; this is usually the case, but not with all, for there is a young man here to whom I have often entrusted such things, and he always gives a good account of them, and there are probably others like him.

Many of them like very much to hear and understand the Christian doctrine, and are easily reclaimed from their errors. All the women show great devotion to the picture of our Lady, and many visit the church to see it. These things which appeal to their eyes make a great impression upon them, and it pleases them very much to have the meaning of the pictures explained to them, for which reason I have sent to ask for a picture of the Judgment, which seems to me most suitable for them, as we give beginners the exercise of the first week.

They are more domesticated and friendly than you would think; if we had sufficient people here and they persevered, there is no doubt but that an excellent republic could be formed. I greatly desire to introduce justice among them, and have some sort of a prison, and afterwards introduce such slight penalties as we can, and for this reason I greatly long to have the aforesaid picture of the judgment here, with which to commence the work.

In all these lands there are many hens and abundant cattle, in some places there are large cows very fat and cheap. There are none here, for they say there is a herb which kills them, but some are brought here.

This land seems to me the least fertile in the province, but it is peopled by the best inhabitants, for all the subjects of this king are Mocarangas, as I have said, and among the Kaffirs they are considered a better people than the Bongas, the greater part of Kaffraria being peopled by these two nations.

The Bongas are all circumcised, but not the former. The reason that these Mocarangas are among the Botongas, and surrounded by them on every side, is that the father of the present ruler had his dominion in Bocolonga, and was at war with another more powerful than himself, and was defeated.

His son, finding himself in this place with the men who remained after the defeat, fought with the ruler, and took possession of the land, and thus they remained among the Botongas.

He is a very good man for a Kaffir, but drinks more than I could wish; but the interpreter tells me that he drinks very little in comparison to other chiefs he has seen among the Kaffirs. He has four grown up sons, all men of good condition, two of them are of very goodly presence for Kaffirs; he has many other children, male and female, among whom are two of twelve and thirteen years of age.

I said to the father that he should ask for them to take them to be educated in the college, but it seems he did not venture. If there is nothing to prevent it, I will ask for them by next year.

The port in which we disembarked is a river as wide as that from Lisbon to Almada, and the kraal seems to me to be as far from the mouth as Lisbon from that of the Tagus. We disembarked on the other side, because on this side the river is shallow; the place is called Inhambane and is very small, the soil is very poor.

There is a Kaffir here called Antonio Fernandes, though he is not baptized, and he gives himself out to be a great friend of the Portuguese, but to strip them, as they say, and the father complained of him to me that he robbed him of many pieces of cloth.

It does not seem possible to settle here, because of the poverty

of the land and of the people of this place and elsewhere, and we cannot leave and try the other side where we disembarked to come here, because it is ruled by a Kaffir, who though worthless and powerless, has treated the Portuguese with violence and tyranny so often that it is wonderful, so that the people are so used to ill-treating the Portuguese that not one can pass through the place whom they do not force to do what they please, and they took a piece of cloth from me which was not owing to them; so that I have little hope of doing any good there for the present.

Farther down, towards the mouth of the river, is a large kraal, where lives the chief of all those which surround it, who is the father-in-law of him I mentioned before, who was placed there to demand some of the merchandise which they carry to the Portuguese, in return for wood and water and free passage. According to what I hear, he is so rich through the tyranny which he practises upon them there that he does not obey his father-in-law.

This kraal is near a river of fresh water where there are many oranges and lemons, some of them small and resembling citrons. The land is well provided with provisions and meat, but up to the present time the Portuguese have no commerce or dealings with that place, but the Kaffirs who know that we are fond of that fruit bring it to us.

The people there are Botongas, all circumcised, as I have told your Reverence, we do not know if they have anything else in common with the Moors. We might settle in the kraal of this chief when there is reason to hope that it would yield good fruit, and it would then be necessary to have a letter from the viceroy for the chief.

The fish in this river are good and numerous, whiting, saw-fishes, lulas (a species of cuttle-fish), large trench, and lastly many large prawns. The country here is healthy, and would be more so if the Kaffirs would place their kraals along the seashore, where they would be refreshed by the sea-breezes. But they always choose the darkest and most covered places which they can find, under the largest trees, upon which they hang their provisions, so that no kraal of the Kaffirs can be healthy.

From the shore to this place the distance is thirty leagues, a little more or less. At this time, the weather being cold, it may

be traversed without danger when the mist has cleared which is common nearly all the year, the dew is so heavy that it is not credible, and I am told that these mists are unhealthy, but in the summer there is the danger I have mentioned before.

In winter, all these lands being very flat and the rain very heavy, the rivers are swollen, and as they are very numerous in these parts, they overflow their channels and cover the ground like a flood.

This year the Portuguese were overtaken by one of these floods, and most of them lost all their goods, others secured them in the branches or at the foot of trees.

Nothing further occurs to me to write to your Reverence, Father Dom Gonçalo will do so fully. The brother André da Costa is on the shore, as I informed your Reverence. The Father went away determined to send him here if he found him in a fit state. I should be very glad, if it were only to serve me at Mass, and attend to the house until your Reverence provides another in his place, on account of his indisposition. If he does not come, I have made my plans. I will baptize all those I can in the kraals within a quarter of a league, and more if possible, I will teach the Christian doctrine here and there, and recommend myself to God, until your Reverence provides as you think best for God's service, but at present I am sometimes alone, sometimes with a brother to help me, and sometimes with a father to direct me, and feel more courage and consolation than if I were in the middle of sweet France among my brethren by the grace and goodness of God. May He give us grace to be conformable to His will in all things.

From Otongue the 24th of June 1560.

Unprofitable servant,  
ANDRÉ FERNANDES.

*Carta do Padre ANDRÉ FERNANDES ao Irmão LUIZ FROES ao Collegio de Goa.*

*Pax Christi.*

CHARISSIMO EM CHRISTO IRMÃO,—Outro fôra eu que quizera que lhe agradecereis escrever-vos em tal tempo, mas eu me contento com a consolação que n'isso levo pelo amor que eu no Senhor vos



tenho. Charissimo irmão fazei conta que já somos em Inhambane que é o porto onde se desembarca para vir cá.

Como o padre D. Gonçalo esteve fóra de perigo de morte por sua doença me mandou deante com um recado a el-rei com quatro cafres que vos certifico que uma das sortes que fiz n'esta vinda a pé foi atural-os estas trinta leguas. E o caminho comecei o a pé que se não costuma tal entre portuguezes, por ser o primeiro da Companhia que o passava.

Aturar os cafres foi por minha honra porque de outra maneira não me tiveram por patrão.

As orvalhadas d'esta terra sam grandes e molhava-me por ellas como se me metteria por um rio porque os mattos e as hervas sam muito compridos, e os caminhos quanto cabe um ante o outro; mas ainda que leveis deante de vós quatro ou cinco parece que vam de gume e que não tocam nas hervas, e eu as desorvalhava todas pelo que me começou a doer um giolho de sorte que, como dizem, levei aquella noite ás costas.

O tempo era quando os feijões estavam nas bainhas feitas, e quanto a meu ver, mui bem sabem, de sorte que nos convidavam com elles. Cada bainha tem dezeseis feijões pouco mais ou menos, e eu estava milhando em um espaço grão e grão e os bons dos companheiros de cada colmilhada levavam uma bainha, pelo qual determinei apartar o fato com elles n'esta parte e comia muito devagar e depois lhes dava o que ficava.

Toda a terra é chã e tem muito boas ribeiras e varzeas muito grandes nas quaes vi aves como cegonhas e outras muito brancas não adverti se eram cisnes que já vi em Inglaterra.

Meu proposito é dar-vos aqui conta de toda a cousa como passou, porque por outras que lá vereis do padre o sabereis, sómente da qualidade da terra e gente d'ella já vos digo.

A terra é chã e tem muitas ribeiras e enchem tanto no inverno algumas vezes que cobrem a terra e a gente desampara os logares em que moram para outros mais altos até que se vá a cheia, que não sóe durar muitos dias.

Em toda a terra ha muitas gallinhas grandes, muitas vaccas gordas, cabras e ovelhas não muitas.

Deixemos más pousadas, ruins ceias e peiores jantares e ponhamo-nos no Tongue, cujo rei pasmou quando me viu tam velho e caminhar a pé, disse-me que estava em minha terra, que descançasse.

Eu achei-me logo mal de febres e mandou-me el-rei visitar. Os filhos estavam commigo grande espaço, no tempo que lhe dei a entender que tinhamos alma e um Deus que nol-as fizera, e assim todas as cousas; gostaram em extremo, e logo se me convidaram para serem christãos e outros muitos.

Este rei para cafre é muito bom homem, bem inclinado, homem grande e de discrição e muito conhecido e amado de seus visinhos e ainda dos de muito longe.

Tem quatro filhos e dois d'elles de muito boas presenças, e todos muito bem acondicionados e de corpo grandes.

Toda esta gente recebeu o baptismo com muito boa vontade; quadram-lhe muito os mandamentos e todas as outras cousas que lhes dizem e praticam entre si; deixam facilmente seus abusos de sortes e outros agouros.

As mulheres mostram muita devaçam á imagem de Nossa Senhora e a todas, e nada do que lhes dizeis duvidam; mas como se o soubessem, certo assim o crêem.

Os homens de nenhuma qualidade poem mão em cousas da agricultura; as mulheres sam as lavradoras e provem a casa do necessario.

N'este passo veiu ter commigo o principe e pediu-me um barrete que se queria trosquiar; dei-lhe o que tinha na cabeça, que por honra de S. João hontem puzera, e fiz-lhe a doutrina ou parte d'ella.

E, torno a escrever, estes fazem tudo que lhe mandaes, com tanto que lh'o pagueis muito bem; sam pacificos se se não embebedam, muito domesticos e familiares, todavia ha alguns honrados como os que sam da casa real que não fazem o que digo.

Alguns se occupam em matar elephantes e o pae faz logo signal ao filho para que se conheça ser da casta que os mata; e a maneira que teem é esta.

Ajuntam-se cento ou cincoenta cafres, e vam-se ao matto buscal-os, com cada um sua machadinha, em as mãos, e como dam em o bando, que assim costumam andar, fazem-os fugir para o matto que é muito espesso commumente onde elles andam e teem suas veredas por onde passam que não podem por qualquer parte, e como os teem no matto apertam com elles e como uns vam deante e outros detraz e não se podem desviar para nenhuma parte senão para suas sendas, chegam os cafres á vontade, e

dam-lhes com as machadinhas nas pernas ambas se podem, quando não em uma, e por pouco que os firam, com o peso do corpo quebram-lhes logo as pernas e caem.

E poucos d'elles comem um inteiro e a tromba que é o melhor mandam a el-rei, e depois da tromba dizem que os pés é o melhor.

A carne tem um cheiro forte; mas parece que se pôde comer, e sam tam amigos d'ella que uma cafra querendo-se baptisar das primeiras, porque lhe disse não sei quem que não havia de comer carne de elephante sahiu-se pela porta fóra. A carne comem-n'a não como homens, mas como lobos esfaimados.

O seu traje falando dos cortezãos (que os outros uma pelle deante e outra detraz), é um panno dos que elles fazem de algodão de seis, sete covados em comprido atado pela cinta e uma corda e obra de meio palmo da corda para cima ou um palmo que depois cae sobre a corda e o demais que lhe chega quasi ao chão e umas espadinhas muito ruins a tiracollo e tam apertadas que as trazem debaixo do braço; outros vestem dos nossos pannos que veem da India; todos trazem arcos e frechas e zagaias pequenas.

As mulheres vestem um pedaço de panno feito me parece á sua feição, não muito comprido, e sobre estes pannos trazem muitos ramaes de contas de diversas côres, por deante andam todos juntos mas por detraz olham de maneira que um anda abaixo do outro.

Nas cabeças fazem mil galanterias, rodas, corôas e meias rapadas; mas as cabeças dos homens não sam para ver, e por isso folguei de ver o barrete ao principe, porque uns trazem dez cornos, outros mais, outros menos, feitos dos cabellos e de paus se cumpre.

E os mais galantes trazem dois cornos na cabeça; os pés d'elles que sam fundados nos cabellos ametade ajuntam para traz e ametade para deante, e então enxirem-lhes alli dois paus que quanto se mais vam alevantando se vam desviando as pontas um do outro, e nas pontas d'elles lhes põe algum pouco de ouro.

Quizera ao principio que lh'os tiraramos que me parece fôra cousa facil e o padre D. Gonçalo não quiz porque dizia que lhe pareciam assim muy bem, tendo similhaça de diabos pintados, e por caridade charissimo que alembreis que o retabulo do Juizo que de lá peço, traga diabos com cornos.

Os pannos que vestem jâmais os lavam mas untam-se com um azeife que cheira muito mal.

Os botongas vestem muito peor; os mais d'elles trazem commumente meia pelle á banda de traz e no rabo d'ella algumas galanterias, e trazem n'ò panno em riba, e uma tira da pelle de dois dedos em largura que é o lombo que lhe deixam pendurado que lhes chega ao chão e com esta cobrem a parte trazeira cingindo-se. Com os pés picam-se muito pelo matto. Em outras partes trazem manilhas de marfim muito grossas; estas aqui de cobre, que se estima aqui muito entre elles.

A gente commumente é avilanada; alguns ha bem as sombrados, muitos andam encaixados em uma tira de casca de pau de dois ou tres dedos de largura.

Já vos disse toda a galanteria d'esta terra; toda está disposta para receber o baptismo. Um portuguez veiu ha quatro dias de um logar onde diz que disseram estas palavras: *O velho de Deus que faz os christãos não virá cá baptisar-nos?*

Depois que comecei esta carta me veiu a lingua dizer que muito de proposito um embaixador de um grande rei que aqui está lhe viera dizer: ora bem, eu hei de dizer a meu senhor esta cousa, e se pela ventura elle quizer ser christão, e eu aqui tornar acharei recado para que nos vam lá baptisar? Respondeu-se-lhe sim, que viesse.

Acabado de se fazer christão um sobrinho d'el-rei assentou-se com outros christãos e veiu um de sua companhia, que era ainda gentio querer-se assentar sobre o panno onde elles estavam; nunca o consentiu, que o cafre não se havia de assentar com os christãos.

Disse-me aqui um dia o padre D. Gonçalo que nenhuma cousa lhe aborrecia como um homem devoto e que vós outros estaveis, n'esse collegio, chiqueiro de figos e rabaões, focando em devoção. As mais das mulheres, botongas e homens e aqui tambem alguns vestem a casca de uma arvore de que tambem fazem vasilha para mantimentos, e tiram-n'a d'esta maneira:

Colhem a arvore e tomam certos paus a feição de martellos e com elles lhe vam dando e esfolando-e, e com as pancadas se quebra o rijo e fica a teia de dentro, assim é que tiram para as vasilhas como nós os cortiços e tecem isto de dentro umas cascas com outras para se cobrirem de noite.

Esta terra é destemperada; no verão callidissima; no inverno muito fria.

Eu, louvores ao Senhor, acho-me muito bem e tam consolado e

contente que nunca assim o fui. Louvado seja Nosso Senhor! Os que pudér far-lhes-ei a doutrina e encommendar-me-ei muito em as orações de todos.

D'este Otõgue a 25 de junho de 1560 annos.

Indigno irmão que em Christo muito vos ama,

ANDRÉ FERNANDES.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Letter from the Father ANDRÉ FERNANDES to the Brother  
LUIZ FROES at the College of Goa.*

*Pax Christi.*

DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER IN CHRIST,—Any other than myself would expect gratitude for writing to you at such a time, but I content myself with the consolation I derive from doing so because of the love I bear you in the Lord. Dear Brother, you must know that we have already reached Inhambane, which is the port where we disembark to get here.

When Father Dom Gonçalo was out of danger from his illness, he sent me on before with a message to the king, with four or five Kaffirs, and I assure you that one of the hardships of my journey hither on foot was to be obliged to keep up with them for thirty leagues. I commenced the journey on foot, which is not usual for the Portuguese, I being the first of the Company to make this journey.

It was for my own honour to keep up with the Kaffirs, as otherwise they would not acknowledge my authority.

The dews of this country are very heavy, and drenched me as if I had been in a river, for the grass is very long and the roads can only be passed in single file; but though you have four or five in front of you, they seem to pass over and not to touch the grass, and I shook the dew off it, so that my knee began to pain me and, as they say, it was a burden to me all that night.

It was the time when the beans are ripe in the pod, and as in my opinion they taste very good we refreshed ourselves with them. Each pod contains about sixteen beans more or less, and I was eating them leisurely grain by grain between whiles, but my good companions swallowed a whole pod full at each mouthful,

so that I determined to divide with them in that place, and eat some very slowly, and then gave them what was left.

The country is very flat, and there are many good rivers and large plains, on which I saw birds resembling storks and others very white, but I did not observe whether they were swans such as I have seen in England.

My intention is to give you here an account of everything as it happened, but as by other letters from the Father you will have heard the rest I will only tell you the characteristics of the country and the people.

The country is flat, and there are many rivers which are so swollen in winter that sometimes they cover the land, and the people desert the kraals in which they live for others on higher ground until the flood subsides, which is usually in a few days.

In all the country there are many large hens and fat cows, but few goats and sheep.

Let us pass over bad lodgings, poor suppers, and worse dinners, and imagine ourselves at Tongue, the king of which was overcome with surprise at seeing me so old and journeying on foot. He said I was in my own country, and bade me rest myself.

I was then taken ill with a fever, and the king sent to visit me. His sons were with me for a long time, during which I taught them that we all have a soul, and that God created it and all other things. They were extremely pleased, and invited me to come and make them Christians together with many others.

This king is a very good man for a Kaffir, well inclined and of discretion, a great man and very well known and loved by his neighbours and even by those at a great distance.

He has four sons, two of them of very goodly presence, and all of good condition and great stature.

All these people received baptism with great good will; the Commandments please them very much, and all the other things which they talk of and discuss among themselves; they easily abandon their errors in believing in fates and auguries.

The women show great devotion to the image of our Lady and all the other images, and they doubt nothing which they are told, but believe it all as certainly as if they knew it to be the fact.

No man in whatever station employs himself in agriculture,

the women are the labourers and provide the house with what is necessary.

At this moment the prince came to see me, and asked me for a cap, as he was going to cut his hair. I gave him that which I had on my head, which he put on yesterday in honour of St. John, and I taught him the Christian doctrine or part of it.

I return to my letter. These people do whatever they are told so long as they are well paid; they are peaceful when they do not drink, and very domesticated and friendly; some of those of higher rank, such as those of the royal house, do not act as I have said.

Some of them employ themselves in killing elephants, and fathers immediately set a mark upon their sons to show that they belong to the race of elephant killers. They hunt the elephant in the following manner:—

A hundred or a hundred and fifty Kaffirs assemble, each with an axe in his hand, and seek them in the jungle where they are found herded together according to their habit; then they drive them through the jungle, which is usually very thick in the parts they frequent, and through which they have cleared a passage and cannot penetrate it in other parts, so that when they are thus taken in the jungle they can only proceed in single file, and must follow the path without deviation, so that the Kaffirs come up to each in turn and strike with their axes at both feet if possible, or if not at one, and at the least wound the weight of their bodies breaks their feet and they fall.

A few of them suffice to eat a whole elephant. The trunk, which is the choicest part, is sent to the king, and they say that after the trunk the feet are the best. The meat has a strong smell, but seems eatable, and they are so fond of it that a Kaffir woman who wished to be baptized among the first, being told by I know not whom that she would not be allowed to eat elephant's flesh, walked straight out of the house. They do not eat the flesh like men, but like famished wolves.

Their dress, speaking of the courtiers, (for the rest a skin of an animal in front and another at the back), is a piece of calico of that which is made seven ells in length, tied round the waist with a cord, about half a handsbreadth or a handsbreadth falls over the cord and the lower end almost touches the ground. They wear very bad small swords slung crosswise on their shoulders, and tied

so tightly that they are hidden under their arms. Others dress in our pieces of cloth which come from India. All carry bows and arrows and small assagais.

The women wear a piece of cloth which I think suited to them, it is not very long, and over it they wear many strings of different coloured beads twisted together in front, and arranged to fall one below the other at the back. They wear all sorts of finery, such as crowns and circlets, on their heads, which are half shaved, but the men's heads are not fit to be seen, which is the reason that I rejoiced to see the prince wear a cap, for some of them wear ten horns on their heads, others less, made with their hair and pieces of stick.

The gallants wear two horns on their heads, of which the foundation is made by dividing the hair, bringing half to the front and half at the back, and then they stick in two pieces of wood, and the higher they are the more the points stand away from each other; these points are decorated with a little gold.

The prince wished us to remove his, which seemed to me an easy matter, but Father Dom Gonçalo would not, saying that he thought it looked very well so, though resembling painted devils, and of your charity, beloved brother, let the picture of the Judgment which I have asked for contain devils with horns.

They never wash the cloths which they wear, and they anoint themselves with oil which has a very evil smell.

The dress of the Botongas is much worse. Most of them wear half a skin at the back, the tail of which is ornamented with finery, and also the piece of cloth they wear about it, and a strip of the skin about two fingers wide which they leave hanging to the back, and which reaches to the ground, they tie round them and cover themselves at the back. Their feet get scratched among the briars. In some parts they wear heavy iron bracelets, here they are of copper, and are much esteemed among them.

The people are mostly ill-favoured, but some are handsome. Many go about only covered with a strip of bark of the width of two or three fingers.

Now I have told you all about the finery of this land. They are all disposed to receive baptism. A Portuguese came here four days ago from a kraal where he heard these words, "Will not the old man of God who makes Christians come and baptize us?"

After I had begun this letter the interpreter came to tell me



very opportunely that the ambassador of a great king who is here came and said to him: Now I must tell my master of these things, and if by chance he should wish to be a Christian, shall I return and bring a message for you to come and baptize us? I answered, yes, that he might come.

A nephew of the king's newly made a Christian was seated with other Christians, and seeing one of his company, who was still a heathen, about to seat himself on the piece of cloth on which they were sitting, he would not allow it, because a Kaffir should not sit among Christians.

One day Father Dom Gonçalo told me here that he abhorred nothing so much as an (inactive) devout man, and that all of you were rooting in devotion in that college, a sty of diseased and docked.

Most of the Botonga women and men, and some here, wear the bark of a tree, of which they also make vessels for their provisions, they strip it in the following manner: They choose a tree, and take wooden cudgels like hammers and with them beat and strip the tree, and by the blows the hard part is broken and the inside remains, which is what they use for their vessels as we do cork, and they weave other pieces of the bark inside this and use it to cover themselves at night.

This country has an intemperate climate, in summer it is very hot,—in the winter very cold.

I (thanks be to God) find myself very well here, with more consolation and contentment than I have ever felt before. Praise be to God! I will instruct all those I can, and recommend myself to the prayers of all.

From Otongue, 25th of June 1560.

An unworthy brother who loves you well in Christ,

ANDRÉ FERNANDES.

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*Carta do Padre ANDRÉ FERNANDES para os Padres e Irmãos do Collegio de Goa.*

*Jesus.*

Charissimos em Christo irmãos.—A graça e amor do Espirito Santo seja sempre em nossas almas. Amen.

Pelo amor que em Christo vos tenho a todos me fora singular

consolação poder-vos escrever a cada um uma carta ; mas pois o tempo me não ajuda tome cada um de vós esta por sua.

De Chaul vos escrevi como nossa partida era a 2 de janeiro e assim foi que então nos sahimos e surgimos um pouco ao mar por esperar por outro navio do capitão que havia de ir conosco, e sobreveiu tanto vento que não poude sahir e nós esperamos por elles tres dias nos quaes o vento cresceu tanto que os fez cair sobre uma estacada.

Ainda que estavamos bem amarrados por menos freio démos então á vela, levando as anchoras que pudémos e as que não alargámos por mão ; mas como aquelle vento reinasse mais ao longo da costa, como fomos no golfão o sentimos menos, e mais favoravel.

E assim fomos até Moçambique somente senão já perto achámos algumas calmarias, e uma noite de vento rijo contrario, e ao outro dia entrámos em Moçambique, que foram a 4 de fevereiro que foi uma terça feira e á segunda seguinte estavamos já lá aviados de todo, porque o padre não quiz ir d'ali até Sofala no navio do capitão, senão em um zambuco, onde nem para assentado, nem em pé, nem lançado tinha homem logar.

· E posto que eu disse ao padre o trabalho e o perigo que era navegar em tal embarcação, parece que pelos grandes desejos que tinha de ver-se n'elles todavia quiz que fossemos n'elle e certifico-vos charissimos que sempre n'elle estava cançado, e porque alem da falta do logar para se homem acomodar n'elle, bolia tanto que acrescentava o trabalho.

Sendo aviados como digo sobreveiu uma tormenta tam grande que estive em risco muitas vezes de se perder como fizeram outros alli no porto.

Acabada nos partimos ainda com o tempo não estar assentado e como era já fóra de monção sós dois dias tivemos de tempo, d'ahi por deante muitas chuvas e ventos por devante, e quasi todos estavamos a elles senão quem se queria metter em parte que eu tinha por melhor molhar-me.

Entrou a quaresma e nós estavamos mal apercebidos de peixe, tinhamos porém arroz, manteiga, mel e feijões. O padre e o irmão comiam dos feijões e arroz ; mas desde que vi que me não bastava uma escudella pedi duas, porque como digo perdi o apetite ao arroz.

Assim fomos alguns dias caminhando com algumas bafugens

que nos vinham do mar quando eram aguas mortas, todavia o irmão André da Costa porque tinha mais trabalho não poudo com o jejum comendo tam mal e disse-m'o, e eu o disse ao padre que d'alli por deante comesse carne e não jejuasse nenhum dia.

D'esta maneira chegámos a Sofala onde estivemos cinco dias nos quaes o irmão foi muito bem curado e aproveitou-lhe muito.

D'alli nos partimos e logo a poucos dias se achou o padre muito mal e não podia menos ser segundo o trabalho e o pouco comer e parece-me se a viagem durara mais oito dias morrera o padre segundo cada dia se debilitava mais. Mas quiz Nosso Senhor abreviar-nos a viagem e chegámos a terra ao logar de Inhambane onde achamos cinco portuguezes fazendo fazenda d'el-rei e o capitão d'elles muito doente.

Depois em terra se achou o padre ainda alguns dias muito mal e o irmão muito bem. Alli me disse o padre o dia que chegámos que foi uma quinta feira que não se jejuasse; mas logo á sexta me disse que pois Nosso Senhor me dava forças para isso que o fizesse até se acabar a quaresma, de que já tínhamos pouco.

Eu fui enfermeiro do padre que como se viu fora de perigo me mandou com recado a este rei em companhia de quatro cafres. E partimos sabbado á tarde vespera de Ramos; os quaes cafres sam incansaveis, e dizem que andam aquelle caminho que sam trinta leguas em dois dias e uma noite sem parar.

Me puz com estes ao caminho e aos primeiros passos me começaram a tomar os sapatos que eram novos, e conveiu-me aquelle dia caminhar descalço porque os companheiros não davam logar a cortar nem bater.

Este caminho não se acostuma andar-se a pé dos portuguezes; mas eu por ser o primeiro da companhia que o passava não n'o quiz pôr em fôro de cavallo.

Assim caminhámos aquella tarde um grande pedaço de caminho no qual eu quizera levar no pensamento o preparamento da sésta do outro dia, e trabalhei por isso alguma cousa e digo minha culpa porque em mim não se compadeceu caminhar rijo e olhar onde punha os pés e cuidar no que digo.

Assim chegámos a um logar muito pequeno e muito sombrio antes que fosse de noite e emquanto o xéque com os companheiros negociavam a pousada me sentei e tirei o breviario da manga e o puz ahi perto de mim, ao redor do qual se ajuntou muita gente, que muito embebidos e maravilhados olhavam para elle.

Quando os eu assim vi determinei mostrar-lh'o e tomando-o abri e com o dedo pollegar lhe corri as folhas muito rijo e fizeram um espanto, que me deram a entender que o tiveram por cousa viva.

E depois me fui para uma casa que o xeque me despejou a sua e me trouxe dos feijões verdes e uma gamela de massa de meixoeira devia ser, e os feijões cosidos; soube-me tam bem aquillo de que comi, que me occorreu ser demasiado o trabalho de temperar e misturar.

Ao domingo que foi ao outro dia madruguei e cortei dos sapatos o que me fazia nojo. Quizera logo que nos partiramos e elles disseram que ainda então andavam os elephantes por onde nos haviamos de ir. Todavia como foi de dia nos partimos e a orvalhada era tamanha e tam fria que era cousa maravilhosa, de sorte que me orvalhei como se me chovera muita agua e da frialdade do orvalhado me começou logo a doer um joelho, que todo o caminho me deu muito trabalho.

Assim fomos nossas jornadas e em cada logar davamos alguma cousa do que levavamos e elles a nós tambem do que tinham.

Pelo caminho achavamos muitas ribeiras, que segundo as horas eram, assim me apraziam ou descontentavam. Sempre levava um cabaço com agua, e muitas vezes os cafres andavam tam rijo e a calma grande e com o meu joelho que o sentia trabalhadissimo e affligido e chamava por Nossa Senhora que me ajudasse.

E certo ajudava segundo minha disposição e pressa dos companheiros. Sem seu favor não nos aturara; mas guardava-me muito de sentirem elles em mim alguma fraqueza porque se a sentiram fizeram-me o que costumam, S.\* em vendo um cançado ou doente dizem-lhe que lhe dê do que leva, S. contas ou roupas á sua vontade e senão que o deixarão.

E o padre D. Gonçalo lhe custou bem sua vinda por não poder caminhar a pé, que o punham no chão e pediam-lhe, e dava-lhes porque não podia mais.

E por esta razão me houve sempre com elles e assim os mandava. Um dia noite se vieram a mim que tinham um negocio commigo, o qual era pedir-me e isto além de lhes pagardes e dardes muito bem de comer.

Eu lhes disse que não eram horas de negocio senão de dormir.

\* Scilicet.

Ao outro dia pela calma na metade de um bosque onde se assentaram e me disseram que lhes desse o que lhes promettera á noite. Eu lhes disse que não lhes promettera nada, somente lhes respondera que era tempo de dormir e não de negocio, agora que vissem o queriam.

Responderam que contas, que me não escusasse, e eu lhes disse que já lhes tinha muito bem pago e lhes fazia muito boa companhia pelo caminho, que nenhuma cousa mais lhes havia de dar.

Elles que sim; eu que não, até que houveram seu conselho de caminharem e não me pedirem mais nada até que chegámos, que foi Quarta Feira de Trevas ás oito ou nove horas do dia.

Não pude logo falar a el-rei e agasalhei-me em casa da lingua, e depois que comemos me veiu frio e febre.

Ao outro dia fui a el-rei que me mostrou folgar vêr-me e maravilhou-se sendo tam velho andar tanto caminho a pé e em tam poucos dias.

Disse-lhe como vinha por mandado de outro padre que ficava na praia esperando por sua resposta e disse-lhe ao que vinhamos, S. a ensinar-lhe a conhecer a Deus que nos creou e fez todas as cousas.

Respondeu-me *que vinhamos buscar nossa terra e a acháramos*, e logo mandou gente que fossem buscar ao padre.

Tornei-me este mesmo dia. Depois que de lá vim me mandou dois dentes de marfim que com sua licença dei ao lingua.

Tornou-me aquelle dia frio e febre e cada vez eram maiores, mandou-me el-rei visitar e dizer-me que se quizesse ir para a praia que me mandaria gente que me levasse; mas eu tinha mandado do padre que ahí o esperasse. Quando vi todavia que as febres iam por diante puz-me em dieta, S. canja de milho com agua e sal que não havia outra cousa.

Sangrou-me duas vezes o meu hospede que por sua habilidade aprendeu para similhantes pressas e depois de estar assim alguns dias comecei a sentir estar no chão. E vendo elle que me tinha por muito enfermo e arreceava que morresse lhe disse que sentia muito estar assim a par do chão que por amor de Deus que me mandasse cortar umas poucas de junças para lançar debaixo da esteira.

Fel-o logo e tam seguras que dantes não lh'as pedi porque arreceei desedifical-o. Assim com dieta estive desde sexta feira

até á seguinte que senti menos as febres e maior a fraqueza, e pedi-lhe que me mandasse fazer uma franga cosida.

Como comi carne comecei logo a tomar forças, e certo que este homem o que poude me fez de muito boa vontade e mostrava pezar-lhe em extremo de minha enfermidade, e queria-me consolar e admoestar a paciencia com que lhe parecia convir para o tal tempo.

Alguns d'estes dias vinham ver-me alguns filhos d'el-rei e cada dia um pouco lhes fiz entender como havia Deus que creara todas as cousas e tinhamos almas e que haviamos de resuscitar.

Em extremo folgaram sabel-o e convidaram-se-me elles e outros muitos para serem christãos; mas eu não quiz baptisar nenhum sem o padre, que depois chegou debilitadissimo do caminho, e assim mesmo o irmão André da Costa e o moço que trazia comsigo.

Como se aquietou na terra começou-se a achar alguma cousa melhor, ainda que todo o tempo que aqui esteve lhe durou sua fraqueza.

N'este passo vieram aqui dois filhos d'el-rei, e porque não viessem debalde deixei de escrever e fiz-lhes a doutrina, e agora noto a obra.

Como houve tempo foi o padre falar a el-rei, e mostrou muito contentamento; deu-nos logo licença que pudessemos baptisar os que se quizessem fazer christãos dos seus, e a elles para que o fossem.

Logo se baptisaram muitos e d'ahi a poucos dias elle e seus filhos primeiro, e assim de mano en mano a casa toda e povo, e os mais do reino estam esperando por nós.

Tenho esperanza em Nosso Senhor segundo estes mostram aprazer-lhes as cousas nossas, como a doutrina christã, especialmente como chega a mandamento.

E apraz-lhes tanto isto que os que o ouvem o vam dizer aos outros e disputam sobre isso como aconteceu que um fez não sei que desaguisado a outro pequeno e elles disputavam entre si, se aquelle amava ao proximo como a si mesmo, e outras mostras muitas de serem muito bons christãos.

E não tam somente os d'este reino querem ser christãos, mas ainda os vizinhos d'elle e por isso charrissimos aparelhar que sabeis que ha aqui messe para muitos obreiros.

As mulheres tambem sam muito devotas e vam muitas vezes á

egreja ver as imagens, do que gostam muito, especialmente de Nossa Senhora.

Nosso Senhor nos dê a todos a sua graça. Encommendo-me nas orações de todos.

D'este Otongue a 26 de junho de 1560.

Servo inutil,  
ANDRÉ FERNANDES.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Letter from Father ANDRÉ FERNANDES to the Fathers and Brothers of the College of Goa.*

*Jesus.*

BELoved BROTHERS IN CHRIST,—The grace and love of the Holy Ghost be ever in our souls. Amen.

By the love I bear you all in Christ it would be a great consolation to me to write to each of you separately, but as time will not allow me to do so, let each of you count this letter as his own.

From Chaul I wrote to you that our departure was fixed for the 2nd of January. We set out on that day, and anchored a little at sea to wait for another of the captain's ships which was to go with us, and such a wind arose that they could not set out, and we waited for them three days, during which the wind increased so much that they were driven against a palisade.

Though we were well moored, to offer less resistance we set sail, raising what anchors we could, and the others we left, but that wind prevailing farther along the coast, when we were in the gulf we felt it less and it was more favourable.

Thus we reached Mozambique, but before this, being near it, we experienced several calms, and one night there was a strong contrary wind. The next day we entered Mozambique, which was on the fourth of February on a Tuesday, and two days afterwards we were already provided with everything, for the Father would not go to Sofala in the captain's ship, but in a zambuco where there is no room for a man to stand, sit, or lie down.

And though I represented to the Father the hardship and danger of travelling in such a craft, it seems that his desire of

finding himself in one was such that he still wished we should go in it, and I assure you, beloved brethren, that while in it I was always weary, for besides the want of room for any man to be comfortable, it tossed so that it increased the hardship.

Being ready to start, as I have said, there arose such a tempest that it was in great danger of being lost, as were other craft in the port.

The storm being over we set out, though the weather was still unsettled, and as it was already past the monsoon, we had only two days fair weather, and after that much rain and wind, and most of us were exposed to it, except those who chose to shelter in such a place that I thought it preferable to get wet.

Lent began, and we were ill provided with fish, but we had rice, butter, honey, and beans. The father and brother ate the rice and beans, but when I found that one basin of the latter was not sufficient for me I asked for two, because as I said I lost my appetite for rice.

Thus we journeyed for some days with light winds which came from the sea during the neap-tides. Then brother André da Costa, because he had to endure most hardship, could not hold out any longer, because of the fasting and bad diet, and he told me so, and I told the Father, who bade him eat meat thenceforward and not fast any day.

In this way we reached Sofala, where we remained five days, during which the Brother was well cared for and grew much better.

We set out again, and in a few days the Father fell very ill, which could not well be otherwise, considering the hardships and scanty food. It seems to me that if the voyage had lasted more than eight days the Father would have died, for he grew weaker every day. But our Lord was pleased to shorten the voyage, and we arrived at the place called Inhambane, where we found five Portuguese trading for the king, and their captain very ill.

For a few days after landing the Father was still very sick and the Brother very well. On the day of our arrival, which was a Thursday, the Father told me not to fast, but on Friday he said that since our Lord had given me strength to do so I should fast till the end of Lent, which was very near.

I was the Father's nurse, and when he found himself out of danger he sent me with a message to this king, in company with



four Kaffirs. We set out on Saturday afternoon, the eve of Palm Sunday. The Kaffirs are indefatigable, and they say that they make the journey, which is thirty leagues, in two days and a night, without stopping.

I set out with these companions, and after the first few steps, my shoes, which were new, began to pinch me, so that I was obliged to walk barefoot that day, because my companions did not give me time to cut or beat them.

It is not usual for the Portuguese to make this journey on foot, but being the first of the Company who made it, I did not wish to set the precedent of going on horseback.

We travelled a good distance that afternoon, and on the road I endeavoured to bear in mind the preparation for the next day's feast, but I confess myself in fault therein, for it was not possible to attend to it properly while travelling hard and taking care where I put down my foot.

Thus we reached a very small and shaded kraal before nightfall, and while the chief was arranging with my companions for our lodging, I sat down and took my breviary out of my sleeve and laid it down beside me, and a crowd of the people gathered round it, who were very drunk and eyed it with astonishment. Seeing them thus, I determined to show it to them, and taking it up I ran the leaves over quickly with my thumb, and they were so frightened that I perceived they thought it was alive.

After this I went into a house belonging to the chief which was given to me, and he brought me some green beans and a bowl of what must have been a paste of meixoeira, and beans boiled, and this food seemed to me so good that it occurred to me that mixing and seasoning was a waste of time.

The next day, which was Sunday, I rose at dawn, and cut the shoes where they hurt me. I then wished to start, but they said the elephants were still about in the places through which we must pass. However, as soon as it was broad daylight we set out, and the dew was so heavy and so cold that it was marvellous. I was as drenched with it as if it had rained heavily, and the coldness of it gave me a pain in my knee, which troubled me greatly during the whole journey.

Thus we travelled day by day, and at every kraal we gave them some of what we carried with us, and they gave us of what they had.

We found many rivers on the road, which pleased or vexed me according to the time of day. I always carried a gourd full of water, and often the Kaffirs walked so fast, and the heat was so great, and also the pain in my knee, that I found it very hard, and in my affliction I called upon the Lord to help me. And He certainly assisted me, for considering my condition and the haste of my companions, without His help I could not have kept up with them, but I was careful not to let them see any sign of weakness in me, for I knew that if they did they would treat me according to their usual custom when they see anyone ill or overcome with fatigue, which is to demand whatever he has, either beads, or cloth, according to their pleasure, or else they threaten to leave him.

And Father Dom Gonçalo's journey cost him a great deal, for he could not come on foot, and they placed him on the ground and made their demands, to which he was forced to accede, because he could go no farther.

For this reason I always kept up with them, and thus retained my authority. One night they came and said they had business with me, which proved to be some further demand besides their pay and good food which I had given them. I said it was the time to sleep and not to transact business. The next day during the heat, being seated in the middle of a wood, they asked me for what I had promised them in the night. I told them that I had promised them nothing, but had only answered that it was time to sleep and not to attend to business, but now what did they want? They asked for beads, and would take no excuse. I said that I had paid them well and been a good travelling companion, and that I would give them nothing else. They insisted, so did I, until they took counsel together and continued the journey, and asked me for nothing further till we arrived at our destination, which was on Wednesday in Holy Week about eight or nine in the morning.

I could not speak with the king at once, and lodged in the house of the interpreter, where after dinner I was seized with chills and fever.

The next day I went to the king, who showed great pleasure at seeing me, and marvelled that being so old I had come so far on foot and in so few days.

I told him that I came by the command of another Father,

who had remained on the shore waiting for his reply, and also the reason of our coming, namely to teach him to know God who made us and who is the Creator of all things.

He told me that we had come to seek our country and had found it, and he then sent some of his people to fetch the Father.

I returned the same day, and when I had left him he sent me two ivory tusks, which with his leave I gave to the interpreter.

The same day the chills and fever attacked me again, and grew worse each day. The king sent to visit me, and told me that if I wished to return to the shore he would send some of his people to carry me thither; but I had orders from the Father to await his coming here. When I saw that the fever increased I placed myself on a diet, namely over boiled millet with salt and water, for there was nothing else.

My host bled me twice, he having learned how to do so in such emergencies; and after a few days I began to feel lying on the ground very much. Seeing that I was very weak he feared I would die. I told him that I suffered much from lying on the ground, and begged him for the love of God to procure some rushes to spread under my mat. He did so at once, and he assured I did not ask for them before for fear of setting a bad example to him. I remained thus on diet from that Thursday to the following, when feeling less fever and greater weakness, I asked him to order me a boiled chicken.

After I had eaten meat I began to regain strength, and certainly this man showed me great good-will and seemed extremely grieved at my illness, and tried to console me and admonish me to the patience befitting such a time.

During those days some of the king's sons came to see me, and each day I instructed them a little, that there was a God who created all things, that we have souls, and shall rise from the dead.

They rejoiced to hear it, and they and many others invited me to make them Christians, but I would not baptize any before the Father's arrival. He afterwards arrived, very weak from the journey, and Brother André da Costa and the young man they brought with them in the same condition.

When he had rested here he began to feel a little better, though his weakness lasted during the whole of his stay.

Just now two sons of the king came here, and that their visit

might not be in vain I left off my writing and instructed them, and now I inform you of the incident.

When the Father had time he went to speak to the king, who showed great satisfaction; he gave us permission to baptize all those of his people who wished to be Christians, and to them permission to become Christians.

Many of them were then baptized, and a few days afterwards first the king himself and his sons, and then one by one the whole of his household and those of the kraal, and most of those in the kingdom are waiting for us.

I hope in our Lord, from the pleasure they take in our teaching the Christian doctrine, especially the Commandment. This pleases them so much that those who hear it repeat it to others, and they discuss the point, when it happened that one of them did I know not what wrong to a little one, they disputed among themselves whether he loved his neighbour as himself; from this and many other signs I hope they will prove very good Christians.

And not only those of this kingdom wish to be Christians, but also those of the neighbouring kingdoms, and therefore beloved brethren prepare, and know that here is a great harvest for many labourers.

The women are also very devout and frequently visit the church to see the pictures, which they are very fond of, especially that of our Lady.

Our Lord give us all his grace. I commend myself to the prayers of all.

From Otongue the 26th of June 1560.

The unprofitable Servant,  
ANDRÉ FERNANDES.

*Carta do Padre DOM GONÇALO DA SILVEIRA para os Padres e Irmãos no Collegio de Goa.*

Lembra-me irmãos em Ihūxpo amados que na que d'aqui escrevi por Francisco Barreto vos prometti certo brinco que pratiquei, na caravella vindo de lá, de louvores da Madre de Deus não pode ser mais brinco e graça que palavras e imaginações de uma alma tão imperfeita ácerca da altissima Virgen.

Melhor vos satisfarei em vos fazer a saber o que Deus quiz obrar em nós n'aquellas almas para cuja redempção a seu creador a obediencia nos enviou, e começo do derradeiro que folgareis mais de ouvir. Graças ao bom Jesu e á sempre virgem sempre santa Maria sua madre el-rei de Tongue que é o que vinhamos buscar recebeu o sagrado bautismo e a rainha dona Isabel, todos seus filhos e filhas e as mulheres primeiras que tem apartadas, todos os grandes de sua côrte e parentes que n'ella andam e quasi todo aquelle logar do Tongue onde el-rei reside e todos de muy boa vontade sem pedirem nada nem lh'o darem.

Eu á minha passada pelo caminho de Tongue até a praia do porto onde me havia de embarcar para tornar a Moçambique bautisei xeques que sam como regulos de seus logares; estes sam botongas e os do Tongue Mocarangas e assim que *sine baculo transivimus Jordanem et ecce cum duabus turmis regredimur*.

O padre André Fernandes e o irmão André da Costa ficam já começando a egreja e casa da invocação da Assumpção da Madre de Deus.

Eu trouxe em minha companhia um filho de outro rei maior que o convertido para se fazer christão aqui em Moçambique, e seu pae já lá dizia que o queria ser; mas cremos está seguro para o anno e pareceu ao presente acudir ao que boamente pedimos. E segundo minha somma bautisaria até á minha embarcação 450 xpãos e quasi todos do Tongue ou tam junto que se poude facilmente grangear, e fazia ao caso bautisar alguma copia junta e logo porque este gentio é como creanças que se querem juntas e saltam uns apoz outros, e tambem que parecem creanças quanto aos impedimentos do entendimento para receber a fé porque nenhum tem nenhum genero de idolo nem culto que pareça de idolatria.

Teem um Deus ao qual chamam Umbe; teem a alma que vive depois da morte e a pena, ou recebe premio e segundo a malicia ou bondade e assim lhes quadram muito os nossos artigos e mandamentos. E estes erros alcançámos os poucos dias que alli estive: o 1.º muitas mulheres, posto que muitos teem uma não mais e o que se sente é que os honrados por honra teem muitas mulheres assim como nós muitos escravos porque assim se servem d'ellas; o 2.º superstições de sortes e feitiços, e acerca dos mortos ha algumas abusões, como deixarem a casa do morto e outras cousas que trazem ao pescoço e fazem que elles chamam mézinha

que sam superstições ; o 3.º, jurarem assoprando no rosto uns dos outros, este é seu juramento e não por Deus ; 4.º, quando morre o irmão d'algum sem filho tomar o outro irmão a mulher por sua ; o 5.º é dos botongas proprio que é circumcisão o qual dizem que lhes ficou do um mouro honrado que ha tempos foi ter por alli ; mas elles não teem lei de mouro nem mais culto divino que os mocarangas, e falo dos botongas d'aquella terra de Inhambane e da praia que dizem caminho de Mocaranga.

Assim uns como outros nos mostravam grande facilidade para receberem a fé e parece que estes abusos e outros como não sam fundados em ruim disposição do entendimento ácerca de idolos nem teem homens que lhes tratem do culto dos idolos como os mouros parece que se lhes tirarão asinha e com pouco trabalho com ajuda de Deus.

Acerca da extensão d'estas partes porque o anno passado não nos informaram distinctamente d'ellas, e por isso tambem nas cartas de Portugal foi confuso, folgareis de saber a propriedade d'aquelles limites.

O Inhambane não é a terra onde nós assentámos mas é o nome do porto onde desembarcam os portuguezes e estam seus navios quando vam a fazer seus tratos de marfim, ambar, etc., e chama-se este porto Inhambane ou dinhambane porque está logo pela terra dentro um logar a que chamam Inhambane.

Aqui tambem fiz uns oito christãos quasi todos segundo a idade e disposição da alma innocentes, peço-vos irmãos uma Ave-Maria o dia que esta lerdes, para elles por um especial respeito.

Não vos posso pintar este porto dinhambane como pedaço da terra, que tem de uma banda onde temos nossa estancia os portuguezes, quam ameno, sadio, solitario, edificado de arvores fermosissimas ; o logar mais opportuno para devação que vi ; umas relvas todo o miradouro do mar.

D'este porto se vae dar navegando d'aqui ao de Sofala, e este remanso é rio do porto ; d'ahi a duas ou tres leguas ou menos se acaba e sume de modo que se passa por um ribeiro de agua doce pequeno e á mão esquerda d'elle indo de cá fica este sitio que digo tão glorioso.

Da mão direita do rio da outra banda ha logares de muitas laranjas, limões e cidraes e outras frescuras, e esta terra aqui é muito abastada, sadia, fresca ; da outra banda do rio não. De

Inhambane se segue o caminho de Tongue que será perto de 30 leguas do porto por terra.

O Tongue é metropole da Gamba que nós viemos a reduzir e chama-se rei do Tongue o qual Tongue carece de refrescos de limões, figos, hortaliça, etc., mas tem boas carnes em abundança; não é sadia mas pôde-se viver bem lá, n'ella têm provisão boa de cá e com ajuda de Deus rios e arvoredos não lhe falta. Isto me parece distinguir porque pôde servir para a copia para o reino d'esta relação se fôr, e tambem para os que tem fervor de vir para estas partes.

\* \* \* \* \*

A mim me deu tres ou quatro jornadas de Inhambane antes de chegarmos a Inhambane uns frios e febres que eu me aparelhei para morrer á segunda ou terceira sasão.

O dia que entramos em Inhambane eu estive só em vida e quasi morto e por tal me dei de um accidente que me afogava; a cura que lhe fiz foi; tomei um dos portuguezes que lá estavam antes que nos fossemos e fui-me para o matto com elle e lhe disse que me relevava correr para mitigar um agastamento de que morria.

Eu resuei, assentou-se-me o accidente e repousei e ficou-me o afrontamento com o exercicio e com rasão e d'aqui até sabbado vespera de Ramos tive fortissimas sezões e tambem ordenei d'alma para passar d'esta vida. E até este tempo não tinhamos nenhuma entrada nem dado de nós no Tongue que nos affligia muito porque ia envelhecendo nosso intento que fora grande impedimento para se fazer depois nada.

Tratámos o padre André Fernandes e eu de que elle fosse ao Tongue a principiar nosso negocio com el-rei e que soubesse que não iamos por minha doença. Todavia então não n'o alarguei porque temia de morrer cada dia quando vi que as sezões iam por diante de o enviar diante ficando á mercê de Deus e o irmão André da Costa; quiz Deus que o sabbado á tarde tendo uma febre e frio arrosoado fui-me ao pé de uma arvore, quando tornei vim sem ella e d'alli comecei a convalescer e não me vieram sezões mais e ainda pude dizer missa dia de Ramos e toda a semana santa fiz os officios aos portuguezes que ahi cabiam.

O padre André Fernandes do caminho que foi a pé e mui apressado porque elle quiz, encommendando-lhe que tomasse cafres que o levassem, e chegando ao Tongue dam-lhe umas

febres muito perigosas que até minha partida o tiveram mui maltratado.

O irmão André da Costa de Moçambique até Sofala descobriu os principios e signaes de asthma e veio mui fraco; em Inhambane quiz Deus que convalescia eu já, deu-lhe um accidente de asthma que esteve ido de todo e para o transito se aparelhou, quiz Deus que se affrouxou: ficaram-lhe sasões rijas, tambem convalesceu a tempo que pude eu e elle juntar-nos com o padre André Fernandes no Tongue mas lá achou-se tam mal que eu o tornei a enviar á praia por ser mais sadia, aonde chegou quasi morto mas tornou a guarecer-se de modo que me atrevi a deixal-o para acompanhar o padre André Fernandes; espero em Deus que lhe ha de dar forças.

\* \* \* \* \*

O padre André Fernandes e o irmão André da Costa ficam com sua ordem para ministrarem aquella nova igreja e de suaves esperanças e ricos fructos porque todas aquellas terras alem do Tongue ficam abaladas para entrarem no curral divino.

Vós com vossas devoções assignaes e multiplicaes; para isso esforçae-vos e tereis parte na vindima como creio a tendes e muy grande no prantar da vinha, porque pois nós ontros todos nos achamos tam debiles, signal é que nós haviamos de pôr as vides e outros as plantavam, e de mim agora em particular vos encarregae, pois que só me vou a Menomotapa onde dizem que o diabo tem grossos gadanhos. Jesus Christo nos faça todos instrumentos dignos de salvacão de suas almas. Amen.

A 9 de agosto de 1560 de Moçambique.

, [*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Letter from the Father DOM GONÇALO SILVEIRA to the Fathers and Brothers of the College at Goa.*

I remember, beloved Brothers in Jesus Christ, that in the letter which I sent by Francisco Barreto I promised you a certain discourse which I made in the caravel, during the passage, in praise of the Mother of God, but it could be no more ornament and grace to her than the words and imaginations of a soul so imperfect towards the most high Virgin.

It will be a greater satisfaction to you to learn what God was



pleased to work by our means in those souls for the redemption of which to their Creator obedience sent us here,—and I begin with the last occurrence, which will rejoice you most to hear. Thanks to the good Jesus and the ever-virgin holy Mary, his mother, the king of Tongue (which was the end we came to seek) received holy baptism, and the queen Dona Isabel, all his sons and daughters, the wives he had at first whom he has put aside, all the nobles of his court, all his relations who are there, and nearly all in Tongue where the king resides, and all with great good-will, without asking or receiving anything in return.

On the road from Tongue to the port where I was to embark to return to Mozambique, I baptized some chiefs who are like petty kings of their kraals. These are Botongas, and those of Tongue Mocarangas, so that *sine baculo transivimus Jordanem et ecce cum duabus turmis regredimur*.

The Father André Fernandes and the Brother André da Costa are already beginning the church and house under the name of the Assumption of the Mother of God.

I brought hither in my company the son of another king, greater than the one who is converted, to be made a Christian in Mozambique, his father said there that he wished to be a Christian already. We think we are sure of him this year, and at present he seemed to accede willingly to whatever we asked of him. According to my calculation I baptized before my embarkation 450 Christians, nearly all of Tongue or so near that they could easily be joined to it; and I made a point of baptizing a large number together immediately, because these people resemble children who like to act together and follow each other's lead. They also resemble children as far as any intellectual impediment in receiving the faith is concerned, for none of them have any kind of idol or form of worship resembling idolatry. 4

They have a God whom they call Umbe; they recognise a soul which lives after death and is punished or rewarded according as it is good or evil, and thus our beliefs and commandments suit them very well. In the few days which I spent there I found the following errors. 1st. A multiplicity of wives, though many have but one, but the pity is that the most considerable think it an honour to have many wives, as it is held among us to have many slaves, for they use them as such. 2nd. A superstitious belief in sorcery and charms; there are also errors in connec-

tion with the dead, such as abandoning their houses, and also in certain things which they wear round their necks, which make them call that medicine which is but superstition. 3rdly. They swear by blowing in each other's faces, this is their form of oath, and not by the name of God. 4thly. When the brother of any one of them dies without children, his brother takes his wife for his own. 5thly. An error peculiar to the Botongas is circumcision, which they say was taught them by a Moor of rank who came to these parts, but they do not follow the Moorish law, and have no other form of divine worship than the Mocarangas. I speak of the Botongas of this country of Inhambane and of the shore which they say is the road of Mocaranga.

Thus both nations showed us great facility in receiving the faith, and it seems that these errors and others, not being founded in a bad disposition of mind towards idols, and there being no men among them to teach them the worship of idols, such as the Moors, should quickly be overcome and without much trouble by the help of God.

Concerning the limits of these parts, because we were not clearly informed of them last year, owing to confusion in the Portuguese maps, you will be glad to learn the truth of the matter.

Inhambane is not the country where we have settled, but is the name of the port where the Portuguese disembark and where their ships come to trade in ivory, ambergris, &c., and this port is called Inhambane, or Dinhambane, because close to it inland is a place named Inhambane.

Here also I made eight Christians, nearly all according to their age and disposition innocent souls. I beg an Ave Maria from you Brothers, for them, on the day you read this, for a particular regard.

I cannot describe to you this port of Inhambane with the piece of ground which is on one side, where our Portuguese have their dwelling, how pleasantly situated, healthy, solitary, adorned with splendid trees; the most fitting place to inspire devotion that I have ever seen, with lawns all commanding a view of the sea.

From this port they navigate to that of Sofala, and this quiet stream is a river from the port, which ends at a distance of two or three leagues, or less, so that one passes into a small river

of fresh water, on the left side of which is the glorious site above mentioned.

On the right side of the river there are places where there are many oranges, lemons, citrons, and other fruits, and this country is very well provided, healthy, and cool; but not on the other side of the river. From Inhambane they follow the road to Tongue, which is about thirty leagues from the port, by land.

Tongue is the chief town of Gamba whom we came to convert, and he is called king of Tongue, in which Tongue they have no refreshment such as lemons, figs, vegetables, &c., but an abundance of good meat; it is not healthy, but one can well live there; there is good provision from here, and by the help of God, rivers and trees are not wanting. I thought it well to point this out, because it might serve as a copy for a description of the rest of this kingdom, and for the sake of those who have the fervour to come to these parts. \* \* \* \*

Within three or four days journey from Inhambane I was seized with ague and fever, so that at the second or third seizure I prepared myself for death.

The day we reached Inhambane I was only just alive, and nearly dead, and gave myself up for such in a sudden seizure which nearly suffocated me. I adopted the following cure: I took with me one of the Portuguese who were there before we arrived, and went into the thicket with him, where I told him that I must run to relieve the attack which was killing me. I perspired and the attack subsided, so that I rested, but the fever remained after this exercise, and from that time until Saturday, the eve of Palm Sunday, caused me severe ague-fits, so that I prepared my soul to quit this life. Till that time we had made no entry into Tongue, nor had any of us gone there, which was a source of great affliction to us, for our purpose was growing old, which might prevent our accomplishing anything later on.

Father André Fernandes and myself arranged that he should go to Tongue and begin our business with the king, and let him know that my illness was the cause of our delay. Nevertheless we did not carry out this plan as yet, because I feared every day that I should die, seeing that the ague-fits increased, and he did not proceed, leaving me to the mercy of God and Brother André da Costa. It pleased God that on Saturday afternoon, having a moderate fever and ague, I went to the foot of a tree, and returned

without fever, and from that time I became convalescent and had no more seizures, and was even able to say Mass on Palm Sunday and to conduct the offices of Holy Week for the Portuguese who were there.

Father André Fernandes, through making the journey on foot and in great haste, by his own will, I having recommended that he should take Kaffirs to carry him, on arriving at Tongue was seized with a dangerous fever, from which he suffered greatly before my arrival.

Brother André da Costa from Mozambique to Sofala showed symptoms of asthma, and arrived in a very weak state. At Inhambane, when by the will of God I was convalescent, he had an attack of asthma, so that he was given up by all and prepared himself for death, but God was pleased to lessen it, though he still had severe attacks. He was also convalescent in time to go with me to join Father André Fernandes at Tongue, but when there, he was so ill that I sent him back to the shore, because it is more healthy, where he arrived almost dead, but he again recovered, so that I ventured to leave him as a companion to Father André Fernandes; I hope that God will give him strength. \* \* \* \*

Father André Fernandes and Brother André da Costa remain with order to minister to that new church, which gives fair hopes and rich fruit, for all those lands beyond Tongue are ready to enter the Divine fold.

You with your many regular devotions be instant for this, and you will have a large share in the harvest, as I think you will also have in the planting of the vineyard, for since we are all so weak it is a sign that we are to set the vine-shoots which others will cultivate. I commend myself to you especially, as I am going alone to Monomotapa, where the devil has a great hold. May Jesus Christ make us all worthy instruments for the salvation of souls. Amen.

Mozambique, 9th August 1560.

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*Extracto de huma Carta do Padre ANDRÉ FERNANDES ao Irmão MARIO em Portugal.*

CHARISSIMO EM CHRISTO IRMÃO MARIO,—Eu já creio que sabereis como estou n'esta Ethiopia doutrinando esta gente preta a qual até aqui foi muito trabalhosa e não é muito sê-lo agora nos principios.

Prazerá ao Senhor que pouco e pouco irão cahindo na verdade de nossa santa fé e darão em logar do trabalho de agora, consolação, ainda que entre elles ha alguns com que me muito em o senhor consolo.

Aqui charissimo irmão não tem homem com quem se consolar senão com o Senhor, tirando alguns dias do anno que aqui vem ter um portuguez ou dois, por onde vos digo que teem necessidade os irmãos da Companhia serem muito mais virtuosos e ainda animosos que todos os outros religiosos, quanto mais occasiões têm de perigos, trabalhos e tentações que elles. \* \* \* \*

D'este Otongue 3 de junho de 1561.

ANDRÉ FERNANDES.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Extract from a Letter from Father ANDRÉ FERNANDES to the Brother MARIO in Portugal.*

DEAR BROTHER MARIO BELOVED IN CHRIST,—I think you know already that I am in Ethiopia instructing the blacks, who up to the present time have proved very troublesome and show but little result in the principles.

It may please God that little by little they will be drawn to see the truth of our holy faith, and instead of the present toil will yield consolation, although there are a few among them who are a great consolation to me in the Lord.

Beloved Brother, here is no man with whom one can take comfort unless with the Lord, except a few days in the year when one or two Portuguese come here, so that I assure you it is necessary for the Brothers of our Company to be much more virtuous and courageous than all other religious, as they

have so many more occasions of peril, hardship, and temptation than the others. \* \* \* \*

From Otongue, 3rd of June 1561.

ANDRÉ FERNANDES.

*Extracto da Carta do Padre ANDRÉ FERNANDES ao Irmão  
GASPAR ITALO em Portugal.*

Estou cá n'esta Cafraria s. na Ethiopia não muito longe do Cabo da Boa Esperança. Tem esta gente infinitas superstições que dizervol-as não poderia senão em muito tempo e deixam-n'as muito difficultosamente e muitos abusos pessimos e acabaes agora de os convencer e confessam ser verdade o que lhe dizeis e mentira o que elles fazem e logo a tornam a fazer de sorte que é gente muito trabalhosa e com que se ha de ter muita paciencia.

É terra muito pobre e apenas se póde homem fartar dos fructos d'ella, e sam muito ruins e oxalá charissimo foram tam bons como a chicoria e finocho de Roma, porque não tam sómente homem se manteria mas engordaria.

Mas assim por bondade do Senhor vivo e trabalho e ás vezes muito e quando estamos em Portugal, parece-nos que sem pão, vinho e carne se não póde viver, etc.

De Otongue entre os cafres a 3 de junho de 1561.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Extract from a Letter from the Father ANDRÉ FERNANDES to the  
Brother GASPAR ITALO in Portugal.*

I am here in Kaffraria, that is in Ethiopia, not far from the Cape of Good Hope. These people have endless superstitions,—which it would take very long to describe to you, and from which it is very difficult to convert them,—and many of the worst possible errors; and when you have just convinced them and induced them to confess that your teaching is truth and their practices false, they immediately go and act precisely as before, so that they are a very difficult people to deal with and require great patience.

The land is very poor, and a man can hardly subsist upon its produce. It is very bad, and would to God, beloved Brother, that

it were as good as the endive and fennel of Rome, for then a man could not only exist but grow fat upon it.

But thus, by the goodness of God, I am able to live and work, sometimes very hard, and when we are in Portugal it seems to us that it is impossible to live without bread, wine, and meat.

From Otongue among the Kaffirs, the 3rd of June 1561.

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*Carta que ANTONIO CAIADO escreveu de Manamotapa a outro seu amigo que estava em outro logar da mesma terra.*

A Virgem Nossa Senhora com seu Bemdito Filho seja sempre conosco. Amen.

Por na outra carta ser escripto depressa, o tornarei agora a fazer n'esta em que lhe darei conta como Nosso Senhor quiz levar para si o padre D. Gonçalo sabbado á meia noite antes da dominga de Suzana.

A razão por que o mataram foi por induzimento e malicia dos mouros os quaes disseram tantas cousas a el-rei que logo no mesmo dia o mandara matar.

A mim tanto que me disseram fiz revogar a sentença; mas não aproveitou pelas cousas que os mouros já tinham mettidas na cabeça ao rei, das quaes aqui direi algumas.

Disseram-lhe os engangas mouros, que sam os móres feiticeiros da terra, os quatro deitam sortes com quatro páus, que o padre vinha por mandado do governador da India e do capitão de Sofala para ver a terra e se havia muita gente, para logo lhe tornar a mandar recado e vir grande exercito para matarem el-rei e lhe tomarem o reino.

E que o padre vinha por mandado d'ó chepute para que dissesse aos morefos como o não vinham a tomar por senhor e tinham por rei a quem o não era por direito.

Que o padre trazia determinado matar a el-rei e a todos os da terra com dizer que se fizessem christãos, e como lhes lançasse agua pela cabeça e lhes dissesse as palavras dos langarios que logo ficavam debaixo de sua mão para não serem contra elle.

E que assim fizeram em Sofala e lh'a tomaram, que olhasse Manamotapa o que fazia, porque este era o costume do padre, e que o botar agua pela cabeça era o tungo com que tomaram a

terra, principalmente as palavras que lhe dizia quando botava a agua.

Que o padre vinha de Chepute e que lá fora primeiro que cá viesse e que lá deixava sua gente e que vinha só para que cuidassem que era homem que se vinha para el-rei, e que então faria o que quizesse.

Acrescentaram mais estes engangas que o padre era moroo, que trazia o sol e a fome em um osso de finado e outras muitas mezinhas para tomar a terra e matar a el-rei.

Tanto que lhe disseram isto logo o mandara matar e me mandou dizer que se eu tinha em casa do padre alguma cousa que arrecadasse, porque o queria mandar matar.

Eu sahi por isso com gastar do meu; sahiu por sentença que fossem lá os engangas; foram como digo e de lá vieram e disseram-lhe.

Como veiu este recado logo o escrevi ao padre e fui-me a el-rei e o que me disse que o mais que podia fazer ao padre era mandar-lhe que se tornasse.

Isto foi á sexta feira. Ao sabbado mandou chamar sua mãe e veiu o conselho. Que fizeram elles o sabem. Tornou-se a mãe a sua casa. Eu fui apoz ella. Disse me que o padre se tornaria para a praia, e que ao domingo ella viria pela manhã a casa de seu filho.

Sem dizer outra cousa, ella deixava já concertado com o filho que á noite o matassem, como o mataram.

Disseram tambem a el-rei que vinha outro detraz com uma mulher e que vinha em busca do padre, que já tardava, o qual tambem era feiticeiro.

Que olhasse sua alteza por si e que se o el-rei deixasse sem o matarem se havia de ir sem o saberem e que a gente d'esta terra se havia de matar uns aos outros sem saberem donde lhe vinha.

O mesmo dia que o mataram me mandou o padre os ornamentos da missa, s. vestimenta, calix e outras cousas que eu direi na lembrança que fiz por sua morte.

O mesmo dia fez alguns cincoenta christãos e lhes deu aqui um panno e áquem a metade e a outros uma motava de contas de que el-rei houve menencoria, e a todos os que se fizeram christãos lhes mandou tirar os pannos, e correram muito risco de os mandar matar a todos.

Do que passava com el-rei de tudo fazia saber ao padre D.



Gonçalo e lhe escrevia e elle sempre me respondia que Nosso Senhor tinha cuidado de tudo. E aquelle mesmo dia me confessei ao padre. Elle me disse como havia de morrer. Eu estive chorando com elle e me disse que lhe não pesava de sua morte, senão que havia medo, que se estendesse a mais o mal, que d'isto tinha pezar.

Depois se vestiu com seu saio grande e sobrepeliz em cima e me disse: "Antonio Caiado, certo que melhor aparelhado estou eu para morrer que os mouros que me ham de matar. Eu perdoo isso a el-rei que é moço e a sua mãe, que os mouros os enganaram." Isto com a boca cheia de riso.

D'esta maneira o acharam com um crucifixo á cabeceira, o qual eu houve com um braço quebrado e os cravos e a cabeça cada um para sua banda e assim o levam Balthazar Gramaxo e Jeronymo Martins.

Disseram a el-rei que tanto que o mandasse matar, que não estivesse ao sol pelos não empeçonhentar, que o botasse no rio.

E tanto que o mataram levaram'o logo e o botaram no rio Monsengense de noite e levaram o ás costas e a rasto.

Depois da sua morte alevantaram que alguns dias andava despido da cinta para cima e se vinha á estacada d'el-rei e tomava das cascas dos páus e as atava na camisa.

E que viera um infise a chorar á estacada com gente e que mandou el-rei apoz elle. Emfim que foram os engangas e tomaram ao padre. Que veiu um corisco e quebrou da porta d'el-rei um páu. Até lhe disseram que a chave da caixa estava cheia de muitas mezinhas e que tinha outras muitas cousas que lhe dizem agora que é já morto. Alevantaram-lhe emfim outros muitos aleives como lá dirá Jeronymo Martins que todas estas cousas ouviu.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Letter written by ANTONIO CAIADO from Monomotapa to one of his friends in another part of the same country.*

May our Lady the Virgin and her Blessed Son be ever with us. Amen.

My former letter being written in a hurry, I write again to give you an account of how our Lord was pleased to take to him-

self Father Dom Gonçalo at midnight on the Saturday before the Sunday of St. Susanna.

The cause of his death was the malicious persuasion of the Moors, who said so many different things to the king that he commanded him to be put to death that day.

I was told that the sentence was revoked, but it was not so, because of the things the Moors had put into the king's head, of which I will relate a few.

The Moorish engangas, who are the principal wizards of the country, four of whom draw lots with four sticks, told him that the Father came by command of the governor of India and the captain of Sofala to inspect the country and see if there were many people in it, in order to send them information, that they might send an army to kill the king and take his kingdom.

And that the Father also came by command of Chepute, to ask the morefos why they would not acknowledge him as their lord, and took one for their king who had no right to the title. That the Father was determined to kill the king and all his people, by making them Christians, and by pouring water on their heads; and by saying the words of the langarios they would be in his power and unable to resist him. That thus it had been done in Sofala, and it was taken; therefore let Monomotapa beware of what he was about, this being the custom of the Father, and the pouring of the water on the head was the tungo by which he took the land, especially the words which he said while pouring the water.

That the Father came from Chepute, and had been there before he came hither, and had left his people and come alone that he might be taken for a man who had come to see the king, and would afterwards do what he liked.

These engangas also said that the Father was a wizard who brought heat and hunger, and had a dead man's bone and other medicines to kill the king and take the kingdom.

They said so much that the king commanded the Father to be killed, and told me if I had any property in the Father's house to secure it, as he was going to order him to be killed.

Then I left him, having gained nothing, and he ordered the engangas to go to him, and they went, as I have said, and told him what I have stated.

When this message came, I wrote to the Father, and then went

to the king, who said that the most he could do to the Father was to command him to return.

This was on Friday, on Saturday he summoned his mother to assist at the council, and what they did therein is best known to themselves. The mother returned to her house, and I followed her. She told me that the Father would return to the shore, and that she would go and speak to her son on Sunday morning. She said nothing further, though they had decided that he was to be killed that night, as in fact was done.

They also told the king that another man was coming, with a woman with him, in search of the Father, who was already late, and was also a wizard. That his highness should look to himself, for if he did not kill him, he would escape in secret, and the people of the country would kill each other without knowing who was to blame.

On the day they killed him the Father sent me all the ornaments of the Mass, namely vestments, chalice, and other things which are stated in the memoranda made before his death.

That same day he made about fifty Christians, and gave to one a piece of cloth, and half to another, and to others strings of beads, at which the king was incensed, and ordered the pieces of cloth to be taken from all those who had turned Christian, and there was great danger of his commanding them all to be killed. I made known all that passed between myself and the king to the Father Dom Gonçalo, and wrote to him, and he always replied that our Lord had the care of all things. That same day I went to confession to the Father, and he told me that he was to die. I was weeping with him, but he told me that he was not grieved at his own death, but only because he feared the evil would not end there.

After this he dressed himself in his long cassock with a surplice over it, and said to me, "Antonio Caiado, it is certain that I am more ready to die than the Moors who are to kill me. I forgive the king, who is but a youth, and his mother, because the Moors have deceived them." And all this he said with his face wreathed with smiles.

So they found him, with a crucifix at his head, which I obtained afterwards with an arm broken and the head and nails missing, and thus it is sent by Balthazar Gramaxo and Jeronymo Martins.

They told the king, when he commanded him to be killed, not

to leave the body under the sun, or they would all be poisoned, but to have it thrown into the river. And when they had killed him they threw him into the river Monsengense by night, dragging the body and carrying it on their shoulders.

After his death they spread a report that some days he was seen stripped to the waist, and came to the palisade of the king's enclosure and took bark from the stakes and tied it to his shirt. And that an infise came with people howling round the palisade, and the king sent to take them, and at last the engangas went and captured the Father, and a thunderbolt fell and broke one of the stakes in the king's door. They even told him that the key of the chest was full of witchcraft, with many other things which they tell him, although the Father is dead. And they spread many other slanderous reports, which Jeronymo Martins will relate, as he heard all these things.

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*Da Viagem do Padre D. Gonçalo ao Reino de Manamotapa e de seu felice transitto.*

*Pax xpi.—Jhus.*

Offerecia-se larga materia para escrever do felice transitto e bemaventurado fim do nosso charissimo padre D. Gonçalo; mas por isso se contar por muitas pessoas e de diversas maneiras ordenou o nosso padre provincial que a verdade se soubesse e collegisse n'esta, assim de uma carta que do mesmo reino escreveu um homem a outro amigo seu, como do mestre do navio que lá levou o padre D. Gonçalo com o qual aqui falámos, e de um moço que levava comsigo que de Moçambique trouxe o padre Pina a este collegio de Goa.

Depois que o padre D. Gonçalo fez christão ao rei de Inhambane e a rainha e boa copia de gente, deixou lá o padre André Fernandes e o irmão André da Costa para ensinarem os christãos e os instruirem nas cousas da fé e elle veiu-se a Moçambique com determinação de se fazer prestes para ir ao imperio de Manamotapa negoceado, por Pantaleão de Sá, capitão de Sofala, das peças necessarias para el-rei e de tudo o mais que convinha.

Partiu-se de Moçambique em uma fusta pequena com cinco ou seis portuguezes em sua companhia a 18 de setembro.

Chegando ao longo da costa perto do rio de Mafuta noventa leguas de Moçambique lhe deu uma tormenta de ventos e mares tam grossos que todos á uma se davam já por perdidos pela muita agua que entrava na fusta e a furia da tormenta ser muito grande.

Poz-se o padre em cima do baleu da fusta em geolhos com as mãos e olhos alevantados para o ceu encommendando a Deus a si e aos mais e prouve a Nosso Senhor que os ouviu a todos e cessou depois a tempestade ficou o mar tranquillo, abocaram o rio, e entraram dentro dia de S. Jeronymo.

E sahidos em terra antes de jantar ordenou-se um altar portatil para o padre dizer missa na praia onde o calor do sol era tam grande que calçados não podiam os portuguezes esperar o ardor do sol, em tanto que do tempo que o padre poz em dizer missa lhe rebentou toda a cabeça em empolas e nunca quiz admittir mezinha alguma para curar, antes assim foi com ellas em carne viva até por si sararem.

Estiveram tres dias em Mafute e d'ahi se partiram com bom tempo para o rio de Quilimane, aonde outra vez se salvaram com muito trabalho, assim em outra tempestade que lhes veiu, como na entrada do rio.

Chegados a terra foram a um lugar principal aonde el-rei de Guiloa mouro que se chama Mingoaxane lhes fez grande agasalhado e por elle ser amigo dos portuguezes, e não ter mesquitas nem outras observancias da seita mahometica mandou algumas cousas de mantimento ao padre. E fallando depois ambos ácerca da conversão lhe disse que todos os que em suas terras se quizessem fazer christãos lhe daria para isso licença e folgaria muito de ser quem em seu reino ensinasse a lei verdadeira de Deus.

Porém como o padre levava por seu principal a conversão da principal pessoa d'aquelles reinos que era o rei de Monomotapa não se quiz ali deter porque lhe pareceu tambem que seria cousa facil a conversão d'este reino, feito o maior.

Offereceu-lhe el-rei outra embarcação para irem mais despedados. Não a quiz o padre acceitar por ser muito mais segura a fusta e despedindo-se d'elle com muitos signaes de amor, d'aquelle lugar de Quilimane se partiram para o rio de Cuama, o maior que dista de Sofala trinta leguas onde lhe deu outra tempestade que foi necessario com ella metterem-se em uma bahia que se chama Linde, onde estiveram treze dias.

Ahi veiu ter com elles um pangaio que vinha de Moçambique, e proseguindo sua viagem em companhia da fusta para a barra de Cuama, apartou-se o pangaio da fusta uma quarta feira e á quinta se perdeu.

Entrando a fusta em Cuama estiveram ali dois dias onde o padre disse missa e por que aquillo era entrar já pelo rio das terras de Manamotapa, fez o padre uma exhortação aos portuguezes em que lhes pedia muito o encommendassem a Nosso Senhor pois sabiam de quanto pezo e importancia era o negocio que ia commetter e que pelo amor de Deus se não escandalisassem nem lhe estranhassem o recolhimento que d'alli até se desembarcarem havia de ter porque nada se podia fazer sem primeiro se communicar com Deus por oração.

E pediu que lhe pozessem uns bretangins ao derredor do toldo da fusta que era pequeno onde se recolheu sem fallar com ninguem oito dias e não comia mais que uma vez ao dia uma mancheia de grãos torrados sem por nenhuma via querer comer outra cousa e bebia sobre elles um pucaro de agua.

Alli se estava em continua oração depois de rezar suas horas e se algum tempo lhe ficava gastava-o em ler pelo cathalogo dos santos.

Passados oito dias chegaram a um lugar que se chamava Inhanguoma. Fizeram-n'o a saber ao padre. Perguntou elle ao mestre da fusta quam longe era d'alli a Sena, que era o derradeiro lugar aonde a fusta podia chegar, e mostrou-lh'o o mestre por estar d'alli um tiro de espingarda.

Fel-os o padre então pôr em geolhos para que rezassem um *pater noster* e uma ave maria a Nossa Senhora da Graça pela conversão de el-rei de Manamotapa.

D'ahi se foram para Sena que é uma povoação muy grande onde estavam dez ou quinze portuguezes de assento com alguns christãos de cá da India.

E porque o padre alli havia de estar alguns dias esperando por recado de el-rei de Manamotapa para lhe ir fallar, fizeram os christãos de cá da India com os portuguezes uma choupanasinha ao padre onde se agasalhava e dizia todos os dias missa.

E por a maior parte dos christãos que ali havia estarem amancebados, fel-os o padre a quasi todos casar; administrando-lhes os sacramentos; ensinava-lhes a doutrina e occupava-se tambem em aprender a lingua do Mocaranga porque a de Inhambane já a sabia.

Aqui baptisou os escravos portuguezes e gente de suas familias que seriam até quinhentas pessoas pouco mais ou menos.

D'este logar de Sena ia o padre os mais dos dias a visitar el-rei de Inhamior, que estava uma legua d'ahi, gentio e sugeito tambem ao rei de Manamotapa, e fallando o padre por algumas vezes com elle lhe disse o rei que de muy boamente se queria fazer christão com sua mulher e oito filhos que tinha se o padre os quizesse baptisar.

O padre por não ter quem deixar com elle para o ensinar e lhe dar noticia das cousas de Deus disse-lhe que seria melhor e mais conveniente fazer-se primeiro el-rei de Manamotapa, porque seria aggraval-o fazendo outros primeiro christãos, que perservasse no desejo e admoestasse aos seus a terem fé e esperanza em Deus pois estava certo Deus lhe não havia de faltar.

E alli em Sena estiveram dois mezes tendo o padre mandado recado a Manamotapa, mandou d'ahi a cem leguas a outro logar que se chama Tete uma carta sua que o mestre levava a um portuguez por nome Gomes Coelho em que lhe pedia muito que viesse alli ter com elle por este homem ser muito amigo de el-rei e entender a lingua para lhe fallar.

N'este interim em que a fusta foi, a qual poz sete dias em ir e vir, chegou recado de el-rei a Sena com um embaixador que vinha receber ao padre e trazer-lhe recado de el-rei para que fosse.

Veiu alli ter com o padre Gomes Coelho e tornaram para o mesmo logar de Tete e porque era já por terra ficou o fato para vir de vagar.

Levava o padre sómente consigo os ornamentos ás costas e muitas vezes passava ribeiras com agua pelo pescoço e os ornamentos com sua pedra d'ara, calix e todo o mais apparelho da missa á cabeça ou alevantado nas mãos e assim caminhava.

Outro rio passou que por ser muito largo e o padre ir carregado e não poder nadar metteram-n'o os cafres em uma panella muito grande larga por cima e iam todos nadando pegados a ella até que o puzeram da outra banda do rio.

Chegaram a Chatucuy que é um logar perto de Manamotapa vespera de Natal. Alli disse o padre todas as tres missas d'aquella solemne festa com grandissima consolação sua e dos portuguezes que com elle iam e d'ahi se foi para Manamotapa a primeira oitava do Natal.

Chegando á cidade mandou-o el-rei logo visitar em que lhe mandava el-rei uma somma de oiro e muitas vaccas e gente para seu serviço porque lhe tinham dito os portuguezes que lá estavam que alem do padre ser um homem, isto é, de grande virtude que era tambem muito nobre e das principaes pessoas da India.

O Gomes Coelho que acima digo ficou em Tete por estar outro portuguez muito amigo e familiar de el-rei em Manamotâpa por nome Antonio Caiado o que foi o que veio com o presente ao padre.

Tornou o padre com grande humildade e reconhecimento de tal beneficio a mandar o presente a el-rei; mandou-lhe dizer que Antonio Caiado lhe diria qual era o ouro que elle vinha buscar, com outras boas palavras.

Espantou-se el-rei de haver entre os portuguezes homem que não quizesse ouro nem mantimentos e gente para seu serviço.

Foi o padre visital-o levando-lhe algumas peças. Recebeu-o el-rei com grande gosto e contentamento e com lhe fazer a maior honra que dizem os portuguezes nunca havia feito a outro homem, que foi mettel-o dentro de uma casa sua onde não entra ninguem e alli fez assentar ao padre em uma alcatifa junto consigo de uma banda e sua mãe da outra, e Antonio Caiado da porta fallava a lingua.

E el-rei lhe fez logo quatro perguntas: a primeira quantas mulheres queria; a segunda se queria ouro; a terceira terras; a quarta vaccas, que valem tanto na terra como o mesmo ouro, segundo dizem os portuguezes que de lá vem.

E como o padre lhe respondesse que nenhuma cousa queria mais que a Sua Alteza, espantado d'isso disse á lingua: "ora, não é possível que um homem que não quer nenhuma cousa d'estas que lhe offereço sendo tam natural a todos o desejo d'ellas que não é como os outros homens senão que nasceu das ervas e d'ellas teve seu principio" e fez-lhe no fim grandes offerecimentos de tudo que houvesse mister, despedindo-se com palavras de muito amor, se foi o padre para uma casinha que lhe deram, onde dizia missa e se recolhia com Nosso Senhor.

Estando um dia dizendo missa e passando uns senhores do reino pela porta e vendo no altar uma imagem de Nossa Senhora da Graça, muito formosa que o padre levava, foram dizer a el-rei que o padre tinha uma *mozunga*, *id est*, mulher de grande formosura em sua casa, que lh'a mandasse pedir.



Mandou-lhe el-rei dizer logo que lhe disseram que trazia elle ahi uma mulher comsigo, que desejava muito de a ver, que a levasse lá.

Tomou o padre o retabulo embrulhado em uns pannos ricos e foi-se lá, e primeiro que lh'a mostrasse, lhe declarou pela lingua como aquella senhora era mãe de Deus, e que todos os reis e imperadores da terra eram seus servos.

Como o teve preparado com lhe accrescentar mais o appetite e desejo de a ver, descobriu o retabulo e lh'a mostrou; cousa que o rei e sua mãe muito folgaram de ver.

E depois de lhe fazer grande reverencia e acatamento pediu ao padre que por amor de Deus lhe desse aquella Senhora para a ter em sua casa porque lhe parecia que com isso lhe fazia muita mercê.

Disse-lhe o padre que era muito contente e foi o mesmo padre á casa onde o rei dormia preparar-lhe uma maneira de oratorio com pannos ricos onde a poz.

Contam os portuguezes que de lá vieram que por quatro ou cinco noites estando o rei que é ainda moço meio dormindo lhe parecia aquella Senhora no retabulo cercada de uma luz divina com um resplendor muito glorioso e suave e se punha a fallar com o rei com uma muy grande e doce suavidade no vulto.

Elle espantado d'aquella novidade acordando fazia-o saber á mãe e aos portuguezes, os quaes o iam dizer ao padre, cada vez que lh'o el-rei dizia, e fallando por derradeiro com o padre lhe disse que estranhamente sentia não entender a lingua d'aquella Senhora, que todas as noites fallava com elle.

O padre, dizem, que lhe respondeu que aquella lingua que era divina e celestial e que a não podia entender senão quem vivia na lei santa do filho d'aquella Senhora que era Deus e redemptor do mundo, que como Sua Alteza fosse christão, ficaria capaz de a entender.

Mostrou-lhe el-rei vontade de o ser; posto que lh'o declarou por palavras; d'ahi a um dia ou dois lhe mandou dizer por Antonio Caiado que lhe rogava que o fosse fazer christão porque o desejava muito ser elle e sua mãe.

Foi o padre dilatando-lhe por alguns dias o baptismo para o ir instruindo nas cousas da fé e duas vezes ao dia o ia catequizar.

Da chegada do padre a Manamotapa a vinte e cinco dias pouco mais ou menos se fez o rei christão com sua mãe.

Fez-lhes o padre muita festa no dia do baptismo. Poz-lhe nome D. Sebastião e sua mãe D. Maria; deu-lhe o padre peças ricas que levava e el-rei lhe mandou no mesmo dia cem vaccas de presente porque não queria tomar ouro.

O padre as mandou a casa de Antonio Caiado seccar e fazer em tassalhos para repartir com os pobres que alli vinham a casa, de que os naturaes da terra grandemente se edificaram.

Fez mais o padre christãos obra de duzentos e cincoenta ou trezentas pessoas pouco mais ou menos dos principaes senhores e cabeças do reino, os quaes nunca lhe sabiam de casa, uns a virem aprender doutrina, outros a lhe trazer leite, óvos, manteiga, cabritos e outras cousas da terra, das quaes o padre nada comia nem carne alguma mais que um pouco de milho zaburro cozido com algumas hervas e algumas fructas amargosas do matto.

Era o padre tam amado de el-rei e de todos os senhores que nunca o deixavam. A gente nobre e plebeia toda se queria fazer christã.

O padre não cessava de glorificar a Deus e muitos outros insignes e heroicos actos fazia de amor de Deus e grandes obras de penitencia e severidade comsigo mesmo que deixo de escrever assim por não ser difuso como por tambem não as saberem explicar os que de lá vieram mais que dizerem verem lhe sempre fazer obras santissimas e que os muito admirava.

Porém como Deus Nosso Senhor tinha determinado de collocar ao padre em seu reino glorioso e lhe dar muy glorioso e copioso premio por tal genero de serviços nem podendo o diabo soffrer tamanhos despojos e triumphos de almas que tantos mil annos havia pacificamente senhoreava determinou instar vehementissimamente com toda a sua perversa sagacidade por semear discordia e dissensão no coração do rei para o dissuadir d'aquelle grande amor e concepto que tinha do padre, e para isto effectuar não lhe faltaram seus instrumentos que foram alguns mouros ricos e abastados que alli estavam aos quaes summamente pesou da conversão do rei, e por terem com elle muita entrada e conjuncta familiaridade sendo grandissimos feiticeiros e embaidores foram-se a el-rei com pretexto de sentir sua desventura e perdição de seu reino e estado e começaram-n'o a persuadir que tivesse para si que o padre era um grandissimo feiticeiro e não homem, assacando-lhe muitos testemunhos falsos, os quaes Antonio Caiado depois escre-

veu a um amigo seu cuja carta aqui veio ter, que são os que abaixo direi.

E d'esta conjuração e malicia era principal um mouro natural de Moçambique, que é o mesmo Mafamede, chama-se Mingane caciz dos mouros.

Este quando não podia ir fallar a el-rei mandava-lhe occultamente um moço habil mouro tambem, que sob colôr de ir negociar ia conspirar seu veneno diabolico contra o padre e o que elles diziam a el-rei é o seguinte.

Disseram-lhe que os engangas mouros, (que sam os móres feiticeiros da terra, os quaes deitam sortes com quatro paus) que o padre vinha por mandado do governador da India e do capitão de Sofala para ver a terra e se havia muita gente n'ella para lhes logo tornar a mandar recado e vir grande exercito para matarem a el-rei e lhe tomarem o reino e que o padre vinha por mandado de Chapute, s. o Chiteve que é outro rei de Sofala que foi seu creado alevantado para que dissesse aos morefos, que sam os nobres do reino que como o não vinham tomar por senhor e tinham por rei a quem não era de direito, que o padre trazia determinado matar a el-rei e a todos os da terra com dizer que se fizessem christãos e como lhe lançasse a agua pela cabeça e dissesse as palavras dos langarios s. portuguezes que logo ficavam debaixo d'elle para não serem contra elle e que assim o fizeram em Sofala, e que olhasse Manamotapa o que fazia porque este era o costume do padre, e que botar agua pela cabeça era o tungo s. unturas com que tomava a terra, e principalmente as palavras que lhe diziam quando lhe botava a agua.

Que o padre fora primeiro a Chepute que viesse a Manamotapa, que lá deixára sua gente, vindo-se para que cuidasse que era homem que vinha tratar amizade com el-rei e depois fazer a sua.

E que o padre era moroo que quer dizer feiticeiro, traidor, o qual trazia o sol e a fome, e um osso de finado e outras mezinhas para tomar a terra e matar a el-rei.

Que lá vinha outro detraz com uma mulher em busca do padre que tambem era feiticeiro, que olhasse Sua Alteza por si porque se o deixava ir sem o matar, que elle se havia de ir sem o saber ninguem, e que a gente da terra se havia de matar uns aos outros sem saberem de quem lhes vinha a morte.

Antes de se romperem estas traições dos mouros disse o padre D. Gonçalo a Antonio Caiado: "Eu sei que el-rei me ha de

matar e estou muito alvoroçado para receber da mão de Deus tam bemaventurado fim.”

Respondeu-lhe Antonio Caiado muito espantado rindo-se do que o padre lhe dizia: “Impossivel é que el-rei sendo tam amigo de vossa reverendissima tal faça.” E indo-se ver com el-rei o achou muy perturbado e commovido pelo que os mouros lhe tinham dito, dizendo-lhe: “Se tendes algum fato em casa do padre mandae-o arrecadar, porque o hei de mandar matar.”

Indo-lhe á mão Antonio Caiado tornou-lhe a dizer que mandaria chamar os engangas e consultaria com elles o caso.

Fez logo Antonio Caiado d’isto sabedor ao padre e de tolo o mais que lhe vinha ter á noticia.

Tornando Antonio Caiado a fallar com Sua Alteza lhe disse el-rei que o mais que poderia fazer a homem que tanto mal lhe tinha machinado era mandal-o que se tornasse.

Isto foi a sexta feira depois da terceira dominga de quaresma, e ao sabbado mandou chamar el-rei a sua mãe ao conselho, que fizeram com os engangas; foi do demonio.

Tornando-se a mãe para casa, logo pela manhã foi apoz ella Antonio Caiado para saber d’ella o que là passára; respondeu-lhe que o padre se tornaria para a praia, e que ella ao domingo viria fallar com seu filho, sem lhe dizer mais outra cousa, e já lá deixavam concertado quando o haviam de matar.

Vindo ter Antonio Caiado com o padre lhe disse o padre D. Gonçalo: “Peço-vos muito por amor de Deus que vades a um logar (que estava d’ahi a um pedaço) e que digaes aos portuguezes, dois ou tres que ahi estam, que se venham logo confessar e vós com elles e tomar o Santissimo Sacramento, porque se não for hoje já vol-o não poderei dar.”

Partiu-se elle em busca dos outros e esperou o padre até perto do meio dia por elles, e quando viu que tardavam consagrou duas hostias que tinha e cosumiui-as.

Em o mesmo dia fez obra de cincoenta christãos aos quaes deu pannos para se vestirem e suas manilhas de contas para trazerem. E á tarde vieram os portuguezes; fel-os o padre confessar pois lhe não podia já dar o Santissimo Sacramento, e com grande alegria e contentamento os esteve animando e consolando, estando elles bem fóra de cuidarem o que o padre tinha em seu peito.

Antes d’isto (não sei se quatro dias) escreveu o padre D. Gonçalo uma carta ao padre Antonio de Quadros nosso padre

provincial e outra ao capitão de Sofala, em que dava larguissimas novas de todo seu successo. Estas cartas vindo depois com o fato em uma fusta se perderam por se perder a mesma embarcação no mar.

Tornados os portuguezes para suas casas, mandou logo nas costas d'elles o padre o fatinho que tinha em casa, s. livros, ornamentos de missa, e dois moços que consigo tinha, ficando-lhe sómente um crucifixo e uma vela para de noite.

Tornando Antonio Caiado já sobre a tarde a fallar com o padre achou-o passeiando junto de sua casa vestido em uma roupeta nova e uma sobrepelliz em cima.

Em o padre o vendo lhe disse pondo-lhe a mão no peito: "Antonio Caiado por certo melhor aparelhado estou eu para morrer que os inimigos que me ham de matar. Eu perdoo a el-rei que é moço e a sua mãe porque os mouros os enganaram," e isto com a boca cheia de riso.

Despediu-se Antonio Caiado do padre e diz que lhe mandou de casa dois moços seus que dormissem aquella noite em companhia do padre.

N'isto que até aqui tenho dito convem quasi todos os que vieram de Manamotapa, o que se segue de sua morte nol-o contou o moço do padre D. Gonçalo que de lá veiu e diz que lh'o contaram os moços de Antonio Caiado que lá dormiram aquella noite, os quaes lhe disseram que o padre andára junto de casa passeiando em um terreiro até perto da meia noite como que se aparelhava para tam gloriosa jornada.

Os passos eram acelerados desejando já ver-se desatado e reinando com Christo, os olhos quasi sempre pregados nos ceus, as mãos ora levantadas, ora estentidas a maneira de cruz, seus suspiros intimos e cordeaes, que lhe sahiam das entranhas.

Era isto sabbado á noite vespera da gloriosa Santa Suzana. Depois se recolheu para a sua choupana e fazendo oração deante do crucifixo que só lhe ficava na casa por companheiro, deitou-se no chão sobre uma esteira de cannas com o crucifixo junto de si e a candeia acesa. Parece que enlevado do somno dos justos adormeceu.

Os inimigos estavam esperando per esta oportunidade. Entram dentro sete ou oito e dizem os moços que estavam dentro em casa que conheceram um d'elles que era ainda gentio o qual

por muitas vezes tinha comido com o padre e com os nobres da familia de el-rei, por nome Mocurume.

Este dizem que se lhe assentou sobre os peitos e quatro dos assistentes o alevantaram do chão pelos braços e pernas e assim estendido vieram outros dois e lhe ataram uma fita no pescoço e apertando de uma parte e de outra, depois de pela boca e narizes lançar uma boa copia de sangue deu o espirito ao creador.

Lançaram-lhe então uma corda ou baraço em o pescoço e a rasto dizem que o lançaram em um rio que d'ahi estava perto que se chama Monsengece por terem dito a el-rei que o não deixasse estar ao sol porque a peçonha d'aquelle homem bastaria para os contaminar a todos.

Ao outro dia de madrugada senão ainda quasi de noite mandou Antonio Caiado este moço do padre que aqui estava com outro seu que pelo melhor modo que fosse possivel fossem espreitar a casa do padre para saber o como estava.

Acharam os moços pelo caminho perto de casa o rasto de sangue que ainda lhe ia sahindo quando o levaram.

A casa estava só e os moços que aquella noite alli dormiram quando os inimigos o queriam tirar para fora para o levarem a rasto se acolheram e esconderam-se no matto.

Acharam na casa o crucifixo feito em pedaços que outra vez tornaram a levar e o deram na mão de Antonio Caiado. Isto é charissimos irmãos o que com toda a industria possivel pudémos colligir do nosso dilectissimo padre D. Gonçalo.

Depois ainda do padre ser morto para confirmarem a el-rei em sua obstinação e dureza lhe mettiam em cabeça outras ignorancias crassissimas, dizendo que viram ao padre despido da cinta para cima e que se vinha á estacada d'el-rei e d'alli tomava as cascas dos páus e as atava na camisa, e um corisco por sua causa quebrara um páu da porta d'el-rei, e que até a chave do caixão do padre tinha mezinhas e feitiços.

Mandava el-rei matar aquelles cincoenta christãos que o padre fizera no dia de seu felice transito e que lhes tomassem todos os pannos e contas que o padre lhes dera.

A isto acudiram os encoces que sam os principaes senhores da terra e disseram a el-rei "Se tu, senhor, mandas matar estes homens por receberem a agua que o padre lhes lançou pela cabeça e ficarem como o padre, manda-nos matar a nós tambem que juntamente a recebemos e a ti, pois tambem te fizeste christão."

Desistiu então de o mandar fazer e recolheu-se confuso para dentro.

D'ahi a dois ou tres dias pouco mais ou menos quando já pareceu áquelles portuguezes que alli estavam, que já poderia o furor d'el-rei estar aplacado e elle mais capaz de receber doutrina e reprehensão, dizem que foram a elle e lhe estranharam muito o gravissimo pecado que tinha comettido em ordenar a morte do padre, por além dos castigos e males que Deus por isso lhe havia de dar, que por o padre ser pessoa tam nobre não seria muito mandarem da India uma armada sobre elle para o destruir, e outras cousas de terror que o metteram por dentro.

Começou o moço a escusar-se e a mostrar-se mais de sentimento pela morte do padre lançando a culpa a sobeja instigação dos mouros. E dizem mais uma cousa que não sabemos de certo, sómente a escrevo por o dizer o mestre da fusta que levou o padre e o moço que aqui está n'este Collegio, que lh'o contaram que el-rei de pezaroso e envergonhado do que tinha feito, querendo mostrar por signaes evidentes o desgosto que tinha da morte do padre, mandara matar aos quatro mouros principaes que lhe tinham persuadido isto, e que dois d'elles mataram logo e o Mingane com outros eram fugidos.

E que parece em nenhum modo escapariam pela grandissima diligencia que se põe na execução da vontade d'el-rei, e ser elle muy potente, tanto que põe de trezentos mil homens para cima em campo quando quer como me affirmou um capitão de Sofala. Esta foi a bemdita jornada, peregrinação e ditoso fim do nosso dilectissimo padre D. Gonçalo.

O padre provincial além do conde viso-rei o desejar muito está com grande vontade e alvoroço esperando a monção para mandar alguns padres e irmãos áquelle imperio e monarchia tam grande e levar adiante o que se tem começado.

Não parece deixará de ser muy felice o successo d'esta obra e ella em si muito solida pois os fundamentos d'aquella Egreja vam edificados sobre sangue derramado puramente pela honra e gloria de Jesu Christo Nosso Deus e Senhor etc.

D'este Collegio de S. Paulo de Goa a 15 de dezembro de 1561.

Por commissão do padre provincial.

Servo inutil de todos,

LUIZ FROES.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Of the Voyage of the Father DOM GONÇALO to the Kingdom of Monomotapa and of his happy passing away.*

*Pax Christi.—Jesus.*

There is a quantity of material available concerning the happy passing away and blessed death of our beloved Father Dom Gonçalo, but as it is related by many persons and in many different manners, our Father Provincial ordered that the truth should be made known and gathered from a letter written by an individual in that kingdom to a friend of his, and from the account of the master of the ship in which Father Dom Gonçalo went there, with whom we have spoken here, and that of a young man whom he took with him to Mozambique and whom Father Pina brought to this college of Goa.

After Father Dom Gonçalo had made the king of Inhambane a Christian, together with the queen and a good number of the people, he left there Father André Fernandes and Brother André da Costa to instruct the Christians in the Faith, and came himself to Mozambique with the determination to get ready to go to the kingdom of Monomotapa as soon as he had negotiated through Pantaleão de Sá, the captain of Sofala, for the pieces of cloth necessary for the king, and everything else which was required.

He set out from Mozambique in a small pinnace, in company with five or six Portuguese on the 18th of September.

Arriving along the coast near the river Mafuta ninety leagues from Mozambique, there arose such a storm of wind and heavy waves that they all gave themselves up for lost, on account of the fury of the storm and the quantity of water shipped by the pinnace.

The Father placed himself on his knees on the baleu [gallery?] of the pinnace, with his eyes and hands raised to Heaven, commending himself and his companions to God, and our Lord proved that he had heard their prayer, for after this the tempest ceased and the sea grew calm, and they reached the mouth of the river and entered it on the feast of St. Jerome.

When they had landed, before dining, a portable altar was set up that the Father might say Mass on the shore, where the heat



of the sun was so great that the Portuguese could not bear it with their shoes on, so that in the time which it took the Father to say Mass his head was all blistered, and he would never consent to use any remedy, but let it remain a raw wound till it healed of itself.

They were three days at Mafute, and thence they set out with fair weather for the river Quilimane, where again they had great trouble to save themselves, both in another tempest which arose and in entering the river.

On reaching land, they went to the principal kraal where the king of Guiloa dwells, who is called Mingoaxane. He gave them a good welcome, and being a friend to the Portuguese and having no mosques or other observances of the Mohamedan sect, he sent some provisions to the Father. And afterwards in speaking to him about conversion, he said that all those in his kingdom wished to become Christians, and he would give him permission for that purpose and would rejoice very much to see the true law of God taught in his kingdom.

But the Father, whose chief end was the conversion of the principal person of those kingdoms, who is the king of Monomotapa, would not delay there, because it seemed to him that the conversion of that kingdom would be an easy matter when the greater work was accomplished.

The king offered them another vessel that they might travel more easily, but the Father would not accept it, as the pinnace was much more secure; and taking leave of him with many marks of affection, they left Quilimane and set out for the larger river of Cuama, which is thirty leagues distant from Sofala. Here they met with another storm, which obliged them to put into a bay called Linde, where they remained thirteen days.

Here they met with a pangaio from Mozambique, which continued the voyage in their company for the entrance of the Cuama. The pangaio parted company with the pinnace on a Wednesday, and on the Thursday was lost.

On entering the Cuama the pinnace remained there two days, and the Father said Mass, and as they were already penetrating the land of Monomotapa by the river, the Father made an exhortation to the Portuguese, in which he asked them earnestly to commend him to our Lord, as they knew how weighty and important was the business which he was about to undertake,

and begged them for the love of God not to be scandalised or surprised at the retirement in which he must keep himself from that time until they disembarked, for nothing could be accomplished without first communicating with God in prayer.

He asked them to hang a cloth around the awning of the pinnace, which was small, and here he went into retreat, speaking to no one for eight days, and only eating once a day a handful of roasted grain, and refusing everything else, and with this he drank a cup of water.

Here he remained in constant meditation after he had said his office, and if any time remained he spent it in reading the lives of the saints.

After eight days they reached a place called Inhanguoma. They informed the Father, who asked the master of the pinnace how far it was to Sena, which was the last place to which the pinnace could go, and he pointed it out to him within a musket-shot.

Then the Father made them all kneel down and say a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria to our Lady of Grace, for the conversion of the king of Monomotapa.

Thence they went to Sena, which is a large town, where there are ten or fifteen Portuguese settlers, with some Christians from India.

And as the Father had to remain there some days to await a message from the king of Monomotapa that he might go and speak to him, the Christians from India and the Portuguese made him a small hut in which he found shelter and said Mass every day.

The greater number of the Christians there were living in concubinage, and the Father induced most of these to marry, administering the sacraments to them and instructing them. He also occupied himself in learning the language of Mocaranga, as he was already acquainted with that of Inhambane.

Here he baptized the Portuguese slaves and the members of their families, who numbered about five hundred souls, a little more or less.

From Sena the Father went nearly every day to visit the king of Inhamior, which was a league distant, a pagan, subject to the king of Monomotapa; and several times in the course of conversation the king told the Father he would willingly be a

Christian with his wife and eight children, if he would baptize them.

The Father, having no one to leave with him to instruct him in the doctrine of God, said that it would be better to make the king of Monomotapa a Christian first, as it would be an offence to him to make others so before him, but that he should persevere in his desire and admonish his people to have faith and hope in God, who certainly would not fail him.

The Father remained at Sena two months, and having sent a message to Monomotapa, he sent a letter by the master of the pinnace to a place called Tete, a hundred leagues distant, to a Portuguese called Gomes Coelho, earnestly begging him to come and see him, as he was a great friend of the king and was able to speak his language.

In the meanwhile, during the absence of the pinnace which took seven days going and returning, an ambassador from the king arrived at Sena to receive the Father and to bring a message from the king inviting him to come and see him.

Gomes Coelho came to the Father, and they travelled together to Tete, and as the journey was now by land they left all their goods to be sent on more slowly. Only the Father carried the church ornaments on his shoulders, often crossing rivers with the water up to his neck, carrying the ornaments, altar-stone, chalice, and other things necessary for saying Mass, upon his head or held up in his hands, and thus they proceeded on their way.

One river which they had to pass was very wide, and the Father being burdened and unable to swim, the Kaffirs placed him in a large pot, very wide at the top, and swam across the river holding on to it till they reached the other side.

They reached Chatucuy, which is a place close to Monomotapa, on Christmas Eve. Here the Father said all the three Masses of that solemn feast with the greatest consolation to himself and the Portuguese who were with him; and thence they reached Monomotapa on the first day of the octave of Christmas.

On reaching the city, the king immediately sent to visit him, sending the Father a large sum in gold and many cows and people to serve him, the Portuguese there having told him that the Father, besides being a man of great virtue, was also very noble and one of the principal persons of India.

Gomes Coelho aforesaid remained in Tete, there being another

Portuguese in Monomotapa very friendly and familiar with the king, called Antonio Caiado, who brought the king's present to the Father.

The Father, with great humility and gratitude for such a benefit, returned the present to the king, saying that Antonio Caiado would tell him what was the gold he came to seek, with other good words.

The king was overcome with surprise to find a man among the Portuguese who did not want gold, provisions, or people to serve him.

The Father went to visit him, taking him some pieces of cloth. The king received him with great pleasure and satisfaction, and showed him the greatest honour he had ever done to any man, according to the Portuguese, which was to admit him into a house of his to which no one is ever admitted, and there made him sit on a carpet between himself and his mother, while Antonio Caiado stood in the doorway to act as interpreter.

The king asked him four questions: first, how many wives he wanted; second, if he wanted gold, third, if he wanted lands, and fourth, if he wanted cows, which according to the Portuguese from those parts are worth more than gold in that country.

And as the Father replied that he wanted nothing but His Highness, the king in amazement said to the interpreter, "It is not possible that a man who cares for none of these things which are offered to him, the desire for which is so natural to all, should be like other men, but he must have been born of the herbs and had his origin in them." Then he made him many offers of everything he might want, taking leave of him with many expressions of affection, and the Father retired to a little house they had given him, where he said Mass and communed with our Lord.

One day when he was saying Mass, some nobles of the kingdom passed before the door and saw upon the altar a very beautiful picture of our Lady of Grace, which the Father had brought with him, and they went and told the king that the Father had a mozunga, *id est* a very beautiful woman, in his house, and that he should ask for her.

The king sent him a message that he was told he had a woman with him, and desired him to bring her to him, as he very much desired to see her.

The Father wrapped the picture in rich stuffs and carried it to the king, but before showing it he informed him through the interpreter that this lady was the mother of God and all the kings and emperors of the earth were her servants.

Having thus prepared him and increased his desire to see her, he uncovered the picture and exhibited it to the king and his mother, who were delighted to behold it, and after having shown it great reverence and respect he begged the Father for the love of God to give him the Lady that he might keep her in his house, by which it seemed to him he was doing him a great favour.

The Father said he would be very glad to do so, and went to the house where the king slept that he might himself arrange a kind of oratory with rich hangings, where he placed the picture.

The Portuguese who came from that place declare that for four or five nights the king, who is still quite young, being half asleep, the Lady of the picture appeared to him surrounded by a divine light of soft and glorious splendour, and spoke to the king with a great and gentle sweetness of countenance.

Much amazed, he made it known to his mother and the Portuguese, who went and told the Father each time they heard it; and at last speaking of it to the Father he said that he was strangely grieved that he could not understand the language in which that Lady spoke to him every night.

They say the Father replied that it was a divine and celestial language which none could understand save those who lived in the holy law of that Lady's son, who was God and the redeemer of the world, and when His Highness was a Christian he would be able to understand it.

The king showed himself very willing to become a Christian, though only in words. A day or two later he sent a message by Antonio Caiado begging the Father to come and make him and his mother Christians, which they both greatly desired.

The Father delayed the baptism for a few days in order to instruct him in the Faith, and catechized him twice a day.

Within twenty-five days, a little more or less, of the Father's arrival in Monomotapa the king and his mother became Christians.

The Father made a great feast of the day of their baptism. He gave the king the name of Dom Sebastian and his mother

that of Dona Maria. He presented the king with some rich pieces of stuff which he had brought with him, and the king sent him a hundred cows the same day, because he would not take gold. The Father sent them to the house of Antonio Caiado to be cut in pieces and dried, to be distributed to the poor who came to the house, by which the natives were greatly edified.

The Father made between two hundred and fifty and three hundred Christians, or thereabouts, from among the principal nobles and chiefs of the country, who were never out of his house, some coming for instruction, others bringing him milk, eggs, butter, kids, and other things to be had there, of which the Father ate nothing, never touching meat, but living on a little millet cooked with herbs, and some bitter fruits found in the thicket.

The Father was so beloved by the king and all the nobles that they never left him. All the people, noble and plebeian, wished to become Christians.

The Father never ceased glorifying God, and did many other notable and heroic acts through love of God, and of penitential severity towards himself, which I do not write down for fear of being diffuse and because those who came from that place could not explain them, only saying that they always saw him engaged in most holy works and that he greatly astonished them.

But as God our Lord had determined to place the Father in His glorious kingdom and to bestow upon him a most glorious and abundant reward for the service he had rendered, and as the devil could not bear to see this triumphant spoil of souls over whom he had lorded it peacefully for so many thousand years, he determined to vehemently instil discord and dissension with all his perverse sagacity into the heart of the king, to turn him from the great love and esteem he had for the Father; and his instruments for the purpose were not wanting. These were some wealthy Moors of those parts, who were greatly vexed by the king's conversion, and being in great favour and familiarity with him, and great magicians and deceivers, they sought him with the pretext of being greatly grieved at the loss of his kingdom and state, and began to persuade him that the Father was a great sorcerer and not a man, bringing many false accusations against him, which Antonio Caiado wrote down in a letter to a friend, which was afterwards sent here, and the accusations are stated below.

The chief of this conspiracy and malice was a Moor, a native of Mozambique, who is the same Mafamede that is called Mingane, the cacique of the Moors.

This man, finding that he could not speak to the king, secretly sent him a clever young man, also a Moor, who under colour of some business came to conspire and instil his diabolical poison against the Father; and what they told the king is as follows:—

They said that the Moorish engangas (who are the Moorish wizards of that land, who cast lots with four sticks) knew that the Father came by order of the governor of India and the captain of Sofala, to inspect the country and see what number of people were there, and send them information on the point, that they might then send a large army to kill the king and take his kingdom; and that he came by command of Chepute, namely Chiteve who is another king of Sofala, his rebellious subject, to tell the morefos, who are the nobles of the kingdom, that as they did not come and acknowledge him as their lord, and made one their king who had no lawful right, the Father had come thither determined to kill the king and all the people of the country by inducing them to become Christians and pouring water on their heads and saying the words of the langarios, namely the Portuguese, by which they were made subject to him and would not stand against him, for so it had been done in Sofala; and that Monomotapa should beware of what he did, for this was the custom of the Father, and that the pouring of water on the head was the tungo, that is the anointing, by which he took the land, and especially by the words he said while pouring the water.

That the Father went first to Chepute before coming to Monomotapa, and had left his people there that it might be thought he was a man who had come in friendship to the king, and afterwards his ends could be accomplished.

That the Father was a moroo, which means a wizard,—a traitor who brought heat and hunger, and had with him a dead man's bone and other medicines to take the country and kill the king.

That another was to follow him with a woman in search of the Father, and he was also a wizard, and that the king should look to himself, for if he let him depart without killing him he would get away without anyone knowing it, and the people of the country would kill each other without knowing who was the cause of their death.

Before this treason of the Moors was known, Father Dom Gonçalo said to Antonio Caiado: "I know that the king will kill me, and I am delighted to receive such a happy end from the hand of God."

Antonio Caiado replied "It is impossible that the king should do such a thing, being such a friend to your Reverence." And going to the king, he found him much troubled and moved by what the Moors had said to him, and he said to him, "If you have any property in the Father's house secure it, for I must command him to be killed."

Antonio Caiado returning to him again, he said he would call the engangas and would consult with them upon the matter.

Antonio Caiado immediately made known all that he had heard to the Father.

And again returning to the king, his highness said that the most he could do to a man who had plotted such evil against him was to command him to depart.

This was on the Friday after the third Sunday of Lent, and on the Saturday the king sent for his mother to attend the council with the engangas, which was a work of the devil.

The mother returning to her house, the next day Antonio Caiado went to her and asked her what had happened. She replied that the Father would return to the shore, and that she would go and speak to her son on Sunday, without telling him anything else, though they had already agreed when he was to be killed.

Antonio Caiado then going to speak with the Father, the latter said to him: "I entreat you for the love of God to go to a certain place (which was at a little distance) and tell the two or three Portuguese who are there to come to confession directly, and come with them yourself and receive the Blessed Sacrament, for if it is not done to-day I shall not be able to give it to you."

Then Antonio Caiado left him and went in search of the others, and the Father waited for them till nearly mid-day, and seeing that they did not come he consecrated two hosts which he had and consumed them.

That same day he baptized fifty Christians, to whom he gave pieces of cloth in which to dress themselves and bracelets of beads to wear. And in the afternoon the Portuguese came to him, and he made them go to confession, but could not then give



them the Blessed Sacrament; and he consoled and encouraged them with great joy, they being far from guessing what was in his heart.

Before this (I do not know if it was four days) Father Dom Gonçalo wrote a letter to Father Antonio de Quadros, our Father Provincial, and another to the captain of Sofala, in which he gave a long account of his success. These letters, being sent afterwards with his property in a pinnace, were lost at sea with that vessel.

When the Portuguese returned to their houses, the Father made them carry away on their shoulders everything which he had in the house, namely books and ornaments for Mass, sending with them two youths he had with him, and keeping nothing but a crucifix and a light for the night.

Returning to speak to him in the evening, Antonio Caiado found him walking up and down near his house, dressed in a new cassock with a surplice over it. On seeing him, the Father put his hand on his breast and said "Antonio Caiado I am certainly better prepared to die than the enemies who are to kill me. I forgive the king, who is but a youth, and his mother, because the Moors have deceived them." And this he said with his face wreathed in smiles.

Antonio Caiado took leave of the Father, saying that he would send two of his servants to sleep in his company that night.

So far almost all those who came from Monomotapa agree with what has been related, but what follows concerning his death was not told to him by the servant of Dom Gonçalo who came from that place, but he says it was told to him by the two servants of Antonio Caiado who slept in the Father's house that night.

They say that the Father walked up and down a piece of ground near his house until nearly midnight, preparing for his glorious journey. His steps were hurried as if he wished to be already free and reigning with Christ; his eyes were nearly always raised to heaven, his hands now raised, now extended in the form of a cross, his deep and heartfelt sighs came from his inmost soul.

This was on Saturday night, the eve of the feast of the glorious St. Susanna. Then he retired to his hut and prayed before the crucifix, which was all he had left in the house, after which he lay down upon a mat of reeds with the crucifix beside him and

the lamp alight, and seemed as if he was already sleeping the sleep of the just.

The enemies were awaiting this opportunity. Seven or eight of them entered, and the servants who were in the house say that they knew one of them who was still a heathen and had often dined with the Father and with the nobles of the King's family. His name was Mocerume.

They say that he laid the Father on his chest, and two of his assistants raised him from the ground by his hands and feet, and while he was thus extended two others tied a rope round his neck and each pulled it on either side, so that the blood rushed from his nose and mouth, and he gave up his spirit to the creator.

They then tied a rope round his neck, and by the trace of blood they say that the body was thrown into the river called Monsengece, which was close by, the king having been told that his body should not be left under the sun, for the poison of that man was enough to contaminate them all.

The next day at dawn, while it was still almost dark, Antonio Caiado sent the servant of the Father who came here, and another of his own, to observe the Father's house as far as possible and see how he fared.

The young men found the track of blood near the house, for it was still flowing when they carried away the body.

The house was deserted, the servants who had slept there that night when the enemies were dragging out the body to carry it away, escaped, and by their traces had hidden in the thicket.

In the house they found the crucifix broken to pieces, which they returned to get, and gave it into the hands of Antonio Caiado.

This, beloved brethren, is all that with the greatest diligence we have been able to learn concerning our beloved Father Gonçalo.

Even after the Father was dead, to confirm the king in his obstinacy and hardness they put the grossest absurdities into his head, saying that they saw the Father stripped to the waist, and that he came to the king's enclosure and took the bark from the stakes of the palisade and tied it to his shirt, and that it was through this a thunderbolt broke one of the stakes in the king's door, and that even the key of the Father's chest had some medicine or witchcraft in it.

The king commanded that the fifty Christians baptized by the

Father on the day of his happy death should be killed, and the pieces of cloth and beads given to them by him should be taken from them.

Upon this the encoces, who are the principal lords of the country, came and said to the king "Sir, if you command these men to be killed for receiving the water which the Father poured on their heads, and that they be treated like the Father, command us to be killed also, who received it with them, and yourself as well, for you also turned Christian." He then desisted from this command, and retired into his house in confusion.

About two or three days afterwards, when it seemed to the Portuguese there that the king's fury might be appeased and he be more fit to receive instruction and admonition, they went to him, as it is said, and expressed their amazement at the grievous sin he had committed in ordering the Father's death, and besides the evils and punishments which God would send upon him, the Father being a person of such nobility it would be small wonder if an army was sent from India to destroy him, and other reasons, in fear of which he retired into his house.

The young man now began to excuse himself, and to show more sorrow for the Father's death, throwing the blame upon the instigation of the Moors. They further say, but it is not certain, the master of the pinnace which carried the Father and his servant who is now here in this college having only written to report that he was told, that the king, sorry and ashamed of what he had done, wishing to show by evident signs that he was grieved for the Father's death, commanded the four principal Moors who persuaded him to it to be put to death, and two of them were immediately killed, and Mingane and others fled. But it does not seem that they can possibly escape, on account of the great diligence with which the king's orders are executed, he being very powerful and able to bring three hundred thousand men into the field when he likes, as I was assured by a captain of Sofala.

This was the blessed journey, pilgrimage, and happy end of our beloved Father Gonçalo.

The Father Provincial, besides the great wish of the Count Viceroy, is awaiting the monsoon with great joy and rapture, to send some Fathers and Brothers to that empire and great monarchy to carry on the work thus begun.

It seems that this work cannot fail to have a happy issue, and to prove solid in itself, the foundations of that Church being built upon blood shed purely for the honour and glory of Jesus Christ, our God and Lord &c.

From this College of St. Paul of Goa, the 15th of December 1561.

By command of the Father Provincial.

The unprofitable servant of all,

LUIZ FROES.

*Extracto da Carta do Irmão ANTONIO FERNANDES aos Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus em Coimbra.*

Tambem chegou o padre André Fernandes com o capitão de Moçambique de Inhambane quatro dias antes que nós embarcassemos de maneira que se ajuntaram seis padres e cinco irmãos, os quaes se determinaram de ir todos para Goa. Como vieram, por ser mais serviço de Deus então, se embarcaram; o padre André Fernandes na nao *Rainha* e o padre Fernão da Cunha e os outros dois padres com os indios na nossa nao, por ser o agasalhado maior.

Em Goa 15 de setembro de 1562.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Extract from a letter from the Brother ANTONIO FERNANDES to the Fathers and Brothers of the Company of Jesus at Coimbra.*

Father André Fernandes also arrived with the captain of Mozambique from Inhambane four days before we embarked, so that six Fathers and four Brothers were assembled, all with the purpose of going to Goa. As they came, it being then for the greater service of God, so they embarked, Father André Fernandes in the ship *Rainha* and Father Fernão da Cunha and the other two Fathers with the Indians in our ship, the accommodation being better.

Goa, 15th of September 1562.

*Carta do Padre ANDRÉ FERNANDES para os Irmãos e Padres da  
Companhia de Jesus em Portugal.*

A graça e amor do Espirito Santo seja sempre em nossas almas.  
Amen.

Pela obediencia me foi mandado que vos escrevesse esta em que vos desse conta dos costumes da gente d'aquella terra onde andei e do mais a proposito para consolação de todos; mas ainda que me tomou descuidado irei dizendo o que me lembrar.

Primeiramente parece aquelle reino de Inhambane da banda do sul debaixo do Capricornio. É terra calidissima quando alli anda o sol, e quando se desvia muito frio. Perto do mar chove bastantemente e quanto mais se afastam d'elle menos é.

Annos ha que por seccos não nascem as sementes e então se mantem com as carnes que caçam, especialmente elephantes e fructas do matto que ali ha muitas alguns annos ainda que sam muito ruins e assim os mantimentos o sam somente os feijões e o milho zaburro que tambem na Lombardia se come ainda que o de la é melhor e d'este onde chove ha em abastança e onde menos ha muito pouco e assim o mais do tempo se mantem com o que tenho dito.

Toda é gente pobre e vestem commumente pelles de animaes, couro que é a maior parte. Cingem-se com uma corda qualquer que fazem de cascas d'arvores; alguns mais ricos que tratam com os portuguezes n'esta mesma corda atam um pedaço de panno diante e outro detraz, e homens que são mais ricos cingem-se com um panno da cinta para baixo, para arriba todos andam descubertos. E com serem tam pobres sam superbissimos, e cada um parece ser rei do matto. Teem boas forças e sam muito ligeiros e soltos no correr apoz um elephante até que o matam, porque ainda que parece animal pezado todavia corre muito, especialmente se o tomam pela manhã antes de farto e beber, porque se é depois ficam mais carregados, que é o tempo em que o elles querem achar. E entre outras maneiras que teem de os matar a mais commum é que achando o bando os caçadores que sempre vam de vinte para riba, um sempre capitão por ser mais dextro; como os acham fala lhe como se entendesse e diz-lhe "Oulá, vós estaes tam descuidados, pois aqui vem Inhacungo (que é o mais famoso entre elles cujo hospede já fui) que determina matar de vós os que puder, por isso tende paciencia."

Os que fogem seguem alguns, e os que sam mais valentes que se veem a elles, aguardam n'os com muito bom tento e quando chegam a elles para os levar furtam-lhes o corpo, e ao passar dam lhes nas pernas com um instrumento da maneira dos que usam os magarefes, ainda que maior, e como sam animaes grandes com o peso com pouca cousa que cortam do pé lh'o quebram e cahem.

E n'estas arremetteduras que fazem os elephantes muitas vezes os colhem e fazem em pedaços senão sam muito dextros, e os que fogem depois de caçados volvem ao caçador que da mesma maneira os mata.

Fazem tambem umas sebes de grandes ramos de arvores em logares acomodados e em riba de uma arvore que na mesma sebe está penduram por uma corda um páu de comprimento de dois covados de grossura conveniente por uma ponta, e na outra lhe mettem em um buraco que lhe fazem um delgado bem agudo e cheio de herva que chamam de besteiro e a corda em que este páu está, está presa esta tambem no chão em uns páus como o que lá chamamos alçapé em tal maneira que pondo o elephante o pé n'elles solta a corda e o páu vem de riba com força e com o hervado lhe dá pelo espinhaço e o mata, e se não cahe logo não vae muito longe.

N'estas armadilhas tambem matam os rhinocerontes que dizem ser mais bravo animal que todos, e perto donde eu estava cahiu em uma d'estas armadilhas um.

Ha tambem entre elles muitos tigres e onças e alguns leões e toda veação e em parte se mantem muitos da caça que estes animaes matam e deixam, digo leões e tigres.

É esta gente muito dada a prazeres de cantar e tanger. Seus instrumentos sam muitas cabaças liadas com cordas e um páu feito em arco algumas grandes e outras pequenas e as bocas a qual com uma casca de mel silvestre apegam os buzios para que tomem bem e teem suas contras fabordões etc.

Dam musicas de noite ao rei e a quem lhe dá alguma cousa e os que móres brados dam teem por melhores musicos.

As cantigas que cantam commumente sam o louvor do a que cantam, s. "És bom homem porque uma vez me deste isto, outra estoutro e me darás mais."

Duas sam muito continuas entre elles que sam, uma: "Abenezaganbuia" que quer dizer os portuguezes comem muitas cousas juntas ou muitas iguarias, porque elles não costumam

comer mais que uma e emquanto comem não bebem nem quando bebem não comem, não por temperança, mas por costume.

Ás vezes teem festa de beber que dura tres, quatro dias sem comerem. O seu vinho é de frutas do matto, e de toda a maneira de mantimento que comem fazem que bebem a que sam muito afeiçoados e bebe um d'elles tanto como tres allemães.

E outra cantiga é: Gombe zuco virato ambuze capana virato," que quer dizer: a vacca tem couro para sapato e a cabra não tem couro para sapato, não porque elles andem calçados porque nenhum anda senão se tem os pés doentes debaixo, e se ha de andar por matto aspero então fazem umas solas de couro da vacca que poem debaixo dos pés liadas com umas correas.

E seu bailar é representar os autos da guerra todos, assim cercos como ser cercado, batalhas campaes, vencer, ser vencidos, tomar lenha, agua por força, e assim o demais que em ella acontece e tudo muito proprio.

E a maneira como se vestem para esta festa é a mais louçan que para nenhuma festa e para isto teem pennas de animaes, que não sejam muito largas, compridas com os rabos e atam-n'as de redor de si para que quando dam umas voltas sobre um pé que dam muito ligeiras, façam grande roda e quando sahem do posto um ou dois sahem com tanta ligeireza que é maravilha; e com o pé lançam areia tam alto que parece a quem o não viu que se não pode crer, e isto logo fazem tambem quando alguma pessoa grande morre.

Sam grandes comedores de carne e do demais; mas de carne especialmente, e dez comem uma vacca.

Os casamentos se fazem como compras e vendas porque uma mulher vale tanto como uma vacca, e quando querem desfazem o casamento tornando o que a mulher custou e um pode casar com muitas mulheres juntamente; só o parentesco de pae e filhos e irmãos e irmãs impede os ajuntamentos.

Para que as mulheres sejam castas teem-se todos persuadido de tempo antigo que se alguma fizer n'esta parte o que não deve que morrerá ella e os filhos e ainda parentes, e para remediar isto quando acontece que sam muitos casos usam cousas que não se possam dizer e feitas ficam muito seguros.

E se o que pecar com mulher depois a quer, pagando o que custou dam lh'a livremente com boa vontade. Estas mesmas

torpezas usam quando algum morre para lançar fóra o mal de que a familia ficou infeccionada que por serem taes as não digo.

Ninguem sabe quando algum morre nem onde se enterra confessa, fóra das pessoas a quem accusar que é pae a filho, irmão a irmã ou parentes mais chegados.

Uma das cousas e mais principal porque esta cousa é tam secreta é por não serem lançados da conversação dos outros como pessoas que trazem a morte comsigo.

E todas as mortes e enfermidades de uns dizem ser outros causa, e para isso lançam sortes, digo, para saber as enfermidades, as quaes são uns cauris fixados pelas costas e cheios de cera de vespas preta e teem sorte e azar como nos dados, e estas lançam com muitos que é mais difficuloso de saber e com poucos, de que ha officiaes.

E quando um está doente manda lançar as sortes depois que paga ou promette para saber de que é enfermo e sahe a sorte que porque fez de comer em uma panella velha ou dormiu em esteira velha ou tocou cousa de algum morto.

Sabida a causa diz o enfermo que saiba com que será são e toma em sua vontade uma arvore ou herva e se a sorte sahe que não é aquella boa, toma outra até que acerta a sorte.

Então vae buscar a herva ou folhas e pisa-as e com aquelle summo e com agua misturada molha a parte enferma ou todo o corpo e as cousas da casa que lhe disse a sorte que era causa da enfermidade.

Outras maneiras teem tambem de se curar muito enormes que não digo. Commummente quando algum morre consultam com certos feiticeiros que ha na terra que teem muito credito, lhes diga quem matou paes ou parentes.

E os mais famosos advinham por rastro como sabujos que assim andam elles rastejando e cheirando um hysope de sedas compridas e creio que sam de onagro, que n'esta terra ha infindo, o qual ás vezes põem no chão digo as sedas e torna-as ao nariz e assim advinha a casa onde estam os feitiços e para que matou o defunto e a maneira como o matou e todas sam muito grandes mentiras e totalmente impossiveis e algumas graciosas das quaes direi algumas de meu tempo.

A este rei disse um feiticeiro com que consultou na morte de um filho e filha que ao filho mataram porque uns homens poseram os pés sobre as suas pegadas, e á filha que lh'a matara uma minha



visinha porque vindo ella de fóra suando lhe alimpou o suor e lh'ò levou para sua casa com a sugidade do pó que trazia pegado no rosto e assim morrera, e mataram a pobre visinha pelo mesmo caso e reprehendendo eu a el-rei da cousa me disse que aquella era sua lei fazer o que o feiticeiro mandava senão ficava elle homicida da morte dos filhos.

A um sobrinho de el-rei disseram que morrera uma sua filha porque um seu tio vestira um panno que ella sendo ainda menina de mama ourinara.

Outro porque sua mulher emprestou uma panella a outra que quando lh'a mandou trazia a morte em si e matou-lhe um filho digo da que lh'a tinha emprestado, que logo lhe fizeram pagar outro por elle.

E outro que sua mulher se foi d'elle, disseram que por só isso morrera e o que depois casou com ella foi sentenciado que o pagasse como de feito pagou um moço, e não quizeram que fosse femea porque podia parir e pôrem o nome á creatura do morto, que communmente a estas pagas não admittem machos porque sam custosos e as femeas trabalham, e porém estas demandas entre elles se chamam—milandos—e a maneira que teem em julgar estas cousas é a seguinte :

O pae ou mãe do morto ou a pessoa a quem compete depois de saber do feiticeiro quem o matou se vae a el-rei e leva-lhe alguma cousa com que o contente a que chamam boca porque se é menos que isto diz elle “Eu orelhas tenho para te ouvir; mas tu não tens boca para me fallar.”

Torna então por mais até que satisfaz e então assigna el-rei juizes para certo dia, e vêem as partes tambem com seus dões aonde estão os ditos juizes e o povo debaixo de arvore communmente e varrem com a mão e poem o que trazem ali e acontecelhes como com el-rei, s. que não ouvem até que não fale com a boca o que arriba digo.

Começa primeiro o auctor a falar alto assaz e muito pausado e de vagar e a cada parte ou palavra acode um que tambem pagam com som ainda mais alto e diz deco o que monta tanto como assim é ou bem dizes o qual deco serve assim ao autor como ao réu que sempre é condemnado para entoar a cousa, na qual da parte do que demanda não se diz cousa que por via alguma possa parecer possivel, e os bemitos dos juizes julgam por elle tam seguros como se fôra a mais certa cousa do mundo.

De modo que entre elles todo o impossivel se crê e o arrezoado se arrenega, e assim me disseram que responderam a um portuguez a quem perguntaram se havia na India elephantes, e elle disse que sim e mansos e que trabalhavam, responderam que não podia ser que podiam os portuguezes muito, e fazer os ceus e os planetas etc., mas que não amançar elephantes.

De sorte que as cousas d'esta qualidade se castigam com muito rigor; os furtos nem mortes provados e vistas a olhos nem os adulterios se castigam de nenhuma maneira.

Se um deve ao outro alguma cousa que entre elles as mais é muito pouco especialmente se não é da mesma povoação ainda que seja de outra muito perto, não lh'o pede commummente mas chama os do seu logar e vae onde o outro tem algumas cabrinhas ou vacca e traz-lhe por um vinte e as mais vezes se fica com isso, e o outro vae a outro logar e toma tambem a soldo e livra (como dizem) como lhe a elle fizeram e diz "o tal me tomou as minhas cabras ou vaccas por isso vos tomo eu as vossas" e este vae ao outro onde melhor parado o acha e o outro a outro e assim se vae dobrando a cousa como aconteceu em meu tempo.

E por esta causa estam quasi todos mal uns com os outros, e ás feiras não se póde caminhar sem primeiro abrir os caminhos com dadivas e ainda assim se roubam porque a todos devem.

Tambem se acostuma entre elles se algum é accusado de algum crime nega e diz que não é tal verdade, que quer tomar com elle que o accusa o motro, que é peçonha que um official d'aquella cousa tem e então se parte aonde dizem que ha de dar o motro, que está já peitado d'ambos ou pelo menos do que falsamente accusa e depois de lhes dar de beber certas cousas para os preparar lhes dá a peçonha que leva em uma unha do dedo pollegar que tem muito comprida e toma a gamella de agua em que diz trazê-la e dá a beber ao que não quer matar agua pura e ao outro abaixa a unha e toca na agua e assim o mata e sua geração fica infame para sempre.

E esta cousa é muito usada entre elles e um irmão de el-rei e um sobrinho estiveram para o tomar porque cada um dizia do outro que era feiticeiro; trabalhei eu por o não fazerem, mas como é gente que nada fazem por virtude não creio que o deixaram de fazer pelo que lhes disse mas por medo ou por outra cousa.

Aos que advinham chamam sortes não chamam feiticeiros; mas

aos que dizem que o sam que as mais vezes sam a quem elles querem mal e algumas aos que mais simples e singelamente vivem; mas quasi nenhuma cousa fazem sem superstição e as mais d'ellas pestíferas que não se podem trazer á memoria sem muito grande fastio, e por esta razão deixo de as escrever.

Honram ao que chamam Muzimo, e pelos attributos que lhes dam parece ser o que os mouros e gentios chamam Nacibo, que é tanto como dita ou fortuna e assim dizem elles que é a dita de seus antepassados e que os favorece em suas cousas, s. que sejam bemquistos e lhes succedam bem as mercadorias.

E dizem que vem de noite este Mozimo estando dormindo e lhes pede de comer e elles lhes dam do que comem e bebem, s. lançando-lhes ao pé de uma arvore grande e verde.

E dizem que os Mozimos de uns matam a geração de outros quando elles lh'o requerem, e junto onde eu estava ameaçou um cafre a um xeque com o seu Mozimo se não fizesse tal cousa que o mataria, e de feito morreu quando o cafre disse.

Eu algum tempo tive que morreriam de imaginação muitos que só por serem ameaçados morrem, e assim mesmo que estes feiticeiros não tinham communicação com o demo mas que diziam o que lhes vinha á boca, segundo a rudeza e desordem e mentiras que dizem quando sam perguntados em cousas de seu mister.

Mas ora falem de si ora pelo demonio que se accomoda a suas compreições e rudezas, todavia eu era maravilhado de homens humanos crerem as impossibilidades e mentiras tam provadas e como estes lhes dizem tam cridas, e fazerem tam pouco caso das que sam conformes a toda a razão.

Tambem para suas advinhações matam frangos e ratos e olham as tripas e pelo vazio e cheio d'ellas julgam, e na agua e com outros instrumentos de seus cabaços tambem para saberem os furtos e as menos vezes acertam.

No demais dizem que não ha Deus nem paraizo nem inferno nem obras más nem boas, mas que tudo é indifferente, nem teem alma sómente a vida, depois que não fica nada d'elles.

Que tiveram um cafre grande que é pae de todos, e sua mulher era branca; mas isto creio que dizem porque veem que ha homens brancos e pretos, e os portuguezes lhes dizem que todos somos filhos de um pae e de uma mae, e por mais honra sua dizem que o pae era o preto.

Não ha entre elles nenhuma maneira de sujeição de vassalo a

rei nem subdito a senhor nem filho a pae; mas cada um faz o que quer.

Convidam uns aos outros algumas vezes a comer e beber mas é aos que lh'o ham de pagar tresdobrado que com quem o não tem nenhuma caridade usam e em sorte hora nasce o que pouco póde entre elles.

E um dos móres impedimentos que entre elles ha para se fructificar me parecia ser este, s. serem totalmente indomitos e indisciplinados, porque de nenhuma maneira soffrem reprehensão nem castigo, e por isso me vi entre elles em muitos perigos quando os reprehendia de seus abusos.

E uma vez me disseram da parte de el-rei que me queriam matar porque eu dissera que se elle não guardava a lei de Jesu etc., que havia de ir ao inferno onde havia de arder em fogo para todo o sempre, e a meu ver me achei então com animo e vontade preparado bastantemente para padecer por Christo.

Outras vezes me cercaram muitos d'elles com suas armas com que me chegavam até muito perto dos olhos e d'ahi não passaram, outros diziam a altas vozes matemol-o com flecha ou queimemos-lhe a casa e a elle, e isto com grande furia; mas parece que não estava eu ainda de vez como o padre D. Gonçalo que está na gloria.

Todavia creio não ser nunca vencido do temor por estas ameaças para que os deixasse de reprehender muito livremente de suas superstições e ainda ao rei de uma maneira que os seus se espantavam do que lhe eu dizia e temiam achar-se presentes n'aquelle tempo.

E mais o fiz dizer que era verdade que não dava chuva com que se creavam as novidades, que sua mór excellencia que os reis teem e a causa porque ham mais proveito de seus subditos, e ainda quasi toda a causa de algum respeito se lh'o teem é porque creem que elle lhes dá a agua e lh'a póde tirar quando quizer e elle quando os ameaça diz que lhes não dará agua.

Mas isto foi a tempo que eu era tido por mais sabedor feiticeiro e mór que entre elles havia e não ousou negar-me o que lhe pareceu que eu sabia por via porém de feiticeiro e os seus que eu levei por tantas para os tirar a elles e os demais d'este error. Emquanto estavam se maravilhavam e assim os que d'elles o ouviam e assim os feiticeiros me temiam e se envergonhavam diante de mim; mas estes cuidavam que eu advinhava pelos

livros, porque não cahem na maneira como se entende o que n'elles se contem, e um d'elles me dava pelo breviario um escravo.

Outros provavam ser eu o mais feiticeiro por minha antiguidade porque como entre elles não sam os homens brancos até cento ou mais annos e a sêl-o chegavam poucos porque a terra é enferma, e vêr-me a mim tam branco julgavam ser eu de muitos annos e viver por feitiços e conservar as forças de os poder aturar ainda aos mais mancebos caminhando todo o dia quando eram assaz grandes calmas, a gente mais simples dizia que se eu tam velho era tam rijo que faria sendo moço.

Lembro-me agora que acabando de dizer missa um dia me mandou dizer el-rei que queria consultar com os feiticeiros que m'o fazia saber. Respondi que o não fizesse porque era cousa em que Deus muito se offendia.

Todavia mandou elle aos feiticeiros, primeiro que consultasse com elles, que buscassem os feitiços e feiticeiros que havia na terra. Acimo digo que estes a quem eu chamo não sam os que elles teem por taes, mas chamam-n'os *songos* que quer dizer sabedores ou advinhos e aos que estes nomeiam por feiticeiros esses sam tidos por taes. E o que achavam segundo o sube de um cafrinho christão que estava comigo eram cousas que elles mesmos encondem de noite ou tambem traziam comsigo e jogando de certo passapassa que entre elles ha ainda que é um pouco grosseiro e o poem no logar em casa onde querem e dizem que tal ou tal pessoa o poz alli e usa d'elle para matar os homens, as quaes cousas são pedaços de couro, de cornos, de pannos, cabellos e de cousas semelhantes, que dizem que sam peçonha.

Estiveram dois dias em buscar a terra acompanhados sempre de gente armada por mais seguros entrarem onde quizessem, mas eu os não deixei entrar na casa onde dizia missa, ainde que muito porfiaram.

\* \* \* \* \*

Os juramentos d'esta gente commumente sam tomar a terra na mão e levantál-a junto da boca e assoprar-lhe, ou fogo, digo que assoprando qualquer d'estas cousas a deixam cahir.

Outro mais solemne costume que teem mas este não jura ninguem senão quando el-rei o manda, que é no seu atabaque grande da guerra que quando o tange ouve-se tres ou quatro leguas.

Este juramento se dá por esta maneira. Põe-se o que ha de jurar em gíolhos diante do atabaque e fala com elle como se ouvisse e diz-lhe: "A mim me dam juramentos por tal cousa se a eu fiz tu me mata, mas se não, não queiras que sem razão moura," e põe lhe a mão no couro, e beija uma vez antes que jure e outra depois.

E dizem que os que juram mentira que morrem, por onde me parece que entre elles pode muito a imaginação, e o mais bacharel d'elles todos a quem eu disse que aquillo não podia matar porque era páu e couro d'animal morto, respondeu-me que ainda que assim fosse todavia elle matava.

Este juramento como digo não n'ó dá el-rei senão a seus familiares porque os mais duvida-se quererão pôr-se a perigo segundo tanto é evidente.

Entre esta bemdita gente andei alguns mezes mais de dois annos e se eu tivera alento para santo certo ficára e muito bem terso mas o meu sugeito não deu de si a disposição que convinha para me ajudar de tantas e tam boas occasiões e tanto perdi.

Mas vindo ao caso; quasi sempre morri de fome, porque ainda os outros trabalhos se sentiam. A fome carregava mais, especialmente seis mezes ou mais que quasi de todo me falleceu, ou tinha tam pouco que se um dia havia uma pouca de carne que ás vezes era de vinte em vinte dias ou quinze, não comia este dia senão uma vez e pouco e pouco e jejuava a vespera d'elle e a oitava.

E isto nos primeiros dois ou tres mezes até que se me acabou aquillo que tinha, s. castiças e um pé de uma cruz que tinha de cobre e parte do fato em que me agasalhava e então comecei a fazer mais prisão e não comia mais que uma vez ao dia e se me achava á noite muito fraco comia algum bocado não porém pão nem carne mas de certa sevandilha ou legumes que ha entre elles a mais ruim a meu apetite que pudera ser, e ainda que eu quizera não podia tomar d'elle senão muito pouco porque era cada dia um bolo não grande.

Eram n'este tempo meus visinhos dois sobrinhos d'el-rei dos melhores homens da terra e começaram a entrar na minha choça duas gallinhas ou tres para pôrem; pedi-lhes eu então que houvessem por bem que eu comesse os ovos que ellas puzessem na minha estancia e que lhes pagaria quando pudesse.

Fizeram-n'ó elles com boa vontade e comia cada dia um e ás

vezes mais e foram me muito bons em uma enfermidade que tive que assados com um pouco de sal achava-os muito bons.

Tambem houve por um certo partido um pouco de leite, que ás vezes era menos que uma d'essas malgas, outras vezes alguma cousa mais, e andava já tam acostumado a pouco mantimento que quasi não sentia nunca fome sómente que dormia mal e doia-me a cabeça.

E algumas vezes me aq̄udiam com algumas aboboras e outras fruitas do matto, porque o tempo não era para mais nem elles me faziam menos que a seus parentes, e el-rei que me pudera emprestar alguma cousa, não quiz; mas eu fiquei consolado porque confiei já que o rei da terra me fallecia o da gloria me sustentaria como fez por sua bondade e ao tempo conveniente me soccorreu de todo, trazendo alli um meu amigo que me desempenhou dos ovos e leite.

E demais todavia eu estava já muito fraco e não pudera andar mais a pé que meia legua, andando antes sete e oito e mais.

Tive n'este tempo algumas enfermidades mas eram febres tam brandas que não me davam muito trabalho e por bondade do Senhor nenhuma tristeza nem queixume tive de ninguem, mas tam alegre que agora me maravilho.

E um dia me veiu ao pensamento se morresse quem me enterraria, porque elles como digo não costumam a quem não teem muita obrigação.

Lembrou-me que faria primeiro a cova ao pé de uma arca em que dormia e se a quizessem abrir para tomar o que estava dentro, que valia muito pouco, que abrindo-a me lançariam na cova, e assim ficaria, e fiquei bem satisfeito com este remedio.

No demais como digo sempre fui muito alegre e consolado e tenho para mim que o não fora tanto se tivera abundancia, somente sentia não serem os christãos como deviam; mas não afrouxava de os amoestar no que me parecia cumprir-lhes, ainda que via que aproveitava pouco.

E por esta razão e por ter cartas da obediencia me vim ainda que o rei não quizera; mas ter-me por seu captivo (se se atrevera) que nem elle nem os seus se queriam ajudar de mim em nada do que para bem de suas almas lhe pudera ser bom; mas antes dizia que se havia de estar em sua terra que não havia de ensinar a doutrina christã, ao que lhe respondi que eu não tinha outra mercadoria senão ensinar-lhe a lei de Deus seu Creador se a

queriam acceitar quando não que a obediencia a que eu havia de obedecer antes que a elle com a condição que queria, me mandava retirar e assim me vim, porque estava já prestes a embarcação para me partir. Não me alargo mais somente que de então até agora tive em refazer as forças d'antes, e quasi perdi todos ou alguma parte dos sentidos e em todos senti diminuição; mas fui aqui tam bem pensado que já estou para partir logo agora.

Nosso Senhor seja com todos que me dá muita pressa o padre Balthazar Dias que nos vamos, que me acompanha até á embarcação.

Indigno irmão que a todos em Christo ama,

ANDRÉ FERNANDES.

De Goa a 5 de dezembro de 1562.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Letter from the Father ANDRÉ FERNANDES to the Brothers and Fathers of the Society of Jesus in Portugal.*

The grace and love of the Holy Ghost be ever in our hearts. Amen.

I am commanded by obedience to write this letter to you, to give you an account of the customs of the people of the land in which I was and of whatever may tend to the consolation of all, and though I am unprepared for the task I will set down what occurs to my memory.

In the first place that kingdom of Inhambane seems to be below Capricorn on the southern side. It is extremely hot in the presence of the sun, but very cold in its absence. Near the sea shore there is sufficient rain, but it becomes less the farther you get from the shore.

Some years none of the crops grow, on account of drought, and then they live upon meat which they procure by hunting, especially elephants, and upon wild fruits, which some years are very plentiful and sometimes very bad. Otherwise their provisions are only beans and millet, such as is eaten in Lombardy, though it is of better quality there. Where there is rain millet is abundant, but where there is less rain it is very scarce, so that they generally live on what I have said.

All the people are poor, and usually dress in the skins of



animals, chiefly hides tied round the waist with a cord, which they make of the bark of trees ; some who are richer and trade with the Portuguese tie a piece of cloth before and at the back with the same cord, and those who are still richer gird themselves with a piece of cloth from the waist downwards. The upper part of their body is always naked. Though so poor they are very proud, and each one seems a king of the woods. They are very strong, and light and agile in pursuing an elephant until they have killed it, for though it seems a heavy animal it can run very well, especially if hunted in the morning before it has eaten and drunk, for after this it is heavier and therefore the time they prefer to hunt it. Among other ways of killing the elephants the following is the most usual. The hunters, generally about twenty and upwards, with the most skilful as leader, having found a herd of elephants, the leader speaks to them as if they could understand, saying, "Ho there! you are at your ease, but here is Inhacungo (who is the most famous of them all, and whose guest I was) determined to kill as many of you as he can, so just wait awhile."

Some pursue those which try to escape, and some carefully await those which are braver and rush upon them, and when they are close the hunters leap aside and strike at their feet as they pass with a weapon like that which is used in the slaughter house, only larger, and as they are large animals, at the least wound in their feet their weight breaks them and they fall. In the onslaught made by the elephants the hunters are often caught and trampled to pieces, unless they are very dextrous. When the elephants which try to escape grow tired, they turn upon the hunter and are killed in the same way.

They also make an enclosure of large branches in a convenient place, and from one of the trees of this enclosure a piece of wood about two ells in length hangs by a rope, one end of the wood is of a convenient thickness, and in a hole at the other end they put a thin sharp piece of wood full of the herb called black hellebore, and the rope which holds the wood is made fast to other pieces of wood on the ground arranged in what we call a snare, so that as soon as the elephant put its foot upon them, the rope is loosed and the piece of wood above strikes it with force and wounds it with the poisoned stake in the spine, and if the elephant does not fall at once it does not go far.

Rhinoceroses are also killed by these snares, and are said to be the wildest animals of all, and one fell into a snare close to the place where I was.

There are also many tigers and panthers and some lions, and all sorts of antelopes, and in various parts many of the people live on the prey which these animals kill and leave, I mean the lions and tigers.

These people are much given to the pleasures of singing and playing. Their instruments are many gourds bound together with cords, and a piece of wood bent like a bow, some large and some small, and to the openings in which they fasten trumpets with the wax of wild-honey to improve the sound, and they have their treble and bass instruments, &c.

At night they serenade the king and anyone who has made them a present, and he who makes the most noise is accounted the best musician.

Their songs are generally in praise of him to whom they are singing, as "this is a good man, he gave me this or that, and will give me more."

Two songs are in common use among them, one is "Abenezaganbuia," which means that the Portuguese eat many things at the same time, or many different dishes, for they never eat of more than one thing at a time, and they never eat and drink at the same time, not from temperance, but from habit.

Sometimes they have drinking feasts which last three or four days, during which they eat nothing. Their wine is made from the fruit of the thickets; and of all their provisions they make some kind of drink, of which they are very fond, and one of them will drink more than three Germans.

The other song is: "Gombe zuco virato ambuze capana virato," which means, the cow has leather for shoes and the goat has no leather for shoes; not because they wear shoes, for they all go barefoot unless the soles of their feet are sore, and they have to walk among prickly undergrowth, then they make soles of cow-hide and fasten them beneath their feet with straps.

Their dance represents all the actions of warfare, as surrounding the enemy, being surrounded, open warfare, conquering, being conquered, taking wood and water by force, and everything else which can occur in war, all very appropriately expressed.

Their dress for this feast is finer than for any other, for on this occasion they have skins of animals rather narrow with the tails attached, and these they tie round them so that when they twirl round on one foot, which they do with great lightness, the tails fly out in a large circle, and when one or two advance out of the ranks, they fly out with marvellous lightness and throw the sand into the air with their feet to such a height that it is hardly credible by those who have not seen it. This they also do directly a great man dies.

They are great eaters of meat and other things, but especially meat, ten of them can eat a whole cow.

Marriages are a matter of sale and barter, for a woman is worth as much as a cow, and when they please they can dissolve the marriage, refunding the price of the woman. One man can marry many wives at the same time, the relationship of parent and children and brothers and sisters being the only impediment to their intercourse.

To make the women chaste, they have been taught from ancient times that if any woman in these parts did what she ought not that both herself and children and even her relations would die, and to prevent this, when any evil has been committed, which very often happens, they do the most unspeakable things, and when they are done think themselves secure.

If anyone sins with a woman and then wishes to have her, she is willingly delivered to him if he will pay what she costs. They make use of the same evil customs abovesaid when anyone dies, to drive away the infection from the family, which being such as they are I will not mention.

No one knows when one of them dies, nor is his place of burial made known except to his parents, children, brothers and sisters, or nearest relations. One of the chief reasons for this secrecy is that they may not be cut off from intercourse with the others, as persons bringing death with them.

Every death and illness is laid to the charge of something else, and to discover what the illness may be they cast lots with small shells stuck at the back with the wax of black wasps, and these show good or bad omens like dice, and when many are thrown the divination is more difficult than with few, and certain officials are appointed for this purpose.

When any one is ill, he commands the lots to be cast, having

previously paid or promised to do so, to find out from what illness he is suffering, and the lots declare that his illness is caused by cooking his food in an old pot, sleeping on an old mat, or touching something belonging to the dead.

The cause of the illness being made known, the invalid again causes lots to be cast to discover what will cure him. He chooses any tree or herb, and if the lots declare that it is not good he chooses another, until the answer is favourable.

The herb or leaves are then procured and trampled under foot, and with the juice mixed with water they bathe the affected part, or the whole body, and the things in the house which have been pointed out as the source of the illness.

They have other ways of curing themselves, so monstrous that I do not mention them. Generally when anyone dies, they consult certain wizards of the country who enjoy great credit, to learn who killed their parents or relations.

The most famous of these divine by scent like bloodhounds, following the trail and smelling a tuft of long bristles, which I think are those of the onagra or wild ass, which are very numerous in this country; sometimes they place these bristles on the ground and then put them to their noses and so divine in what house there are spells, why the deceased was killed, and how, all of which are great lies and absolutely impossible, some being laughable, of which I will relate several that happened in my time.

This king was told by a wizard whom he consulted upon the death of a son and daughter, that the son was killed by certain men treading in his foot-prints, and that a neighbour of mine killed the daughter, because seeing her outside in a state of perspiration, she wiped it off and carried it into her house together with the dust and dirt off her face, and this was the cause of her death. For this they put my poor neighbour to death, and on my admonishing the king for so doing, he replied that it was his law to obey the wizard or he would be held guilty of his children's death.

They told a nephew of the king that his daughter died because one of her uncles wore a piece of cloth which had been wet with her urine when she was still a babe at the breast.

Another whose wife borrowed a pot from another woman was told that the pot brought death with it, and was the cause of the

death of one of his sons, and she who lent it was made to pay for it with a son of her own.

Another whose wife left him was said to have died from that cause, and he who afterwards married her was sentenced to pay for it, which he did with a boy, for they would not have a female because she might bear children, and they gave the child the dead man's name, though usually in these cases they will not take a male because they are expensive, but the females work, but these demands are called *milandos* among them, and are decided as follows:—

The father or mother of the deceased, or such person who has the right, having heard from the wizard who was responsible for the death, goes to the king, carrying him a present which is called a "mouth," because if it is not sufficient to content him he says: "I have ears to hear you, but you have no mouth to speak to me." The suitor then returns for more gifts until the king is satisfied and appoints judges for a certain day. Both parties come with gifts to the place where the said judges are assembled with the people generally under a tree, and with a gesture of the hand they lay down what they have brought, and here it again happens as with the king,—the judges cannot hear till they have spoken with the mouth abovesaid.

First the plaintiff begins to speak loud enough, with pauses and very slowly, and at each word or pause another, who is also paid, chimes in louder and says *deco*, which is equivalent to "so it is" or "well said," and this *deco* serves both plaintiff and defendant (who is always condemned) to state the case, and though nothing is ever said for the plaintiff which could by any means seem possible, the favour of the judges always gives judgment for him, as if the matter was the most certain thing on earth.

Thus among them everything impossible is believed, and what is reasonable is denied, and I am told that a Portuguese whom they had asked if there were elephants in India and who replied that there were tame elephants there who could work, was answered by them that it could not possibly be, that the Portuguese could do many things such as make the skies and planets, &c., but that they could not tame an elephant.

So that things of this sort are severely punished, but robbery, murders seen and proved by eye-witnesses, and adulteries are not punished in any way.

If one owes another anything, which among them is very little at most, especially if they are not of the same village, even though they may be quite near each other, they do not ask for their own, but call together those of their village, and seek some place where the other has goats or cattle, and carry off twenty for one, and generally manage to keep possession of them. The other goes to the other village and retaliates in the same manner as the former did to him, saying "such a one took my goats or cows and so I have taken yours." The other again retaliates wherever he sees the best opportunity, and thus they go on doubling the amount, as has happened in my time.

Thus they are almost always at variance with each other, and cannot repair to the markets without first opening the way with gifts, and thus they rob each other because they are all in each other's debt.

It is also their custom, if any be accused of a crime, for him to deny it and say that such is not the case, and they will take the motro, which is a certain poison, with their accuser, and there is one whose office it is to administer it. Then they assemble at the place appointed for administering the motro, the officer in charge of it having been previously bribed by both parties, or at least by the false accuser, and after giving them certain things to drink he administers the poison which he carries in his thumb-nail, which they wear very long; and he takes the bowl of water, which is supposed to contain it, and gives pure water to him he wishes to save, but dips his nail in the water before presenting it to the other, who dies of the poison, and his descendants are held in infamy ever after.

This is frequently practised among them. A brother and a nephew of the king were about to take the poison because each accused the other of being a wizard; I endeavoured to dissuade them, but as these people do nothing from virtue, I do not think that this was the cause of their desisting, but rather fear or some other motive.

Those who practise divination are called soothsayers, not wizards, and those whom they accuse as wizards are generally those against whom they have some ill-will, and sometimes those who live singly and simply. But they do scarcely anything without superstitious practices, most of them so foul that they

cannot be called to mind without loathing, for which reason I do not set them down.

They honour a god they call Muzimo, who by the attributes ascribed to him seems to be the same as the god the Moors and heathens call Nacibo, which is the same as Luck or Fortune, thus they say he is the luck of their forefathers and favours them in their undertakings, namely that they may be well-liked and successful with their merchandise.

They say that this Mozimo comes at night when they are asleep to ask for food, and they give him food and drink by placing it at the foot of a great green tree.

They say that the Mozimos of one can kill the family of another when they require it of them, and near the place where I was, a Kaffir threatened a chief with his Mozimo, saying that if he did not do a certain thing he would kill him, and the chief did eventually die at the time the Kaffir said.

At one time I thought that they died by force of imagination, for some die simply from being threatened, and also that these wizards had no dealings with the devil, but simply said whatever came into their heads, judging from their crude and disconnected sayings and the lies they tell when they are questioned on any matter pertaining to their business.

But they sometimes speak of themselves, and sometimes by the demon, who accommodates himself to the rudeness of their comprehension, nevertheless I was amazed that human beings could lend credence to the patent impossibilities and lies which they tell them, and so disregard what is conformable to all reason.

For their divinations they kill fowls and mice and examine the intestines, judging from their emptiness or fullness; they also use water and other instruments of their gourds to discover robberies, but their sentence is oftener wrong than not.

For the rest they say there is neither God nor paradise nor hell, nor good and evil deeds, but that nothing is of importance, nor have they any soul, but only this life, and nothing to follow it.

They say that there was a great Kaffir, the father of all men, whose wife was white; but I think they say this because they see that men are both black and white, and the Portuguese have told them that we are all sons of one father and mother,

and for their own honour they say that it was the father who was black.

There is no sort of subjection among them, such as vassal to king, or son to father, but every one does as he likes.

They sometimes invite each other to eat and drink, but only those who can repay them threefold, for they show no charity to those who have nothing, whence it arises that I could do but little among them.

One of the chief impediments against their yielding fruit seems to me to be their total want of discipline and yoke, for they will by no means endure admonition or punishment, and from this cause I have often been in great danger in their midst when I admonished them for their excesses.

Once they brought me word from the king that he wished me to be put to death, because I said that if he did not keep the law of Jesus, &c., that he must go to hell and burn in flames for ever, and I think I was then sufficiently prepared with will and courage to suffer for Christ.

Another time they surrounded me with their arms, which they put near to my eyes, but no farther, others cried aloud, "kill him with arrows, or let us burn him in his house," and all this with great fury, but it seems that I was not then to share the fate of Father Dom Gonçalo, who is in glory.

Nevertheless I do not think I was ever overcome with terror by their threats, so as to desist from boldly reprehending them for their superstitions, even the king himself, in such a manner that his people were alarmed at what I said and feared to be present at the time.

Further I made him own that he did not give the rain that causes the crops to prosper, and that the chief excellence which kings possess is the advantage derived from their subjects, and that almost the only cause of such respect as they had for him was that they thought he had power to give them water and could deprive them of it at his will, and when he wishes to threaten them he says he will give them no water.

But this was at a time when I was considered a greater magician and sage than any among them; and he did not dare to deny what he thought I knew through sorcery, and I treated his wizards for what they were worth, in order to draw them and the rest from their errors, so that they marvelled at me and so



did those who heard of it from them; but they thought that I practised divination from books, not knowing how it is possible to understand what they contain, and one offered me a slave for my breviary.

Others proved me to be the greatest wizard on account of my age, for among them men do not grow grey until they are a hundred or more, an age to which few attain, the climate being so unhealthy. And seeing my hair so white they thought I must be extremely old, and kept myself alive by witchcraft, being still strong enough to keep pace even with the youngest of them in walking all day in the midst of great heat, and the most simple among the people said that if I was so strong in my old age what must I have been in my youth.

I remember now that once when I had just finished saying Mass, the king sent word that he wished to consult the wizards and sent to let me know of it. I replied that he ought not to do it, for it was a thing which gave great offence to God.

Nevertheless he sent for the wizards, bidding them seek all the bewitching matter and wizards in the country before he consulted them. I have said before that those whom I call wizards are not those to whom they give that name, but rather call them *songos*, which means sages or soothsayers, and those which these latter accuse of being wizards are considered as such. And the things they discover, as I learned from a little Christian Kaffir, are what they themselves have hidden in the night or bring with them and place in some part of the house by means of a sort of rude jugglery common among them. And then they say it was placed there by such or such a one, and that he uses it to kill other people, these things being pieces of hide, horns, cloth, hair, and other similar things which they say are poison.

They went about for two days always accompanied by armed men, that they might more securely enter wherever they liked, but I did not let them enter the house in which I say Mass, though they insisted on it strongly.

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The usual oaths of these people are to take earth or fire in their hands, raise it to their mouths and blow upon it, and having blown upon it they drop it.

There is another more solemn form of oath, which is only used at the command of the king, and this is to swear by the king's

great war drum, which when they play upon it is heard at a distance of three or four leagues.

This oath is administered in the following manner; He who is to swear places himself on his knees before the drum and speaks to it as if it could understand, saying "An oath is administered to me for such or such a cause, if I am guilty kill me, but if not, do not let me die for nothing," and then he places his hand on the hide and kisses it once before the oath and once after it.

They say that those who swear falsely die, from whence I judge that the force of imagination is very great among them, and the most talkative among them, to whom I said that this could not kill because it was wood and the hide of a dead animal, replied that though that might be, it killed nevertheless.

This oath, as I have said, is not administered by the king to any but his familiars, for it is doubtful if any others would be willing to expose themselves to such evident peril.

Among these fortunate people I dwelt for two years and some months, and certainly if I had the strength to be a saint I should have become so in a short time, but I have not in myself such dispositions as are fitted to assist me in profiting by so many good opportunities which I lost.

But to come to the point, I almost died of hunger, for though other hardships were felt, hunger was the worst, especially for six months or more, during which I wanted for everything, or had so little that if one day I had a little meat, which sometimes was only every twenty or fifteen days, I only ate once that day, and very little, and fasted on the eve of it and all the octave.

This was for two or three months, until all that I had was gone, which was candlesticks and the foot of a copper cross which I had and part of my clothing. After this I began to be more sparing and only ate once a day, and if I felt very weak at night I ate a few mouthfuls not of bread or meat but a sort of caterpillar or of vegetables of this country, the worst thing possible to my taste, and though I had wished it I could not have had more than a little, having only a small cake of it every day.

My neighbours at this time were two nephews of the king, some of the best men in the country, and two or three hens began to come into my hut to lay, and I asked them to let me have the eggs which they laid on my premises and I would pay for them when I could. They willingly agreed to it, and I ate

one and sometimes more every day, and they were very good for me in an illness which I had, and I found them very good roasted with salt.

From another quarter I had a little milk, generally less than a porringer full, sometimes a little more, and I was already so accustomed to little food that I hardly felt hunger, but I slept badly and my head pained me.

Sometimes they brought me gourds and other fruits of the thicket, for the season yielded nothing else, and their relations fared no better than I did, and the king, who might have lent me something, refused to do so; but I consoled myself, having confidence that though the king of the earth failed me, the king of glory would sustain me, as he did, by his goodness, and succoured me with all things necessary at a fitting time, bringing thither one of my friends who paid my debts for the eggs and milk.

Nevertheless I was very weak and could not walk farther than half a league, whereas before I could walk seven or eight and more.

During this time I had some illnesses, but they were mild fevers and did not cause me much suffering, and by the goodness of our Lord I suffered no sadness, nor did I complain, but felt so happy that now I marvel at it.

One day the thought came to me that if I died there would be none to bury me, for as I have said they only bury those to whom they are bound. I thought that I would dig a grave at the foot of the chest on which I slept, so that if they tried to open it to take what was inside it, which was of small value, in opening it they would cast me into the grave, and I was satisfied with this remedy.

In everything else, as I have said, I was happy and found consolation, only I grieved that the Christians were not what they ought to be, and never desisted from admonishing them in what I thought their duty, although I saw it was of little avail.

For this reason, and having received letters of obedience, I left the place, though the king was unwilling and would have kept me as his captive had he dared, though neither himself nor his people would assist me in anything that could profit them for the good of their souls, but rather he said that if I was to remain in his land I must not teach the Christian doctrine, to which I

replied that I had no other business than to teach him the law of God his Creator if he would accept it, but if not that obedience to those to whom I owed it before him commanded me under such conditions to retire, and so I came away because the vessel in which I was to travel was ready to start. I shall say no more, but that from that time to this I have been recruiting my former strength, for I had lost all or part of my faculties and felt them all diminished; but I have been so well cared for here that I am now ready to start.

Our Lord be with all. Father Balthazar Dias is hurrying me to start, for he accompanies me to the ship.

An unworthy brother who loves you all in Christ,

ANDRÉ FERNANDES.

Goa, 5th of December 1562.

## NAUFRAGIO

DA

## NAO S. THOMÈ

*Na terra dos Fumos, no Anno de 1589.\**

GOVERNANDO o Estado da India Manoel de Souza Coutinho, partio de Còchim Estevaõ da Veiga na Nao S. Thomè em Janeiro de 1589, e tomou a derròta por fóra dos Baixos, e hindo demandar a Ilha de Diogo Rodrigues, que està em vinte grãos do Sul, onde lhe deo o vento Suèste taõ rijo, que logo alevantou os màres de feiçãõ que hindo correndo a Nao à vontade do vento, com o trapear que fez, abrio por proa pela botecadura, por onde lançando fóra a estopa do calafeto começou a fazer alguma agoa, a que logo acodiraõ, e remedeãraõ muito bem; e abonançandolhe o vento foraõ sua derròta athè a altura da Ponta da Ilha de S. Lourenço, em altura de vinte e seis grãos, de noventa para cem legoas da terra, onde tornou a abrir outra agoa em mayor quantidade, que a primeira, por outro lugar mais perigoso, que foy por popa abaixo das escoas às primeiras picas, onde he mais difficultoso de se ella tomar, que em toda a outra parte: e acodindo os Officiaes, despejãraõ a Nao por aquella parte, e deraõ com a agoa, que era muito grossa, por cuspir as estopas, e as pastas de chumbo, que se pregãraõ por cima, o que tudo nasceo do calafeto, por cuja causa se perdem muitas Naos, no que se tem muito pouco resguardo, e os Officiaes muito pouco escrupulo, como se naõ ficassem à sua conta tantas vidas, e tantas fazendas como se mêtêm nestas Naos.

Achada a agoa viraõ que era hum torno tamanho, que se hum Official metia a maõ a força della lha tornava a rebater para fóra. E porque se naõ podia tomar sem cortarem as picas, o fizeraõ contra o parecer de muitos; e todavia tendo cortadas algumas, tornãraõ a sobrestar, por ser aquelle lugar o em que se fecha toda a Nao, e nella naõ hia pregadura para se tornar a remediar,

\* This narrative was prepared in 1611, at the request of Dona Anna de Lima, by Diogo do Couto, who was then Keeper of the Archives of India. He was one of the shipwrecked party.

porque as mais, ou todas estas Naos andaõ a Deos misericordia, por pouparem quatro cruzados; e com facas, prègos grandes, e outras couzas entupîraõ o melhor que pudereõ aquelle lugar, e com muitos saquinhos de arroz, que metèraõ entre as picas e liames para que fizessem pegamaço, ordenandolhe por cima huma area que sustentasse estes saquinhos de arroz para baixo, e os naõ pudesse a agoa suspender.

Com isto ficàraõ alguma couza alliviados, e a agoa começou a ser menos na bomba, e assim foraõ seguindo seo caminho com bom tempo athè altura de trinta e dois grãos e meyo do Sul, cento e sincoenta legoas da Bahia da Alagoa, e oitenta da mais chegada terra do Natal. Nesta paragem lhe saltou o vento ao Ponente da parte do Suduèste, sendo já onze dias de Março; com o que tomàraõ as vèlas, ficando só os papafigos, com que se fizeraõ na vòlta do Norte, e com o trabalho do vento, e dos màres, a agoa a abrir pelo mesmo lugar taõ apressada, que em pouco espaço havia já seis palmos no poraõ, e toda a gente se meteo em grande revòlta, e se começou a alijar ao mar todas as couzas do convès, para ficarem as escotilhas lèstes; e com os aldròpes das bombas nas mãos, sem descançarem, passàraõ toda a noite, e sendo já mais dous palmos de agoa, q̄ cresceo sobre o lastro do poraõ começou a cobrir as pipas, e o pào preto, que por cima já andavaõ nadando de bordo a bordo, dando no costado da Nao tamanhas pancadas, que abalava toda a Nao. E porque a agoa crescia, atravessàraõ os Officiaes algumas entenas por cima das escotilhas da popa, e de proa, pelas quaes ordenàraõ muitos barrís de seis almudes, que desciaõ, e sobiaõ com facilidade, aos quaes se repartiraõ todos os da Nao, sem haver excepção de pessoa, sendo D. Paulo de Lima, que nella hia com sua mulher, o primeiro, e assim Bernardim de Carvalho, o Capitaõ Estevaõ da Veiga, Gregorio Botelho sogro de Guterre de Monroy, que levava alli sua filha para seo marido, que estava no Reyno, e outros cavalheiros, e Religiosos que na Nao hiaõ, que todos de dia e de noite trabalhàraõ nas bombas e aldròpes dos Barrís, sem se apartarem delles, nem para comer; porque os Padres andavaõ pelo convès com biscouto, conservas, e agoa, consolando a todos, assim corporal, como espiritualmente. E com toda esta diligencia a agoa era cada vez mais, com o que se determinàraõ a hir buscar a terra no mais perto, para vararem nella, para onde viràraõ com o Traquete de proa e Cevadeira, e naõ ouzàraõ de bolir na vèla

grande ; por não largarem os aldròpes e bombas das mãos, porque qualquer espaço, que o fizeraõ, bastàra para se sumergirem.

E hindo demandar a terra, sendo já catorze de Março, se acabou de encher o poraõ de agoa, e as bombas de se entupir com a pimenta, que foy ao poraõ, por onde já deixavaõ de laborar, e os homens a descorçoar ; mas aquelles Fidalgos, Religiosos, e Cavalheiros honrados, com grande coração e animo trabalhando sempre, esforçavaõ os mais ao trabalho, persuadindo a não largarem os aldròpes das mãos, porque isso os sustentava. Os Officiaes gastàraõ aquelle dia em desentupir as bombas, forrando os trèpes com folha de flandes por se não tornarem a empaxar. E porque tambem era necessario alijarem ao mar tudo o que pudessem, encomendàraõ este negocio a certas pessoas, que foraõ deitando todas as riquezas, e louçainhas, de que a Nao hia requissima, ganhado tudo com tanto suor de huns, e com tanto encargo de outros.

Ao outro dia, que foraõ quinze do mez, estava já a cuberta de sobre o poraõ chea de agoa, e o vento era Suduèste, e de quando em quando vinha com huns salseiros de agoa muito rijos, que lhe davaõ outro trabalho de novo. Emfim tudo era contra elles, athè o lème da Nao deixou de governar, por cuja causa ella ficou atravessada, sem vèlas, por serem todas rotas, não acodindo os da Nao a nada, por não largarem as bombas das mãos, porque nisso estava algum remedio, se o havia. Toda esta noite passàraõ com grandes trabalhos, e desconsoleçoens, porque tudo quanto viaõ lhe representava a morte ; porque por baixo viraõ a Nao chea de agoa, por cima o Ceo conjurado contra todos, porque athè elle se lhe encobrio com a mayor cerração e escuridade que se vio. O ar assobiava de todas as partes, que parecia lhe estava bràdando, morte, morte ; e não bastando a agoa que por baixo lhe entrava, e de cima, que o Ceo lançava sobre elles, parecia, que os queria alagar com outro diluvio. Dentro na Nao tudo o que se ouvia eraõ suspiros, gemidos, gritos, prantos, e misericordias, que se pediaõ a Deos, que parecia, que por alguns peccados de alguns que hiaõ naquella Nao, estava irado contra elles.

Ao outro dia em amanhecendo, que se viraõ todos sem nenhum remedio, tratàraõ de lançar o batel ao mar, para o que foy necessario largar os barrís para se abrir a Nao, na qual entre as cubertas, parecia que andavaõ todos os espiritos danados, com o estrondo das couzas que nadavaõ, e davaõ humas nas outras, e

que corriaõ de bordo a bordo, de maneira que aos que abaixo desciaõ se lhes representava o ultimo juizo. Os Officiaes, e outros homens deraõ pressa ao concerto do batel, a que fizeraõ suas arrombadas, e o que lhe mais pareceo necessario para a viagem, o que tudo se fez com grande trabalho pelos grandes balanços que a Nao dava, por andarem os màres cruzados, os quaes lhes entravaõ pelo Portalò, que estava aberto, para por elle alijarem tudo ao mar; o que era causa de se acabar de alagar a Nao. Jà neste tempo hiaõ governando ao Noroeste, porque se fazia o Piloto muito perto da terra, e assim o estavaõ tanto, que aquelle dia ao por do Sol affirmou hum Marinheiro, que a vira, e bradou de cima da Gàvea: Terra, terra. E por naõ saber o Piloto se naquella parte haveria Arrecifes, onde se a Nao encalhasse, e se perdessem todos, pareceo-lhe bem desviar-se, e governar ao Nordeste, para como fosse de dia a hir demandar, para se poder salvar toda a gente, que toda aquella noite passou na mayor afflicçaõ de espirito, e no mayor trabalho do corpo, que se podia imaginar.

Ao outro dia, tanto que amanheceo, naõ viraõ terra, e lançaõ o batel ao mar com muito trabalho, porque hindo no ar sobre os aparelhos, se lançaõ os homens a elle como doudos, sem D. Paulo de Lima, que se tinha metido dentro com huma espada na mãõ, lhe poder valer, porque se quiz segurar dos Marinheiros, que se naõ fossem nelle, e o deixassem; e sem embargo de cutiladas, e crisadas, que se deraõ em muitos muy despiadosamente, naõ deixou de se lançar nelle tanta gente, que em chegando ao mar se houvera de soçobrar; e com muito trabalho tornou D. Paulo de Lima a fazer sobir alguns para cima, promettendolhes, que todos os que coubessem, se haviaõ de salvar nelle. E ficando o batel em bom estado, se foy pôr por popa da Nao para tomar pela varanda as mulheres, que alli hiaõ, os Religiosos, e os homens Fidalgos, porque a Nao dava grandes balanços, e houveraõ medo que metesse o batel no fundo; afastouse hum pouco para fóra, e dalli se deo ordem para que as mulheres se amarrassem em peças de caça, pelas quaes dependuradas as calavaõ abaixo; e o batel chegava a tomallas, mergulhadas muitas vezes, com muito trabalho, lastima, e magoa de todos.

Nesta obra andava na Nao Bernardim de Carvalho, sobre quem descarregaraõ todos os trabalhos daquelle negocio, e de toda a Nao; porque D. Paulo de Lima, como era bom Christaõ, e te-



mente a Deos, havia que aquelle castigo era por seos peccados ; com o que andava tão acanhado, que não parecia ser aquelle, que em tão grandes riscos e perigos, como os em que se vio, nunca perdeo hum ponto de seo esforço e animo, que a qui lhe faltou de todo. Tomâraõ-se desta maneira : a mulher do mesmo D. Paulo, D. Marianna mulher de Guterres de Monroy, e D. Joanna de Mendoça mulher que fora de Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo, que hia para o Reyno meterse em hum Mosteiro, desenganada do mundo, sendo ainda moça, e que se podia lograr delle, Dona muito virtuosa, e que em toda esta jornada deo a todos hum admiravel exemplo de sua virtude, como em seos lugares tocaremos ; a qual levava comsigo huma filha de menos de dous annos, com quem ella estava abraçada, com os olhos nos Ceos pedindo a Deos misericordia, e para a amarrarem foy necessario tiralla dos braços, e entregalla a huma ama sua. Apoz ellas se embarcãraõ os Padres, e Bernardim de Carvalho, e o derradeiro de todos o Mestre, e Contra-Mestre, que andãraõ fazendo prestes alguns barrís de biscouto, e agoa que lançaõ no batel, e com elles se entulhou o batel, e se foy afastando.

Vendo D. Joanna de Mendoça que lhe ficava a filha na Nao, a qual via estar no còlo da sua ama, que de lá lha mostrava, mostrando-a com grandes prantos, e lastimas, foraõ tantas as mãgoas, e couzas que disse, que moveo a todos a chegarem à Nao, e pedirem a menina à ama, dizendolhe que a amarrasse a huma caça, e a lançasse abaixo, o que ella não quiz fazer, dizendo, que tambem a tomassem, senaõ que a não havia de entregar ; e nunca a puderaõ persuadir a outra couza, por muito que sua senhora lho pedio com lagrimas, e piedades, que puderaõ mover hum Tigre, se tivera a crianca em seos braços. E porque nisto houve detença, e a moça estava emperrada, e a Nao dava huns balanços cruelissimos, foy forçado afastarem o batel, porque se não metesse no fundo, o que foy com grande compaixaõ da triste may, que estava com os olhos na filha, com aquella piedade com que todas as costumaõ pôr nos seos, que muito amaõ. E vendo que lhe era forçado deixalla, tomando ella antes ficar com ella, e em seos braços, que a entregar àquellas crueis ondas, que pareciaõ que já a queriaõ tragar, virou as còstas para a Nao, e pondo os olhos no Ceo offereceo a Deos a tenra filha em sacrificio, como outro Isaac, pedindo a Deos misericordia para si, porque sua filha era innocente, e sabia que a tinha bem segura. Este spectaculo não

deixou de causar em todos gravissima dor naquelle estado, em que cada hum tinha bem necessidade de compaixão alheya, se alli houvera animos livres para a poderem ter dos males d'outros.

Afastando o batel hum pouco, ficãrão esperando de largo pelo Padre Frey Niculao do Rozario da Ordem dos Prègadores, que se não quiz embarcar no batel, sem confessar quantos ficavaõ na Nao; porque não quiz, que pois a tanta gente lhe faltavaõ todas as consolaçoens do corpo, lhe faltassem as da alma; e assim confessou, e consolou a todos com muita caridade, chorando com elles suas miserias, e absolvendo-os, assim em particular, como em geral. E porque não era possivel chegar o batel a tomallo por força, porque estava apostado a se deixar ficar na Nao para consolação daquella gente, mas tanto lhe disse D. Paulo de Lima, e tantos protestos lhe fez com todos os que mais hiaõ no batel, que se houve de lançar ao mar, e a nado se recolheo no batel, onde foy muy festejado de todos por sua virtude e exemplo que em toda aquella viagem deo, pelo qual era muy amado e reverenciado de todos. E depois de ser recolhido foraõ governando para terra.

Os da Nao, vendo partido o batel, e não lhe ficando outra esperança de remedio, que a que Deos, e elles ordenassem, fizeraõ algumas jangadas, o melhor que pudèrão, que já ficavaõ a bordo da Nao, quando o batel se afastou; mas como Deos Nosso Senhor tinha escolhido aquelles para acabarem naquelle lugar, todos se sumergiraõ, e o mesmo fizeraõ duas manchuas, que hiaõ arrisadas por popa da Nao. E certo que devia de ser aquelle castigo de Deos, porque facilissimamente se pudèra salvar toda a gente desta Nao, se os do batel não quizeraõ tratar de si sós; porque bem pudèrão dar primeiro ordem a grandes jangadas, em que se toda a gente recolhèra com a agoa, e mantimentos, as quaes o batel fora guiando athè terra, que estava taõ perto. que ao outro dia se vio, tendo para isso tanto espaço de tempo, que durou a Nao vinte e quatro horas, sem lhe darem à bomba, nas quaes se pudèrão ordenar todas as jangadas que quizeraõ, pois levavaõ entenas, mastros, e vergas, e tanta madeira, que lhe sobejava. Porque mais difficultosa foy a perdição da Nao Santiago no Baixo da Judia (como na decima Decada fica dito) e fizeraõ-se muitas jangadas, de que algumas chegàrão à terra sem favor do Esquife, nem batel, durando a viagem oito dias. Mas as pessoas a que nesta Nao se pudèra ter respeito, e que podiaõ mandar ordenar

isto, eraõ D. Paulo de Lima, que tinha perdido aquelle nunca vencido animo, com se ver com sua mulher naquelle estado; e outro Bernardim de Carvalho Fidalgo muito honrado, e muito bom cavalleiro, mas de natureza taõ branda, que por ver nos Officiaes todos huma grande alteraçãõ, dissimulou com couzas que entendia bem, por se naõ perder tudo; porque esta gente do mar, em hum caso como este, naõ tem respeito a nada, nem elles depois foraõ castigados por excessos que comettêraõ nestas viagens.

E tornando ao batel, tanto, que cometteo sua viagem, achãraõ-no os Officiaes taõ pejado, por hir muito carregado, e com todo o grosso debaixo da agoa, que fizeraõ grandes requerimentos, que se lançassem algumas pessoas ao mar para se poderem salvar as outras; o que aquelles Fidalgos consentiraõ, deixando a eleiçãõ dellas aos Officiaes, que logo lançãraõ ao mar seis pessoas, que foraõ tomadas nos ares, lançados nelle, onde ficãraõ sumergidas das crueis ondas, sem mais apparecerem. Este piedoso sacrificio levou os olhos dos que o viraõ, tanto atràs de si, que ficãraõ pasmados, sem saberem o que viaõ, ou como couza que se lhes representava em sonhos: e posto que estas seis pessoas se despejãraõ, ficãraõ ainda no batel cento e quatro. E hindo sua viagem naõ pudêraõ surdir àvante, porque a agoa os hia lançando da terra para o mar, porque nem os homens hiaõ para remar, de cançados dos trabalhos passados, nem o batel hia para se marear, de muy pezado; e sendo meya noite se achãraõ da Nao ao mar hum bom espaço: pelo que tomando o remo se tornãraõ a chegar a ella, e viraõ dentro muitos fógos, que eraõ vèlas acezas, porque toda a noite os da Nao passãraõ em Procissoens, e Ladainhas encomendandose a Deos Nosso Senhor com vòzes, e clamores taõ altos, que no batel se ouviraõ.

Em amanhecendo se chegou o batel bem à Nao, e fallãraõ com os de dentro, animando-os a fazerem jangadas, offerecendose a esperarem para os acompanhar; os de dentro respondêraõ com grandes gritos e prantos, pedindo misericordia em vòzes taõ profundas e piedosas, que metiaõ medo e terror; porque como a manhã naõ era bem clara, fazia parecer aquillo mais medonho e espantoso. Descuberto o dia tratãraõ de hirem algumas pessoas à Nao a tomar espingardas, e mantimentos, ao que se lançãraõ a nado tres ou quatro Marinheiros, que em sobindo acima achãraõ já a cuberta da Nao chea de agoa, e a gente toda como alienada

com o temor da morte, que esperavaõ, e todavia tinhaõ nõ chapitèõ da popa hum fermoso retabolo de Nossa Senhora, ao redor do qual estavaõ todas as escravas descabelladas em hum piedoso pranto, pedindo àquella Senhora misericordia, estando diante de todas a ama de D. Joanna com a menina nos braços, donde nunca a largou, cuja idade lhe não deixava conhecer o perigo em que estava; e ainda que o sentira, lho fizera sua innocencia estimar em pouco, porque não ha couza que faça parecer a morte mais temerõsa, que o receyo da salvaçaõ. Os Marinheiros lançaõ ao mar alguns barris de agoa, e biscouto, e hum de vinho, que se recolhèraõ no batel, que desejou de chegar à Nao a despejar inda de algumas pessoas, porque não estava para navegar. Os Marinheiros se recolhèraõ sem trazerem a menina de D. Joanna; porque os mais destes homens são deshumanos e crueis por natureza.

E porque não pudèraõ chegar à Nao para fazerem aquelle despejo, se afastàraõ, e deixàraõ aos Officiaes fazer seo officio, os quaes foraõ deitando ao mar algumas pessoas, que foraõ, hum Diogo Fernandes bom homem, e muito apoucado, que acabàra de ser Feitor de Ceilaõ; e hum Soldado chamado Diogo de Seixas, e Diogo Duarte mercador, e Diogo Lopes Bayaõ, que andàra muitos annos no Balagate, onde o Idalxà lhe tinha dados tres mil cruzados de renda, por ser homem de industria, e invençoens, o qual tratava em cavallos de Goa para lá, e lhe levava todos os avizos, e ainda se suspeitava que era duvidoso na Fè, pelo que o mandavaõ para o Reyno (do qual na nossa decima Decada demos larga conta) porque foy o que teceo as meadas de se passar à terra firme Çufucaõ, que o Idalxà desejou de haver às mãos para o matar, por lhe pertencer o Reyno, e assim desta vez o acolheo por ardís deste Diogo Lopes, e lhe mandou tirar os olhos. Este Diogo Lopes, quando o tomàraõ para o lançar ao mar, entregou ao Padre Frey Niculao hum bizalho de pedraria, que diziaõ valer dês ou doze mil cruzados, encomendandolhe que se o pudèsse salvar o entregaria a seos Procuradores se fosse a Goa, ou a seos herdeiros, se Deos o levasse ao Reyno. E com estes homens lançaõ tambem no mar alguns escravos, que todos logo foraõ sumergidos daquellas crueis ondas.

Feita esta abominavel crueldade por mãos destes Officiaes do mar, os quaes permittio Deos, que pagassem muy cedo, com todos ou os mais delles morrerem em terra por aquelles matos com

grandes desconsolaçoens. Começou o batel a tocar o remo para terra, e sendo afastados da Nao às dês horas do dia, lhe viraõ dar hum grande balanço, e apoz elle esconderse toda debaixo da agoa, desaparecendo à vista de todos como hum rayo; de que elles ficáraõ como homens pasmados, parecendo hum sonho, verem assim huma Nao, em que havia pouco hiaõ navegando, taõ carregada de riquezas, e louçainhas, que quasi não tinha estimaçaõ, comida das ondas, sumergida debaixo das agoas, enthezourando nas concavidades do mar tantas couzas, assim dos que nella hiaõ, como dos que ficavaõ na India, adquiridas pelos meyoys que Deos sabe. Pelo que muitas vezes permite se logrem taõ pouco como estas. E posto que este espectáculo foy muy temeroso a todos, à desconsolada de D. Joanna de Mendoça foy de mayor dor e paixaõ, porque via sua filha taõ tenra e mimõsa sua, manjar de algum monstro do mar, que pôde ser, que ainda bracejando a tragasse; mas como ella tinha offerecido já tudõ em sacrificio a Deos, com elle praticou dentro em seo coraçãõ suas lâstimas, a que elle não podia deixar de acodir com alguma consolaçaõ espiritual, porque na paciencia, virtude, e exemplos que neste negocio mostrou, se podia isto suspeitar.

Ao Batel dèraõ huma vèla que se lhe ordenou; e com o vento, que era Levante, foy demandar a mais proxima terra pelo rumo que levàraõ, da qual houveraõ vista sobre a tarde aos vinte dias de Março, e com grande alvoroço (se o podia haver em coraçõens, que tantas màgoas viraõ havia taõ pouco) se foraõ chegando a ella; e por lhes anoitecer tomàraõ a vèla, porque não fosse encalhar em parte onde se afogassem todos, já que Deos alli os levàra. E certo que he couza muito para ponderar a perdiçaõ desta Nao, e a morte da gente que nella ficou; porque em muitas couzas se vio ser aquillo hum juizo de Deos muito evidente; porque se aquella noite que o Marinheiro disse que vira terra, acertàra de pela manhã, ou o Piloto não se desviàra de noite della, em nenhuma fórma pudèra perecer aquella gente; porque estariaõ, quando muito, della oito legoas, e a Nao deo muito largo espaço para o batel lançar aquella batelada de gente em terra, e tornar pela que lhe ficava: e ainda pudèraõ fazer mais, que fora, virem com a Nao athè encalhar, que ainda que fosse duas legoas da terra, ficavalhe mais perto para se levar toda a gente no batel; e ainda que o não tiveraõ, em jangadas, que alli fariaõ todos com grande alvoroço à vista da terra, se poderiaõ salvar.

Mas os peccados tapàraõ os olhos a todos para não entenderem isto, e se perderem aquelles que nascèraõ para aquillo.

Ao outro dia pela manhãa se chegàraõ bem a terra, e surgiraõ na quebrança do mar, por ser alli tudo limpo, e lançàraõ alguns Marinheiros fóra para hirem ver se havia algumas povoações, os quaes de cima de huns medaõs de area enxergàraõ fogos, e hindo-os demandar dèraõ em humas palhoças, em que moravaõ alguns Cafres, que em vendo aquelles homens lançàraõ a fugir, mas tornando a conhecer serem Portuguezes, pela cõmunicaçaõ que com elles tinhaõ por causa do resgate de Marfim, que todos os annos alli vaõ fazer, tornàraõ logo a elles muy domesticos, e em sua companhia foraõ athè à praya, sem se entenderem, porque não fallava nenhum delles nossa lingoagem. Ventava neste tempo Ponente, peloque assentàraõ todos de se hirem de longo da Còsta athè o Rio de Lourenço Marques; e recolhendo os Marinheiros começàraõ a navegar, mas como o vento foy crescendo, o fizeraõ os màres de feizaõ, que lhes foy forçado vararem naquella praya, por não hirem depois a fazello em outra, em que perigassem.

Encalhando o batel puzeraõ-se todos em terra com algum biscouto que levavaõ, e preparàraõ as espingardas e armas para alguma necessidade; aquella noite passàraõ entre huns medaõs de area, onde fizeraõ seos fogos; e passàraõ com muito boa vigia. Era isto aos vinte e dous de Março, e ao outro dia puzeraõ fogo ao batel para lhe tirarem a pregadura, por ser couza estimada entre os Cafres, para com ella fazerem seo resgate, e fizeraõ alforge de cotonias para o caminho, e fazendo algumas borrachas de couros (que a caso se lançàraõ no batel) para levarem agoa para o caminho: e fazendo resenho da gente, achàraõ-se noventa e oito pessoas, com mulheres, das quaes nomearemos as de que tivemos noticia: O Capitaõ Estevaõ da Veiga, D. Paulo de Lima, D. Beatris sua mulher, Gregorio Botelho, sua filha D. Marianna, mulher de Guterre de Monroy, D. Joanna de Mendoça, mulher que foy de Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo, Bernardim de Carvalho, Manoel Cabral da Veiga, Christovaõ Rebello Rodovalho, Nicolao da Silva, Diogo Lopes Leitaõ, hum irmaõ da mulher de D. Paulo de Lima, Franciseo Dorta, Feitor da Nao, Antonio Caldeira, filho de Manoel Caldeira, o Contador das Naos, o Padre Frey Nicolao do Rosariõ da Ordem dos Prègadores, o Padre Frey Antonio, Capucho Leigo, Marcos Carneiro, Mestre da Nao, Gaspar Fernandes, Piloto, Diogo de Couto, que se tinha perdido na Nao

Santiago no Baixo da Judia, e outros Marinheiros, e Grumètes. As armas que se achàraõ foraõ sinco espingardas, outras tantas espadas, hum barril de polvora, alguns murroens; e dos remos do batel fizeraõ hasteas de lanças, e por ferros lhe puzeraõ verrumas dos Carpinteiros, e o biscouto se repartio por todos, a dous, tres punhados cada hum, e enchèraõ as borrachas de agoa. E este foy o provimento para o caminho que determinavaõ fazer.

Aos vinte e tres de Março começàraõ a caminhar, hindo diante de todos o Padre Frey Antonio, Capucho, com hum Crucifixo arvorado, e ordenàraõ das vèlas do batel dous andores amarrados em alguns remos para aquellas mulheres caminharem, as quaes haviaõ de levar às còstas os Marinheiros e Grumètes, a quem D. Paulo de Lima prometteo huma quantidade de dinheiro. As mulheres, a de D. Paulo, e Guterre de Monroy levavaõ juboens brancos, calçoens compridos athè o chaõ, e barretes vermelhos; sò D. Joanna de Mendoça hia vestida no Habito de S. Francisco, porque como hia com tençaõ de se meter Freira em algum Mosteiro de Santa Clara, quis vestir alli o seo Habito, porque se morresse naquelle caminho, fosse nelle, e assim lhe ficassem seos dezejos cumpridos em parte: e depois o cumprio bem, porque jà que na India lhe faltou Mosteiro de Santa Clara, em que se metesse, naquelle Habito seo, que nunca mais largou, se recolheo para Nossa Senhora do Cabo, onde fez huma czinha, ou huma cella, em que se foy agazalhar, por estar perto dos Padres Capuchos, que alli fazem vida santa, e ella não menos que elles, e assim vive com tanto recolhimento e abstinencia e oraçaõ, que em nenhuma clauzura pudèra ser mais, e sua vida e exemplo tem consolado esta Cidade de Goa.

Primeiro que continuemos com o caminho que estes perdidos fizeraõ por esta Cafraria, nos pareceo bem fazer huma breve descriçaõ desta parte, porque de todas as mais a temos feita na nossa nona Decada, onde tratâmos da conquista das Minas do Ouro, que por alli andou fazendo o Governador Francisco Barreto, e Vasco Fernandes Homem, e agora faremos desde este lugar onde o batel encalhou, athè o Cabo das Correntes, onde chegâmos, com a outra descriçaõ dos Reynos de Monomotapa, e de todos os mais daquelle Sertão, e maritimo desta Ethiopia interior.

A esta parte, em que este batel encalhou, chamaõ os nossos Mareantes commummente Terra dos Fumos; e assim està nomeada nas nossas Cartas de marear; o qual nome lhe foy posto.

pelos nossos, que por alli primeiro passáraõ, pelos muitos fumos que de noite viraõ em terra; mas os Cafres naturaes lhe chamaõ Terra dos Macomates, por huns Cafres assim chamados, que vivem ao redor daquellas prayas. Encalhou este batel em vinte e sete grãos e hum terço, adiante de hum rio, que nas nossas Cartas anda sem nome, que està em vinte e sete grãos e meyo, ao qual os nossos que navegaõ de Moçambique para o rio de Lourenço Marques ao resgate de Marfim, chamaõ de Simaõ Dote, por hum Portuguez deste nome, que a elle foy ter em hum Pangayo, o qual rio he pequeno, e capaz só de embarcaçoens pequenas, e será sincoenta legoas afastado da Bahia de Lourenço Marquez para o Sul.

Toda esta terra dos Fumos he do Rey chamado Viragune, que se estende mais de trinta legoas para o Sertaõ, e pela banda do Sul parte com outro chamado Mocalapapa, que se estende athè o Sertaõ do Rio de Santa Luzia, que està em altura de vinte e oito grãos e hum quarto, athè a primeira terra do Natal, aonde se ajunta com outro Reyno do Vambe que corre para o Sul, aonde tambem os nossos vaõ fazer resgate do Marfim. E deste Reyno, que toma muita parte da terra, que chamaõ do Natal, athè o Cabo de Boa Esperança não ha Reys, e tudo he possuido de Senhores, que chamaõ Ancozes, que saõ Cabeças, e Regedores de tres, quatro, e sinco Aldeas. E tornando do Reyno de Viragune, que he toda aquella terra dos Fumos, vay o Reyno do Inhaca correndo ao Nordèste, o qual se estende athè à Ponta da Bahia de Lourenço Marques da banda do Sul, o qual nas nossas Cartas de marear se chama o rio de S. Lourenço, que està em altura de vinte e sinco grãos e tres quartos, e ainda senhorea duas Ilhas ã estão na mesma Ponta, huma chamada Choambone, que he povoada, e tem sete Aldeas, que será de quatro legoas, e tem muitas vacas, cabras e gallinhas; a outra se chama Setimuro, que he despovoada, e será de duas legoas, na qual os nossos, que alli vaõ ao resgate de Marfim, se apoentaõ, para estarem mais seguros dos Negros da terra, porque o mayor commèrcio que tem he com este Inhaca. Tem esta Ilha muito boa agoa, muitos pescados, e Tartarugas, ainda que a casca não presta para nada.

E porque temos chegado a esta Bahia, que he famosa, e das principaes de toda a terra, o que os Geografos chamaõ Africa, faremos della huma demonstraçaõ, para se verem melhor os Reys, que vivem derredor della. Finjamos huma Borboleta, que faz



duas pontas, esta do Inhaca que dissemos, e outra da banda do Norte, onde està o Reyno do Manhiça, de que logo falaremos ; e serà distancia de huma boca a outra de seis legoas, e de fundo da boca para dentro catorze braças. No meyo da Bahia faz huma Ilha, a que os nossos puzeraõ nome dos Passaros, pelos muitos que alli ha, taõ grandes como Patos, e taõ gordos, que de suas inxundias fazem azeite para as candeas, e bitacolas dos Navios. As azas desta Borboleta, a da banda do Sul he rio, que vay cortando ao Suduèste, sobre o qual de huma e outra parte se estende o Reyno de Belingane, e assim se chama o rio ; a outra aza da banda do Norte vay tirando direito a elle, he o rio do Manhiça, do qual o Reyno toma o nome, o qual rio he o mayor de todos os que alli vem esbocar, e hum dos que dissemos na nossa oitava Decada na Descriçaõ do Reyno Monomotapa, que sahia da Alagoa grande, juntamente com o Nilo, e outros ; o qual rio se vay meter naquella parte a que chamaõ commummente Bahia Ferosa, que he o proprio Rio do Espirito Santo. Aqui fazem os Portuguezes resgate de Marfim, e tem alli sua Feitoria, onde residem quatro mezes do anno, que dura esta monçaõ. O cabo desta Borboleta, que se divide em duas farpas, saõ dous rios, que da mesma maneira do cabo farpado vaõ meterse naquella Alagoa, que he o corpo desta Borboleta ; e sobre a farpa da banda do Norte jaz o Reyno do Rumo, que foy o em que Manoel de Souza Sepulveda, quando por alli passou com sua mulher, largou as armas, como na sexta Decada escrevemos, e onde elle e seos filhos morrèraõ, e onde o mesmo Manoel de Souza desapareceo, metendose de màgoa de ver a mulher, e filhos mortos pelos matos, onde parece foy comido das féras. Este mato dahi a alguns annos, o mandou aquelle Rey cortar e roçar para aproveitar aquelles campos, no qual dizem os Cafres naturaes, que achàraõ dous anneis ricos de pedraria, que o Rey tem, e mostra ainda hoje aos Portuguezes que alli vaõ resgatar ; e de alguns sabemos estas couzas, e nos affirmàraõ que viraõ estes anneis, os quaes verisimilmente se tem serem do mesmo Manoel de Souza, que os levaria consigo nos dedos.

A outra farpa do Cabo da Borboleta da banda do Sul, he hum Reyno a que chamaõ Anzete ; e ha se de saber, que entre estes Cafres tanto que hum succede no Reyno logo se haõ de appellidar do nome do Reyno em que succede. Parte este Reyno com humas grandes Serranias de mais de vinte legoas, taõ asperas,

intrataveis, e fórtes por natureza, que não tem entrada senão por alguns passos muito difficultosos, e em cima se estendem muito largas campinas, as quaes são de hum Senhor chamado Monhimpeca, o qual por nenhum caso desce a baixo, nem communica com os vizinhos, porque todos, huns e outros são muito grandes ladroens. Ha nestas Serras infinitos Elefantes, e este Senhor tem grandes covas cheas de seos dentes, os quaes nunca quiz resgatar com os Portuguezes, porque se recea, que mandando abaixo lhos tomem os vizinhos. Vive este Cafre em cima muito seguro de tudo, e sem haver mister ninguem, porque a terra lhe dà em cima tudo o que lhe he necessario para passar a vida. Tem as gentes destas Serras a mesma lingoa dos Vumos, e Anzates seos vizinhos, e são todos cõmummente, assim homens, como mulheres, tamanhos de corpos, que parecem Gigantes. Estes dous rios que fazem as farpas do cabo da Borboleta, dous dias de caminho donde se metem lá em cima, fórmaõ outro rio, que atravessa do Anzete athè o Vumo, e vay cortando aquella farpa pelo meyo sobre o qual vive hum Rey chamado Angomanes, cujo Reyno se estende para o Ponente; e corre este rio pelo pè de humas Serras, a cuja fralda estaõ algumas povoaçõens; e hum Portuguez nos disse, que hindo por este rio acima ao resgate em huma embarçaõ, fora dar com as gentes destas povoaçõens, que andavaõ pescando em barcos pequenos, os quaes vio que quando queriaõ alguma couza da terra, chegavaõ com seos barcos à parte que os podiaõ ouvir, e davaõ certos silvos e apitos, aos quaes lhe acodiaõ os da Aldea com tudo o que queriaõ; porque por aquelles assovios se entendem, mas não deixaõ de ter lingoa propria, e muito differente de todas as mais daquelles Reynos.

E tornando à boca do Rio do Espirito Santo, que he o focinho desta Borboleta, ao Rio do Manhiça, delle corre hum esteiro que vay tirando ao Suduèste, e corta aquella ponta que fica em Ilha, a que os nossos puzeraõ nome do Mel, da qual vay correndo a Costa direita athè o rio dos Reys, a que hoje os nossos chamaõ do Ouro, que està em altura de vinte e sinco grãos, sobre o qual da banda do Ponente se estende hum Reyno, que chamaõ do Inhapula, e da outra banda o de Manuça, que he vassallo do outro. Daqui vay encurvando a Costa athè o Cabo das Correntes, tanto que faz huma muy penetrante Enseada, de que nas nossas Cartas de marear se não faz demostraçaõ, a qual quando os Navios de Moçambique vão ao Rio de Lourenço Marques, parece que

atravessão hum grande golfo, e de longo desta Enseada vivem huns Cafres chamados Mocrangas, grandes ladroens. No meyo della anda lançado hum rio nas nossas Cartas de marear em vinte e quatro grãos menos hum quinto, a que chamaõ da Bazaruta, que alli não ha, nem por toda aquella Còsta algum deste nome, só ha ilhas da Pazaruta, que estaõ em vinte e hum grãos e meyo, defronte da Ponta que nas nossas Cartas se chama de S. Sebastiaõ, que està em altura de vinte e dous grãos e hum terço, do qual já temos dado conta na nona Decada na descripção que atràs dissemos que tínhamos feito de toda a Cafraria. No Sertaõ desta Enseada dos Mocrangas ha dous Reynos, o de Manuça, que já nomeamos, que fica na parte que dissemos, o outro do Inhaboze que vay athè hum grande rio, que se chama Inharingue, antes do Cabo das Correntes, que he o mesmo que acabamos de dizer, que nas Cartas de marear se chama da Bazaruta, mas està mais chegado ao Cabo das Correntes do que se vê nas mesmas Cartas. Sobre este rio da banda do Ponente està o Reyno de Pande, visinho ao de Inhabuze, o qual parte com o Reyno no Monhibene, que corre delle ao Norte de longo do mesmo rio, o qual vay partir com outro Reyno, que chamaõ do Javara, que fica para o Sertaõ sobre este rio, e da outra banda ha outros dous Reynos, o de Gamba mais para o mar, e o Mocumba ao Sertaõ. Todos estes Reynos desta descripção são muy conhecidos dos Portuguezes que vão de Moçambique resgatar Marfim àquelles Reynos. Com o que concluímos aqui com elles. E porque não era fóra de proposito tratarmos tambem dos barbaros costumes, e leys destes Cafres, o não trato aqui porque he fóra de minha tenção, e só quero dar noticia do que aconteceu à gente da perdição no caminho, athè chegarem ao Rio de Lourenço Marques.

Postos os nossos perdidos ao caminho, como atràs dissemos, foraõ de longo da praya muito devagar, por causa das mulheres, comendo do pouco biscouto, que levavaõ, e bebendo da pouca agoa das borrachas, que a mayor parte della se lhe tinha hido pelas costuras. E assim desta maneira, fazendo pouzos, foraõ athè noite que se recolhêraõ a huns medaõs de area, onde se agazalhãraõ, buscando em todo este caminho sempre hum lugar separado para as mulheres, e alli fizeraõ suas fogueiras, e dormiraõ sobre a dura area, que não tinhaõ outros colchoens, nem outros cobertores, mais que o Ceo. Ao outro dia tornãraõ a seo caminho, sem levarem já que comer, nem que beber, e pela praya foraõ

tomando alguns Cranguejos, què comião assados, hindo as mulheres ja muy cançadas, e sobre todas bem desconsolada D. Joanna de Mendoça, que as outras duas, huma levava seo marido, e outra seo pay, que as hiaõ ajudando e consolando o melhor que podiaõ ; só esta Dona hia desabrigada e magoada, porque naõ levava entre toda aquella gente huma pessoa de sua obrigação, que em hum tal trabalho a pudesse soccorrer. Mas como Deos Nosso Senhor tinha os olhos nella, por ella levar todo o seo coração posto nelle, quiz elle que se compadecesse della Bernardim de Carvalho Fidalgo de muita virtude, o qual vendo-a só, e cançada se chegou a ella a lhe dar a maõ, com tamanha honestidade, como se devia a huma mulher, que tanto se tinha morta às couzas do mundo, que o proprio dia que poz os pès em terra vestio o habito de S. Francisco, e cortou seos fermosos cabellos, fazendo delles sacrificio ao mesmo Deos, deixando-os por aquellas partes entregues aos ventos, que os levàraõ ; e assim por todo o caminho em quanto durou deo tal exemplo de si, que levava admirados a todos. Este Fidalgo a foy servindo com tanto amor, e resguardo, por ver nella aquella mortificação, que esquecido dos seos trabalhos, tomou tanto os outros à sua conta, que naõ sey pay, nem irmaõ, que mais o pudèra fazer. Assim foraõ caminhando com grande trabalho das mulheres, que já levavaõ os pès empollados, e feitos chagas, o que foy causa de hirem taõ devagar, que ao terceiro dia da jornada tratàraõ algumas pessoas de se adiantarem, por naõ se atreverem com caminho taõ vagaroso, e taõ falto de tudo, que naõ comião senaõ Cranguejos, e alguma fruta do mato, e algumas couzas poucas, que foraõ resgatando com os Cafres.

A esta desordem dos que se queriaõ adiantar, acodiraõ o Capitaõ, e D. Paulo de Lima, e com palavras de muita obrigação os persuadiraõ a se deixarem hir, affirmandolhes, que Deos os soccorreria ; e assim dalli em diante levàraõ melhor ordem, porque se repartiraõ em duas esquadras, Paulo de Lima com ametade da gente adiante com as armas, e o Capitaõ Estevaõ da Veiga com a outra detràs, e as mulheres no meyo, que hiaõ taes, que cortavaõ os coraçãoes de todos : e assim se foraõ compassando com ellas. Já neste tempo, que era ao segundo dia, hiaõ seguidos de alguns Cafres, que seriaõ perto de trezentos, que parece levavaõ os olhos em alguns barretes, e naquella pouquidade que viaõ, e assim se foraõ chegando pouco e pouco athè se desavergonharem a se atravessarem diante, e acometterem os nossos, fazendo suas

algazarras, e manecendo suas armas, a que elles chamaõ Pemberar. O Capitaõ, e D. Paulo de Lima vendo aquella determinaçaõ, puzeraõ-se em hum corpo, deitando pela banda de fóra as espingardas e lanças, levando sempre as mulheres no meyo, e foraõ acometter os Cafres, que já vinhaõ com grandes gritos e alaridos arremetendo com os nossos, deitando sobre elles muitos arremeços de pãos tostados, a que chamaõ Fimbos, que derrubaõ hum boy se lhe acertaõ, dos quaes os nossos não recebèraõ dano; e disparando nelles as espingardas, em ouvindo o estrondo, houveraõ tamanho medo, que todos juntos se deitãraõ pelo chaõ, e de gatinhas, como Bogios, em saltos foraõ fugindo para os matos; com o que os nossos ficãraõ livres delles, e foraõ continuando seo caminho.

No mesmo dia lhe sahiraõ por entre humas quebradas de humas Serras outro magote de Cafres, entre os quaes vinha hum muito velho com a barba toda branca, e cuberto com huma pelle de Tigre, e junto a elle huma Cafra, que parecia sua mulher, e chegando muito domesticos aos nossos, lhes disseraõ por acenos, que os seguissem, o que fizeraõ cuidando que era Senhor de alguma Aldea, e foraõ pelo mesmo caminho que elles trouxeraõ, pelo qual foraõ com trabalho, por ser hum pouco aspero, athè chegarem a huma povoação, que estava ao longo de huma Alagoa de mais de huma legoa de comprido; o Cafre lhes offereceo gazalhado, que elles aceitãraõ, aonde repouzãraõ o que ficava do dia, e toda a noite sem inquietação alguma; e as Cafras da Aldea acodiraõ a ver aquellas mulheres como couza de espanto, e toda a noite lhes fizeraõ muitas festas, e bailes, que lhe ellas perdoãraõ, porque com a matinada as não deixãraõ dormir, tendo bem grande necessidade de algum repouzo. Aqui lhes trouxeraõ gallinhas, cabras, peixe crù e assado, massa de farinha de milho, de que faziaõ bolos, que tudo lhes resgatãraõ por pedaços de prègos, e algumas camizas, que para isso tiravaõ dos corpos. Passãraõ aqui athè o outro dia naquella rustica recreação, e tomou o Piloto o Sol, e achou estar aquella Alagoa em vinte e seis grãos e meyo do Sul.

He esta Alagoa de agoa doce, mas entra nella a marè por hum riacho, que de baixamar se passa pelo Joelho, porq̃ na boca faz o mar grande quebrança, e por esta causa a agoa da Alagoa he hum pouco salobra, mas ha naquella parte muitos poços de que bebem. Este dia foy de Ramos, e pelo muito gazalhado que aqui recebèraõ puzeraõ àquelle rio o nome de Abundancia. Ao outro dia tornãraõ

a buscar a praya, pela qual achàraõ algumas aduellas de pipas, e hum pão de serra, e pedaços de taboas, e de outros pãos. E os Cafres que hiaõ acompanhando os nossos lhes disseraõ, que aquillo fora dos Portuguezes que alli aportàraõ; pelo que pareceo a todos, que seria alguma das jangadas da Nao Santiago, que a corrente da agoa levaria àquella parte, porque algumas ficàraõ, mas não se soube mais que de duas. O mor trabalho, que os nossos padecèraõ por este caminho da praya, foy a sede, que os apertava tanto, que se tornàraõ a meter pelo Sertaõ, ainda que fosse com mor trabalho.

Ao outro dia que partíraõ do Rio da Abundancia, foraõ dar com outro riacho, que hia meterse em outra Alagoa não menor que a passada, a qual passàraõ de baixamar, e nelle tomou o Piloto ao outro dia o Sol, e achouse em vinte e seis grãos, e hum quarto. Daqui por diante foraõ entrando pelas terras do Rey de Manhiça, de que na descripção atrás fallámos, o qual já tinha avizo daquella gente, e os mandou acompanhar por alguns homens seos, que os festejãraõ muito, e elles se alegrãraõ em extremo com hum Cafre, que lhe fallou Portuguez muito claro, e lhe disse, que havia menos de dês dias que se tinha partido do rio de Lourenço Marques huma Naveta para Moçambique, da qual era Capitaõ hum Jeronymo Leitaõ, que levava muito Marfim. Assim neste alvoroço chegãraõ à povoação, e à entrada della se assentãraõ à sombra de huma fermosa arvore, aonde acodio toda a Aldea, assim homens, como mulheres, a ver os nossos, ficando como pasmados de ver as mulheres, couza que nunca viraõ, e as Cafras vendo-as taõ cançadas e maltratadas, faziaõ mostras de compaixãõ, e chegando-se a ellas lhes faziaõ mimos e caricias, offerecendolhes suas cazas, e ainda as queriaõ levar logo comsigo. Não tardou muito ElRey, que logo chegou acompanhado de muita gente: vinha nũ, e encachado cõ hum panno que lhe cobria as partes inferiores, e cuberto com hum ferragoulo de panno verdozo, que lhe o Alferes mór D. Jorge de Menezes tinha mandado de Moçambique, sendo Capitaõ D. Paulo de Lima. O Capitaõ, e todos os mais se levantãraõ, e o recebèraõ com grandes cortezias, e elle com o rosto muito alegre os abraçou, e se assentou com elles ao pè da arvore, onde os nossos lhe contãraõ sua desventura, e trabalhos do caminho, e que todos vinhaõ muy alvoroçados por chegarem a elle, porque sabiaõ quaõ amigo era dos Portuguezes, e que nelle esperavaõ achar remedio para suas necessidades.

ElRey os ouviu muito bem, e lhes mandou responder humanamente condoendose delles, e lhes offerceco tudo o que houvesse em sua terra. E porque lhes pareceo razaõ darem a este homem alguma couza de presente; porque estes homens sempre estão com os olhos nas mãos para verem se levais que lhes dar; buscando entre todos alguma couza para lhe darem, achãraõ hum panno lavrado de ouro, com que D. Marianna se cobria, e huma bacia de cobre, couza que elles muito estimaõ, e hum pedaço de ferro grosso, e tudo lhe offercẽraõ, mandandolhe dizer que lhes perdoasse, que não salvãraõ mais que suas pessoas, como elle via, e que ainda aquelle panno tomavaõ àquella mulher; e assim lho lançãraõ por cima das cõstas; com o que ficou taõ ufano, que olhava para si de huma e outra parte, e de alegre se ria para os Cafres, havendo que aquelle era o dia de seo mayor triumpho. E logo deo recado aos seos para que lhes trouxessem alguma couza de comer. Os quaes tornãraõ logo com dous balayos de hum legume a que chamaõ Ameixoeira, e huma cabra, e lhes pedio ficassem naquella Aldea, que nella os proveria como pudesse athè para o anno vir o Navio da resgate; e que era de parecer se não arriscassem por terra, porque de longo daquella Bahia por onde haviaõ de passar viviaõ huns Cafres grandes ladroens, que os haviaõ de roubar e matar, e que já seo pay avizãra disso a Manoel de Souza Sepulveda quando por alli passãra, e que por não seguir seo conselho, se perdẽra: dizendo mais aos nossos, que se não se haviaõ por seguros naquella Aldea, que elle os mandaria pôr em huma Ilha, onde achariaõ ainda as cazas em que os Portuguezes viviaõ quando alli vinhaõ ao resgate do Marfim, e huma embarcaçaõ pequena para seo serviço, e que lá os mandaria prover do que houvessem mister. Elles lho tiverãõ em mercê, e lhe aceitãraõ o conselho, pedindolhe que os encaminhasse à Ilha, e licença sua para logo ao outro dia se passarem para ella. ElRey logo assim que se tomou taõ apressada resoluçaõ, deixando-lhes pessoas para os acompanhar athè os porem na Ilha, se recolheo, e os nossos se sahãraõ da Aldea, e foraõ passar a noite fóra do campo, com grandes atalayas e fogos, e alli fizeraõ seos tolos, e guizãraõ seo comer, e os Cafres lhes levãraõ a vender gallinhas, graõs, feijoens, e outras couzas.

Era isto em Quinta feira de Endoenças, pela qual razaõ não se quizeraõ mudar dalli athè dia de Paschoa da Resurreiçaõ, que cahio a dous de Abril. Este dia começãraõ a caminhar com mais

folego, mas não sem trabalho ; porque lhes choveo tanta agoa que os tratou mal, e a segunda oitava foraõ à vista da Bahia do Espirito Santo, e por ser tarde se alojãraõ aquella noite o melhor que pudẽraõ, e ao outro dia se chegãraõ ao mar, e os Cafres, que os guiavaõ, fizeraõ sinal aos da Ilha, que estava perto, os quaes logo acodiraõ com duas almadias pequenas, em que passãraõ à Ilha naquelle dia, e no outro, e por ella caminhaõ huma legoa, achando a toda cuberta de fermoso arvoredõ, e de pastos muy vistosos, nos quaes se apascentava muito fermoso gado d'ElRey, e lá no cabo da Ilha sobre a Bahia achãraõ algumas cazas palhaças, em que se agazalhãraõ, e ao outro dia passãraõ daquella Ilha a outra de baixamar com a agoa pela cinta, a qual se chama Setimino, de que fallãmos em outra parte, onde achãraõ mais de sincoenta choupanas, que os Portuguezes do resgate deixãraõ feitas, e nellas se agazalhãraõ como melhor pudẽraõ. Aqui achãraõ duas embarçaõens pequenas, e vistas pelos Officiaes da Nao, achãraõ que estavaõ muy boas para se poderem passar à outra banda da Bahia, que era taõ larga, que se não enxergava a terra de huma parte para a outra, e alvidrãraõ, que huma que era mais capaz, poderia recolher sessenta pessoas, e a pequena quinze, com o que todos ficãraõ alegres, porque haviaõ que como se vissem da outra parte, teriaõ mais remedio para passar à Sofala ; e assim começõu o Carpinteiro a concertar as embarçaõens, e mandãraõ pedir para isso licença ao Manhiça, e algumas pẽças de prata, das poucas que se salvãraõ, o qual lha mandou, e foraõ preparando tudo para a passagem.

Tendo tudo prestes para a passagem, aos dezoito de Abril se começãraõ a embarcar em ambas as embarçaõens, cuidando que fossem capazes de levar todos ; e tanto que a gente se começõu a embarcar, começãraõ ellas a encherse de agoa, de feiçaõ, que os que estavaõ dentro brãdavaõ, que os puzessem em terra, porque se hiaõ ao fundo. Assim se tornãraõ a desembarcar todos molhados, e desconsolados, e a recolher nas choupanas, desenganados do remedio, que cuidavaõ ter. Os Marinheiros todos em hum corpo pediraõ que lhes dẽessem as embarçaõens, que se queriaõ aventurar nellas, e que levariaõ recado ao Inhabane, onde põde ser se negociasse algum Pangayo para os hir buscar. Sobre isto se começãraõ a alterar razoens de parte a parte com gritos, e demazias da parte desta gente, que nesta Carreira he muito alterada ; não querendo os Nobres, e Soldados, que lhes dẽessem as embarçaõens,



assim por não ficarem desabrigados sem ellas, como por se não dividirem aquelles homens, porque a salvação de todos estava em hirem juntos e unidos, sobre que houve tantas porfias, e sobejidoens, que parecia hum labyrinth e confuzaõ, sem se acabarem de entender, nem determinar.

Jà a este tempo estava D. Paulo de Lima recolhido com sua mulher em huma choupana, porque como desconfiou de passar à outra parte, não quiz tratar de nenhuma outra couza mais que de se encomendar a Deos, sem querer ver o que hia fóra, nem acodir a nada. O Capitão, e Bernardim de Carvalho, com os mais Nobres, Mestre, e Piloto, sabendo o mòdo de como estava, foraõ ter com elle, e lhe pediraõ os não quizesse desamparar de seo conselho, porque todos estavaõ apostados a não seguirem senaõ sua ordem, e o acompanhar, ou alli, ou por onde quer que fosse. D. Paulo de Lima como estava resolute em se deixar alli ficar, e a se entregar nas maõs de Deos, para o que delle ordenasse, lhes pedio que o deixassem, que era velho, e cançado, e que se via com sua mulher naquelles trabalhos, que estava determinado de fazer alli vida eremitica, e passar o que della lhe restasse em penitencia de seos peccados; que lá se aviessem, que só lhes affirmava, que qualquer gente que se passasse da outra banda, e ainda que elle fosse de envolta, que tanto que se vissem da outra parte, o haviaõ de desamparar, e adiantarem-se; e que para depois se ver com sua mulher só por prayas desertas, e inhabitaveis, que antes se queria deixar estar alli athè ver o que Deos tinha delle determinado: que quem se quizesse passar, o fizesse em boa hora, porque elle já não queria tratar mais que da salvação da alma, que para o corpo qualquer parte da terra lhe bastava. Estas palavras, que elle não disse sem lagrimas, que lhe corriaõ por suas venerandas barbas, magoàraõ a todos tanto, que se não pudèraõ ter não chorassem com elle, e assim entre ellas, e soluços lhe pediraõ aquellas pessoas a quem elle podia ter mais respeito, que se quizesse consolar, é que se lembrasse daquelle seo taõ grande animo com que em todas as couzas em que lhe Deos Nosso Senhor tinha feito tantas mercês, e dado tantas vitorias, se assinalára tanto; e que pois elle com tanto esforço o dotàra, tambem de hum muito vivo e esperto saber e conselho, que naquelle transe, em que lhe era mais necessario, não se havia assim de entregar nas maõs da ventura, que seria tentar ao mesmo Deos, que de tantas partes o dotàra; que elle, que o tinha guardado athè alli,

o faria athè o levar à terra de Christaõs, onde melhor poderia satisfazer o seo pensamento; que quizesse para isso tratar do que convinha à sua vida, e de sua mulher, pela qual a havia de poupar muito, porque se elle morresse de puro pezar, como não estava muito longe, que na outra vida lhe pediriaõ conta de ser unica occasiaõ de a deixar no meyo daquelles brutos desamparada, e arriscada a huma desesperaçãõ: que todos os que alli estavaõ se lhe offerenciaõ, e davaõ sua fé de nunca já mais em nenhuma occasiaõ e tempo o desampararem, e seguirem sua mesma fortuna, a qual por onde quer que o levasse a elle, os levaria a elles: e que fizesse conta com sua consciencia, e que visse, que se punha a risco sua alma, em se entregar assim à morte por sua propria vontade: que seria tentar a Deos, do qual parecia que desconfiava naquella parte, sabendo elle certo, que sua misericordia não era limitada, e que se não deixasse assim vencer da fortuna, que sempre toda a vida trouxera debaixo dos pès.

Depois daquelles Fidalgos lhe dizerem estas couzas, lhe offereceu o Mestre da Nao, como Cabeça de toda a gente do mar, em nome de todos, de nunca em nenhum trabalho o deixarem, e de sempre o acompanharem athè perderem por elle a vida; e que os Marinheiros mais saõs se lhe offerenciaõ a lhe levar sua mulher em hum andor, e de a servirem por todo o caminho por onde fossem, como era razaõ. A estas couzas não pode D. Paulo de Lima deixar de se mover, e de se entregar nas mãos de todos; e logo alli com seo parecer assentãraõ, que passasse ametade da gente na primeira barcada, com a qual fosse o Capitaõ Estevaõ da Veiga, e que como ficassem da outra parte, tornassem as embarcaçoens pelos que ficassem, o que logo se fez; e o Capitaõ com o Piloto se embarcou na embarcaçaõ mayor com quarenta e cinco pessoas, em que entravaõ o Guardiaõ, o Sota-Piloto Diogo Lopes Leitaõ, Francisco Dorta Feitor da Nao, e Antonio Caldeira: toda a mais gente era do mar. Na outra barca mais pequena se embarcou o Mestre com quinze pessoas, em que entravaõ hum filho seo, o Padre Frey Nicolao do Rosario da Ordem dos Prègadores, e toda a mais gente da ordinaria, ficando na Ilha trinta e seis pessoas, que eraõ os Fidalgos, e Cavalleiros, que não quizerãõ largar a D. Paulo, com o qual ficãraõ tambem as outras Donas.

Afastadas as embarcaçoens da terra, deraõ à vèla, e foraõ atravessando à outra banda, e ao pòr do Sol ferrãraõ nella terra, huma legoa do rio do Manhiça para Lèste, o que souberaõ de

huns Cafres, que alli encontràraõ. E porque o vento lhes acalmou, surgirão alli aquella noite, que este foy o erro desta viagem, e dos trabalhos que ao diante se veraõ, o que tudo nasceo de pouparem hum pequeno de trabalho; porque se tomàraõ o remo na maõ, facilmente pudèraõ entrar para dentro, e hir buscar o rio do Inhaca, que lhe não ficava atràs mais de huma legoa. Em fim surtos alli passàraõ toda a noite, e tanto que amanheceo começou a ventar Ponente da banda do Suduèste, que lhes ficava contrario para tornarem ao rio, com o que houveraõ por melhor parecer hirem correndo a Còsta athè o Rio do Ouro, que era dalli treze ou catorze legoas, e que como o vento se mudasse, poderiaõ tornar pelos que ficavaõ na Ilha, e assim foraõ correndo a Còsta, que era muito limpa; mas sobre à tarde lhes foy o vento escaceando athè se pôr em Sul Suèste, que fica naquella Còsta sendo travessão, com o qual foraõ rolando para a terra athè os pôr na quebrança do mar; pelo que lhes foy forçado aos da embarcaçaõ grande virarem outro bordo, mas a mais pequena surgio, e por lhe quebrarem as còrdas, que eraõ de hervas, tornàraõ a dar à vèla, com que foraõ hum pouco sem surdirem àvante, antes se acharem no rollo do mar; pelo que se afastàraõ, e se tornàraõ a marear melhor, e por boa industria do Mestre, e Deos assim o ordenar, foraõ metendo tanto de ló, que vingàraõ as pontas, e foraõ tomar a boca do rio do Inhaca já pela manhã, e em terra achàraõ por novas, que na povoação em que ElRey vivia, doze legoas pelo rio acima, estavaõ alguns Portuguezes: e com este alvoroço tomàraõ o remo, e com assaz trabalho, por hirem todos muy fracos, foraõ entrando pelo rio, e em dous dias chegàraõ à povoação, aonde acodio logo Jeronymo Leitaõ com alguns companheiros, que haveria hum mez tinhaõ partido do rio de Lourenço Marques, como atràs dissemos, com hum Pangayo carregado de Marfim, com que tinhaõ dado à Còsta no Rio do Ouro, onde foraõ roubados, e se tinhaõ passado para a povoação daquelle Inhaca, por ter conhecimento delle. E em se vendo, huns se abraçàraõ com muitas lagrimas e amor, dandose huns aos outros conta de seos trabalhos, e dalli foraõ levados a ElRey, que os recebeo bem, consolou, e mandou agazalhar.

E porque não sabiaõ que seria feito da embarcaçaõ em que hia o Capitaõ, assentou o Mestre, com parecer de Jeronymo Leytaõ, que se mandasse aquella almadia, porque soubesse o que lhe tinha acontecido, porque não desconfiasse de todo; e elegèraõ

tres pessoas para hirem na almadia, duas da companhia d Jeronymo Leytaõ, e outra do Mestre, e mandãraõ dizer a D. Paul que logo se passasse à outra banda, porque a terra era boa, e qu estariaõ mais à sua vontade athè vir embarçaõ de Sofála, qu logo mandãraõ pedir, porque juntamente com a almadia despediu Jeronymo Leytaõ hum seo moço com hum Marinheiro Mouro da Naveta que se perdeu, com cartas ao Capitaõ daquella Fortaleza em que lhe dava conta da perdiçaõ da Nao, e da gente que della escapãra, e de tudo o mais que lhe era acontecido, e assim da sua pedindolhe mandasse logo hum Pangayo em que se fossem. E assim deixaremos huns e outros, por continuarmos com os que estavaõ na Ilha. Os quaes vendo, que as almadias não tornavaõ em sete oito e dês dias, não sabendo a que o attribuissem, mais que ao descuido do Capitaõ, o sentio D. Paulo muito, e de apaixonado se destemperou contra elle, e não se sabendo determinar passou muitos dias em grandes malencolias, e o mesmo aconteceo a todos, que foraõ desconfiando de terem o remedio que esperavaõ nas embarçaõens, para se tirarem daquella Ilha, assim por faltar já o mantimento, como por hirem adoecendo algumas pessoas. E sendo já passado quasi hum mez, e que não havia novas da outra gente, tomando parecer todos entre si do que fariaõ, assentãraõ, que pois não podiaõ ter Navio de Moçambique senaõ dalli a hum anno, que caminhassem por terra, e rodeassem aquella Bahia; porque se alli haviaõ de ficar morrendo à fome, e de doença, que menos mal era arriscarem-se aos trabalhos do caminho, encomendando-se a Deos, que elle os guiaria.

Com esta resoluçaõ mandãraõ recado ao Manhiça daquella determinaçaõ, e a pedir-lhe os aconselhasse, e lhes desse licença para se partirem dalli. A este recado lhes mandou responder, que lhes não havia de aconselhar tal jornada, pelo grande risco, que por aquelle caminho correriaõ, porque já agora estavaõ divididos, e que se estiveraõ juntos (inda que não sem risco) entaõ lho poderia aconselhar: e que se aquillo era porque lhes faltassem mantimentos, que elle os mandaria prover o melhor que pudesse, como sempre fizera; e que se todavia a elles lhes parecesse bem aquella jornada, a fizessem muito embora, que elle lha não havia de estorvar, porque se não dissesse, que os queria reprezar em sua terra. Com esta resposta ficãraõ os nossos suspensos, e atalhados, sem se saberem determinar no q̃ fariaõ. Neste mesmo tempo chegou a almadia, que mandava o Mestre

le Jeronymo Leitaõ, a qual quando a viraõ vir pelo mar, acodiraõ si praya, como se nella lhes viera todo o seo remedio; e desembarcados estes homens foraõ levados nos braços de todos com grandes lagrimas de alvoroço. Dalli foraõ a D. Paulo de Lima, fiquê estava em sua choupana, e delles souberaõ o que succedera às Embarcaçoens, e que da de Estevaõ da Veiga não sabiaõ dar novas, se lhas deraõ de tudo o mais que lhes tinha succedido; e que o Mestre, e Jeronymo Leitaõ lhes pediaõ se passassem logo da outra banda, porque além da terra ser de hum Rey amigo dos Portuguezes, era muito abastada de tudo.

Com estas novas ficou D. Paulo de Lima muito alvoroçado, e logo tratou de sua partida; mas porque não cabiaõ na almadia mais de catorze pessoas, fez eleiçaõ dos que haviaõ de hir e ficar, e na primeira barcada coube a sorte a elle com sua mulher, e seo irmaõ, Manoel Cabral da Veiga, Christovaõ Rebello, e outras pessoas, que prefaziaõ o numero, ficando em terra para a outra barcada Bernardim de Carvalho, que estava muito doente, Gregorio Botelho, sua filha D. Marianna, e com ella D. Joanna de Mendoça, por se agazalharem sempre ambas, por não terem maridos, e outras pessoas. Apartada a almadia da terra, no mesmo dia foy tomar a boca do rio do Inhâca, e por elle foraõ caminhando tres dias. E chegando ao lugar foraõ muy festejados d'ElRey, e dos Portuguezes, e alli se agazalháraõ todos em pobres cazinhas, sem mais alfayas que algumas esteiras, e outros palha seca. E tratando de tornarem a mandar a almadia, não houve entre todos quem quizesse hir nella, por estarem fracos, e começarem logo a adoecer de febres.

Os que ficáraõ na Ilha, aguardáraõ athè o quinto e sexto dia pela embarcaçaõ, e como lhes faltou nelles, andavaõ como pasmados sem se saberem determinar em nada, nem haver quem os aconselhasse, e animasse; porque Bernardim de Carvalho, que o podia fazer, estava muito mal de febres, e como lhe faltáraõ os remedios, e elle não tinha outro mimo, que humas papas de ameixoira, e o duro chaõ em que repouzava, cançou a natureza, e entregouse nas mãos da morte, na qual hora elle deo mostras de muito bom Christaõ, na grande paciencia com que por amor de Deos a soffria, e no arrependimento que mostrou de seos peccados. Foy sua morte muito sentida e chorada de todos, por ser hum Fidalgo muito brando, e de partes e qualidades muy esmeradas, e que em todos os trabalhos teve elle sempre o mayor quinhaõ,

acodindo a toda a hora a todos em suas mayores necessidades, principalmente a D. Joanna de Mendoça, que como dissemos, pela ver só, se chegou a ella, e acompanhou, e servio por todo aquelle caminho, com tanto resguardo, honra, e virtude, que fez pasmar a todos, principalmente naquella Ilha, porque elle hia ao mato cortar lenha para ella, e a trazia sobre suas còstas, hia à fonte acarretar agoa; a gallinha, quando se resgatava, elle a matava, depenava e guizava, comendo della Gregorio Botelho, sua filha D. Mariana, e D. Joanna de Mendoça, ficando a elle sempre o menor quinhaõ, e ainda desse guardava huma peça para D. Joanna para a noite, ou para o outro dia. E seguindo os mais da companhia, de puro trabalho morreo. E o que he mais para lastimar, que sua morte foy certamente do mais miseravel mal que podia ser, porque estava cuberto de piolhos, que o seo corpo creou da humidade do chaõ, e do suor dos trabalhos. Foy enterrado ao pè de huma Cruz, que alli tinhaõ os nossos, nù, na terra nua, com hum piedoso pranto de todos, principalmente de D. Joanna de Mendoça, que o sentio como se fora seo proprio Pay, pelo muito que lhe devia, e pela falta que em seos trabalhos lhe havia de fazer; ficando muito desconsolada, sem lhe ficar quem della se condoece, senaõ Gregorio Botelho, e sua filha D. Marianna com quem ella se agazalhava por honestidade. Fallecèraõ mais algumas pessoas, em que entrou o Contra-Mestre, e Calafate. E porque totalmente lhes faltava com que resgatarem o de que tinhaõ necessidade, passáraõ-se a outra Ilha que era povoada, donde mandàraõ recado ao Manhiça do que lhes acontecèra, e das grandes necessidades em que ficavaõ, pedindolhe os mandasse prover do necessario athè vir o Pangayo do resgate, donde se lhe pagaria tudo muito bem. E lhes mandou dizer, que se fossem para a sua povoação, porque estando perto delle, saberia do que tinhaõ necessidade para se lhe dar, porque estando taõ afastados, não podia saber se lhe dariaõ o que elle mandasse. Com este recado estiveraõ abalados a se passarem para lá, ainda que alguns o contra-diziaõ; e toda-via deixàraõ-se por entaõ ficar. E nòs tambem o faremos aqui, por continuarmos com a outra embarcação, em que hia o Capitaõ Estevaõ da Veiga.

Agora continuaremos com esta embarcação que deixámos com o vento travessáõ que lhe deo, com o qual se fizeraõ em outra volta, mas não pudèraõ vingar nada, antes se achàraõ sobre o rollo o mar, que os tratava muyto mal. Peloque se desenganàraõ, e

assentãrãõ ser forçado dar à Còsta, antes que a Lua se puzesse, porque era isto de noite, que depois o poderiaõ fazer em parte em que todos perigassem: e assim foraõ encalhar em huma praya de area, onde se deixãrãõ ficar o que restava da noite com fogueiras que fizeraõ, e com duas espingardas cevadas para se fossem necessarias. Ao outro dia tanto que amanheceo foraõ seguindo seo caminho para o Rio do Ouro, seguidos jã de muitos Cafres, que logo acodiraõ, e os foraõ inquietando, e acomettendo muitas vezes, athè se desavergonharem tanto, que lhes tirãrãõ os barretes das cabeças, e os alforges das còstas, tudo de pullo, com huma ligeireza como de Bogios, sem os nossos os poderem afastar de si por muitas vezes que os acommettèrãõ. E assim neste trabalho, e com grande cançasso do corpo chegãrãõ ao Rio do Ouro taõ cançados que não podiaõ dar hum passo, hindo a este tempo jã com elles hum Cafre chamado Inhatembe de caza d'ElRey, homem conhecido dos Portuguezes, e que jã tinha hido a Moçambique, que os guiou athè a povoação, onde entrãrãõ com huma hora de noite, na qual pouzava o Rey Inhãpula, de que na descripção desta terra fallãmos, o qual os sahio a receber humanamente, e os mandou agazalhar a todos em huma caza grande, e lhes deraõ algumas couzas da terra para comerem, mas resgatando-a por pedaços de prègos.

Ao outro dia foraõ vizitar o Rey, e lhe deraõ conta de seos trabalhos, e pediraõ os mandasse acompanhar athè Inhabane por alguma pessoa fiel, que alli achariaõ com que lhe pagar. ElRey os consolou, e lhes deo o mesmo Inhatembe, que com elles chegãra alli, o qual era Xeque; em satisfaçaõ do que lhe deraõ hum chapeo pardo, que elle estimou muito, o alli se deixãrãõ ficar tres dias, nos quaes adoecèrãõ alguns companheiros de febres; e por se acharem logo mal sinco ou seis, foy necessario deixarem-nos, alli para que tendo melhoria se fossem a Inhabane, para o que mandãrãõ pedir licença a ElRey, que elle lhes deo. E assim se puzeraõ ao caminho, hindo os mais delles em estado que se não podiaõ bolir, principalmente o Piloto da Nao Gaspar Gonçalves, que hia no cabo. Este dia foraõ ter a huma Aldea do Xeque, que com elles hia, que os agazalhou muito bem, e alli ficãrãõ aquella noite.

No dia seguinte lhes chegou pela posta hum Cafre com recado de ElRey Inhãpula, que logo tornassem à sua Aldea, e tirassem della hum Portuguez, que morrera, e levassem os doentes, porque

naõ queriaõ alli ver nenhum morto, porque o Sol se enojou contra elle, e se esconderia, e naõ deixaria chover sobre a terra, e que naõ daria fruitos, nem mantimentos todo aquelle anno. Isto diziaõ, porque tinhaõ para si que os Portuguezes, porque os viaõ alvos, e louros, eraõ filhos do Sol. Estevaõ da Veiga ficou muito enfadado com aquelle recado, e foy necessario mandar alguns dos que estavaõ mais saõs que fossem àquelle negocio, os quaes chegando lá, querendo enterrar o morto, naõ o consentiraõ, antes logo com muita prèssa lho fizeraõ tirar da Aldea quasi a rastos, e os doentes às cõstas; e fóra no mato deixàraõ o morto cuberto com huma pouca de terra; e dos doentes souberaõ, que tanto que os Cafres os viraõ com a febre, que deo a todos como modorra, sem bolirem com pès, nem maõs, que cuidando serem mortos, lhes puzeraõ fogo nos pès para ver se boliaõ; e deixando o morto, levàraõ os doentes comsigo athè a povoação, em que os nossos estavaõ.

Ao outro dia passàraõ o Rio do Ouro á outra parte, o qual seria de hum tiro de espingarda de largura, em cuja barra quebra o mar todo em flor, e dentro naõ he capaz senaõ de vazilhas pequenas, e està em altura de vinte e sinco grãos, e à borda delle deixàraõ dous companheiros já no cabo com os derradeiros arrancos, dos quaes se apartàraõ com grande dor e compaixãõ, acompanhando-os em quanto tiveraõ sentimento para lhes fazerem lembrança das couzas da alma, e lhes repetirem o Santissimo Nome de JESUS. Oh por quaõ bem afortunados se pòdem ter aquelles, que ficàraõ na Nao, que todos os seos trabalhos se concluireãõ em hum momento! e por quaõ infelices se pòdem julgar estes, que cuidàraõ ter melhor sôrte em escaparem della! porque seos trabalhos, riscos, perigos, e emfim morte, lhe veyo tudo a ser mais penoso, e de mais dura. E certo que cuido, que por isto só respondeo aquelle Filosofo a hum que lhe perguntou, que couza era morte? dizendolhe assim: Morte he hum sonho eterno, hum espanto de ricos, hum apartamento de amigos, huma incerta peregrinação, hum ladraõ do homem, hum fim dos que vivem, e hum principio dos que morrem. Porque tudo isto se acharà nos desta perdição; porque que mayor sonho, e que mayor espanto de ricos ha, que o que estes viraõ em si? Hum dia taõ ricos, e contentes, hindo fazendo sua viagem com huma Nao taõ potente, taõ rica, e chea de louçainhas, e ao outro sumirse-lhes debaixo dos pès, e hirse enthesourar tudo nas entranhas do mar. Que mais



lastimoso apartamento de amigos, que o que aqui viraõ estes, deixando-os por aquellas prayas acabando seo termo, sem outra consolação e companhia, que a solidão daquellas barbaras areas? Que mais incerta peregrinação, que esta que por aqui vaõ fazendo, vendose cada hora em tantos riscos e perigos, e tudo, emfim, por esta maneira taõ lastimoso, que se por aquellas areas houvera Tigres e Leoens, certo que se pudèraõ compadecer mais delles, do que o fizeraõ daquelle escravo Androdo, a quem hum Leaõ em Africa sustentou tantos tempos em huma cova, por estar manco com hum estrepe metido por hum pè, o qual lhe o Leaõ tirou, e lambendo a chaga com sua lingoa o sarou. Estas desaventuras, e outras, que cada dia se vem por esta Carreira da India, pudèraõ servir de balizas aos homens, principalmente aos Fidalgos Capitaens de Fortalezas, para nellas se moderarem, e contentarem com o que Deos boamente lhes der, e deixarem viver os pobres, porque o Sol no Ceo, e a agoa na fonte naõ os dà Deos só para os Grandes. Repetimos tantas vezes esta materia pelo discurso das nossas Decadas, porque as grandes deshumanidades e injustiças que cada dia vemos usar por essas Fortalezas com os pequenos dellas, nos tem bem escandalizado; mas Deos he taõ justo, que já que os Reys se descuidaõ com o castigo, o faz elle com maõ tanto mais pezada, quanto he mòr sua justiça, que a dos homens.

E tornando aos perdidos, depois de passarem o Rio do Ouro, foraõ ter ao Reyno do Mamuça, que os agazalhou muito bem, e ficàraõ alli tres dias, nos quaes lhes morrèraõ sinco ou seis companheiros da pèssima agoa que achàraõ, que toda era limos e sugidade, cujos corpos os negros da Aldea fizeraõ logo tirar fóra com tanta prèssa, que à rastos os levàraõ athè os deitarem entre huns brèjos, e entre estes foy tambem o Piloto Gaspar Gonçalves, que escapou da perdição da Nao Santiago nos baixos da Judia para vir a morrer nestas partes, com a mayor desconsolação que se podia imaginar. Daqui se partìraõ os que ficàraõ, acompanhados de dous filhos daquelle Rey, que por aquelle caminho os livràraõ de muitos perigos, e traiçoens, que os Cafres lhes ordenàraõ. Neste dia deixàraõ outros dous companheiros estirados nos matos, por já naõ poderem caminhar de fracos e mortaes, dos quaes amigos se despediraõ com assás de lagrimas e desconsolaçoens. Aquella noite chegàraõ a huma Aldea de hum Cafre chamado Inhabuze, onde se agazalhàraõ, e dalli foraõ ter ao

Reyno do Panda mais chegado ao Cabo das Correntes, a que os de Moçambique communmente chamaõ Imbane; e aquelle Rey os agazalho muito bem, e os não deixou partir dalli senaõ ao quinto dia, por ser muito antigo costume seo fazerem alli deter os amigos para lhes mostrarem o amor que lhes tem, nos quaes os banqueteaõ, e fazem muitas festas, como fizeraõ a estes perdidos; porque aquelle Rey he muito amigo dos Portuguezes, pelo comèrcio e communicaçãõ que tem com os de Moçambique.

Dalli se partiraõ acompanhados de hum filho d'ElRey, e aos onze dias de Mayo, dia em que cahio a Ascensãõ do Senhor, chegãraõ a outro rio tamanho como o do Ouro, que està em altura de vinte e quatro grãos e meyo, o qual divide os Reynos do Panda, e Gamba, e passandose à outra banda, foraõ ter à Cidade deste Rey Gamba, que seria do rio legoa e meya, o qual por saber já de sua vinda, os mandou receber e agazalhar muito bem. Este Rey, e seos filhos eraõ Christaõs bautizados pelo Padro Gonçalo da Silveira da Companhia de JESUS, que no anno de 1560. e 561. andou por aquellas partes entre aquelles barbaros prègando a Ley do Sagrado Euangelho, e ao Rey poz nome Bastiaõ de Sà, assim em memoria d'ElRey D. Sebastiaõ, que reinava, como de Bastiaõ de Sà, que era naquelle tempo Capitaõ de Moçambique; e aos filhos, a hum poz nome Pero de Sà, e a outro Joaõ de Sà; e assim bautizou outros alguns Cafres, que todos tomãraõ as alcunhas de Sas. E porque lhe era necessario passarse ao Reyno de Monomotapa, onde o martirio lhe estava aguardando, deixou alli com elles o Padre Andrè Fernandes seo companheiro, Varãõ verdadeiramente Apostolico, de grande doutrina e santidade, pelo qual dizia o seo Padre Mestre Francisco, que era hum verdadeiro Israelita; o qual Padre Andrè Fernandes esteve neste Reyno com grande exemplo de vida, e ameaçado cada hora do martirio, que sua alma dezejava padecer por Christo Nosso Senhor, que elle nunca recuzou, antes cada vez que lhe davaõ rebate que o mandavaõ matar, esperava por aquella hora com tanta consolação e alegria, que já lhe parecia cahia sobre sua cabeça, aquella fermosa e resplandecente coroa, que no Ceo se dà aos verdadeiros Martyres. Este Varãõ, a que com razaõ pòsso chamar Santo, pela innocencia de sua vida, viveo pois nesta Cidade de Goa muitos annos com raro exemplo de virtude, e nella morreo, homem de noventa annos, e foy daquelles, que se recolhãraõ na Companhia de JESUS em tempo do Beato Padre Ignaciõ seo Fundador. Muitas couzas pudèra dizer

da virtude, vida, e morte deste Varão, porque o communicámos muitos annos, e fomos muito seo devoto; mas porque o Padre Sebastião Gonçalves da Companhia de JESUS no Compendio que faz dos Varoens da sua Companhia, que passáráo a estas partes, trata delle, e do Padre Gonçalo da Silveira mais particularmente, o deixamos nós agora, por continuarmos com estes perdidos athè os pôr em porto seguro.

Deste Reyno de Gamba se partíraõ aos vinte e hum de Mayo, que foy vespera do Espirito Santo, e chegáráo ao Rio do Inhabane, aonde acháráo hum mistiço chamado Simão Lopes, filho de Sofála que alli estava fugido por couzas que tocavaõ à Fé, o qual os agazalhou o melhor que pode, por ser pobre, e já a este tempo não eraõ mais de trinta pessoas, de quarenta e sinco que partíraõ. Alli souberaõ de Simão Lopes, que não podia vir pangayo de Moçambique senão em Novembro; com o que tomáráo seo conselho, e assentáráo de caminhar por terra, por aquella ser muito doentia, por jazer debaixo do Tropico de Cancro; e depois de descançarem alguns dias se puzeraõ ao caminho, e em quatro chegáráo ao Rio de Boene muito mal tratados dos Cafres, que por aquelle caminho os salteavaõ; e passado o rio à outra parte, foraõ caminhando athè outro chamado Morambebe, que por ser muito alto lhe foraõ buscar vão muito acima, e nestes caminhos foraõ acabados de esbulhar desse pouco que levavaõ. Passado o rio foraõ ter a huma povoação chamada Sane, que està na ponta daquella terra, que nas Cartas de marear se chama de S. Sebastião, onde começáráo atravessar a enxada de Sane, que de baixamar espraya tanto, que a sinco e seis legoas se não vê o mar; e por ella caminhámos a mayor parte do dia muy apressados, porque a marè os não atropelasse, e se puzeraõ da outra parte, tendo caminhado por ella mais de sinco legoas, e da outra banda repouzáraõ, e tornáraõ pela manhã a seo caminho, athè hum lugar chamado Fubaxe, onde acháráo hum Portuguez com hum Luzio, que he embarcação daquellas partes, com que alli viera a fazer resgate, com o qual já estava o Guardiaõ da Nao, que Estevaõ da Veiga tinha mandado diante com recado a Sofála para ver se havia remedio para hir embarcação alguma buscar a D. Paulo de Lima, e aos que ficavaõ na Ilha; e alli estiveraõ todo aquelle dia com grande alvoroço, por verem que se hiaõ chegando para terra de salvaçaõ: e logo se passáráo à Ilha Bazaruta, onde estava hum filho de Sofála chamado Antonio Rodrigues para elle os encamin-

har athè Sofála, a qual he povòada de Mouros, que agazalhàraõ a todos muito bem.

Dalli por ordem de Antonio Rodrigues se embarcàraõ para Sofála em embarcaçãõ que negociou, e as trinta legoas que ha athè aquella Fortaleza as andàraõ muito depressa, e sem trabalho; e aos quatro dias de viagem entràraõ pelo Rio de Sofála dentro, e sem ninguem saber, desembarcàraõ em procissaõ, e foraõ à Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos Padres Prègadores, à qual se offerecèraõ com muitas lagrimas, dandolhe os agradecimentos das mercês, que della recebèraõ por toda aquella jornada. Alli acodio o Capitaõ daquella Fortaleza com todos os casados, e os abraçàraõ a todos com muito amor, e cada hum tomou o seo hospede, e assim se repartiraõ todos por aquelles moradores, que os agazalhàraõ com muita humanidade, mandando-os lavar, e fazer os cabellos, por hirem quasi feitos salvages, e recreandose de tudo taõ bastantemente, que em breves dias tornàraõ em seo ser, e jà lhes parecia que estavaõ em outro mundo. O Capitaõ tinha jà comprado hum Pangayo para mandar por D. Paulo de Lima, porque por huma carta de Jeronymo Leitaõ soube de sua perdiçãõ, e com a chegada desta gente se apressou mais, e mandou embarcar todas as couzas necessarias para os perdidos, e vestidos, e roupas para seo resgate. Este Pangayo fez-se logo à vèla, e em poucos dias chegou a Inhábane, aonde dos que ficàraõ doentes da Companhia de Estevaõ da Veiga eraõ jà mortos tres, e os mais convalecèraõ logo com os remedios que lhes foraõ no Pangayo. E porque lhes naõ era possivel passar ao Rio do Espirito Santo, por ser o Pangayo pequeno, partio Simaõ Lopes por terra com a roupa, contas, e mais couzas, que tudo levou às còstas de Cafres, e o Pangayo se tornou para Sofála com os doentes que alli achou.

Havia quasi hum mez que D. Paulo de Lima se tinha passado à outra banda do Rio de Lourenço Marques, sem haver quem quizesse levar a almadia aos que ficavaõ na Ilha, por estarem todos fracos, e enfermos, trabalhando D. Paulo nisso tudo o que pode, athè acabar com o Mestre da Nao, e Jeronymo Leitaõ, que mandassem àquelle negocio os homens que estivessem mais para isso, e de todos elegèraõ tres, que a poder de braço se passàraõ à Ilha, onde achàraõ todos bem desconsolados, e desesperados de poderem vir buscallos, e todavia alvoroçàraõ-se muito com a almadia, e se fizeraõ prestes para passar nella: e porque naõ era capaz de toda a gente, começou a haver entre todos grandes alvo-

roços, porque os que acertassem de ficar, estavaõ arriscados a não tornarem por elles; mas os mesmos, que trouxeraõ a almadia, os seguràraõ com lhes prometterem e jurarem, que não faziaõ mais, que lançar aquella gente na boca do rio, e tornar a voltar; e para mayor segurança sua se deixou hum delles ficar em refens, com o que se quietàraõ. E logo se embarcou Gregorio Botelho com sua filha, e D. Joanna de Mendoça, e outras oito ou dês pessoas; e atravessando a bahia no mesmo dia foraõ à outra parte, e lançando a gente na ponta da boca do Rio do Inhaca, tornàraõ a voltar pelos outros, e chegàraõ à Ilha ao outro dia, e recolhèraõ todos sem ficar nenhum, mais que os mortos, que ficàraõ para sempre, e todos os puzeraõ da outra parte; e achando ainda os da primeira barcada na boca do rio, se metèraõ todos na almadia, que ainda que pequena, não arriscavaõ nada, porque hiaõ pelo rio acima, que era estreito, e de longo da terra; assim mal compostos e apinhados chegàraõ à povoação, aonde os foraõ receber os nossos da companhia de D. Paulo, e se festejãraõ em extremo, e ElRey os mandou agazalhar pela povoação, ficando sempre D. Joanna de Mendoça em companhia de D. Marianna. Depois de descansarem se ajuntàraõ todos, e tratàraõ se seria bem passarem-se a Inhabane; e Jeronymo Leitaõ, que era mais pratico naquella terra, lhes disse, que não se bolissem dalli athè vir o Pangayo, que seria em Outubro, porque elle já tinha escrito a Sofála sobre isso, e que não era de parecer, que se arriscassem por terra, porque os Cafres, que dalli por diante havia, eraõ grandes ladroens, e muito crueis; que pois estavaõ alli em terra segura, lhes não haviaõ de faltar mantimentos, porque o Rey, e seos Vassallos os haviaõ de prover muito bem com o olho no Pangayo que esperavaõ, por saberem que tudo se lhes havia de enxergar muito bem; porque aquelles Cafres não faziaõ nenhuma couza por virtude.

Com o parecer deste homem se determinàraõ todos em ficar; mas como a terra era doentia, por estar debaixo do Tropico, como já dissemos, começãraõ alguns a adoecer de febres malignas, de que morrèraõ de pressa os mais delles, em que entrou o Mestre, cujos corpos se enterrãraõ na corrente do Rio, pelos Cafres não consentirem fazerem-no na sua terra. D. Paulo de Lima parece que lhe adivinhava o coração algum grande mal naquella parte, e muitas vezes pedio a Jeronymo Leytaõ o quizesse levar daquella Aldea, e acompanhallo e guiallo, fazendolhe seos offercimentos, e promessas com grande efficacia; mas como este homem era

variavel, humas vezes dizia que sim, outras que não, pondo sempre por inconvenientes as difficuldades do caminho, e risco dos Cafres. Neste sim, e neste não trouxe a D. Paulo muitos dias sem se determinar nem em huma couza, nem em outra, de que elle veyo a receber tamanho disgosto, e dar em tanta melancolia, que cahio em cama, ou para melhor dizer no chaõ, que essa era a verdadeira, e como era de sincoenta annos, os remedios nenhuns, os colchoens e lançoos mimosos a dura terra, sem consolação alguma mais que as da alma, por ter à sua cabeceira o Padre Frey Nicolao do Rosario, que muito devagar o confessou, e consolou; e ao setimo dia de sua cahida deo a alma a Deos Nosso Senhor aos dous de Agosto, em que os Frades de S. Francisco celebraõ a festa de Nossa Senhora de Porciuncula, em que tem Jubileo plenissimo, da qual festa este Fidalgo era muito devoto; e segundo elle deo mostras de grande Christaõ, e de arrependido penitente, com hum grande exemplo de paciencia, de presumir he, que sua alma sobiria a gozar na Gloria daquelle Jubileo que lá durarà em quanto Deos durar, que serà sem fim.

Sua morte foy para todos a mayor desconsolação que se podia imaginar, assim por verem hum Fidalgo de tantas partes, e calidades boas, de que a natureza o dotou, fallecer no mayor desamparo que se nunca vio, como por se verem ficar sem hum tamanho conselho, como nelle tiveraõ todos em seos mayores trabalhos; porque em pondo os olhos naquella sua authoridade, gravidade, e notavel paciencia, todos se lhes moderavaõ, e ficavaõ de menos pezo; e assim foy pranteado como se fora pay de todos. Deixemos os extremos, que fez sua mulher, que he melhor passar por elles, por não movermos a tantas lagrimas aos que lerem esta nossa Relação; mas pòdese julgar quaes podiaõ ser os de huma mulher que perdia hum tal marido; e mais naquelle tempo em que ella tinha tanta necessidade delle para seo remedio, e consolação, vendose ficar taõ só e desamparada, em parte onde só Deos Nosso Senhor a podia soccorrer.

E V.M. (Senhora D. Anna de Lima) bem sey, que ao lerdos isto, não vos haõ de faltar piedosas lagrimas, derramadas com muita razaõ pela perda de hum irmaõ tanto para amar, como sempre, Senhora, fizestes, e pelo desamparo em que acabou, no qual, Senhora, vos haverieis por muito ditosa de vos poderdes achar à sua ilharga, e dardeslhes algum pequeno de allivio, com lhe reclinardes a cabeça em vosso regaço, para ao menos elle

morrer com alguma consolação, e vòs não ficardes com tamanha màgoa; mas podeisvos, Senhora, consolar muito com ouvirdes aqui q̃ as mostras que deo à hora de sua morte (como disse) vos pòdem certificar de sua salvação: e pelas que na vida deo de sua prudencia, valor, e esforço, gloriardesvos de tal irmaõ, e depois de vossos longos annos, vossos filhos, netos, e posteriores, jactaremse de suas proezas, e cavallarias, porque em minhas Historias vivirà eternamente, e ainda que não taõ alevantado como elle merece, ao menos serà o como pude, que bem dezejey de ser muito melhor.

O Inhaca Senhor daquella terra teve logo avizo de sua morte, e com muita prèssa mandou que o levassem fóra da povoação, com o que foy tirado dos braços da cara consórte, e quasi aos hombros foy levado fóra do povoado, e ao pè de duas arvores que alli ao longo do rio estavaõ, lhe fizeraõ huma cova, em que o deitaraõ, sem outra mortalha que a pobre e suja camiza, e calçoens com que se salvou, e sem outras pompas funeraes que as lagrimas dos companheiros, que foraõ muitas, e sem outras insignias senaõ os ramos secos daquellas arvores, nem outras campas, e pedras marmores, que aquellas areas, que o cobriaõ, qual outro Pompeo nas prayas do Egypto.

Sua mulher D. Brites ficou alguns tempos na Cafraria com as outras que se salvaraõ, padecendo infinitas miserias e necessidades, e depois se foraõ para Moçambique, mandando D. Brites primeiro desenterrar os ossos de seo marido D. Paulo de Lima, os quaes levou comsigo metidos em hum sacco athè Goa, e lhe ordenou sepultura em S. Francisco daquella Cidade na Capella pequena do Serafico Padre, que està entrando pela porta principal à maõ direita, onde estaõ metidos na parede com huma lamina de cobre, em que tem seo letreiro, o qual diz assim: *Canatale, Dabul, e Jor.* Diraõ que està aqui D. Paulo de Lima, a quem os trabalhos acabàraõ na Cafraria na era de 1589.

Das couzas principaes, que fez esta Senhora, não deixarey de louvar esta obra de trazer a ossada de seo marido pelo meyo daquella Cafraria athè a embarcar, que foy heroica e digna de se lhe engrandecer. Por outra couza notavel não quero passar, que he, que de toda esta gente desta Nao, não cuido que ha hoje vivo algum, mais que estas tres mulheres, ella, D. Marianna mulher de Guterres de Monroy, e D. Joanna de Mendoça, que està recolhida em huma caza em Nossa Senhora do Cabo, vestida no Habito de

S. Francisco, Senhora de muita virtude, e em que toda esta Cidade de Goa tem postos os olhos por seo muito exemplo, recolhimento, virtuoso procedimento. E com isto dou fim a esta breve Relação, que permitta Deos Nosso Senhor seja para muito louvor e gloria sua.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

## WRECK

OF

## THE SHIP SAINT THOMAS

*On the Land of Fumos, in the year 1589.*

While Manuel de Sousa Coutinho was governor of India, in January 1589 Estevão da Veiga sailed from Cochin in the ship *Saint Thomas*. He steered a course outside of the Shoals, and on reaching the island of Diogo Rodrigues, which is in latitude twenty degrees south, a strong gale from the south-east sprang up and caused such a heavy sea that, with the pitching and rolling, one of the seams in the bow of the ship was opened, while she was running before the wind, and she began to leak; but this was soon repaired.

The weather clearing up, the ship continued her course to the latitude of the Point, of the island of Madagascar, in twenty-six degrees, where ninety to a hundred leagues from land she commenced to leak again much worse than on the first occasion, and in a very dangerous place, which was in a part of the stern where it was more difficult to be got at than anywhere else. The officers assisted to remove everything from that part of the ship, and they found that the leak—which was great—was occasioned by the forcing back of the seams of oakum and the sheets of lead nailed upon them, which was owing to the caulking, a matter that causes the loss of many vessels, but to which very little regard is paid, and the officers do not give it sufficient attention, as if the safety of so many lives and so much merchandise on board did not depend upon it.

Having found the leak, they saw that it was like a spout, so large that if an officer inserted his hand it was forced back by



the water. As they could not get at it without cutting some of the lining planks, they did this against the opinion of many, but having cut several they desisted, as this was the place where the whole ship was fastened together, and they had no spikes on board to repair such damage, for the most or all of these vessels sail at the mercy of God, to save four cruzados. With knives, large nails, and other things they stopped the leak as well as they could, and filled in the space between the lining and the ribs with small bags of rice to form a sticky substance; but they could not entirely prevent the inflow of water.

To some extent, however, this helped them, and the water began to be less in the pump, so that they pursued their course in fair weather to the latitude of thirty-two degrees and a half south, a hundred and fifty leagues from Delagoa Bay and eighty from the nearest part of the Land of Natal. In this locality the wind changed to south-west, it being already the 12th of March, so they took in all sail except the courses, and stood towards the north. With the labouring caused by the wind and the sea the leak opened again in the same place so quickly that in a short time there were six palms of water in the hold. The people were thereby put into great consternation, and commenced to throw overboard all that was on the deck, to have the hatches free; they passed that night with the pump handles in their hands, without resting. In the morning there were two more palms of water in the hold, and it began to cover the barrels and timber, which floated about from side to side, and with the rolling gave such blows that the whole ship trembled.

As the water increased, the officers fixed some yards across the ship above the after and fore hatches, to which were attached pulleys with kegs that could be run up and down easily, and all on board, without exception, were allotted to work these, Dom Paul de Lima, who was accompanied by his wife, being the first called upon, then Bernardim de Carvalho, the captain Estevão da Veiga, Gregorio Botelho father in law of Guterre de Monroy, who was taking his daughter to her husband in Portugal, and other gentlemen and members of religious orders.

All worked day and night at the pumps and kegs, without leaving them even to take refreshment, for the Fathers went about the deck with biscuit, preserves, and water, consoling all bodily as well as spiritually. Notwithstanding this diligence

the water constantly increased, so that they determined to seek the nearest land and run the ship ashore on it. With this object they set the foresail and spritsail, but did not venture to use the mainsail, that they might not take people from the pumps and kegs, because any time lost from these might be sufficient to cause the ship to go down.

While they were approaching the land, on the 14th of March the water filled the lower hold, and the pumps became stopped up with the pepper that formed part of the cargo, in consequence of which the men lost heart and ceased to work ; but some noblemen, members of religious orders, and honourable gentlemen, with great courage and devotion continuing to labour, encouraged others and persuaded them not to lay down the baling gear, because that might save them. The officers passed that day in clearing the pumps and in overlaying the openings with tin plates that they might not again become choked. As it was also necessary to throw overboard as much as they could, this duty was entrusted to certain persons, who cast into the sea all the riches and finery with which the ship was laden, that was gained with so much toil by some and with so much care by others.

The next day, which was the 15th of the month, the lower deck became covered with water, the wind was from the south-west, and from time to time very heavy showers fell, which caused additional distress. In short everything was against them, for at length the helm ceased to guide the ship, and she broached to, being without sails, as every one was engaged with the pumps, because in them was the only hope of relief. All that night they passed in great trouble and distress, for everything they could see represented death. Beneath them was a ship full of water, above them a sky covered with the deepest gloom and darkness, as if conspiring against all. The air moaned on every side, as if it was calling out death ! death ! while as if the water which was entering beneath them was not sufficient, from above the sky poured upon them as if to overwhelm them in another deluge. Within the ship nothing was heard but sighs, groans, wailings, moans, and prayers to God for mercy, as it seemed that for the sins of some who were in the ship He was wroth with all.

At dawn next day, as every one saw there was no other resource, they spoke of getting out the boat, for which purpose it

was necessary to desist from using the kegs for baling. Between the decks it seemed as if all the evil spirits were busy, so great a noise was made by the things that were floating about, striking against each other, and washing from side to side in such a way that those who went below fancied they beheld a likeness of the last judgment. The officers and other people made haste in getting the boat ready, to which they attached the tackles, and in it they placed whatever appeared requisite for the passage. This was performed with much difficulty, owing to the rolling of the ship, which was lying in a cross sea, and to the water entering by the opening in the bulwarks through which the goods had been cast overboard, which was the cause of her completely filling.

At this time they were steering north-west, because the pilot pronounced them to be very close to the shore, and they were really so near that at sunset on this day a sailor declared he saw it and shouted from the masthead land! land! And as the pilot did not know whether there were any reefs in that locality, on which if the ship should strike she would be totally lost, it appeared good to him to alter the course and steer north-east, so as to approach in the day time in order to save all the people. That whole night was passed in the greatest depression of spirits and in more bodily trouble than can be imagined.

Next day at dawn they could not see the land, and the boat was got out with great difficulty, because while it was still on the tackles in the air, the men threw themselves into it like maniacs. Dom Paul de Lima, who had posted himself in it sword in hand, was unable to keep them back. He wished to prevent the sailors going off in it and leaving him, but in spite of sword-thrusts and blows which he dealt without mercy, they crowded into it, so that on reaching the sea it must have foundered. With great difficulty Dom Paul de Lima induced some of them to return, by promising that all it could contain should be saved in it.

The boat being in proper condition, it went to the stern of the ship to take from the gallery the women, the members of religious orders, and the noblemen who were there, and as the ship was pitching so heavily that they were afraid it might swamp the boat, it was kept at a little distance. Orders were then given that with pieces of muslin the women should be lowered into the boat, which succeeded in taking them in, after many immersions, with great trouble, misery, and pain to all.

On the ship this duty, as well as all other responsibilities, fell upon Bernardim de Carvalho, because Dom Paul de Lima, being a good Christian and fearing God, imagined that this disaster was caused by his sins, by which idea he was so cast down that he did not seem the same man who in the midst of the many risks and perils in which he had found himself had never lost a particle of that strength and courage which now completely failed him.

In the manner aforesaid were embarked the wife of the said Dom Paul, Dona Mariana, wife of Guterre de Monroy, and Dona Joanna de Mendça, widow of Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo, who was going to Portugal to enter a convent, being disenchanted with the world, though still young and able to enjoy it. She was a very virtuous lady, who gave to all an admirable example during the whole of this voyage, as we shall relate in its place. She had with her a daughter not two years old, whom she held in her arms, and with her eyes raised to heaven asked mercy of God. To lower her into the boat, it was necessary to force the child from her arms, and deliver it to the nurse. After these, there embarked the Fathers, and Bernardim de Carvalho, and last of all the master and the boatswain, who procured some kegs of biscuit and water and threw them into the boat, which, being now full, put off.

Dona Joanna de Mendça, seeing that her daughter remained in the ship in the arms of her nurse, who held her up to view with loud lamentations and grief, displayed such sorrow and made such heartrending exclamations that all were moved to return to the ship and beg the child of the nurse. They bade her make it fast to a piece of muslin, and lower it to the boat, which she refused to do, saying that unless they took her in also she would not give up the child, nor could she be otherwise persuaded, though her mistress besought her with tears and entreaties which might have moved a tiger had the child been in its clutches.

This caused some delay, and the woman being obstinate, and the ship plunging greatly, they were obliged to put off the boat that it might not be swamped, which they did with deep compassion for the sad mother, whose eyes were fixed upon her child with such affection as all are wont to show when they look upon those they dearly love. Seeing that she was forced to leave the

child, though she would much rather have remained clasping her in her arms than have abandoned her to the cruel waves which seemed ready to engulf her, she turned her back upon the ship, and lifting her eyes to heaven offered to God her tender child in sacrifice, like another Isaac, begging His mercy for herself, knowing well that the child was innocent and that He would have her in safe keeping. Such a spectacle could not fail to cause deep sorrow to those who were in that state when each has need of the compassion of others, if there were any free to feel for ills beyond their own.

The boat having put off a little, remained waiting at a distance for Friar Nicolas of the Rosary, of the Order of Preachers, who refused to leave without first confessing all those who remained on board, not wishing that so many people should lack spiritual as well as corporal consolation. Thus he confessed and consoled all with great charity, weeping with them for their misfortunes, and absolving them in general and in particular. And because it was not possible for the boat to draw near and take him off by force, because he was determined to remain for the consolation of those people, Dom Paul de Lima said so much and the others in the boat urged him so strongly that he was persuaded to throw himself into the sea and swim to the boat, where he was made much of by all for his virtue and the example which he gave throughout the voyage, for which he was much loved and revered. When he had been taken in, they steered for the land.

Those in the ship, seeing the departure of the boat, and having no further hope but in God and their own efforts, made some rafts as best they could, which were still on board when the boat put off. But God our Lord had chosen that these should perish in that place, for they all foundered, as did also two Indian boats which were at the stern of the ship. It is certain that this must have been a punishment from God, for all the people in the ship might easily have been saved if those in the boat had not cared only for their own security. They might first have prepared large rafts, on which all might have taken refuge, with water and provisions, and been guided by the boat to land, which was so near that it was seen next day. There would have been ample time for this, as the ship remained afloat twenty-four hours without pumping, during which as many rafts as might be needed

could have been prepared, for there were masts, yards, and more than sufficient timber.

The wreck of the ship *Santiago* on the Baixo da Judia (as is related in the tenth Decade) took place under more difficult circumstances, yet her crew made many rafts, of which some reached land without help from the skiff or boat, the passage lasting eight days. But the persons in the ship who might have seen to this were Dom Paul de Lima, who lost his previously unvanquished courage on finding himself with his wife in such straits, and the other Bernardim de Carvalho, an honourable nobleman and a gallant gentleman, but of so mild a disposition that, seeing great disorder among the seamen, he overlooked many things, that all might not be lost. Seamen in such a case as this respect nothing, nor were they afterwards punished for the excesses they committed.

To return to the boat. As soon as it set out, the officers found it so overburdened, being so heavily laden that it was nearly under water, that they were very urgent for some to be thrown overboard to save the rest. To this the noblemen consented, leaving the choice to the seamen, who threw six persons into the sea. These were lifted into the air and thrown overboard, where they were swallowed by the cruel waves, and never reappeared. This pitiful sacrifice so shocked those who looked upon it that they remained astounded, not realising what they saw, or regarding it as something seen in a dream. And when the boat was lightened of these six persons, there still remained a hundred and four.

Continuing on their way, they could not get forward, the water driving them from the land out to sea, the men being unable to row from the fatigue of past labour, and the boat being unmanageable from its weight. At midnight they found themselves out at sea a good distance from the ship, and taking to their oars, rowed towards it. They saw many lights in it, which were burning candles, for those in the ship passed the whole night in processions and saying litanies, recommending themselves to God with loud cries and clamour, which could be heard in the boat.

In the morning the boat drew near to the ship and the officers spoke to those on board, encouraging them to make rafts, and offering to wait and accompany them. Those in the ship replied with loud cries and wails, begging for mercy in voices so heartfelt

and pitiful as to inspire fear, which was rendered more awful and appalling because it was still in the early dawn. When it was full daylight several persons tried to reach the ship, to get guns and provisions, for which purpose three or four sailors swam to her. On getting on board they found the deck already under water, and the people mad with fear of the death awaiting them, and still upon the gallery of the stern they had a beautiful picture of our Lady, round which were all the slaves dishevelled, in piteous supplication, begging her mercy.

The nurse of Dona Joanna was standing before them all with the child, which she never put down, in her arms, whose tender age did not permit her to realise her danger, and even had she done so in her innocence it would have troubled her little, for there is nothing which makes death so fearful as doubt of salvation. The sailors threw into the sea several barrels of water and biscuit, and one of wine, that were taken into the boat, which it was desired should approach the ship to lighten it of still more persons, as it was not fit for navigation. The sailors returned without Dona Joanna's child, because most of these men are inhuman and cruel by nature.

As the boat could not reach the ship to be lightened in this manner, it drew off, and the seamen were allowed to throw more persons overboard. These were Diogo Fernandes, a good man, but very faint-hearted, who had just relinquished the post of factor of Ceylon; a soldier named Diogo de Seixas; Diogo Duarte, a merchant; and Diogo Lopes Bayão, who was for many years in Balagate, where Idal Shah gave him a salary of three thousand cruzados, he being a man of industry and invention, trading in horses at Goa for that place, and keeping him informed of everything. He was even suspected of being doubtful in the faith, for which reason he was sent to Portugal, (of which we have given a long account in our tenth decade), for it was he who contrived the plot to bring Cufu Khan to the mainland, whom Idal Shah wished to have in his power, because the kingdom belonged to him, and on this occasion he succeeded through the craft of the said Diogo Lopes, and commanded his eyes to be put out. This man, when he was seized to be thrown overboard, entrusted to Father Nicolas a quantity of uncut stones, which he said were worth ten or twelve thousand cruzados, recommending him, if he were saved, to deliver them to his agents at Goa, if he

went thither, or to his heirs, if God brought him to Portugal. Several slaves were thrown overboard with these men, and were at once swallowed by the cruel waves.

This abominable cruelty having been accomplished by the sea-men, which God permitted, but caused them to pay dearly, all or most of them dying on shore in the wilderness in great misery, the boat began to row towards the land. Being at a distance from the ship, at ten o'clock in the morning they saw her give one great plunge, and founder, disappearing under the water in sight of all like a flash of lightning. They were left astounded, as men in a dream, seeing the ship in which they had so lately been journeying, laden with riches and merchandise almost beyond estimation, swallowed by the waves and sunk under the waters, burying in the caves of the ocean everything belonging to those in her and to others in India, acquired by such means as God knows, for which reason He often permits as little enjoyment from it as in this case.

Though the sight was fearful to all, the sorrow of Dona Joanna de Mendocça was greater and more passionate, for she saw her daughter, her tender darling, perhaps the prey of some sea monster that might devour her while she was still alive; but as she had already offered everything in sacrifice to God, while she experienced this grief within her heart, He cannot have failed to succour her with some spiritual consolation, as may well be concluded from the patience, virtue, and example which she showed on this occasion.

A sail was set in the boat, and with the wind from the east they steered for the nearest land upon the course they had been following when they saw it on the 20th of March. They drew near to it with great rejoicing (if such could be in hearts which had lately suffered such misery), and as it was nightfall they took in the sail, that they might not run aground in some spot where they would all be drowned, now that God had brought them to shore.

Certainly the loss of this ship and the death of those who were in her is a matter to be pondered over, for in many points it appears to have been an evident judgment of God. If that night when the sailor said he saw land it had been visible in the morning, or if the pilot had not changed the course during the night, the people could not by any means have perished, for



they were only eight leagues from the shore at most, and the ship allowed ample time to have landed the first boatload and returned for the rest. Or, still better, they might have remained in the ship till she ran aground, which, though two leagues from land, would have made it easier to save the people with the boat, and even on rafts had they not had the boat, which all would have made with a good heart in sight of land, and could thus have been saved. But sin blinded their eyes, so that they could not understand this, and those were lost who had been born for such a fate.

The next day in the morning they reached the land in safety, and anchored where the waves broke, for there the bottom was clear. Several sailors were then put on shore to see if they could find any villages. Perceiving fires from the top of some sand-hills they went in search of them, and found some straw huts inhabited by Kaffirs. These fled on their approach, but recognising them as Portuguese, from the dealings they had with them in the ivory trade, which is carried on every year there, they returned to them very familiarly and went with them to the shore, but without understanding each other, because none of them spoke our language. The wind was then blowing from the west, and all agreed to proceed along the coast as far as the river of Lourenço Marques. The sailors re-embarked, and they went on their way; but the wind increased and the waves rose, so that they were forced to run aground on that shore, lest they should be driven to do so upon some other where they might perish.

Running the boat ashore, they all landed with some biscuit they had with them, and prepared their guns and other arms in case of necessity. They passed that night among some sandhills, where they lit their fires, keeping a vigilant watch. This was on the 22nd of March, and the next day they set fire to the boat to get out the nails—which are much esteemed among the Kaffirs—to trade with, and they made calico wallets for the journey, and several water-bags from some skins which had been thrown into the boat by chance, to carry water for the road.

They then made a muster of those present, and found that they were ninety-eight persons, counting the women, of whom we name those we have knowledge of: Captain Estevão da Veiga, Dom Paul de Lima, Dona Beatrice his wife, Gregorio Botelho and his daughter Dona Mariana wife of Guterre de Monroy, Dona

Joanna de Mendonça widow of Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo, Bernardim de Carvalho, Manuel Cabral da Veiga, Christovão Rebello Rodovalho, Nicolao da Silva, Diogo Lopes Leitão brother of the wife of Dom Paul de Lima, Francisco Dorta factor of the ship, Antonio Caldeira son of Manuel Caldeira the accountant of the ships, Father Nicolas of the Rosary, of the Order of Preachers, Father Antonio, a secular Franciscan, Marcos Carneiro the ship's master, Gaspar Fernandes the pilot, Diogo de Couto, who was wrecked in the ship *Santiago* on the Baixo da Judia, and others, sailors and ships' boys.

The arms were found to consist of five guns, as many swords, a keg of powder, and several lints. With the oars of the boat they made lance handles, with carpenters' gimlets for heads. The biscuit was divided among them all, in two or three handfuls apiece, the water-skins were filled, and this was their provision for the journey they had resolved to undertake.

On the 23rd of March they set out, the Franciscan Father Antonio going first with a crucifix as a standard. Two hammocks were made from the sails of the boat slung on oars, in which the women might travel, carried by the sailors and ship's boys, to whom Dom Paul de Lima promised a large sum of money. The wives of Dom Paul and Guterre de Monroy wore white tunics, trousers reaching to the ground, and red caps, but Dona Joanna de Mendonça was dressed in the habit of Saint Francis, because it was her intention to enter as a sister into one of the convents of Saint Clare, and she wished to put on her habit that if she died on the journey she might be so clothed and her desire might be in part fulfilled. And afterwards she accomplished this, for though there was no convent of Saint Clare in India which she could enter, she retired to our Lady of the Cape, in her habit which she never again took off, and built a little house or cell into which she withdrew, to be near the Franciscan Fathers who there lead holy lives, and herself no less so. Here she lives in such retirement, abstinence, and contemplation, that no cloister could be better, and her life and example are a consolation to this city of Goa.

Before continuing to relate the events of the journey of these castaways in Kaffraria, it seems proper to give a brief description of those parts, as we have done of all the others in our ninth Decade, where we treat of the conquest of the gold-mines by the

governor Francisco Barreto and Vasco Fernandes Homem. This we shall now do from the spot where the boat came ashore to Cape Correntes, which we reached in the description of the kingdoms of Monomotapa and those of the interior and coast of this Lower Ethiopia.

The place where the boat came ashore is commonly known to our navigators as the land of Fumos, and is so marked upon our charts, which name was given to it by the first of our people who visited it, from the quantity of smoke which they saw on the land at night; but the native Kaffirs call it the land of the Makomates, from some Kaffirs so named who live along its shores. The boat landed in latitude twenty-seven degrees and a third, near a river unnamed in our charts, which is in latitude  $27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and which our people who go from Mozambique to the river of Lourenço Marques to carry on the ivory trade call the river of Simão Dote, from a Portuguese who went there in a pangayo. This river is small, is only navigable with small craft, and is about fifty leagues distant from the bay of Lourenço Marques, to the south.

All this land of Fumos is under the king called Viragune; it extends more than thirty leagues into the interior, and on the southern side is bounded by another land called Mokalapapa, which extends from the river Saint Lucia, which is in latitude twenty-eight and a quarter degrees, to the land of Natal. Here it joins another kingdom, that of Vambe, which runs south, where our people also carry on a trade in ivory. From this kingdom, which includes a great part of the land called Natal, to the Cape of Good Hope there are no other kings, but all is in the possession of chiefs called Inkosis, who are the heads and governors of three, four, or five villages.

From the kingdom of Viragune, which is all that land of Fumos, the kingdom of Inhaka runs to the north-east, and extends to the point of the bay of Lourenço Marques, on the southern side, which on our charts is called the river of Saint Lourenço, and is in latitude twenty-five degrees and three quarters. Included in it are two islands off the said point, one called Choambone, which is inhabited and has seven villages, is about four leagues in extent, and has many cows, goats, and hens; and another, called Setimuro, which is without people, and may be two leagues in extent. Here our people engaged in the ivory trade make their

station, to be more secure from the blacks of the country, and the best ivory trade they have is with the Inhaka. This island has very good water, abundance of fish, and tortoises, though their shells are worthless.

As we have now reached this bay, which is famous, and one of the principal of the continent called Africa by geographers, we shall describe it, that it may better appear what kings live around it. Let us suppose a butterfly, with two points, the one of Inhaka aforesaid, and another on the northern side, where is the kingdom of Manisa, of which we shall afterwards speak. The distance from one side of the mouth to the other is about six leagues, and the depth from the mouth inwards fourteen fathoms.

In the middle of the bay is an island, which our people call the isle of Birds, because of the great numbers there, which are as large as geese, and so fat that their grease is used as oil for the lamps and binnacles of ships. The wings of this butterfly on the southern side have a river, which runs south-west, upon both sides of which extends the kingdom of Belingane, and so the river is called. The wing on the northern side has the river Manisa, which flows from the north, from which the kingdom takes its name.

This river is the largest of those that discharge here, and one of those which, as we said in our eighth Decade, in the description of the kingdom of Monomotapa, flows out of the Great Lake together with the Nile and others. It enters the part which is commonly called Bahia Ferosa, which is in fact the river Espirito Santo. Here the Portuguese trade in ivory, and have a factory, which they occupy during the four months of the year that the monsoon lasts.

The end of this butterfly is divided into two streamers, which are two rivers, that from this direction run into the bay, which is the body of the butterfly. On the streamer to the north is the kingdom of Rumu, which was where Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda, when he passed there with his wife, delivered up his arms, as we described in the sixth decade, and where she and her children died and the said Manuel de Sousa disappeared, entering the thickets in his sorrow at seeing the death of his wife and children, where he is supposed to have been devoured by wild beasts.

A few years ago the king commanded this thicket to be cleared, to turn the ground to advantage, in which the native Kaffirs say

they found two rings with valuable stones, which the king has, and shows to this day to the Portuguese who go there to trade. We heard this from several people, who assured us that they saw these rings, which are supposed to have belonged to the said Manuel de Sousa, who was wearing them on his fingers.

The other streamer at the end of the butterfly on the southern side is the kingdom called Anzete; it should be known that among these Kaffirs as soon as one succeeds to a government he is called by the name of the kingdom he rules. This kingdom is divided by great mountain ranges, extending more than twenty leagues, so rugged, impenetrable, and impregnable by nature, that they cannot be traversed except by several very difficult passes. On their summits are many large plains, which belong to a chief named Monhimpeka, who never under any circumstances descends from the mountains or holds communication with his neighbours, who are great thieves.

In these mountains there are numerous elephants, and this chief has great caves full of their tusks; but he would never trade with the Portuguese, fearing that if he sent them down from the mountains they would be stolen by his neighbours. This Kaffir lives on these heights in great security, and has no need of anything, for the land yields him all the necessaries of life. The people of these mountains speak the same language as the Vumos and Anzetes, their neighbours, and are generally, both men and women, of such great stature that they look like giants.

The two rivers which form the streamers at the end of the butterfly unite, and two days journey farther up another branches off which flows from Anzete to Vumo, and cuts that tract of land through the middle. Upon this river lives a king called Angomanes, whose country extends towards the west; and the river runs at the foot of some mountains, upon whose skirts are several villages. We were told by a Portuguese who went to trade up this river in a vessel that he came upon the people of these villages, who were fishing in small craft, and he noticed that when they required anything from the shore they moved their boats to a spot whence they could be heard, and gave certain calls and whistles, upon which the people from the villages brought all they required, for they understand each other by these sounds; nevertheless they have a language of their own, very different from that of all the other kingdoms.

To return to the mouth of the river Espirito Santo, which is the head of the butterfly, between it and the river Manisa there runs a strait towards the south-west, and cuts off that point, making it an island, which our people call Mel. From it the coast runs directly to the river Dos Reys, which our people now call the Ouro, in latitude twenty-five degrees, on the western side of which lies the kingdom called Inhapula, and on the other side that of Manusa, which is its dependency.

Here the coast curves in as far as Cape Correntes, making a deep bay not marked upon our charts, and when the ships from Mozambique go to the river of Lourenço Marques, it appears as if they were crossing a great gulf. Along this bay there live certain Kaffirs called Mocrangas, who are great thieves. In the middle of it there is marked upon our charts a river in latitude  $23\frac{4}{5}^{\circ}$ , which is called Bazaruta, but it does not exist, nor is there a stream of that name on the whole coast. There are only the islands of Bazaruta, in latitude  $21\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , opposite the point called St. Sebastian on our maps, which is in latitude  $22\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$ , of which we have already given an account in the ninth Decade, in the description of the whole of Kaffraria.

In the interior behind this bay of the Mocrangas are two kingdoms: that of Manusa already mentioned, which lies in the part aforesaid, and the other of Inhabuze, which extends to a great river called Inharingue, below Cape Correntes. This is the one we have just mentioned as called Bazaruta on the charts, but it is nearer Cape Correntes than is indicated thereon. Upon the western side of this river is the kingdom of Pande, next to that of Inhabuze, which has on the north the kingdom of Monhibene, along the said river, and joins another kingdom called Javara, which is situated upon this river in the interior. On the opposite side are two other kingdoms: that of Gamba nearer the sea, and that of Mocumba in the interior.

All the kingdoms mentioned in this description are well known to the Portuguese, who resort to them from Mozambique to trade for ivory. Upon which we will say no more of them; and though it would not be out of place to treat of the barbarous customs and laws of these Kaffirs, I will not do so here, because it is foreign to my purpose, which is only to relate what befell the people of this wreck upon their way until they reached the river of Lourenço Marques.

Our castaways, having set forth upon their journey as already stated, travelled along the shore very slowly, on account of the women, eating a little of the biscuit they had with them and drinking a little water from the skins, for most of it had leaked through the seams. In this way, with frequent stoppages, they travelled until night, when they halted among some sand hills where they took shelter, seeking, as they did all through the journey, a separate place for the women; and made their fires and slept upon the hard sand, having no covering but the sky. The next day they resumed their journey, being already without food or water, and they caught some crabs upon the shore, which they roasted and ate. The women were already overcome with fatigue, above all the disconsolate Dona Joanna de Mendonça, for the two others were assisted, one by her husband and the other by her father, who aided and consoled them as well as they could, and this lady alone was unprotected and sorrowful, for there was not among all those people a single one bound to her by any tie, who could assist her in this necessity.

But God our Lord turned His eyes upon her who had given Him her heart, and moved Bernardim de Carvalho, a virtuous nobleman, to take compassion upon her. He, seeing her weary and alone, drew near and gave his hand to assist her, with all the respect due to a woman dead to the things of this earth, who on the very day she set foot on land put on the habit of Saint Francis and cut off her beautiful hair, sacrificing it to God and leaving it in those parts to be scattered by the winds. Thus during the whole of the journey, as long as it lasted, she showed such an example that all were lost in admiration. And the aforesaid nobleman served her with such love and respect, seeing her mortification, that forgetting his own hardships he thought only of her, so that no father or brother could have done more.

Thus they went on their way with great suffering to the women, whose feet were already blistered and wounded, which forced them to go so slowly that on the third day some wished to push forward, that they might not risk their lives by such delay in want of everything, with nothing to eat but crabs, fruit from the thickets, and a few trifling things which they obtained in trade with the Kaffirs.

When it was known that some wished to hasten forward, the captain and Dom Paul de Lima went to them, and with urgent

words dissuaded them from carrying out their intention, assuring them that God would succour them. From that time forward they kept better order, for they divided into two parties, half the people with Paul de Lima in front with the arms, Captain Estevão da Veiga behind with the rest, and the women between, who were in such a state that it went to the hearts of all; and thus they proceeded sympathising with them.

Already on the second day they were followed by some Kaffirs, numbering about three hundred, who seemed to have cast their eyes upon the caps and other trifles which they saw, and they drew nearer and nearer, until growing bolder, they got in front of our people, shouting their war-cries and brandishing their arms, which they call Pemberar. The captain and Dom Paul de Lima, seeing their determination, formed into one body, placing the guns and lances on the outside and the women in the centre, and advanced towards the Kaffirs, who came on with loud cries and shouts, attacking them and hurling many fire hardened sticks, which they call fimbos, which would fell an ox if they struck it, but which did not harm any of our people. The guns being fired upon them, they were so terrified on hearing the discharge that they threw themselves upon the ground, and bounding like monkeys upon all fours they fled into the thickets; and our people being rid of them, pursued their journey.

The same day there came to them through some passes in the mountains another band of Kaffirs, among whom there was one very old, with a white beard, clad in a tiger's skin, and with him a Kaffir woman who appeared to be his wife. They drew near very familiarly, and made signs to our people to follow them, which they did, thinking that he was the chief of some village. They led them by the same road they had used in coming, which they followed with difficulty, it being rather rugged, until they reached a village, which was near a lake more than a league in length. The Kaffir offered them shelter, which they accepted, and rested there the rest of the day and all the night, without disturbance. The Kaffir women of the village thronged to see the white women, as something marvellous, and all night they gave them many entertainments and dances, which they would gladly have excused, as the noise prevented them from sleeping, and they had great need of rest.

Here they brought hens, goats, fish raw and roasted, and paste



of millet-flour, of which they make cakes, and they exchanged all this for pieces of nails and several shirts which their owners stripped off for the purpose. Our people remained until the next day in this rustic recreation, and the pilot took the altitude of the sun and found the lake to be situated in  $26\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  south latitude.

This is a fresh water lake, but the tide enters it by a little river which at low water reaches to the knees. The sea breaks violently at its mouth, and therefore the water of the lake is rather brackish, but there are many wells in those parts from which they drink. This was Palm Sunday, and because of the entertainment they found there they gave this river the name of Abundance. The next day they returned to the shore, where they found some staves of barrels, the handle of a saw, some pieces of plank, and other wood. The Kaffirs who accompanied them said these things were left by some Portuguese who came ashore at that place; and therefore all supposed that they must have been from one of the rafts of the ship *Santiago*, which the current brought there, for several were made, but only two were heard of again. The greatest hardship which our people suffered in the journey along the shore was thirst, which tormented them so that they returned into the interior, though it might be with worse consequences.

The day after they left the river Abundance they came upon another small stream, which also flowed into a lake not smaller than the first. This they crossed at low water, and the pilot again measured the altitude of the sun and found the latitude  $26\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ . Thenceforward they were penetrating the territory of the king Inyaka,\* of which we spoke in our description. He had been informed of their approach, and sent several of his people to accompany them, who made much of them; and they were extremely pleased on finding in the party a Kaffir who spoke Portuguese very well. This man told them that less than ten days previously a ship had left the river of Lourenço Marques for Mozambique, which carried much ivory, and the captain was Jeronymo Leitão.

In joyful hope they reached the village, and sat down at the

\* Manisa in the original, but that this is an error, and that Inyaka is intended, is evident from the context. The same misprint occurs on several other occasions in the narrative.

entrance under a beautiful tree. All the people of the village, men and women, came out to see them, being astonished at the sight of the women, for they had never met any before. The Kaffir women, seeing them so weary and distressed, showed great compassion, and drawing near caressed and made much of them, offering their houses and desiring even to take them there at once.

It was not long before the king arrived, accompanied by many people. He was naked, except for a piece of cloth which covered the lower part of his body and a green cloak which the Chief Ensign Dom Jorge de Menezes had sent him from Mozambique when Dom Paul de Lima was captain. The captain and all the others rose up and received him with great courtesy, and he embraced them with a joyful countenance and sat down with them under the tree. Our people related their misfortunes and the hardships they had suffered on the way, and said they were all rejoiced at reaching his village, for they knew what a friend he was to the Portuguese, and they hoped to obtain from him succour in their necessities. The king gave them a good hearing, and answered humanely, condoling with them, and offering them everything his kingdom contained.

It seemed proper to them to make this man a present, because these people are always on the watch to see if one has brought anything to give them. They sought among themselves for something, and found a piece of cloth worked in gold which Dona Mariana used as a wrapper, a copper basin, a thing which the Kaffirs hold in high value, and a large piece of iron, all of which they presented to him, asking him to excuse them, for they had only saved their persons, and even this piece of cloth had been taken from one of the women. They threw it over his shoulders, and he was so vain that he eyed himself on every side, and laughed with glee among his Kaffirs, counting this the day of his greatest triumph.

Then he gave orders to his people to bring food, and they returned directly with two baskets of a kind of pulse which they call ameixoeira, and a goat. He asked them to remain in that village, and promised that he would provide for them as well as he could until the arrival of the trading ship of that year; and said he was of opinion they should not risk travelling farther, for along the bay where they must pass lived some Kaffirs who were

great thieves and would kill and rob them, and that his father warned Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda of this when he passed that way, and he was lost through not following this advice. He also told our people that if they did not think themselves safe in the village, he would order them to be taken to an island where they would still find the houses in which the Portuguese lived when they came for the ivory trade, and a small boat for their use; and there he would order them to be provided with whatever they required.

They looked upon this as a favour, and accepted his advice, asking him to direct them to the island and to give them leave to go there the next day. As soon as they had come to this hasty resolution the king withdrew, leaving people to accompany them to the island, and our people went outside the village and passed the night, having set sentinels and made many fires. Here they made ash cakes and cooked their food, and the Kaffirs brought hens, grain, beans, and other things for sale.

This was Thursday in holy week, and therefore they did not wish to go farther until Easter-day, which fell on the second of April. On this day they commenced their journey, with more ease, but not without hardship, for it rained so heavily that they suffered a good deal. On the second day of the octave they came in sight of the bay of Espirito Santo, and as it was late, they lodged that night as best they could. The next day they reached the sea, and the Kaffirs who guided them made signals to those on the island, which was near, and they came with two small boats, in which our people passed over to the island that day and the next. They journeyed about a league on the island, and found it covered with beautiful trees and rich pastures, where very fine cattle were grazing, which belonged to the king. At the end of the island overlooking the bay they found some straw huts in which they took shelter.

Next day at low tide, with the water to their waists, they passed over to another island, called Setimino, of which we spoke elsewhere. Here they found more than fifty huts, constructed and left by the Portuguese traders, and in these they took shelter as best they could. They found also two small vessels, which the ship's officers examined and considered fit for use in passing to the other side of the bay, which was so wide that the opposite shore could not be seen. They judged that the larger of the

craft would hold sixty persons, and the smaller fifteen. At this they were all rejoiced, for they thought that when they reached the other side they would find less difficulty in getting to Sofala. The carpenter therefore began to prepare the boats, and they sent to Manisa some pieces of silver of the few they had saved, and asked him to give them leave, which he did, so they pushed forward the preparations for their passage.

Everything being ready, on the 18th of April they began to embark in both boats, thinking they would hold them all. As soon as they were on board, however, the boats began to fill with water, so that those who were in them called out to be put ashore, because they were sinking. Thus they disembarked again, wet and disconsolate, and retired to their huts bereft of the means of safety which they thought they had possessed.

The sailors in a body now asked that the boats should be given to them, as they wished to venture onward. They said they would take a message to Inhambane, where they might possibly be able to arrange for a pangayo to return for the others. Upon this an altercation arose, with loud words and insolence on the part of the sailors, who had become unruly during the journey. The noblemen and soldiers did not wish the boats to be given, that they might not be left without them, and also that these men might not separate from the others, for the salvation of all depended upon keeping together. Upon this there was such dissension and clamour that everything was in confusion, and nothing could be understood or decided.

At this time Dom Paul de Lima had retired into a hut, with his wife, because he had no hope of reaching the other side, and wished only to be occupied in recommending himself to God, without knowing what was going on or attending to anything else. The captain, Bernardim de Carvalho with the other noblemen, the master, and the pilot, knowing his condition, sought him, and begged him not to deprive them of his counsel, for all were determined to obey his orders alone, and to remain in his company there or wherever he chose. Dom Paul de Lima, who had resolved to remain there, committing himself to the hands of God and whatever might be His will, begged them to leave him, for he was old and weary, and finding himself with his wife in these straits, he was determined to lead a hermit's life there and pass the remainder of his days in penance for his sins. He

observed that they were preparing to go, and he was certain that whoever landed on the other side, even if he went also, as soon as the shore was reached would push forward and abandon him, and he would find himself with his wife in those desert and uninhabitable wastes; therefore he would rather remain behind and see what fate God had reserved for him. He said further that those who wished to go on had better do so at once, for he only desired to consider the salvation of his soul, and as to his body any portion of the earth would suffice for it.

These words, which he did not speak without tears running down upon his venerable beard, so touched them all that they could not refrain from weeping with him, and thus between their tears and sobs, those persons for whom he had the most respect begged him to be consoled and to remember that his was that great spirit which had so distinguished itself on the many occasions in which God our Lord had shown him so many favours and given him so many victories; and as with so much fortitude God had also gifted him with such lively and enlightened knowledge and counsel, in these straits, where they were more than ever necessary, he ought not to abandon himself to his fate; that this was tempting the God who had so highly gifted him, and He, who had preserved him so far, would continue to do so until He brought him to a Christian land, where he would be better able to accomplish his present purpose. Therefore, they said, he should attend to the preservation of his life and that of his wife, for whose sake he should spare himself, for if he died of sheer grief, as now seemed likely, an account would be demanded of him in the other life of having been the cause of leaving her among those brutes unprotected and in danger of despair. All there present offered themselves, and pledged their faith, that never at any time or under any circumstances would they forsake him, but would follow his fortune, and wherever it should lead him there would they go also. They said that he should examine his conscience and take note that he was risking his soul in thus giving himself up to die of his own free will, that it was tempting God, whom he seemed to distrust in this matter, knowing that His mercy is unbounded, and that he should not let himself be vanquished by fortune, which he had trodden under foot all his life.

When the noblemen had spoken thus, the ship's master under-

took, as head of all the seamen, never to leave him in whatever straits he might be, but always to follow him until they should lose their lives for him; and acquainted him that the strongest sailors offered to carry his wife in a litter, and to serve her all through the journey, as was but just.

Upon this Dom Paul de Lima could not but yield and trust himself to their hands. Then, by his advice, it was decided that half the people should cross first, with Captain Estevão da Veiga, and when they reached the other shore, the boats should return for the rest. This was done. The captain and pilot embarked in the largest boat, with forty-five persons, among whom were the boatswain, the under-pilot Diogo Lopes Leitão, Francisco Dorta the ship's factor, and Antonio Caldeira; all the rest were seamen. In the smaller boat there embarked the master with fifteen persons, including his son, Friar Nicolas of the Order of Preachers, and the others common people. Thirty-six persons remained on the island, who were noblemen and gentlemen that would not leave Dom Paul, and with them were the ladies.

The boats, having set sail, left the shore, and steered for the other side. At sunset they reached land, and anchored one league east of the river of Manisa, as they heard from some Kaffirs whom they found there. The wind failing, they remained at anchor all night, and this was the error of that voyage and the cause of their future hardships; and all arose from sparing themselves a little labour, for if they had taken to the oars, they might easily have gone in search of and entered the river of Manisa, which was not more than a league behind them.

They remained at anchor all night, and in the morning the wind blew from the west-south-west, which was unfavourable for returning to the river, and therefore they thought it would be better to go along the coast until they reached the river Ouro, which was thirteen or fourteen leagues distant, and when the wind changed they could return for those who remained on the island. Thus they ran along the coast, which was very clear; but towards evening the wind lulled, until it shifted to south-south-east, which was contrary. With this they drifted towards the shore, until they were close to the surf, so that those in the larger boat were obliged to turn about, but the smaller one cast anchor. Her ropes, however, which were of grass, giving way, she set sail again, and remained a little while without advancing,

so that they found themselves in the surf. But they drew off, and by better navigation, the diligence of the master, and the will of God, luffed so effectually that they cleared the points, and in the morning had already reached the mouth of the river of Manisa.

On shore they heard that in the village where the king lived, twelve leagues up the stream, there were some Portuguese, and so with hope they took to the oars, with some difficulty for they were all very weak, and proceeded up the river, until after two days they reached the village, where Jeronimo Leitão and some of his companions immediately came to meet them. It was about a month since he had left the river of Lourenço Marques, as before related, with a pangayo laden with ivory, with which he had gone to the river Ouro, and had there been robbed, after which he had come to the village of this Manisa, with whom he was acquainted. Upon thus meeting, they embraced each other with many tears and much affection, and having related their misfortunes, they were taken to the king, who received them well, comforted them, and ordered them to be lodged.

As they did not know what had become of the captain's boat, the master decided, with the advice of Jeronimo Leytão, to send his boat to the island to relate what had occurred, that the people there might not fall into despair. Three persons were chosen to go in her, two of the company of Jeronimo Leytão and one of that of the master. They also sent word to Dom Paul that he should cross to the other side at once, for the country was good, and he could wait there more at his ease until some ship should come from Sofala, which they had sent to ask for; as Jeronimo Leytão, at the same time as the boat left, sent a young man of his company and a Moorish sailor from the lost ship with letters to the captain of that fortress, giving him an account of the wreck, of the people who had escaped, and of all that had happened to the ship and to his own vessel, asking him to send a pangayo for them.

Thus we will leave them, and return to those who had remained on the island. Seeing that the boats did not return in seven, eight, and ten days, they did not know to what it was to be attributed, unless to the neglect of the captain. Dom Paul felt it deeply and was very indignant with him, and not knowing what resolution to take, passed many days in deep melancholy.

The same thing happened to them all, for they were losing the hope of safety which they had expected from the boats enabling them to leave the island, both because their provisions were already exhausted and because some of their number had fallen sick. A month having almost passed, and being still without information concerning the others, they consulted among themselves what they should do, and by the advice of all it was agreed that since no ship would arrive from Mozambique for a year, they should proceed by land round the bay, for it would be a smaller evil to risk the hardships of the journey, commending themselves to the guidance of God, than to remain there to die of hunger and sickness.

Having come to this determination, they sent a message to the Inyaka, informing him of it, and asking his advice and permission to leave that place. To this message he replied that he could not advise them to undertake the journey, because of the dangers they would meet on the road, for now they were separated, and if they had been all together he might have advised it, though even then it would not have been without risk; and if their resolution was due to want of provisions, he would command them to be provided with the best he could get, as he had always done; nevertheless if they thought fit to undertake the journey they might do so at once, for he would not prevent them, that it might not be said that he wished to detain them in his country. On this reply our people were in suspense and at a loss, not knowing what to do.

At this time the boat, sent by the master and Jeronymo Leytão, arrived, and when they saw it approaching they hastened to the shore as if it held their only hope, and when the men disembarked they were lifted in the arms of all with tears of joy. Then they sought Dom Paul in his hut, and from them he learned what had happened to the boats, and that nothing was known of Estevão da Veiga; and they related all that had since befallen them and that the master and Jeronymo Leitão wished them to cross to the other side, for not only was the king of the country a friend to the Portuguese, but it was well provided with everything.

Upon hearing this, Dom Paul de Lima was greatly rejoiced, and at once prepared to depart; but as the boat would only hold fourteen, lots were drawn to see who should go first and who



remain. The lot fell upon himself, his wife, his brother, Manuel Cabral da Veiga, Christovão Rebello, and others to the aforesaid number, to go first, leaving on shore to await the return of the boat Bernardim de Carvalho, who was very ill, Gregorio Botelho, his daughter Dona Mariana, and with her Dona Joanna de Mendocça, who always lodged together, having no husbands, and other persons. Leaving the shore, the boat reached the mouth of the river of Manisa that same day, and they journeyed up it three days. On reaching the village they were made much of by the king and the Portuguese, and here they were all lodged in poor huts with no furniture but a few mats, and some had only dry straw. When the question arose of sending back the boat, there was not one among them who would go in it, all being very weak and beginning to fall sick with fever.

Those who remained on the island watched for the boat until the fifth and sixth day, but it did not appear, and they went about as if stunned, not knowing what to do, and with no one to counsel or encourage them, for Bernardim de Carvalho, who might have done so, was very ill with fever; and as all remedies were wanting, and he had nothing but a gruel of ameixoeira and the hard ground to lie upon, nature grew weary and delivered him into the hands of death. In that hour he proved himself a very good Christian, by the great patience with which he endured it, for the love of God, and by the great contrition he showed for his sins. His death was deeply felt and bewailed by all, for he was a very amiable nobleman, of rare qualities and parts, and in all their hardships took the heaviest share upon himself, assisting all in their necessities at all times, especially Dona Joanna de Mendocça, for, as we have said, seeing her alone, he drew near and accompanied her, and served her throughout the journey with such respect, honour, and virtue, that all were struck with admiration. Especially was this the case while they were on the island, for he went to the thicket to get wood for her, carrying it on his shoulders, and to the spring to get water. When they obtained a hen in trade, he it was who killed, plucked, and cooked it, after which it was eaten by Gregorio Botelho, his daughter Dona Mariana, and Dona Joanna de Mendocça, the smallest portion always remaining for himself, and even of this he would keep a piece for Dona Joanna at night, or for the next day. According to the account of the rest of the company he

died of sheer hardship. And what is most to be lamented is that his death was as miserable as it could be, for he was covered with vermin, bred upon his body by the dampness of the soil and the sweat of his labours. He was buried at the foot of a cross which our people had erected there. Naked they laid him in the naked earth, amid the pitying lamentation of all, especially of Dona Joanna de Mendoga, who felt it as if he had been her own father, because of all she owed to him and the loss he would be to her in her necessities. She remained disconsolate, with none to condole with her except Gregorio Botelho and his daughter Dona Mariana, with whom she lodged for the sake of propriety.

Several other persons also died, including the boatswain and the caulker. And because at last they had nothing left with which to trade for what they required, they went over to the other island, which was populated, and sent a message to Inyaka, relating what had befallen them and the need in which they were, asking him to command them to be provided with what they required until the arrival of the trading vessel, when he would be well paid for all. He replied that they should come to his village, when being at hand he would observe their needs and provide for them, but while they were so far off he could not know if they had been supplied according to his orders. Upon this they were in readiness, and went there, though some were opposed to it; nevertheless they remained there for the time being, and there we will also leave them to return to the boat in which was Captain Estevão da Veiga.

Let us follow the fate of this boat, which we left with a contrary wind that obliged them to put about; but that was of no avail, for they again found themselves among the breakers, from which they received much damage. They then recognised that their endeavours were useless, and that it was necessary they should run the boat ashore before the moon set, for this was in the night, as afterwards they would perhaps be obliged to do so in some place where they would all perish. Therefore they ran ashore on a sandy beach, where they remained the rest of the night, by fires which they lit, and with two loaded guns in case of necessity.

Next day, as soon as it was light, they proceeded on the road to the river Ouro, already followed by many Kaffirs, who assembled at once, and disturbed and molested them many times;

until they grew so bold that they snatched the caps from their heads and the wallets from their backs, bounding away with the agility of apes, our people being unable to get rid of them, though they attacked them frequently. With this trouble and with great bodily fatigue they reached the river Ouro so exhausted that they could not move a step farther, being at this time accompanied by a Kaffir named Inhatembe, of the king's household, a man known to the Portuguese and who had been to Mozambique. He guided them to the village, which they entered at one o'clock the next morning. Here dwelt the king Inhapula, of whom we spoke in the description of this country, and he humanely came out to meet them, and ordered them to be lodged in a large house together, giving them some provisions of that country to eat, but in return for pieces of nails.

Next day they went to see the king, and gave him an account of their misfortunes and asked him for a faithful guide as far as Inhambane, where they would have the means of paying him. The king consoled them, and gave them the same Inhatembe who had accompanied them to that place, and who was a chief. They presented to him a grey hat in return, which he valued highly; and he allowed them to remain there three days, during which some of them fell ill with fever. Five or six being ill, it was necessary to leave them there to proceed to Inhambane when they were recovered, to which end they asked leave of the king, who granted it. Thus they set out, most of them in such a state that they could hardly move, especially the ship's pilot, Gaspar Gonçalves, who was almost at the last gasp. That day they reached a village belonging to the chief who accompanied them, where they were very well treated, and they remained there that night.

Next day a Kaffir came to them in great haste with a message from the king Inhapula, that they must return to his village at once to remove a Portuguese who was dead, and take away the sick, for there no one would look upon a corpse, and the sun would be incensed against him and would allow no rain to fall upon the earth, and would give no fruit or provisions all that year. This they said because seeing the Portuguese white and fair, they took them to be children of the sun. Estevão da Veiga was much disconcerted at this message, which made it necessary to send those who were healthiest to perform the duty. These,

on arriving, wished to bury the dead ; but the Kaffirs would not permit it, and with the greatest haste made them almost drag the corpse out of the village and carry the sick away upon their shoulders. They left the corpse in a thicket covered with a little earth ; and the sick men told them that when the Kaffirs saw them with the fever, which plunged them into a kind of lethargy in which they moved neither arm nor leg, thinking they were dead, they applied fire to their feet to see if they would stir. Thus leaving the dead, they carried the sick to the village in which our people were.

Next day they crossed to the other side of the river Ouro, which is about a musket shot in width. At its mouth the sea breaks in spray, and the river can only be navigated by very small craft. It is situated in latitude twenty-five degrees. Upon its banks they left two of their number who were already in the throes of death, and from whom they parted with great sorrow, remaining with them as long as they were conscious, to remind them of spiritual things and to repeat to them the most holy name of Jesus. Oh how fortunate may we consider those who remained in the ship, whose misery was ended in a moment ! And how wretched these who thought themselves more happy in escaping from it ! For their hardships, risks, dangers, and at last death, were only rendered more painful and severe.

Certainly this alone would justify the reply which the philosopher made to one who asked : What is death ? when he made answer : Death is an eternal dream, the dread of the rich, the separation of friends, an uncertain pilgrimage, a robber of men, an end to those who live, and a beginning to those who die. For all these are found in the circumstances of this wreck. What deeper dream and what greater dread to the rich than what they witnessed on this occasion ? One day so wealthy and happy, travelling in so strong a ship, so richly laden and full of precious things, and on the morrow to see her sink beneath their feet, burying her treasures in the depths of the sea. What more lamentable separation of friends than what they now experienced, leaving these to end their lives upon those shores with no other consolation and companionship than the solitude of savage deserts. What more uncertain pilgrimage than this which they were making, every hour being fraught with risk and danger, and all of them in such a wretched condition that if there had

been lions and tigers in these deserts, they might have pitied them more than they did the slave Androcles, who was preserved for a long time by a lion in a cave in Africa, being lamed by a splinter in his foot, which the lion drew out, and licked the wound with his tongue till it was cured.

These disasters, and others which occur every day on the passage to India, might serve as a warning to men, especially to the noblemen and captains of fortresses, to moderate themselves and be content with what the goodness of God has given them, and allow the poor to live, for God has not made the sun in the heavens and the water in the fountains for the great alone. We repeat this so often in the course of our Decades, because we have been greatly scandalised by the injustice and inhumanity daily practised in these fortresses against the lowly. But God is so just that though kings neglect to punish, He does so with a heavier hand, by so much does His justice outweigh that of men.

To return to the castaways. After they had crossed the river Ouro they went to the kingdom of Mamusa, where they were very well received, and they remained there three days, during which time five or six of their number died from the bad water which was all they could find, and which was full of weeds and filth. The blacks of the village required their bodies to be taken away with such haste that they dragged them along and threw them into a swamp. Among those who died was the pilot Gaspar Gonçalves, who escaped from the wreck of the ship *Santiago* on the shoals of Judia only to perish in these parts in the greatest misery that can be imagined.

From this village the survivors set out again, accompanied by two sons of the king, who saved them from many perils and treacherous acts which the Kaffirs had planned against them on the way. This day they left two more of their companions in the thickets, for from weakness and sickness they could go no farther, and their friends took leave of them with sorrow and many tears. That night they reached the village of a Kaffir named Inhabuze, where they took shelter, and from it they went to the kingdom of Panda nearer to Cape Correntes, which the people of Mozambique commonly call Imbane. The king received them very well, and would not let them depart until the fifth day, for it is his ancient custom to detain his friends there and show his love to them by banquets and rejoicings, as he did in the case of these castaways,

for he is a great friend of the Portuguese, on account of the commerce and communication he has with Mozambique.

From this village they set out again, accompanied by a son of the king, and on the 11th of May, on which the feast of our Lord's ascension fell, they reached another river as large as the Ouro, which is in latitude  $24\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and separates the kingdoms of Panda and Gamba. Crossing to the other bank, they reached the town of the king Gamba, which is about a league and a half from the river, and he, having heard of their arrival, ordered them to be well received and lodged.

This king and his sons were Christians, baptized by Father Gonçalo da Silveira, of the Company of Jesus, who in the years 1560 and 1561 traversed these parts preaching the law of the Holy Gospel among the savages, and he gave the king the name of Bastião de Sà, both in memory of the monarch Dom Sebastião who was then reigning, and of Bastião de Sà, who was captain of Mozambique at that time. To his sons he gave the names of Pedro de Sà and João de Sà, and he baptized several other Kaffirs, who all took the surname de Sà.

It being necessary for him to go to the kingdom of Monotapa, where martyrdom awaited him, he left here Father André Fernandes, his companion, a truly apostolic man, of great learning and sanctity, so that his Superior Father Francisco was wont to say that he was a true Israelite. Father André Fernandes remained in this kingdom, giving a goodly example by his life, and constantly threatened with martyrdom, which his soul desired to suffer for Christ our Lord, and which he never tried to avoid, but on the contrary, whenever he was warned that his death had been ordered, he awaited the hour with such consolation and joy that it seemed to him as if the beautiful and resplendent crown which heaven bestows upon true martyrs had already fallen on his head.

This man, who may with justice be called a saint, from the innocence of his life, afterwards lived in this city of Goa for many years, giving a rare example of virtue, and died here at the age of ninety. He was among those who entered the Company of Jesus in the time of the Blessed Father Ignatius, its founder. Much might be said of his virtues, life, and death, for we were familiar with him many years, and were very devoted to him; but as Father Sebastião Gonçalves, of the Company of Jesus, in his Compendium of the members of the Company who came to

these parts, speaks of him, and especially of Father Gonçalo da Silveira, we will leave him at present to follow the fortune of the castaways until we have brought them to a place of safety.

From the kingdom of Gamba they set out on the 21st of May, which was the eve of Pentecost, and reached the river Inhambane, where they found a mulatto named Simão Lopes, a native of Sofala, who had fled to this place on account of matters concerning the faith. He received them as well as he could, being poor, and at that time there remained only thirty of the forty-five persons who set out together. Here they heard from Simão Lopes that no pangayo would come from Mozambique before November. Upon this they took counsel, and agreed to travel by land, the country where they were being very unhealthy, lying under the tropic of Capricorn.

When they had rested some days they set out, and in four days they reached the river Boene, having suffered much from the Kaffirs who attacked them on the road. Having crossed to the other side, they went on to another river called Morambebe, which was very deep, so they travelled some distance up it to find a ford, and on the way they were robbed of the little they had left. Having crossed this river, they came to a village named Sane, which is on the point of the land called Saint Sebastian on the charts. Here they began to pass along the indenture in the coast called Sane, which at low tide is left bare, so that the sea is not visible for five or six leagues. They travelled across it at great speed the best part of the day, that the tide might not overtake them, and after walking more than five leagues, they reached the other side, where they rested.

Next day they resumed their journey, and went as far as to a place called Fubaxe, where they found a Portuguese with a luzio, which is a kind of boat used in those parts. He had come there to trade, and with him was the boatswain of the ship, whom Estevão da Veiga had sent on before with a message to Sofala, to ascertain if a vessel could be obtained to go for Dom Paul de Lima and those who were with him on the island. Here they remained all that day, with great rejoicing, as they were approaching a land of safety. Then they went over to the island of Bazaruta, where there was a native of Sofala named Antonio Rodrigues, to get assistance from him to reach Sofala. The island is inhabited by Moors, who treated them all very well.

By direction of Antonio Rodrigues they embarked for Sofala in a vessel which he procured, and sailed over the thirty leagues to that fortress very quickly and without trouble. On the fourth day of the voyage they entered the river of Sofala, unknown to any one, and disembarking, went in procession to the church of our Lady of the Rosary, belonging to the Order of Preachers. To her they presented themselves with many tears, returning thanks for the favours they had received from her during the journey. Here the captain of the fortress and all the married men came to meet them, embracing them with great affection, and each took one of them as his guest. Thus they were distributed among the inhabitants, who treated them with great humanity, washing them and cutting their hair, for they were almost like savages, and providing them with abundance of food. In a few days they were so far recovered that they were strong again, and it seemed to them that they were in another world.

The captain had already bought a pangayo to send for Dom Paul de Lima, for by a letter from Jeronymo Leitão he had learned of his being wrecked, and on the arrival of these men he made more haste and ordered everything necessary for the distressed people to be embarked, together with clothes, and goods for their ransom. The pangayo then set sail, and in a few days reached Inhambane, where it was found that three of the sick men left there from the company of Estevão da Veiga were already dead. The others soon recovered by the help of the remedies brought in the pangayo. As it was not possible to proceed to the river Espirito Santo, because the pangayo was small, Simão Lopes went over land with the cloth, beads, and other things, carried on the shoulders of Kaffirs, and the pangayo returned to Sofala with the sick they had found there.

It was almost a month after Dom Paul de Lima had passed over to the northern side of the bay of Lourenço Marques before anyone would take back the boat for those who were left on the island, for all were weak and ill. Dom Paul, however, did all in his power, and at last he arranged with the ship's master and Jeronymo Leitão, to send on this service those men who were most fit for it, when they chose three from among the rest. By the strength of their arms they reached the island, where they found all disconsolate and despairing of ever being sent for; but now they rejoiced greatly at the sight of the boat, and prepared



to enter it. As it could not hold them all, great dissension arose, for those who would be left behind ran the risk of no one returning for them. Those, however, who came with the boat reassured them with promises, swearing that as soon as they had landed the others at the mouth of the river they would return for them, and for greater security they left one of their number as a hostage, by which those who remained were appeased.

Then Gregorio Botelho embarked with his daughter, Dona Joanna de Mendoça, and eight or ten others, and crossing over reached the opposite shore the same day. The people were landed on the point at the mouth of the river of Manisa, and the boat then returned for the others and reached the island the next day. All embarked in her, none remaining but the dead, who remained for ever; and they safely reached the opposite shore. There they found the first party, who joined them in the boat, for though it was small, there was now no danger, as it went up the river, which was narrow, and kept close to the shore.

Thus crowded and uncomfortable they reached the village, where our people of the company of Dom Paul came to meet them, and there was great rejoicing. The king commanded them to be lodged in the village, Dona Joanna de Mendoça always remaining in the company of Dona Mariana. After they had rested, they all assembled and discussed whether it would be well for them to proceed to Inhambane. Jeronymo Leitão, who was best acquainted with the country, advised them not to move from where they were until the coming of the pangayo, which would be in October, for he had already written to Sofala on the subject. It was his opinion that they ought not to risk travelling over land, because the Kaffirs farther on were great thieves and very cruel, and they were in a place of safety, where provisions would not be wanting, as the king and his subjects would provide for them well, with an eye to the coming of the pangayo, which they expected, knowing that they would be well paid for all, although these Kaffirs never do anything from virtue.

Upon hearing the opinion of this man, they resolved to remain; but as the country was unhealthy, being under the tropic, as has been said, they began to fall sick of malignant fever, of which most of them speedily died, the master among the number. Their bodies were buried in the current of the river, for the Kaffirs would not allow them to be interred on shore.

As for Dom Paul de Lima, it would seem as if his heart foreboded that some great evil would happen to him in that place, and he begged Jeronymo Leitão many times to take him away from it, and accompany and guide him, making him many liberal offers and promises; but as this man was unstable, he replied sometimes yes and sometimes no, always urging as obstacles the difficulties of the road and the danger from the Kaffirs. He kept Dom Paul many days in this uncertainty, without making up his mind one way or the other, by which that nobleman was thrown into such trouble and melancholy that he took to his bed, or rather to the ground, for such is the truth. As he was fifty years of age, and there were no remedies, but for comfortable mattress and sheets he had only the hard ground, with none but spiritual consolation, for he had at his side Father Nicolas of the Rosary, who confessed at great length and consoled him, on the seventh day of his illness he yielded his soul to God our Lord, on the 2nd of August, the day on which the Franciscan friars keep the feast of our Lady of the Small Portion, for which there is a plenary indulgence. For this feast this nobleman had a great devotion; and from the signs he showed of being a good Christian and a contrite penitent, with an example of great patience, it is to be presumed that his soul ascended to enjoy in glory that jubilee which there endures as long as God himself, which is for ever.

His death was a greater source of grief to all than can be imagined, both from seeing a nobleman of such parts and good qualities as nature had endowed him with, die in the greatest destitution ever seen, and from finding themselves bereft of his valuable counsel, which had assisted them in their greatest hardships, that were rendered more bearable and of less weight in presence of his authority, gravity, and notable patience, and therefore he was bewailed as if he had been the father of them all.

Let us pass over the extremities of grief to which his wife was reduced, for it is better to do so, lest we should move the readers of this narrative to equal sorrow; but it may easily be imagined what would be the grief of a wife on losing such a husband, and still more so at a time when she had such need of him for help and consolation, seeing herself alone and unprotected in a place where only God our Lord could succour her.

And your Ladyship (Senhora Dona Anna de Lima) I well

know that on reading this you cannot fail to shed pious tears, and with good reason, for the loss of a brother well worthy of the love which you, Lady, have always borne him, and for the misery in which he died, which you would have counted yourself happy to have been able to alleviate in some measure, by being present at his death, to have rested his head upon your lap, that he might have died with some consolation, and you have remained less sorrowful ; but, Lady, you may greatly console yourself by hearing that the signs he gave at the hour of death (as I have said) may assure you of his salvation, and those he gave in life of his prudence, valour, and strength may make you glory in such a brother, and after your long years of life your children, grandchildren, and descendants shall boast of his prowess and knightly deeds, for in my history he will live for ever, and though not so elevated as he deserves, shall be so according to my powers, which I greatly wish were much greater.

The lord of that country had knowledge of his death, and ordered him to be at once removed from the village, upon which he was taken from the arms of his beloved wife, and carried almost on their shoulders out of the village. At the foot of two trees on the bank of the river they made him a grave, in which they laid him with no other shroud than the poor soiled shirt and drawers in which he escaped from the ship, with no other funeral pomp than the tears of his companions, which were abundant, with no other escutcheon than the dry branches of those trees, nor other gravestone and marble monument than the sands which covered him like another Pompey on the shores of Egypt.

His wife Dona Brites remained some time in Kaffraria with the others who survived, enduring great misery and want. Afterwards, when they went to Mozambique, she caused her husband's bones to be dug up and took them with her to Goa where she gave them burial in the church of St. Francis of that city, in the small chapel of the seraphic father, which is on the right hand as one enters the principal door. They are buried in the wall, with a copper tablet with his epitaph as follows : *Canatale, Dabul, and Jor.* Here lies Dom Paul de Lima, who died of hardships in Kaffraria in the year 1589.

Of all the notable acts of this lady, I cannot fail to praise this deed of bringing her husband's bones through Kaffraria until the

ship was reached, which was heroic, and makes her worthy of being exalted. One other matter worthy of note I will not pass over, which is that of all the persons who were in this ship, I do not think one is alive to-day except the three women, herself, Dona Mariana the wife of Guterre de Monroy, and Dona Joanna de Mendoça, who is retired in a house in our Lady of the Cape, clothed in the habit of St. Francis, a lady of great virtue, on whom the eyes of all in this city of Goa are fixed, because of the example she gives by her retirement and virtuous mode of life. Upon which I shall conclude this brief narrative, which God grant may be to His great praise and glory.

## NAUFRAGIO

DA

## NAO SANTO ALBERTO

*No Penedo das Fontes no anno de 1593. \**

A NOTICIA da perdição da Nao Santo Alberto no Penedo das Fontes, principio da Terra do Natal, e a Relação do caminho, que fizeraõ em cem dias os Portuguezes, que della se salváraõ, athè o Rio de Lourenço Marques, onde se embarcáraõ para Moçambique, saõ de grande importancia para nossas navegaçoens, e para aviso dellas muy necessarias. Porque o Naufragio ensina, como se devem haver os navegantes em outro, que lhes pòde acontecer, de que remedios proveitosos usarão nelle, e quaes saõ os apparentes e danosos de que devem fugir, que prevençoens farão para ser menor a perda do mar, e mais segura a peregrinação por terra, como com menos perigo desembarcáraõ nella; e a causa da perdição desta Nao (que o he quasi de todas as que se perdem) a relação do caminho mostra qual devem seguir, e deixar, que apercebimentos farão para a sua grandeza, e difficuldade, como tratáraõ, e communicáraõ com os Cafres, com que meynos farão com elles o necessario commercio, e sua barbara natureza, e costumes. E para que de couzas taõ importantes e novas se tenha o necessario conhecimento, escrevo este breve tratado, resumindo nelle hum largo cartapacio, que desta viagem fez o Piloto da dita Nao; o qual emendey, e verifiquy com a informação, que depois me deo Nuno Velho Pereyra, Capitaõ mòr que foy dos Portuguezes nesta jornada.

Partio pois a Nao Santo Alberto de Còchim a vinte e hum de Janeiro de mil e quinhentos e noventa e tres, da qual era Capitaõ Juliaõ de Faria Cerveira, Piloto Rodrigo Migueis, e Mestre Joaõ Martins, e nella vinha para o Reyno D. Isabel Pereira filha de

\* Compiled in 1597, from the manuscript journal kept by the pilot, by João Baptista Lavanha, chief cosmographer to the king.

Francisco Pereira, Capitaõ, e Tanadar mòr da Ilha de Goa, dona viuva, mulher que foy de Diogo de Mello Coutinho Capitaõ de Ceilaõ, e trazia D. Luiza sua filha donzella fermosa de desaseis annos, e assim vinhaõ Nuno Velho Pereira Capitaõ que fora de Sofála, Francisco Velho seo sobrinho, Francisco da Silva, Joaõ de Valadares de Sotomayor, D. Francisco de Azevedo, Francisco Nunes Marinho, Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcellos, Antonio Moniz da Silva, Diogo Nunes Gramaxo Capitaõ da Nao S. Luis de Malaca, que arribàra à India, Antonio Godinho, Henrique Leite, e Frey Pedro da Cruz Frade Agostinho, e Frey Pantaleaõ Dominico, e outros muitos passageiros. E fazendo a Nao sua viagem com tempo prospero chegou à altura de dès grãos da parte do Sul, na qual paragem teve principio a sua perdiçaõ; porque nella se lhe abrio huma agoa, e posto que pouca, e que não estorvasse a derrota que se levava em demanda da ponta Austral da Ilha de S. Lourenço, chegada porèm a vinte e sete grãos sobreveyo vento Sul com que esta agoa cresceo, e arrojando-a o vento, hindo a Nao pela bolina, e metendo muito de lò, por se afastar da dita ponta, deo huma grande cabeçada, com que rendeo o Gorupès, que logo se concertou. Navegando deste modo com tempo bonança, e sem a bomba dar muito trabalho, houveraõ vista da Terra do Natal aos vinte e hum de Março em altura de trinta e hum grãos e meyo, a qual Còsta correndo, e tomada a altura o dia seguinte, se achàraõ em trinta e dous grãos, em cuja tarde houve vento Oèste por riba da terra, com que se fizeraõ na volta do mar sò com as vèlas grandes, e no quarto da madorra, sem vento, nem mar que o causassem, começou a Nao a fazer muita agoa, crescendo em grande quantidade na bomba. Foraõ logo abaixo a reconhecella, e entendeo-se que entrava pelas picas de popa, por baixo de huma caverna, lugar muy perigoso, e de difficil remedio. Pareceo ao Capitaõ, e aos Officiaes, que o poderia ter, eortandose hum pedaço da dita caverna; e assim se fez. E posto que cortada se tomou a agoa, e começou a estancar (da qual boa nova o Piloto e Mestre pediraõ alviçaras a Nuno Velho Pereira, e elle lhas prometteo) durou pouco esta melhoria, porque como a agoa achou aquelle lugar fraco, arrombou-o com muito mayor furia, e entrando na Nao cresceo em grande demazia. E assim tem mostrado a experiencia, por este successo, e pelo da Nao S. Thomè, que foy quasi a elle semelhante, que se devem procurar e fazer todos os outros remedios para tomar a agoa, mas não este

de cortar madeira, sendo mais necessario accrescentalla, que tiralla, porque posto que em boa apparencia, he depois muy danado, como se vio nestas duas Naos, que se se não cortara em Santo Alberto huma caverna, em S. Thomè hum pedaço da escota, e ponta de pica, não se senhoreara dellas tanto a agoa, e sendo menos, e aproveitando mais os outros remedios, pôde ser que esta pudera arribar a Moçambique, e a outra dera à Còsta, e não se perdèraõ taõ longe della.

Vendo os Officiaes o perigoso estado da Nao, e que nella havia dezoito palmos de agoa, determinàraõ, que se alijasse, e arribasse em popa. Huma couza e outra se começou logo a executar; e o Mestre fez lèstes e Escotilha grande, da qual com barris deitavaõ a agoa fóra, que foy grande allivio à Nao. O que entendido de alguns affeiçoados aos brincos dos seos caixoens, que levavaõ no convès, paràraõ em os alijar, esperando já salvarse com elles, mas promettendo-lhes a troco Nuno Velho Pereira (se Deos o levava a salvamento à terra) quarenta e cinco quintaes de Cravo, que trazia na Nao, pode tanto esta sombra de interesse, que ficou logo desembaraçado o convès, e crescendo depois o perigo se deitou ao mar tudo o que havia na tolda dos Bombardeiros, e nos payoes das drògas, com que ficou cuberto de infinitas riquezas, lançadas as mais dellas por seos proprios donos, dos quaes eraõ naquelle tempo taõ aborrecidas e dresprezadas, como em outro foraõ amadas e estimadas. Era já quasi manhã, e principio do dia seguinte, e a agoa entrava em tanta demazia, que da segunda cuberta se não podiaõ tirar os caixoens, e quebrados com machados, se alijava o fato, que nelles vinha. E posto que havia hum Gamòte grande aberto na Escotilha, outro pela Estrinqua, e outro pelo payol das drògas, por onde com barris se deitava a agoa, e assim com as bombas, com nenhuma couza destas diminuia. Continuouse todo o dia este trabalho, acodindo Nuno Velho Pereira, o Capitaõ, os Fidalgos, e Soldados, com grande presteza e diligencia a humas partes, e o Mestre com a gente do mar a outras. E sendo noite se empachàraõ as bombas com a Pimenta, e ficàraõ de nenhum serviço. Havia já na Nao doze palmos de agoa, com que muitos perdèraõ o animo, e os que o tinhaõ estavaõ taõ cançados, que não havia quem fosse à segunda cuberta encher barris, na continuação do qual exercicio consistia a salvaçaõ da Nao. Pelo que Nuno Velho Pereira desceo abaixo ao poraõ da Nao com grande perigo pendurando-se pelas cordas das bombas, e começou encher os

barris, os outros Fidalgos e Soldados movidos deste exemplo fizeram o mesmo, e não largarão mão do trabalho toda aquella noite. No fim da qual, e principio do dia seguinte se houve vista da terra, como o Piloto promettera na tarde passada, cuja subita vista assim alegrou a todos, e encheo de alvoroço, como se nella não estivera tão duvidosa a salvação das suas vidas, como na Nao que o mar hia sorvendo a grande furia.

Vista a terra attendeose em alijar tudo o que havia no castello, debaixo da ponte, e na popa, com que alliviada algum tanto a Nao, se deraõ às vèlas da Gâvea grande, e a Cevadeira, para chegar mais de pressa à Còsta, governando porèm sempre, e parece que milagrosamente, porque levava já duas cubertas cheyas de agoa, e as mezas arrastando. E prevenindo Nuno Velho as futuras necessidades de armas, e muniçoens, sem as quaes estava tão certa a perdição na terra que viaõ, como no mar em que andavaõ, advertio ao Capitaõ, que mandasse recolher as armas, polvora, chumbo, e murroens que se achassem, e deo ordem a Antonio Moniz da Silva, que ajuntasse as suas espingardas, e as que mais encontrasse, e atadas as metesse em alguma pipa, para nella se salvarem. O que se fez já com grande trabalho, recolhendo-se na tòlda o que se achou, donde depois de vararem em terra os pedaços da Nao, se tirou com difficuldade. Foy esta preuvenção, e lembrança de Nuno Velho de tanta importancia, que faltando, faltàra o remedio de todos estes Portuguezes, porque obrigados os Cafres do temor e espanto das suas armas, fizeram-se domesticos, commutàraõ com os nossos seos mantimentos, e deixàraõ de executar suas vontades, inclinadas naturalmente a roubos, e traiçoens, como se verà pelo discurso desta relação; e assim em semelhantes desgraças, e desestrados successos tenhase muita conta com o recolhimento e guarda das armas, roupa, e cobre, para o resgate e defensão, pois nisso vay tanto; e advirtase que tudo se ponha no chapiteo, para que com facilidade se salve.

Sendo já perto da terra por ordem do Mestre, começàraõ os Carpinteiros a cortar os mastros, e em oito braças e meya tocando o lème saltou fóra, e nas oito deo a Nao a primeira pancada, pelo que se acodio logo a cortar a enxarcea, com que cahiraõ os mastros, com grande e lastimosa gritta de toda a gente. Cahidos os mastros deitáraõ-se muitos a elles inconsideradamente, parecendo-lhes seguro remedio, para escapar do Naufragio. Mas como estivessem ainda pegados com alguma enxarcea, as impetuosas



ondas, que com grande furia rebentavaõ na Nao, deraõ nelles, e todos afogãraõ, com pernas e braços quebrados. Recompenseouse este dano com hum bem não esperado dos vivos (que da Nao viaõ este triste espectaculo) o qual causãraõ os mesmos mastros, porque as suas furiosas pancadas, que os espantavaõ, e das quaes com grande temor esperavaõ serem soçobrados, essas foraõ seo remedio, desfazendo a Nao, e moendo-a de maneira, que (depois de encalhar entre as nove e dês horas do dia, vinte e quatro de Março, distante de terra alguns quatro centos passos) se partio em duas partes, despegandose as cubertas de cima, das duas debaixo, as quaes ficãraõ no lugar em que estavaõ encalhadas; e a parte superior se chegou à terra, e della ficou muy perto. Estava na proa o Capitaõ, o Piloto, e Mestre com muita gente, e a outra toda na popa com Nuno Velho Pereira, que acompanhava e amava D. Isabel, e D. Luiza, e era seo reparo das ondas, que apertadas entre os mastros e a popa encapelavaõ por cima della, e em Nuno Velho (que tinha estas Fidalgas recolhidas debaixo de hum balandrao de chamalote) quebravaõ o impeto, e não era taõ pouco furioso (principalmente na popa por estar a enxarcea, que detinha os mastros, nella pegada) que não fosse necessario ataremse muitos homens com cõrdas a alguns pãos fixos della, porque não fossem levados dos mãres. Outros que sabiaõ nadar, temendo que sobreviesse a noite antes de darem à Cõsta os pedaços da Nao em que estavaõ, e que os mastros os disfizessem, ou que os virassem, e assim ficassem debaixo delles afogados; botãraõ-se a nado, e com os golpes da muita madeira, que andava vagando pelo mar, e com a ressaca das grossas ondas, que rebentavaõ em grandes e asperos penedos da praya, muitos delles se afogãraõ.

Começandose a noite, se desapareceu a popa da proa, que por baixo athè aquella hora estiveraõ pegadas, com que tambem se soltãraõ os mastros, e encalhou a popa muito direita na praya. Mas receando Nuno Velho, que as grandes correntes daquella Cõsta, que correm ao Suduèste, a levassem comsigo, sendo já muita parte de marè vazia, mandou a hum criado seo, bom Soldado, chamado Diogo Fernandes, que nadando fosse à terra, e nella puzesse hum cabo, no qual amarrando aquelle pedaço de Nao ficasse seguro das ditas correntes. O Soldado o fez com muito esforço, e melhor vontade, e a mayor parte da gente que estava nesta popa saltou em terra. Sendo meya noite se atravessou o castello na dita popa, e por ella como por ponte, se puzeraõ na

praya os que nelle estavaõ. E na entrada do quarto da Alva desembarcou Nuno Velho Pereira, e os Fidalgos, e Soldados que acompanhavaõ a D. Isabel, e a D. Luiza, os quaes se foraõ alando pelo cabo, que estava em terra, em quanto a marè foy enchendo, e estando vazia ficàraõ em seco, e a pè enxuto sahiraõ. Depois que todos se recebèraõ com chorosos abraços, dèraõ muitas graças a Deos Nosso Senhor pelas grandes misericordias, que com elles usou no dia da sua milagrosa Encarnação, livrando-os de taõ perigoso Naufragio, e salvando-os naquella praya (cuja altura Austral he de trinta e dous grãos e meyo) a que os nossos chamaõ o Penedo das Fontes, e os Negros Tizombe, e contados os Portuguezes, vivos acharaõ-se cento e vinte e sinco, e mortos vinte e oito, e escravos vivos cento e sessenta, e mortos trinta e quatro, e o que restou do dia se passou enxugando o fato, com que cada hum escapàra, ao longo de muitos fògos, que logo se fizeraõ da madeira que da Nao deo à Còsta, aquentandose do muito frio que sentiaõ, e repouzando dos trabalhos e angustias passadas.

Tal foy a perdição desta Nao Santo Alberto, taes os successos do seo Naufragio, causado naõ das tormentas do Cabo de Boa Esperança (pois sem chegar a elle, com prospero tempo se perdeu) mas da querena, e sobrecarga, que como a esta Nao, assim a outras muitas no fundo do mar haõ sepultado. Ambas poz em pratica a cobiça dos contratadores, e navegantes. Os contratadores, porque como seja de muito menos gasto dar querena a huma Nao, que tiralla a monte, folgaõ muito com a invenção Italiana, a qual posto que serve para aquelle mar de Levante, a cujas tormentas e tempestades pòdem parar Galès, e onde cada oito dias se toma porto; neste nosso Oceano he o seo uso huma das causas da perdição das Naos; porque àlem de se apodrecerem as madeiras (posto que sejaõ colhidas em sua sazaõ) com a continua estancia no mar, e desencadernaremse com as voltas da querena, e grande pezo de tamanhas Carracas, calefetando-as por este modo, recebem mal a estopa por estarem humidas, e pouco enxutas: e quando depois navegando saõ abaladas de grandes marès, e combatidas de rijos ventos, despedemna, e abertas daõ entrada à agoa, que as soçobra. E assim tem mostrado a experiencia, que quando desta danosa invenção se naõ usava, fazia huma Nao dèz ou doze viagens à India, e agora com ella naõ faz duas.

Accrescentaõ este dano os Officiaes que as fazem, ou concertaõ

de impreitada (que em toda a fabrica he prejudicial) os quaes por apoupar em o tempo, já que não pòdem as materias, não acabaõ couza alguma como convem, e se requiere em obra de tanta importancia, e assim deixaõ tudo imperfeito; e descobrindo na Nao velha eyvas e faltas, que se não remendarãõ bem sem perda sua, dissimulaõ com ellas, e enfeitaõ o dano de maneira, que pareça bem concertado, e debaixo d'elle fica a perdição escondida e certa. Cortaõ-se tambem as madeiras fóra de seo tempo e sazaõ, a qual he na Lua mingoante de Janeiro, pelo que saõ pezadas, verdes, e desasonadas; e como taes trocem, encolhem, e fendem, e desencaixaõ-se do seo lugar; com que despedindo a pregadura, e estopa, abrem; e com a humidade da agoa de fóra, e grande quentura da pimenta, e drogas de dentro, logo se apodrecem e corrompem na primeira viagem; e assim basta huma só taboa colhida sem vez, para causar a perdição de huma Nao. Tal devia ser a madeira desta, pois a sua quilha (base e fundamento de todas as Naos) era taõ podre, que depois que a furia dos mãres arrancou o seo fundo donde estava, e deo com ella à Còsta (com algumas pèças de artelharia que nelle ficãrãõ) com huma cana de bengala a desfez Nuno Velho Pereira em pequenos pedaços.

Os navegantes não saõ menos culpados neste dano, importando-lhes mais, pois aventuraõ as vidas na Nao, a qual carregaõ, sem a necessaria distribuição das mercadorias, arrumando as leves na parte inferior, e as pezadas na superior, devendo ser ao contrario. E por enriquecerem brevemente, de tal maneira a sobrecarregaõ, que passaõ a devida proporção da carga à Nao, a qual excedida, he forçado que fique incapaz de governo, e que precedendo qualquer das couzas apontadas, abra e se vâ a pique ao fundo. E he esta taõ forçosa, que sem ella quasi não bastaõ as outras a perderem huma Nao, e esta sem ellas sim. Mostrando a experiencia que algumas Naos velhas remendadas e concertadas com querena vem da India, porque não trazem, nem a carga com que pòdem, e as novas com a sobrecarga se perdem.

Salvos da Nao Santo Alberto pelo dito modo os nossos, ao seguinte dia vinte e seis de Março, pedio-lhes o Capitaõ, que fossem recolher as armas e mantimentos que achassem; o que logo se fez, hindo aos pedaços da Nao o Mestre e o Contra-Mestre com toda a gente do mar, e à praya os Soldados: estes trouxeraõ tres barris de polvora, e os outros doze espingardas, algumas rodela e espadas, tres caldeiroens, e hum pouco de arroz. A

Polvora se entregou aos Bombardeiros (dando o cargo de Condestabre ao mais experimentado) para que a enxugassem e refinassem com hum barril de vinagre, que veyo à praya, e os mantimentos, e as armas se puzeraõ ao longo da estaça de Nuno Velho, vigiandose tudo dos nossos com muito cuidado, por se assegurarem dos roubos e assaltos dos Cafres. E ao mesmo fim se atrincheiraraõ o melhor que o sitio, e o tempo permittia; e para se agazalharem fizeraõ tendas de boas alcatifas de Cambaya, e Odiaz, de ricas colchas, de Gunjoens, caixas, e esteiras de Maldiva, que se embarcãraõ para bem differentes usos, nas quaes se recolhiaõ do frio da noite, e do Sol de dia.

Determinouse logo ao outro dia, que foraõ vinte e sete, eleger Capitaõ mòr, para o que nomeãraõ os Soldados dês eleitores, que foraõ o Capitaõ Juliaõ de Faria, Francisco da Silva, Joaõ de Valadares, Francisco Pereira Velho, Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcellos, Diogo Nunes Gramaxo, Antonio Godinho, Francisco Nunes Marinho, Frey Pedro, e Frey Pantaleaõ; e a gente do mar ao Piloto e ao Mestre: aos quaes deraõ todos largo poder, e com juramento se obrigãraõ haver por boa eleição, a que por elles fosse feita, promettendo de obedecer a quem nomeassem. E de commum consentimento foy eleito por elles Nuno Velho Pereira, por sua nobreza, prudencia, esforço, e experiencia. Recusou elle a eleição, pedindo a todos que se desse o cargo ao Capitaõ Juliaõ de Faria, que por suas partes e bom procedimento na perdaõ daquella Nao o merecia, e no qual elle promettia ajudallo com o conselho que da sua idade se devia querer e podia esperar. Naõ aceitãraõ a Nuno Velho esta escusa, e porque naõ desse outra nenhuma, lhe disseraõ, que naõ aceitando elle o cargo, determinavaõ apartarse, e fazerem seo caminho desunidos, e em magotes, por onde, e como melhor pudessem; e como esta resolução era a total perda desta gente, porque se naõ effeituasse, antepondo elle o bem publico ao descanso proprio, o aceitou, e com o devido juramento prometteo cumprir suas obrigaçoens, e todos com outro semelhante de lhe obedecer. Sendo já tarde, e marè vazia foraõ à Nao alguns homens do mar com o Mestre, e trouxeraõ seis espingardas, doze piques, e tres fardos de arroz, o que tudo se entregou a Nuno Velho, e elle o mandou enxugar, para com o mais se repartir com igualdade entre todos, e para se descobrir alguma outra couza se deo fogo aquella noite às reliquias da Nao. O que se deve fazer em semelhantes successos, para se aproveitarem

os nossos da pregadura para o resgate, e que a não possaõ haver os negros, senaõ da sua mãõ, e assim tenha a valia necessaria, e a que não for de serviço deitese no mar a tempo que o não vejaõ os negros, e onde della se não possaõ aproveitar : porque deixandose na praya, como esta ficou, quando depois vieraõ os Cafres resgatar gado, vendo-a nella o não quizeraõ vender, e com elle se tornaraõ, entendendo que brevemente seriaõ senhores do ferro, pelo qual trocavaõ as suas vacas e carneiros.

Amanhecendo ao outro dia, mandou Nuno Velho o Capitaõ à praya, e o Mestre com alguns homens à Nao, onde achãraõ tres mosquetes, quatro espingardas, dous fardos de arroz, hum quarto de carne, dous de vinho, e quatro jarras de paõ, e algum azeite, e muitas conservas. E depois de jantar achãraõ hum caixaõ do Capitaõ mór de muitas pèças de ouro e prata, e alguns escritorios pequenos cheyos de rosarios de cristal. Entregouse tudo ao Capitaõ, e elle a Nuno Velho, e por seo mandado se guardava, e do mantimento se provia a gente. Sendo jã tarde, e sabendo o Senhor daquella terra por alguns dos seos Cafres, que estavaõ nelle os nossos, veyo visitar ao Capitaõ mór com alguns sessenta negros. Chegando jã perto delle, se levantou, e andando poucos passos o recebeo, e o negro depois de o saudar dizendo Nanhatà Nanhatà, em sinal de paz e amizade, lhe deitou a mãõ à barba, e correndoa por ella beijou a mesma mãõ, e a propria cortezia foraõ fazendo todos os outros barbaros aos nossos, e os nossos a elles. Chamavase este negro Luspance, era de boa estatura, bem feito, de rosto alegre, não muito negro, a barba curta, e os bigodes longos, e de quarenta e sinco annos ao parecer. Depois que se fizeraõ entre Nuno Velho e o negro as ceremonias ditas, assentãraõ-se ambos em huma alcatifa, e junto delles dous escravos dos nossos, hum de Manoel Fernandes Girãõ, que entendia a lingua destes Cafres, e fallava a de Moçambique, e outro de Antonio Godinho que sabia esta, e fallava a nossa, e assim com dous interpretes se communicavaõ. Perguntou Nuno Velho a este Cafre que lhe pareciaõ aquelles seos Soldados? ao que respondeo, que muito bem, porque tinhaõ todas as feiçoens do corpo às suas semelhantes, e que eraõ filhos do Sol, por serem brancos; mas que folgaria saber como vieraõ ter alli. Satisfez a esta pergunta Nuno Velho dizendo, que eraõ vassallos do mais poderoso Rey da terra, a quem obedecia e pagava tributo toda a India onde estava hum seo Viso-Rey, que a governava, e da qual vindo elle para Portugal

sua patria em huma grande Nao, que recolhia toda aquella gente e outra tanta que era já morta, o mar com sua furia os havia deitado naquella praya abrindose a Nao, de que todos os Cafres se admiravaõ. Seguiu a isto hum presente, que lhes fez este Rey, de dous carneiros grandes de casta de Ormuz, os quaes logo se matáraõ, e repartiraõ pela gente, e vendo-os o negro mortos se foy com outro seo Cafre a onde os esfoláraõ, e mandoulhe tomar da immundicia, que se tirára dos buchos, e com sua mã a deitou no mar com ceremonias e palavras de agradecimento, por lhe trazer à sua terra os Portuguezes, de cuja perda esperava elle grande ganho: pelo que como a amigo seo lhe dava, e offerecia aquelle presente. O que feito se tornou a Nuno Velho, de quem foy convidado com doce e vinho, que gavou muito, parecendolhe couza boa para a barriga, sentindoa quente com elle. E querendose hir lhe apresentou o Capitaõ mòr huma bacia de lataõ cheya de prègos, e hum escritorio dourado da China, com que o negro ficou muy contente, e despedindose d'elle, e dos mais Portuguezes, com a mesna cerimonia com que se recebèraõ, se foy, promettendo mandar ao outro dia hum seo homem que ensinasse onde havia agoa, de que os nossos tinhaõ já necessidade, bebendoa athè aquelle tempo das pipas, que deixou o mar na praya, posto que algum tanto salgada com a mistura das ondas. Era o vestido destes Cafres hum mantaõ de pèlles de bezerro, com o cabello para fóra, as quaes untaõ com grassa para serem brandas: o calçado de duas e tres solas de couro crù, pegadas humas nas outras, de forma redonda, nas quaes anda o pè atado com correyas, e com elle correm com grande ligeireza; trazem na mã em hum delgado pào embrulhado hum cabo de Bugio, ou de Rapoza, com que se alimpaõ, e fazem sombra aos olhos para ver. Usaõ deste traje quasi todos os negros desta Cafraria, e os seos Reys e principaes trazem pendurada na orelha esquerda huma campainha de cobre sem badalo que elles fazem a seo modo. Saõ estes e todos os mais Cafres pastores, e lavradores, e disso vivem; a lavoura he de milho, o qual he branco, do tamanho de pimenta e dassa em huma maçaroca de huma planta da feiçaõ e tamanho de caniço. Deste milho moido entre duas pedras, ou em piloens de pào fazem farinha, e della bolos que cozem no borrarho, e da mesma fazem vinho misturando-a com muita agoa, a qual depois que ferve em hum vaso de barro, e se esfria e azeda, bebem com grande sabor. O gado he muito gordo, tenro, saboroso, e grande,

(sendo os pastos grocissimos) o mais delle mocho, e a mayor parte são vacas, em cujo numero e abundancia consistem as suas riquezas, e sustentaõ-se do leite dellas, e da manteiga que delle fazem. Vivem juntos em pequenas povoaçõens de cazas feitas de esteiras de junco, que não defendem a chuva, as quaes são redondas e baixas, e se nellas morre algum delles, logo os outros as desfazem, e toda a povoaçãõ, e da mesma materia fabricaõ outras em outro sitio, havendo que na Aldea, em que o seo vizinho ou parente falleceo, succederà tudo desgraçadamente. E assim por afforrarem o trabalho quando algum adocece, levaõ-no ao mato, porque se houver de morrer seja fóra das casas, as quaes cercaõ de huma sebe, e dentro della recolhem o seo gado. Dormem entre pelles de animaes, no chaõ em huma cova estreita, de seis e sete palmos de comprido, e de hum e dous de alto. Usãõ vasos de barro secos ao Sol, e de madeira lavrados com humas machadinhas de ferro, as quaes são como huma cunha metida em hum pão, e com as mesmas cortaõ o mato. E na guerra servem-se de Azagayas, trazem cachorros capados da feiçaõ e tamanho dos nossos gozos grandes. São muy brutos, e não adoraõ couza alguma, e assim recebẽraõ com muita facilidade a nossa Santa Ley Christãa. Crem que o Ceo he outro mundo como este em que vivemos, povoado de outra gente, a qual correndo faz os trovoens, e ourinando causa a chuva. Circuncidasse a mayor parte dos que povoãõ a terra de vinte e nove grãos de altura para baixo, são muy sensuaes, e tem quantas mulheres pòdem sustentar, das quaes são ciosos: obedecem a Senhores que chamaõ Ancosses; a lingoa he quasi huma mesma em toda a Cafraria, e he a differença entre ellas semelhante a que ha nas linguas de Italia, ou nas ordinarias de Hespanha. Alongaõ-se pouco das suas povoaçõens, e assim não sabem, nem tem noticia mais que dos vizinhos; são muy interesseiros, e em quanto lhes não pagãõ servem, mas se a satisfaçaõ precede ao serviço, não se espere delles, porque com ella se acolhem. Prezaõ dos metaes os mais necessarios, como he o ferro, e cobre, e assim por muy pequenos pedaços de qualquer destes trocaõ gado, que he o que mais estimaõ, e com elles fazem o seo commercio, e commutaçaõ, e seos thezouros. O ouro e prata não tem entre elles preço, nem parece que ha estes metaes na terra, não vendo sinaes delles os nossos por onde passãraõ. Os quaes só isto notãraõ dos trajes, costumes, ceremonias, e leis destes Cafres; nem deve haver mais

que notar entre taõ barbara gente. A terra he abundantissima e fertissima ; viraõ por ella os Portuguezes das plantas delles conhecidas, ouregaõs, losna, fetos, agrioens, poejos, malvas, alecrim, arruda, murta com grandes e saborosos mortinhos, silvas com fruito, rosmanhinho, bredos, mentrastos, e herua babosa, e grande que parecia arvore, cujas pencas eraõ de quatro e sinco palmos de comprido, e de hum de largo, e do meyo deitava hum talo com flores amarelas ; e assim outras muitas hervas, que nunca viraõ, senaõ por estes campos. As arvores diversissimas das nossas, e como ellas só achãraõ oliveiras com muy pequenas azeitonas azambujeiros, maceiras de anafega, e figueiras. Tem grandes e espessos bosques, nos quaes nunca se encontrãraõ Leoens, Tigres, nem animaes desta qualidade. Dos peçonhentos viose huma só vibora grande, que se matou, e algumas cobras como as nossas de agoa, e lagartixas : e dos outros se dirã onde se achãraõ. Nas ribeiras que saõ muitas, enxergãraõ-se peixes, e do que mais for de consideraçãõ, se darã noticia em seo devido lugar, dandose neste a universal de toda a Cafraria, para melhor se entender o que della se for tratando na relaçaõ deste caminho.

Ao qual tornando, como foy manhãa do dia seguinte vinte e nove de Março pareceo ao Capitaõ mór necessario para o bom governo daquelle pequeno Arrayal (pois sem elle senaõ pode conservar couza alguma muito tempo) elegeremse os necessarios Officiaes delle, e assim deo o cargo de o ordenar e distribuir ao Capitaõ Juliaõ de Faria Cerveira, a Diogo Nunes Gramaxo nomeou para Provedor, e a Joaõ Martins o Mestre para Thezoureiro, e mandou que ambos tivessem à sua conta a guarda das peças de ouro, e prata, e das mais couzas do resgate, em companhia de Frey Pedro, e se fizesse presente Antonio Godinho, por ser homem que tinha muita experiencia do commercio dos Cafres, com os quaes tratãra muito tempo nos Rios de Cuama. Repartio logo o Capitaõ Juliaõ de Faria todo o Arrayal em suas principaes partes, avanguarda, corpo de batalha, e retroguarda, e distribuiu os Soldados em tres partes para as vigias, das quaes se nomeãraõ Capitaens, Francisco da Silvã, Joaõ de Valadares, e Francisco Pereira, e dos homens do mar se fizeraõ outras tres, e Capitaõ dellas o Piloto, o Mestre, e Custodio Gonçalves Contra-Mestre. Deraõ-se aos Soldados com a ordem necessaria as armas, que se haviaõ recolhido, e outras que aquelle dia se achãraõ, todas as quaes foraõ doze piques, vinte e sete espingardas, sinco mosquetes,



e espadas, e rodelas. E antevendo Nuno Velho o que para taõ larga jornada era necessario, mandou aos Bombardeiros, que refinada a polvora a recolhessem em Bambuzes (que se achãrãõ na praya de alguns, que serviraõ na Nao de baldes) os quaes se encourassem por fóra, para que se não humedecesse. Ordenou que se fizessem saquetes como alforges, em que se levasse o cobre de huma caldeira, e de seis caldeiroens, em pequenos pedaços cortados para o resgate, e outros sacos mayores da mesma feiçãõ para os poucos mantimentos, que se recolhẽrãõ da Nao. Da qual como se não salvasse outra fazenda, mais que os escritorios atrã ditos, e o caixaõ de Nuno Velho com desasete peças de ouro, e vinte e sete de prata, de todas fez elle aos seos Soldados hum liberal presente, desejando, que se igualãra com a vontade com que lho offerecia, e assim mandou entregar as peças ao Provedor, e Thesoureiro, para que como chegassem a algum porto nosso, se distribuisse entre todos o valor das que sobejassem da jornada, como se fez depois em Moçambique, onde por todos se repartiraõ mil e seis centos cruzados, por que se vendẽrãõ as que lá chegãrãõ. Depois que todas estas couzas se ordenãrãõ, proveraõ-se os nossos de agoa, que os negros mostrãrãõ em dous lugares, hum ao longo da praya, em hum charco, no qual havia pouca, e o outro de trã de hum monte, em humas poças ao longo de huma ribeira. E he geral esta falta de agoa em toda a Cõsta da Cafria, e não he menõr a das fontes pelo Sertaõ, mas tem abundantes ribeiras de boas agoas, com que se escuzãõ as das fontes.

Tratouse ao derradeiro de Março do caminho que se havia de fazer, e posto que a mayor parte dos vòtos foy que se caminhasse ao longo da Cõsta, lembrado Nuno Velho da perdiçãõ da Nao S. Thomè na Terra dos Fumos, anno de outenta e nove, cujos successos lera em Goa escritos por Gaspar Ferreira Sota-Piloto della, mostrou com o seo exemplo, e com o Galeãõ S. Joãõ, que naquellas partes se perdẽrãõ os annos de sincoenta e dous, e sincoenta e quatro, os grandes trabalhos, e difficultosos perigos em que todos encõrreãõ, e as fõmes, sedes, e infirmitades que passariaõ costeando a Cafria, e que seriaõ os seos males muito mayores, por ser mayor a distancia do lugar, em que estavaõ, ao Rio de Lourenço Marques, primeiro porto daquella Cõsta, em que os Portuguezes trataõ, e resgataõ. Mudãrãõ todos de parecer com este acertado (como o mostrou depois a experiencia). Pelo que de commum consentimento se resolveo que se fizesse o

caminho pela terra dentro, e se fogisse dos trabalhos certos da praya. O que assentado, e repartida a gente pelo Capitaõ, como havia de caminhar, e os Soldados assinaladas as estanças que deviaõ guardar; veyo o mesmo Ancosse, que os havia visitado, e pedindolhe Nuno Velho guias, para que os encaminhassem, e levassem a outro Ancosse seo vizinho, elle lhas prometteo, e enviou ao tempo da partida. Para a qual mandou o Capitaõ mòr que ao outro dia, primeiro de Abril, se aprestassem todos, e naquella noite se deo hum rebate falso, a que com muita diligencia e acordo acodiraõ os nossos Soldados com suas armas, e se puzeraõ em seos ordenados lugares. E depois que se aquietaraõ, e sendo de dia se puzeraõ no principio do caminho, mudando a hum valle, que ficava entre dous montes, marchando com muito concerto, vieraõ as guias com o seo Ancosse Luspance, e trouxeraõ duas vacas, e dous carneiros, que por tres pedaços de cobre do tamanho de huma mã se resgataraõ. As vacas por mandado de Nuno Velho se mataraõ à espingarda, como se fazia ordinariamente diante dos negros para os espantar e atemorizar, e para o mesmo effeito mandou atirar com os mosquetes a alguns quartos vazios, nos quaes fizeraõ grande destroço e ruído, de que cheyo de medo o Ancosse se quizera acolher, mas Nuno Velho o tomou pelo braço, e o segurou, e assim o fizeraõ os nossos aos outros Cafres, e depois de comerem todos de companhia, se foraõ para tornarem ao outro dia, em que havia de ser a partida, que não foy, por chover aquella noite muita agoa, e ser necessario enxugarem as tendas e vestidos ao Sol, que foy muy claro.

Ao seguinte porèm que foraõ tres de Abril sendo nove horas, partiraõ daquella praya os Portuguezes, alguns delles feridos do destroço passado, entre os quaes o hia muito em huma perna Francisco Nunes Marinho, e com outra quebrada ficou hum negro pequeno, encomendado aos Cafres, os quaes com o cobre que lhes deraõ para o curarem e sustentarem o recolhêraõ, e agazalharaõ com mostras de boa vontade. E assim ficaraõ os pedaços da Nao, em que os nossos se salváraõ, e debaixo das ondas as riquezas, que com tanta ancia em muito tempo adquiriraõ, em hum só dia perdêraõ. Hia diante o Capitaõ, e o Piloto com huma das guias, e as outras com o seo Rey levava Nuno Velho, e observando o Piloto com hum relógio Solar a derròta da sua estrada, vio que hia ao Nornordeste. Era o caminho chaõ, e por huma fresca varzea cheya de feno, pela qual andando de vagar, por ser a

primeira jornada, chegãõ às tres horas a hum valle, por que corria huma fermosa ribeira, que nelle se metia em hum rio, o qual no mesmo valle misturava as suas doces agoas com as salgadas do mar. Neste sitio quiz a guia que se fizesse estança, e foy a primeira desta peregrinaçãõ, ao longo da ribeira, e de espessas matas de diversas cores, que no valle havia, se alojou a nossa gente.

Buscando ao outro dia ao longo do rio (que he o do Infante) vão para se passar da outra banda, encontraraõ-se dous negros, aos quaes Luspance, que vinha com os nossos pedio, que os levassem, e guiassem ao seo Ancosse, de que ficariaõ bem pagos. Otagãõ-no os dous negros, e apresentados para este effeito ao Capitaõ mòr, elle lhes deitou aos pescoços dous rosarios de cristal, com que se houveraõ por satisfeitos, e voltãõ mostrando aos nossos o vão, que se passou dando a agoa pelo joelho, por ser a marè vazia. Neste rio havia muitos Cavallos marinhos, e muitas adens; e passados todos à outra banda, se despediraõ os negros, e o Ancosse Luspance, que da praya athè àquelle lugar vieraõ. Do qual por diante seguiraõ os nossos as duas guias, que de novo tomãõ. Estas os levãõ por huma còsta acima cuberta de espesso bosque, do alto da qual se deo em huma aprazivel campina acompanhada, de huma e da outra parte, de outeiros cheyos de arvoredos, a qual vay parar ao pè de hum alto, e redondo monte, cuja ladeira cançou muito aos nossos. Pelo que parando no cabo della, mandou Nuno Velho saber das guias, se estava longe o lugar aonde determinavaõ estanciar? e dando elles por reposta que sim, e que não poderiaõ chegar a elle aquella noite, ordenou que não se passando avante se alojasse a gente, o que se fez em hum valle, a que se desceo, no qual havia muita lenha, e huma ribeira de muito boa agoa. Foy sempre a estrada deste dia, como a de outros muitos, ao Nornordeste; caminhouse algumas duas legoas, e por ella affirmavaõ os negros, que se acharia sempre povoado, com mantimentos, agoa, e lenha. Os quaes negros como viraõ os nossos alojados, pediraõ licença ao Capitaõ mòr, para hirem aquella noite à sua povoação, e trazerem ao outro dia vacas, e elle lha deo, e prometteo, que seriaõ bem resgatadas.

Cumprãõ os dous Cafres sua palavra, e vieraõ pela manhã com oito vacas, pelas quaes lhes deraõ pedaços de cobre, que valeriaõ dous cruzados. Caminhouse aquella dia por viçosas

varzeas cheyas de alto feno, e com muitas ribeiras retalhadas, e ao Sol posto parou o Arrayal ao longo de huma ribeira de muy espesso arvoredado cuberta, aonde se matàraõ duas das vacas, que se haviaõ comprado, as quaes igualmente se repartiraõ entre todos, como sempre se fez em toda a jornada. E neste alojamento enterràraõ os nossos dous mosquetos, por mandado de Nuno Velho, por serem muy pezados, de grande embaraço, e pouca necessidade. Passousse a noite nelle com muita chuva, porque era entãõ quasi o principio de Inverno naquellas partes do Sul, correspõdendo o mez de Abril nellas ao de Outubro nestas nossas do Norte; e no mesmo lugar ficou huma India velha, escrava do Capitaõ, não podendo aturar o caminho.

E porque os nossos estavaõ muy molhados, andàraõ ao outro dia pouco, por muy boa terra chãa, e com poucos outeiros humildes, abundantes de pastos, e agoas. E posto que o povoado dos negros era perto, segundo elles diziaõ, sobreveyo a chuva de maneira, que não passàraõ da ribeira bem povoada de lenha, e ao longo della ficàraõ.

Sendo manhã do dia seguinte sete de Abril, depois que comeo a gente toda (o que fazia de madrugada para caminhar todo o dia) começou a marchar por bom caminho, e chaõ, e havendo vista de humas cazas de negros, que eraõ dos que levavaõ em sua companhia, elles temendose que os nossos lhes maltratassem as suas sementeiras de milho, que tinhaõ ao redor dellas, deixàraõ o caminho, e guiàraõ por onde o não havia. O que vendo o Capitaõ mòr, e perguntando, e sabendo a causa do desvio, mandou parar o Arrayal, e deitar hum pregaõ, que sobpena de morte, nenhuma pessoa tocasse em couza alguma daquelles Cafres, e entendendo-o elles da lingoa, ficàraõ espantados, e rindose tornàraõ ao caminho, e ao longo das suas mesmas cazas se aposentàraõ os nossos, os quaes compràraõ aos negros hum pouco de milho para os escravos, e hum delles foy logo a visitar o seo Ancosse, que perto estava daquellas cazas.

Chegàraõ os nossos à Aldea deste Rey ao outro dia às onze horas, caminhando por huma terra chãa, e muy viçosa de grossos pastos, o qual já os estava esperando no caminho, com quatro negros em sua companhia, que espantados de verem homens brancos, e assegurados dos negros, que vinhaõ com os nossos, se chegàraõ a elles, e o seo Ancosse ao Capitaõ mòr, que usando da mesma cerimonia do outro Ancosse Luspance, lhe deitou a mão

à barba, e sentindo-a branda e corredia, e a sua aspera e crespa, com grande rizo o festejava, e acompanhando a Nuno Velho, e os seos aos nossos, continuouse o caminho, deixando atrás a Aldea, da qual o negro mandou vir tres vacas, pelas quaes lhe deraõ nove pedaços pequenos de cobre, e às quatro da tarde se fez o alojamento, onde havia agoa, e lenha, e nelle, despedido o Ancosse, se mataraõ tres vacas, que com a igualdade costumada se repartiraõ entre os nossos. Os quaes acharaõ pela terra que tinhaõ andado, adens, perdizes, codornizes, pombas, garças, pardaes, e corvos, e nesta estança ficaraõ quatro escravos dos nossos, tres delles negros, e hum Malavar.

Encontrouse ao outro dia nove de Abril a pouco caminho andado huma Aldea de poucas cazas, cercadas de hum curral, no qual haveria cem vacas, e alguns cento e vinte carneiros muy grandes de casta de Ormuz, e nellas vivia hum velho pay com seos filhos e netos, os quaes com grande espanto e alegria recebèraõ os nossos, e com cabaços de leite, que a grande pressa ordenaraõ. Compraraõ-se-lhe quatro vacas, por cobre que valeria tres vintens e continuandose o caminho, nelle acharaõ sinco negros entre os quaes vinha hum irmaõ do Cafre, que era guia, a quem o proprio Ancosse Luspace entregou os nossos. O qual sabendo, que vinha seo irmaõ e foy buscar, e o apresentou ao Capitaõ mòr dizendo-lhe a razaõ, que entre ambos havia. Recebeu-o Nuno Velho muy humanamente, e elle com a sua costumada cerimonia o festejou. Chamavase este negro Ubabù, era de meãa estatura, bem feito, e proporçionado, naõ muito preto, e de semblante alegre. Sendo meyo dia mandou Nuno Velho ao Piloto, que tomasse o Sol com o Astrolabio que salvàra da perdição, e soubesse em que altura estavaõ. Fez o Piloto a operaçãõ, e achou que tinhaõ trinta e dous grãos e seis minutos de altura do polo do Sul; pelo que confórme o rumo, por que caminhavaõ tinhaõ andado dès legoas em oito dias e meyo, e segundo os embaraços que traziaõ, naõ o houveraõ por pouco, naõ sendo o menòr D. Isabel, e sua filha D. Luiza, as quaes traziaõ os escravos do Capitaõ mòr às còstas em cachas, concertadas ao modo de redes do Brazil, que em Cuama chamaõ Machiras. A's quatro da tarde chegaraõ a huma povoaçãõ do negro Ubabù, o qual fez assentar os nossos junto a sua caza, e com grande demonstraçãõ de contentamento lhes mostrou o seo gado muy domestico, e manso, que seriaõ duzentas vacas as mais dellas mochas, e as que o naõ eraõ

excedião às outras na grandeza. Veyo mais hum rebanho de duzentos carneiros grandes, e para significar o gosto com que os agazalhava, mandou vir suas mulheres, que eraõ sete, e tres filhas, e alguns filhos. As mulheres disse o negro, que bailassem, e ellas tangendo as palmas, e cantando, levantàraõ-se alguns sessenta negros da mesma povoação, que assentados estavaõ vendo os nossos, e ao mesmo som saltando bailàraõ. Houve-se Nuno Velho por satisfeito da festa, e pedio ao Thesoureiro, que lhes dèsse continhas de cristal enfiadas em seda, as quaes deo aos meninos (o que sempre costumava nesta jornada) e assim tres trebelhos de enxedres prezos de tres fios de seda, que deitou aos pescoços das filhas do Ubabù, de que os irmãos, e o pay ficàraõ muy agradecidos, e em retorno promettèraõ a Nuno Velho quatro vacas, o qual com a mais gente se foy alojar perto da mesma povoação, ao longo de huma ribeira, em que não faltava lenha.

Enxergouse no negro ao outro dia a cobiça, que tinha dissimulado, e além de entreter os nossos toda a manhã com enganos, e fingimentos, quandó lhe pediraõ as quatro vacas promettidas, pedio por ellas hum caldeirão de Nuno Velho, e como arrufado de lho não darem, se foy assentar ao longo da sua caza com sua familia. Determinou o Capitaõ mòr levar este Negro com brandura, e assim acompanhado de quinze Arcabuzeiros, e das lingoas se chegou aonde elle estava, e com palavras amorosas o trouxe comsigo, e na sua tenda o convidou com doce, e vinho. Tratando de novo nella do resgate das vacas quiz o negro, que lhe dessem por tres, hum castiçal de lataõ, que na mão tinha: de que cançado já Nuno Velho mandou que marchasse a gente, affirmando que castigàra a este Cafre, se lhe não lembràra a bondade do irmão (que se chamava Inhancoza) e a obrigação que lhe tinha. Estava este negro auzente, que era hido a ver sua caza, apartada do alojamento, e quando veyo, e soube o que era passado, intercedeo pelo irmão Ubabù, e para o desculpar dizia, que devia estar doudo, e offereceo-se de novo a acompanhar Nuno Velho athè o pôr no caminho, que de tràs de huma subida se fazia ao longo das suas cazas. Aonde chegado mandou hum filho seo pequeno buscar huma vaca, que lhe apresentou naquella tarde. Nella se agazalhou a gente junto de huma ribeira de espesso arvoredado povoada, donde querendo-se hir Inhancosa promettendo que tornaria ao outro dia, o não consentio Nuno Velho sem deixar em refens outro negro.

Mudouse no seguinte dia, que foy Domingo de Ramos a ordem de caminhar, e passouse à dianteira o Capitaõ mòr, porque andava pouco, e ao seo passo poderia aturar a mais gente. A qual guiada do negro que ficou em lugar de Inhancosa, passou perto de huma povoação, e della a chamado do Cafre vieraõ resgatar huma vaca, depois de se assentar o Arrayal onde havia agoa, e lenha. Levavaõ os nossos o gado, que compravaõ entre si com guarda, e quando se alojavaõ o recolhiaõ no meyo, e com cuidado se vigiava de noite, porque o naõ furtassem os Cafres. Os quaes se estranhavaõ os nossos pela differença da cor, e dos trajes, naõ menos se espantavaõ as suas vacas, porque correndo de longe aos Portuguezes, paravaõ junto delles, com os focinhos no ar, como maravillhadas de couza taõ nova. E tinhase tambem vigia (com dissimulação) nos negros, porque se naõ fossem depois de pagos, sendo costume seo fugirem como lhes davaõ alguma couza.

Cançados os Mosqueteiros dos mosquetes, e sendo desnecessarios, pareceo bem a Nuno Velho Pereira, e ao Capitaõ, que se lancassem naquella ribeira, o que consentindo todos se fez, e della se foy caminhando por huma estrada pedregosa (à qual sahiaõ negros com leite, que davaõ a troco de pequenos pedaços de prègos) pelo que foy a jornada deste dia breve, e alojado o campo vieraõ outros Cafres, que resgataraõ tres vacas por cobre, que importaria dous tostoens. Delles se offereceo hum a acompanhar os nossos, a quem Nuno Velho mandou dar huma cobertura de hum Saleiro de prata. Saõ os trajes destes negros como os de Tizombe, e de mais que elles trazem humas continhas vermelhas nas orelhas: as quaes perguntando Nuno Velho ao Cafre, (a quem dera a cobertura) donde vinhaõ, entendeo pelas confrontaçoes, que as traziaõ da terra de Inhaca, que he o Rey, que povoa o rio de Lourenço Marques. Saõ estas contas de barro, de todas as cores, da grandeza de coentro, e fazem-se na India, Negapataõ, donde se levaõ a Moçambique, e dalli pelas maõs dos Portuguezes se communicaõ a estes negros, resgatando-as com elles por Marfim.

Antes que ao outro dia levantassem o Arrayal, veyo hum filho de hum Ancosse que perto do alojamento estava, com vinte e oito negros, que o acompanhavaõ, a quem Nuno Velho deitou ao pescoço huma chave de hum escritorio, com huma cadeya de prata. Mostrouse o Cafre muy contente, e para grangear alguma outra peça lhe disse, que seo pay o mandava ver aquella gente taõ estranha, e que folgaria, ainda que torcessem alguma couza do

seo caminho, que o fizessem pela sua povoação. Respondeolhe Nuno Velho, que não se havia desviar da estrada, e que nella se poderia encontrar, com que se despedio este negro, e os que com elle vieraõ, e o outro com grande dissimulação, levando porèm a cubertura o seguio. Ficàraõ os nossos sem guia, pelo que foy necessario guiar o Piloto por mandado do Capitão mòr, o que elle fez com huma Agulha de hum relógio de Sol, endireitando ao Nordèste, como athèlli fizeraõ, e sempre que faltou guia, elle o foy, posto que doente muitas vezes, e com grandes dores, às quaes resistia com muito espirito (não mostrando menos animo no Naufragio da Nao) por cumprir com esta obrigação, encaminhando seos companheiros por aquellas terras nunca delles, nem de outros nenhuns Portuguezes vistas e tratadas. E sobindo hum monte, que junto do alojamento estava, dèraõ em hum bom caminho, e muy povoado, ao qual vinhaõ os negros com muito leite, e davaõ hum folle, que teria meyo almude, por tres e quatro tachas de bomba. Ao Sol posto chegàraõ a huma grande ribeira, que pareceo ao Piloto ser hum de tres rios que na Carta de marear estaõ assinalados naquella altura, dos quaes já se havia passado o do Infante, que foy o primeiro, em que se viraõ os Cavallos marinhos; e este devia ser o terceiro confórme a altura, chamado de S. Christovaõ; e o do meyo, por hirem metidos pela terra dentro, e não ser muy grande, o não encontrariaõ. Levava este rio muita agoa, e corria muy rijamente, e vendo os nossos, que hum pouco de gado o passava acima donde estavaõ, pelo mesmo lugar o vadeàraõ, posto que com trabalho e temor, que a correnteza levasse algum fraco, e doente. Mas todos se achàraõ da outra banda do rio, ao longo do qual estanciàraõ aquella noite, e a grandes fógos que fizeraõ, se aquentàraõ, e enxugàraõ a roupa molhada da passagem.

Seguindo o outro dia a derròta que levava o Piloto, por bom caminho, e seguido, ao longo do qual havia povoaçãoens, das quaes sahiaõ a vender leite, e huma fruta semelhante às nossas balancias, chamada dos Cafres Mabure, sendo onze horas, e o Sol muy quente, repousàraõ todos juntos a huma ribeira assombrada de arvoredo. Aonde veyo ter hum negro muy acompanhado de outros, trazendo diante de si algumas cem vacas, que como mostrasse na pessoa, e acompanhamento ser de mais qualidade, que todos os Ancosses passados, mandou Nuno Velho estender huma alcatifa apartado do Arrayal, em que o recolheo, e saudando-se à



maneira costumada da terra, quiz o negro saber quem eraõ os nossos Portuguezes, donde vinhaõ, e para onde hiaõ. Respondeo-lhe Nuno Velho, que eraõ vassallos do poderoso Rey de Hespanha, e delles era elle seo Capitaõ, e que o mar (a que os negros chamaõ Manga) hindo em huma Nao para a sua terra os deitara naquella, a qual convinha atravessar, para chegarem à do Inhaca, onde achariaõ embarcaçaõ, que os tornasse a levar donde partiraõ. Pedio-lhe Nuno Velho guias, e mantimentos; huma couza, e outra lhe deo este negro. As guias foraõ dous filhos seos, com outros dous negros, que os acompanhassem, e os mantimentos duas vacas. Nuno Velho lhe deitou ao pescoço, como chegou, huma maõ de almofariz que pezaria quatro arrates, e assim apresentou hum pequeno caldeiraõ, e humas contas de cristal, e a tres filhos seos deo tres rosarios. Parecia o negro de oitenta annos, chamava-se Vibo, era alto de corpo, e muy preto. E sendo duas horas, se despedio do Capitaõ mòr, ficando os dous seos filhos guiando os nossos. Os quaes caminhando por huma terra muy chãa, pondo-se o Sol fizeraõ alto, e alojãraõ-se debaixo de humas arvores, que em hum campo junto de huma Aldea estavaõ; onde com licença se foraõ os dous irmaõs, deixando em seo lugar os outros dous negros, que tambem o dia seguinte se despediraõ, receando o despovoado.

Aos quinze de Abril Quinta Feira Santa, se começou a caminhar antes que sahisse o Sol, por boa terra de fermosos campos, e abundosos pastos, e atrevessãraõ duas ribeiras, em huma das quaes se detiverãõ huma hora, recolherãõ-se em outra, e nesta estancia matãraõ duas vacas, e com estreiteza se repartiraõ, apou-pando-se outras duas que ficãvaõ, para o despovoado que haviaõ de atravessar os tres dias seguintes, segundo diziaõ os negros. Depois que aquietãraõ os nossos, fizeraõ alguns devotos hum Altar entre dous penedos em que puzeraõ hum Crucifixo, com duas vèlas acezas, diante do qual Frey Pedro disse as Ladainhas, e acabadas fez hum Sermaõ do tempo, que não foy ouvido com menos lagrimas, que prègado com devoçaõ.

Os tres dias seguintes caminhãraõ por deshabitado; no primeiro, que foy Sesta Feira Santa chegãraõ às onzè a hum brejo onde havia pouca agoa, e turva, e menos sombras: mas às quatro da tarde se passou hum largo e corrente rio dando a agoa pelo Joelho, e da outra banda se fez o alojamento; e como o comer não era muito, aproveitãraõ-se de humas raizes, semelhantes a

outras chamadas entre Douro e Minho Nozelhas, que erão muy doces, e da feição de pequenas nabiças, as quaes se achãrão por este caminho. E porque os escravos de Nuno Velho Pereira vinhão já muy cançados de trazerem D. Isabel, e D. Luiza, rogou elle ao Mestre, que acabasse com alguns homens do mar, que fizessem levar estas Fidalgas. Ajudou-se o Mestre do favor do Piloto, e ambos concluírão bem o que lhes foy encomendado, fazendo com desaseis Grumètes, que por mil cruzados as levassem athè o rio de Lourenço Marques, pelas quaes prometteo, e ficou por fiador Nuno Velho, e por ellas os pagou em Moçambique.

Vespera de Pascoa com grande orvalhada se subio muy cedo a hum outeiro, e depois que sahio o Sol, outros, que cançavaõ muito os nossos, hindo a mayor parte descalços, sendo já os çapatos gastados, e valendo hum par dês cruzados, e assim subindo, e baixando (caminhando porèm sempre por estrada seguida ao mesmo rumo) tiverão a Festa à sombra de hum espesso arvored, pelo qual corria huma ribeira, que passãrão com agoa pelo artelho. Descançando nella appareceo hum negro com duas mulheres, ao qual se mandou a lingoa, que o trouxe a Nuno Velho (deixando porèm as negras apartadas da gente) elle lhe pedio, que fosse sua guia, e lhe pagaria muy bem. Mas o Cafre se desculpou com a carga que trazia, que a vir só fizera-o, e com hum prègo que Nuno Velho lhe deo se foy muy contente. Naõ o ficãrão porèm os nossos vendo-se naquelle despovoado, pelo qual continuãrão seo caminho athè o Sol posto, que ao pè de hum monte, onde havia agoa e lenha, se recolhèrão.

Sobiràõ a manhãa de Pascoa o monte, por elle achãrão humas raizes, que pareciaõ cenouras na folha, e no sabor, e pelo mato huma fruta algum tanto azeda, que semelhava à nossa fruta nova, com que sentíraõ menos a falta que tinhão de mantimentos. Amparãrão-se da calma em hum alto, à sombra de humas arvores, e sendo meyo dia tomou o Piloto o Sol, e feita a conta com a declinação, achou que tinha aquelle sitio trinta e hum grãos de altura de Polo Austral. Disse-o logo a Nuno Velho Pereira, e à mais companhia, e a todos alegrou taõ boa nova. Mas duroulhe pouco este prazer, porque tornando ao caminho, e sobindo outro monte, esperando descobrir delle povoado, naõ viraõ senaõ estendidos e deshabitados campos, o que os desconsolou e entresticeo. Alojãrão aquella noite onde havia commodidade de lenha e agoa, e resolveo-se nella, que na seguinte manhãa se mandassem quatro

homens a hum alto, que ficava ao Sul da estança, e outros quatro a outro que estava ao Norte, para que delles vissem se se descobria povoado. E em tanto o Arrayal se mudaria a hum valle distante donde estava ao parecer meya legoa, no qual se enxergava huma grande ribeira de agoa, e nella esperaria a estes descobridores.

Partirão em amanhecendo a huma, e a outra parte as nomeadas Atalayas, e sendo já o Sol alto, se foy pôr o Arrayal no lugar na noite antes determinado. Aonde vieraõ às dès horas os quatro homens, que foraõ ao Sul sem novas de povoado, e às onze vieraõ os outros (que eraõ Antonio Godinho, e Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcellos, Simaõ Mendes, e Antonio Moniz) cantando, e chegados ao Capitaõ mór disseraõ, que daquelle alto, aonde os mandàra, descobriraõ em hum valle naõ muy longe gente, e muito gado pacendo. Alegràraõ-se todos com taõ desejadas novas, e passadas as horas da calma, se começou a caminhar pela ribeira acima buscando vão, q̃ se achou, e passou da outra banda dando a agoa pelo Joelho. Subio-se logo hum monte (em cujas fraldas se matou huma lebre) descançando tres vezes, e do alto delle se descobrio a gente, e o gado, que as quatro Atalayas viraõ. O qual, porque era já tarde, pouco a pouco se hia recolhendo para a povoação. Pareceo bem a Nuno Velho Pereira mandar lá alguns homens, e assim ordenou, que fosse o Mestre com Antonio Godinho, e hum lingoa, acompanhados de tres Soldados, que eraõ Gonçalo Mendes, e Antonio Monteiro, e Simaõ Mendes. Partirão estes homens logo, e o Arrayal, encobrindose com huns outeiros, se foy assentar em hum valle junto a huns penedos, por naõ ser descoberto dos Cafres, e cauzarlhe espanto a multidão da gente. O Mestre, e companheiros depois de andarem espaço de legoa e meya, sendo já noite viraõ huma caza, e della apartados, chamou o lingoa, e pedio licença para chegar. Hum negro que estava nella com mulher e filhos ao fogo, o apagou, porque naõ desse com elles se por sôrte era seo inimigo o que chamava, e sahido fóra perguntou quem era? porque conhecia naõ ser natural daquelle terra, differenceando-o na pronunciação das palavras. Respondeo o lingoa, que eraõ huns homens, que elle folgaria de ver, e tratar. Mas naõ se fiando o Cafre lhe disse, que fosse elle só, e que os outros ficassem onde estavaõ. Assim se fez, e depois que ambos os negros se tratàraõ, e o da pousada soube do nosso, que os companheiros eraõ pacificos, disse que viessem, chamou os o lingoa, e foraõ do Cafre, e de sua mulher bem recebidos, e com

leite, e fogo, que se tornou a ascender, agazalhados. Deo o Mestre à hospeda hum rosario de cristal, ella o agradeceo, e ficou maravilhada de ver, que em todo se pareciaõ os nossos com os negros, e só na cor se differenceavaõ. O marido lhes vendeo por hum pedaço de cobre hum cordeiro, que logo se matou, e poz a assar. E começando-o de comer (para o que não faltava vontade) vieraõ tres negros, e depois seis, os quaes posto que se assentãraõ, e assegurãraõ os nossos, não lhes soube a cea taõ bem, como fora gostosa sem elles. E assim apressadamente, e com receyo acabada, se despediraõ dos Cafres, dizendo que se queriaõ tornar ao seo Capitaõ, e darlhes nova delles, como fizeraõ tanto que chegãraõ ao Arrayal, que foy na madrugada.

Nella se festejou o acontecimento, e muito mais a certeza do povoado, que para se gozar se puzeraõ logo todos ao caminho, que era muy bom; e por elle foraõ parar ao pè de hum monte às nove horas, no qual havia tres cazas de Cafres junto a hum ribeiro. Vieraõ logo estes com leite, que pelas ordinarias tachas resgatãraõ, e sabendo o Senhor da terra, chamado Inhancunha, da chegada dos nossos a ella, veyo visitar o Capitaõ mòr, e foy delle recebido e agazalhado em huma alcatifa. Deo-lhe hum rosario de cristal, huma perna de coral, e hum remate de sombreiro de Sol de lataõ, com que o negro ficou em extremo alegre, e prometteo guias, que Nuno Velho lhe pedio, e apresentou lhe huma vaca, a qual com outras seis que se resgatãraõ aquella manhãa se matãraõ, e repartiraõ entre todos para dous dias, A'tarde se trocãraõ por pedaços de cobre mais dês, e sendo já o Sol posto se despedio Inhancunha de Nuno Velho para o esperar na sua povoaçãõ, que no alto do monte estava.

Naõ se fez jornada o dia seguinte, para que nelle se refizesse a gente do trabalho passado, resgatãraõ-se porèm nelle mais quatro vacas, e muito leite, e milho. E como se soube pelas vizinhas povoaçõens, que os nossos não eraõ hidos, vieraõ muitos negros e negras a vellos, com os quaes ficãraõ dês escravos, receando outro despovoado como o passado. E Nuno Velho entendendo quanto importava conservar o cobre, ferro, e a roupa que houvesse no Arrayal para a commutaçãõ dos mantimentos, e paga das guias, e assim ser necessario guardarem-se algumas pèças para se darem aos Reys, e Senhores das terras por que passavaõ; e sabendo, que alguns homens resgatavaõ os ditos mantimentos sem ordem do Provedor, e Thesoureiro, com que se alterava o preço delles, e se

diminuiãõ as couzas necessarias para o resgate, mandou fazer orçamento de todo o cobre, e ferro, e pèças que havia, obrigando a todos com juramento que declarassem o que tinhaõ, e que o entregassem aos ditos Officiaes, para que cessassem os inconvenientes apontados, e com igualdade se distribuisse tudo, e apoupendo-se não viesse a faltar quando mais necessario fosse.

Sendo já o Sol sahido do outro dia, se subio o monte: no alto aguardava o Ancosse Inhancunha, e dos Cafres que comsigo tinha, deo ao Capitaõ mòr dous para guias, e tres para apacentar, e domesticar catorze vacas, que levavaõ os nossos. Deceo-se o monte sendo já duas horas, e dèraõ em huma terra chãa, cuberta de arvores grandes, com fruto amarello, do tamanho de ameixas brancas, algum tanto azedo no gosto. Do qual comèraõ, e levãraõ todos muito de huma só arvore, e de tal maneira estavaõ delle carregadas, que pareceo que se não colhèra nenhùm. Passado este arvoredõ, e caminhando pouco mais, se fizeraõ horas de recolher, e em hum campo abundoso de feno se deixou o gado, e debaixo de arvores que o cercavaõ, se agazalhou a gente, não faltando agoa de hum ribeiro, que ao longo dellas corria.

Mudou-se daqui o outro dia vinte e tres de Abril o Arrayal, levando o gado diante, passando muitas Aldeas, cujos moradores resgatãraõ por poucas tachas, e contas de cristal, leite, e milho; sobiraõ-se alguns outeiros, que cançãraõ os nossos, e às onze passado hum rio dando a agoa pela coixa, sesteãraõ da outra parte. Donde sendo a calma menos, tornãraõ a continuar o caminho, não chaõ, mas muy povoado, por ser a terra muito mais fertil, e grossa, que a passada: chamaõ-lhe os negros Ospidainhama, e em seos matos ha muy cheirosos cravos rosados, e vermelhos, em tudo semelhantes aos de Portugual, senãõ nos pès, que os tinhaõ estes mais longos. Ao Sol posto se assentou o Arrayal junto de huma pequena povoaçãõ, aonde tiverãõ lenha, e agoa, que não faltou tambem do Ceo, porque houve de noite huma trovoadã riãa de Oèste com muita chuva.

Defronte deste alojamento estava hum monte alto, que se subio na seguinte madrugada, e delle se desceo a hum campo cheyo de povoaçõens, pelo qual se caminhou athè às onze que se chegou a huma ribeira, que entre pedras corria, e dellas havia lapas, a cuja sombra passãraõ os nossos a calma. Alli os vieraõ ver das Aldeas muitos negros com mulheres, e meninos, e com o seo bailar e cantar os festejavaõ. Eraõ quasi todos Fulos, bem agestados e

dispòstos, o traje o mesmo, que o dos outros Cafres de Tizombe, não usão tanto de pôr a mão na barba como elles, e a troco de muy poucas tachas dêraõ muito leite, e bolos de milho, que traziaõ, chamados delles Sincoà. Declinando o Sol se partiraõ desta ribeira os nossos, e marchando pelo mesmo campo, chegàraõ à outra, junto da qual se recolhèraõ aquella noite debaixo de grandes arvores sem fruto, com vinte e duas vacas.

Partiraõ desta ribeira ao outro dia, e começàraõ a subir huma montanha, que foy a primeira desta jornada, a cujo alto chegàraõ às nove horas, onde estava huma Povoação, e delle se desceo a hum campo, pelo qual entre muitas cazas se foy caminhando athè huma grande ribeira, em que havia muitos Cavallos marinhos, a qual, segundo os negros affirmavaõ, era a mesma donde se partio pela manhã, que com muitas voltas rodeava aquella terra. Junto della se alojàraõ os nossos, e resgatàraõ dos negros seis vacas por huma verruma grande, e pedaços de cobre, que pezariaõ hum arratel. Destes Cafres se apartou hum a fallar só com o lingoa, e vendo o Piloto, e perguntando-lhe o que entre elles passára, respondeo que o negro lhe dissera, que não fossem por aquelle caminho que levavaõ, porque era muy antigo, e desusado, e por ter muitas serras despovoado hum grande espaço, e assim que era melhor seguir o outro, que hia ao longo de huma serra, que junto delles estava, o qual não era taõ ermo, nem aspero, como o outro. Pareceo lhe bem ao Piloto o caminho que dizia o negro, e mais a proposito da sua derròta, e assim o disse a Nuno Velho, referindo-lhe tudo o que entre os negros passára. O Capitaõ mòr deixou nelle a elleição do caminho, e posto que se pediraõ aos Cafres guias para elle com largas promessas de satisfação e paga, nunca o quizeraõ fazer, receando o despovoado que havia. E assim para entrar por elle ao outro dia, se matàraõ aquella noite duas vacas, que se distribuirãõ entre todos, e ficàraõ vinte e seis já muy domesticas, e que qualquer Portuguez apacentava.

Começàraõ em amanhecendo de caminhar para a serra, e para a rodearem foraõ Lèste; chamaõ-lhe os negros Moxangàla, he muy viçosa, e fresca, e taõ abundante de agoas, que em dous dias, que os nossos fizeraõ a estrada ao longo della, atravessàraõ vinte e tres ribeiras, das quaes as tres eraõ muy grandes; algumas se passàraõ este dia athè as quatro da tarde, em que chegando ao pè de hum alto della, se assentou o campo. Vieraõ com os nossos a este alojamento quatro negros, que entràraõ pela manhã, os

quaes por maravilha os vinhaõ ver; e o principal delles (chamado Catine) apresentou ao Gèral hum folle de leite, que lhe elle pagou com hum trebelho de Enxedres, que atado em hum fio de seda branca lhes deitou ao pesçoço. Aprovàraõ estes Cafres o caminho, e pedindolhes Nuno Velho, que por elle o guiassem, promettèraõ de o fazer se a paga fosse igual ao trabalho, que o muito despovoado merecia. Naõ se desavieraõ nella, porque como lhe mostràraõ hum castiçal de lataõ, houveraõ-se por satisfeitos, e ficando aquella noite com os nossos, mandàraõ dous dos seos buscar vacas para resgatar o outro dia.

No qual caminhando ao longo da mesma serra, e assomando em hum alto hum negro dos que foraõ buscar as vacas, sem ellas o Catine se acolheo, e do outro que se chamava Noribe deitàraõ maõ os nossos, que vendo-se preso, com grande espanto e temor bradava pelos outros, que de longe o consolavaõ. Domesticou-se porèm com promessas e dadas, sendo huma dellas o castiçal promettido ao companheiro, e houve por bem de guiar a nossa gente assim amarrado. A qual seguindo ao longo da serra, e passando a calma à sombra de huns penedos, pelos quaes corria huma ribeira, fizeraõ o caminho à tarde ao Nordèste, e ao Sol posto acabàraõ de passar a serra, e chegàraõ a hum rio, que com muita furia corria por hum grande bosque. Ao longo delle se agazalhou o Arrayal, e tomou mantimento necessario para dous dias.

Passou-se o rio por algumas pedras grandes, que nelle havia, e caminhando por terra chãa, encontràraõ com outra serra, que vinha de Lèste ajuntar-se com a passada de Moxangala, e entre ambas havia hum valle, que corria ao Nordèste com estrada seguida. Por ella caminhàraõ os nossos em quanto durou o valle, e delle subìraõ à outra serra, em cujo alto se soltou o negro que guiava, de huma touca com que Nuno Velho Pereira o trazia atado, e com hum grande salto atravessando hum regato fogio correndo muy ligeiramente. Ficàraõ os nossos sem guia, e depois que baixàraõ donde estavaõ, e subirãõ outro monte, nelle, por ser todo de pedra, perdèraõ o caminho que levavaõ. Viraõ delle huma campina de abundoso pasto, e no cabo della dous grandes outeiros, que entre duas serras ficavaõ. Os quaes porque estavaõ ao Nordèste, e por entre elles parecia que teria o caminho melhor sahida, ordenou o Piloto, que a elles indireitasse o Arrayal. Assim se fez, e àlem destes outeiros, encontrando com huma

ribeira, que corria por hum grande rochedo, nella se alojou sem lenha, que fora bem necessaria para huma trovoad, que houve aquella noite com chuva.

Amanhecendo se passou a ribeira por penedos, que nella havia, dando a agoa pela joelho. Era a terra da outra banda chã, e de huma e da outra parte havia montes altos, cubertos de arvores grandes e verdes. Cortava-a a toda a passada ribeira, que por ella hia fazendo muitas vòltas, e assim a atravessáraõ os nossos neste dia sinco vezes. A's onze à sombra de grandes penedos passáraõ a calma, a qual abrandando se continuou o caminho, e em huma penedia em que havia algumas arvores, se recolhèraõ por não acharem outro melhor alojamento, no qual com grande chuva e vento se passou aquella noite.

Ao derradeiro de Abril se subio pela manhãa hum monte, que estava junto da estança, e do cume delle seguia a terra chã, que passada se atravessou hum grosso ribeiro, que entre dous montes corria. Subíraõ os nossos hum delles com esperanza de descobrir povoado, mas estavaõ muy longe delle, e desconsolados de o não verem, o tornàraõ a descer por hum caminho, que viraõ seguido, a hum valle, onde por haver lenha, e agoa se agazalhàraõ às tres horas.

Metèraõ-se o outro dia, primeiro de Mayo, em hum bosque (que perto do alojamento estava) taõ alto, e espesso, e cerrado por cima, que sendo o dia muy ventoso e chuvoso, e semelhante à passada noite, debaixo delle, como em abrigadas cazas, se não sentia. E ao longo de hum ribeiro, que o atravessava, se assentou o Arrayal com determinação de não fazerem mais larga jornada, porque o vento, a chuva, e o frio o não consentiaõ. Deraõ porèm lugar de se poder tomar o Sol ao meyo dia, e saber o Piloto que estava em 29. grãos e 53. minutos. A qual nova alliviou os presentes trabalhos, e alegrou a Nuno Velho Pereira, e à mais companhia, affirmando tambem o Piloto, que tinhaõ já passado o aspero, e fragoso daquella terra, pelo que se esforçassem os fracos para caminhar, e chegar ao rio de Lourenço Marques no fim de Junho, que era o tempo, em que delle partia o Navio do resgate para Moçambique. Fundava-se Rodrigo Migueis (e com razaõ) em ser a altura que achou do fim da terra do Natal, que he a mais alta de toda a outra daquella Còsta, e pelo ella ser, ha na mesma parajem no mar grandes frios, e muito mayores trovoadas.



Cessáraõ estas na manhã do dia seguinte, e bonançou o tempo, pelo que se levantou o campo, e sahido do bosque marchando por huma pequena Còsta, da qual baixou a huma terra chãa, e della a huns outeiros, que passados descansáraõ os nossos no alto de hum monte, no qual como nos valles acháraõ agoa. Ficou morrendo nelle hum Portuguez, por nome Alvaro da Ponte, que vindo muy deente, e tres ou quatro jornadas às còstas dos companheiros com grande caridade, o frio dos dias atràs o acabou de todo; deixou-o já Frey Pedro sem falla, e no mesmo estado ficáraõ dous escravos, e huma escrava de D. Izabel. Com este companheiro menos, caminhando os nossos depois da calma por hum muy longo valle, onde acháraõ huma grande ribeira, junto da qual se agazalháraõ sendo quasi noite. E daqui vendo o Piloto, q̃ para o Norte e Nordèste ficavaõ grandes e altas serras cubertas de neve, determinou de guiar a Lesnordèste, como fez na jornada seguinte.

Foy ella muy trabalhosa, subindo-se muitos outeiros, e delles hum monte. Ao seo cume foraõ dous homens a descobrir povoado, baixáraõ sem novas delle, mas dèraõ noticia, que a Lesnordèste viraõ quatro fumos, com que a gente se animou algum tanto, parecendo-lhe que ao rumo, por que caminhava, havia sinal de povoação. Mas não era senaõ de caçadores, porque o fumo das povoaçoes destes negros he taõ pequeno, que quasi se não enxerga na caza, em que ha fogo. Pelo que tirando ao mesmo direito assentouse o Arrayal em hum baixo, junto de huma ribeira em que não faltava lenha, havendo primeiro passado por entre dous montes para descer ao valle porque ella corria.

Com grande orvalhada se subio o outro dia hum pequeno outeiro, cuberto de taõ grosso e alto feno, que se não viaõ os nossos huns aos outros, e para poderem caminhar, o hiaõ apartando. Do outeiro descendo a huma terra chãa, acháraõ o mayor, e mais caudaloso rio que athèlli tinhaõ encontrado; corria do Norte ao Sul, e para apalpar o vao, foy por elle abaixo o Piloto com outro companheiro, e o mesmo fizeraõ outros dous homens por elle arriba. Mas em nenhuma parte o acháraõ taõ bom, como onde estava o Arrayal parado, porque fazendo naquelle direito huma Ilheta, repartia-se em dous braços, e assim hia a agoa espalhada, e corria com menos furia. Pelo q̃ resolutos todos a vadeallo naquelle lugar, passáraõ-no primeiro dous homens com

piques nas mãos dandolhes a agoa pelos peitos, e tornàraõ onde ficàraõ os companheiros, para lhes ensinar o passo. Ordenouse logo que os mais rijos se metessem na agoa, e de huns a outros se atravessassem piques, nos quaes pegados como em Mainel, passàraõ os fracos, e mulheres: os doentes com grande caridade foraõ passados à outra banda aos hombros, e nas Machiras de D. Izabel, a qual e sua filha metidas na agoa atravessàraõ o rio levadas de braço de Francisco da Silva, e de João de Valadares, e da mesma maneira passou o Capitão mòr. Gastou-se nesta passassem todo o dia, e pòstos todos da banda de àlem (onde já estava o gado, que atravessou muy bem o rio) fizeraõ-se grandes fògos, em que se aquentàraõ, e enxugàraõ; e armando suas tendas debaixo de grandes arvores, nellas se recolhèraõ aquella noite, depois de colherem à tarde pelo mato muitas maçans de anafega, e murtinhos.

Estava defronte do alojamento hum monte que subìraõ, como foy manhãa, e passado este, e outros sesteàraõ à sombra de humas arvores, refrescando-se com balancias, que naquelle sitio havia, as quaes parecèraõ mais gostosas com a vista de tres negros, que os nossos enxergàraõ em hum alto. Mandou Nuno Velho Pereira a elles hum escravo seo, q̃ com a continuação sabia já a lingoa; este os trouxe consigo, e lhos apresentou, os quaes o saudàraõ dizendo Alada, Alada, differente saudação da que usavaõ os passados; e depois de darem as desejadas novas do povoado, e que estava perto, tornou hum delles a chamar outros oito companheiros, que de tràs do monte deixàra. Voltàraõ todos, e caminhando com os nossos (passada a calma) sendo já tarde lhes pedìraõ, que por não poderem hir aquella noite ao povoado, quizessem parar nas suas cazas. Pareceo bem ao Capitão mòr, e assim guiàraõ os negros a hum Valle muy fundo, e de espinhoso mato cuberto, e não parecendo, que poderia ser o lugar habitado, senaõ de féras, prevenìraõ-se os nossos, e apresetàraõ as armas, temendo-se nelle de alguma treição. Com tudo seguìraõ os Cafres, e entre altos e asperos rochedos, pelos quaes corria hum ribeiro, viraõ seis cazas, em que estes barbaros viviaõ com suas mulheres, e junto dellas se assentou o Arrayal com a costumada vigia.

Vendo os negros, que com ella não podiaõ executar suas tençoens, que eraõ roubar algum gado, e o mais que pudessem, do qual exercicio viviaõ naquelle despovoado, e da caça que matavaõ,

parecendo-lhes, que poderiaõ ser sentidos, e castigados, fugiraõ aquella noite com as mulheres, levando hum pouco de milho, que ainda estava em espiga, naõ deixando nas cazas mais que laços, e armadilhas. E sendo já alto dia, quando os acharaõ menos (depois que se buscaraõ para mostrarem o caminho) mandou Nuno Velho, que guiasse o Piloto, como sempre fazia em semelhantes faltas. Ordenou elle que se fizesse a estrada a Lèste, e havendo caminhado hum grande espaço sem verem povoado, foraõ por ordem do Capitaõ mòr alguns homens a dous altos, que ficavaõ ao Lèste, e ao Nordèste do lugar onde estavaõ, mas nem huns, nem outros descobririaõ o que tanto desejavaõ. Começaraõ-se a amotinar os impacientes, reprovando a jornada do Sertaõ por deshabitada, e pedindo a vozes, que os levassem ao mar. O Piloto e Mestre lhes mostraraõ como a via de Lèste que seguiaõ era para o mar a mais breve, o que sendo approvado por Nuno Velho, os aquietou, e levantandose o campo, e hindo no mesmo rumo de Lèste deraõ em hum caminho seguido, pelo qual caminharaõ de vagar athè a noite, que se agasalharaõ ao longo de hum ribeiro, em que havia muito feno, e pouca lenha.

O contrario lhes succedeo no alojamento seguinte, que o fizeraõ debaixo de hum bosque de grandes arvores, sem agoa, havendo caminhado a manhã toda por caminho bom e seguido, e perdendo-o à tarde em hum valle, tornaraõ a achar outro, pouco antes que se recolhessem em hum alto, depois de terem subido outros; e visto de longe dous negros (quando ao meyo dia descançaõ) os quaes como descobririaõ os nossos fugiraõ.

Terminou-se o despovoado na jornada passada, que em catorze dias se atravessou; e para ser menòr, quem fizer o caminho por esta Cafraria, como se achar em trinta grãos de altura, faça-o a Lesnordèste, porque por este rumo passará menos deserto, e encontrará mais depressa com terra povoada. Na qual os nossos entraraõ aos oito de Mayo, e taõ abundante de todos os mantimentos, que os fez esquecer das faltas, que delles tiveraõ no ermo, posto que comeraõ sempre vacas, e das vinte e sete com que nelle entraraõ, chegaraõ aqui com doze. Como foy manhã deste dia continuaraõ seo caminho, em que encontraraõ quatro negros, os quaes com outros muitos havia grande espaço que viaõ os nossos, e se vigiavaõ delles, e receosos do mal, que lhes podia fazer tanta gente, naõ ousavaõ chegar; pelo que mandou Nuno Velho a estes quatro que se descobriãõ, Antonio Godinho com Antonio o

Lingoa, e com huns pedaços de cobre que lhes deo, esperàraõ tres delles, e o outro foy chamar alguns sincoenta que detràs de hum outeiro estavaõ escondidos. Vieraõ todos ao Arrayal, e os principaes acompanhando Nuno Velho, lhe foraõ dando largas novas da fertilidade, e povoação daquella terra: e tratando-se do resgate dos mantimentos onde o caminho se dividia em dous, para duas povoaçoens, houve entre os Cafres differença sobre qual das Aldeas seria primeira a que os nossos fossem. Aquietaraõ-se dando Nuno Velho ao principal dos quatro que se encontràraõ, hum annel de Tambaca, que tirou do dedo a Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcellos, e promettendo, que a todos resgataria suas vacas, começando pelos mais vizinhos, que eraõ os sincoenta que ao chamado de hum dos quatro vieraõ, e bailando, e cantando todos encaminhàraõ os nossos para a mesma parte de Lesnordèste, e com elles chegàraõ a hum Valle de muito arvoredo, e agoa, onde por ser já tarde, e estar dalli o povoado alguma meya legoa, se assentou o Arrayal. Naõ lhes pareceo longe aos negros para virem a elle ver os nossos, trazendo muito milho, e bolos feitos da farinha de huma semente do tamanho e cor do nosso milho, chamada delles Ameixoeira, e de feijoens, e hum legume chamado Jugo, que he do tamanho de favas pequenas, e assim leite, e manteiga, que por poucas tachas, e pedaços de prègos davaõ. Vinhaõ entre estes barbaros alguns mancebos vestidos de esteiras de Tabua, que he traje dos moços nobres, em quanto naõ trazem armas, nem se ajuntaõ com as mulheres, dos quaes exercicios naõ usaõ senaõ de vinte e dous annos por diante. Saõ todos bem dispostos, mais pretos que os passados, mais verdadeiros, e naõ trazem caens em sua companhia como elles. Sendo já duas horas de noite veyo visitar ao Capitaõ mòr hum negro chamada Inhanze filho do Rey daquella terra da parte de seo pay, com huma vaca de presente, e huma embaixada muy concertada, dizendo que estando o Rey em huma sua Aldea, hum pouco apartada daquella estança, soubera da sua chegada, com que se alegràra muito, e por ser tarde, e tempo de elle descançar do trabalho do caminho, o naõ vinha logo ver, mas que o faria pela manhã. Respondeo-lhe Nuno Velho Pereira com palavras agradecidas, e dando-lhe hum pedaço de cobre do tamanho de huma maõ, e hum prègo grande, se foy Inhanze muy contente.

Pareceo a Nuno Velho, que para se refazerem os nossos do cançasso do caminho, e alentarem-se para o seguinte, e para

comprarem muitas vacas, seria acertado descançarem dous dias no valle em que estavaõ alojados. O que sabido pelos negros circumvizinhos trouxeraõ a resgatar huma semente como Alpiste, chamada delles Nechinim, de que fazem farinha: gergelim, milho, leite, manteiga, gallinhas, e carneiros; e tanto de tudo, que se não matàraõ vacas, e disto sobejou aos escravos, não havendo já no Arrayal quem quizesse comprar couza alguma. Trocaraõ-se mais por pouco preço de cobre nestes dous dias vinte e quatro vacas, que com doze que sobejàraõ aos nossos do despovoad, eraõ por todas trinta e seis. Sendo onze horas veyo o Rey da terra, chamado Mabomborucassobelo, acompanhado de alguns sincoenta negros com azagayas, e comsigo trazia sua Mãy. Recebeu-os o Capitaõ mòr com a cortezia devida, assentando-se todos tres em huma alcatifa. Admiràraõ-se os Cafres da vista dos nossos, e quiz o Rey saber particularmente do seo naufragio, e peregrinaçaõ, que referido por Nuno Velho Pereira mostrou o negro, e os seos grandes espantos, apoz que seguio Nuno Velho, que por fama soubera delle muito antes de chegar às suas terras, a qual o obrigàra fazer o caminho por ellas para o ver. Ficou o Barbaro muy vaõ, e dizendo-lhe os seos que seria bem que fossem os nossos delle bem agazalhados, e guiados, pois de taõ longe o vinhaõ buscar, elle o approvou, e prometteo dar guias, e tudo o mais, que nas suas Aldeas houvesse. Agradeceo Nuno Velho deitando-lhe ao pescoço huma perna de coral atada em hum fio de seda, e dandolhe hum tampaõ de caldeiraõ, e à Mãy humas contas de cristal guarnecidas de verde, e sendo horas de jantar comèraõ com elle, e às tres horas se foraõ com toda a sua companhia. Solenizou tambem o Piloto esta estança com observar nella a Altura do Polo, e achou ser de vinte e nove grãos, e quarenta e cinco minutos, e haver taõ pouca differença da altura passada, foy a causa caminharem a Lesnordèste, e a Lèste.

Deste Valle (onde ficàraõ quatro escravos, dous Cafres, hum Japaõ, e hum Jao) a que os nossos puzeraõ nome da Misericordia (pela grande que com elles usou Deos nosso Senhor trazendo-os depois de atravessarem quatorze dias hum deserto, à mais fertil, e abundante terra da Cafraria) partiraõ aos onze de Mayo com guias, que o Rey como promettèra, deo a Nuno Velho aquella manhã despedindo-se delle, levando ao pescoço huma cobertura de huma gorgoleta de prata, preza de hum fio de seda branca, e aos dous negros dous pedaços de cobre, e dous prègos. Hia o

caminho ao Nordèste, e por elle subiraõ hum alto, cuja descida foy de pedra, e no valle achàraõ tres povoaçoes. Estas passadas, e hum ribeiro, e hum monte, onde resgatàraõ duas vacas, chëgàraõ jà tarde a outro, o qual descendo-o por entre mato muy espinhoso, topàraõ huma serra, que vinha do Nordèste, e com o monte se juntava. Nella lhes anoiteceo com grande escuro, e assim naõ chëgàraõ ao baixo onde havia agoa, e alojàraõ-se sem ella.

Acabàraõ de descer o outro dia do monte às dez horas, havia no valle bom caminho ao Norte, pelo qual foraõ os nossos como meya legoa, cubertos de hum arvoredos com fruta muy amargosa da feiçãõ de ferrobas, athè chegarem a huma ribeira, que vedearãõ, dandolhe a agoa pela coixa. Terminava esta ribeira a terra do Ancosse Mabomborucassobelo; pelo que passada foy huma guia chamar o Senhor daquella em que estava, cujo nome era Mocongolo. Veyo logo trazendo huma vaca ao Capitaõ mòr, mostrandose muy contente de o ver, e promettendo que daria os mantimentos, e as guias, que os dous negros, que vinhaõ com os nossos, lhe pediraõ da parte do seo Rey. E porque athè aquelle lugar era a sua jornada, delle se voltàraõ com mais dous pedaços de cobre, e dous rosarios de cristal guarneçidos de verde, com q se houveraõ por taõ bem pagos, que pareceo aos que ficavaõ excesso, e prodigalidade, e cobiçando outra semelhante satisfaçãõ, se offerecèraõ logo muitos para o mesmo officio. Hidos os dous negros, e despedindo-se o Mocongolo de Nuno Velho para o esperar nas suas povoaçoes, deixando-lhe alguns Cafres, que là o guiassem, levantouse o Arrayal, e foy fazer o alojamento ao longo da mais fermosa e fresca ribeira, que por todo o caminho se havia visto. Corria de Oèste a Lèste por hum valle metido entre altos rochedos, todos cubertos de grandes e copadas arvores de diversas cores.

Convidados os nossos da fresquidaõ desta ribeira, detiverãõ-se nella hum dia, e por sua belleza lhe puzeraõ nome das Flores fermosas. E os negros lhe chamaõ Mutangalo. Partiraõ della (com saudade) aos quatorze de Mayo com dous negros do Ancosse, que naõ ficou descontente do que lhe deo Nuno Velho, e parados às onze a descançar da calma debaixo de humas arvores, vieraõ as mulheres dos guias com dous cabaços de muy boa manteiga, que por cobre de valor de seis reis se resgatàraõ. Quiz porèm Nuno Velho pagar-lhes a vontade com que o trouxèraõ, e deo-lhes dous meyos rosarios de cristal, com que ellas ficàraõ em extremo

contentes, e os maridos obrigados. E porque naquelle sitio não havia agoa, e faltava aos nossos, foy hum dos negros buscalla a huma fonte, que pouco apartada do Arrayal estava, a qual foy a primeira que se vio nesta jornada, sendo todas as outras agoas excellentes, de ribeiras que nella encontrãrãõ. Passado o ardor da sésta, que posto que em Inverno se sentia, quando o Sol não estava cuberto de nuvens, caminhãrãõ os nossos por boa estrada, à qual sairão tres negros com hum cabaço de favos de muy saboroso e alvo mel, que resgatado o repartio o Capitaõ mòr entre todos, como fruta nova, e pouco antes que anoitecesse, se recolhẽrãõ em hum fresco valle que entre grandes rochas se estendia, povoado de algumas quinze Aldeas, das quaes vieraõ negros com muito mantimento, que pela ordinaria moeda trocãrãõ.

Rodeãrãõ os nossos huma destas rochas com o rosto ao Suèste, e passada huma ribeira, que ao longo della corria, tornãrãõ fazer o caminho ao Nordèste athè as dês horas, que descançando viraõ mais de quinhentos sincoenta negros e negras com mantimento, do qual se resgatãrãõ seis vacas por valia de tres tostoens, muitos bolos de milho, leite, manteiga, e mel. Acompanhavaõ estes Cafres o seo Ancosse chamado Gogambampolo, que apresentou ao Capitaõ mòr huma vaca, e hum filho seo que com elle vinha, outra, e em pago dellas levaraõ dous pedaços de cobre, e dous prègos grandes, com que se despediraõ, e os nossos foraõ caminhando por hum campo razo, cuberto de alto feno, no qual junto a hum ribeiro ficãrãõ aquella noite.

Sendo manhã do dia seguinte continuando o caminho pelo mesmo campo chegãrãõ às dês horas a huma pequena ribeira, em que de ambas as partes haveria algumas trinta povoaçõens. Dellas vieraõ muitos negros festejando com o seo cantar a vista dos Portuguezes, e com grande affeição (que lhe foy bem paga) os ajudãrãõ a passar a ribeira. Eraõ as Aldeas da outra banda, de outro Senhor, que logo veyo a visitar Nuno Velho, apresentando-lhe huma vaca, e em retorno levou hum pedaço de coral, dous de cobre, e humas contas de cristal, com que deo licença aos seos, que viessem vender o que tinhaõ (naõ o costumando fazer os negros sem ella) mas elles tardãrãõ, e os nossos apressãrãõ-se tanto, que se foraõ deste lugar sem resgatar nelle couza alguma. E em outro em que achãrãõ agoa, se alojãrãõ, matando das vacas as que haviaõ mister, como se fazia sempre que era necessario.

Em quanto durou este bom caminho, não se detiverãõ os nossos,

e assim andãraõ athè às onze horas duas legoas delle; descãçando viraõ em hum outeiro sinco negros, foy a elles huma guia, que os assegurou, e fez que chamassem o seo Ancosse, que com mais cem Cafres estava escondido detràs do outeiro. Veyo o negro acompanhado dos seos, e todos com azagayas, e saudando a Nuno Velho com o seo Alala, Alala, deo-lhe o parabem da chegada àquella sua terra, na qual seria bem agazalhado, e delle encaminhado. E porque o Arrayal se queria já alevantar, levando o Capitaõ mòr ao Ancosse pela mãõ, puzeraõ-se os seos negros diante, e cantando guiãraõ os nossos athè hum ribeiro, que se não passou, assim por ser já tarde, como porque o caminho ficava da banda de aquem. Havia da outra huma viçosa serra, e de ambas povoaçoens; donde vieraõ resgatar muito mantimento. Deo Nuno Velho ao negro suas costumadas joyas, e estas foraõ huma perna de coral, contas, e dous pedaços de cobre por huma vaca que lhe apresentou, e pedindo-lhe dous homens seos, para que o guiassem, lhos deo logo. Hum delles affirmava, q̃ já fora à terra do Inhaca, onde vira Portuguezes, e Pangayo. Alegrou esta nova, posto que falsa, em extremo os nossos, entendendo estavaõ em parte onde delles havia conhecimento, e que não devia ser a distancia muita ao rio de Lourenço Marques, pois este negro lá fora (sendo costume natural dos Cafres alongarem-se pouco da sua povoação) mas enganavãõ-se, que dellè estariaõ algumas cem legoas, e o negro nunca lá fora. Cobrãraõ com tudo novos espiritos, e animãraõ-se para o resto da jornada, e com mais contentamento do ordinario passãraõ aquella noite no seo alojamento, que junto à dita ribeira fizeraõ.

Nelle esperãraõ o outro dia athè às nove horas o Ancosse, que chegado averiguou com Nuno Velho, que se dèsem às guias, quando se tornassem, tres pedaços de cobre do tamanho de seis dedos. Veyo tambem o pay de huma dellas, e pedio alguma couza, e sem ella que a não deixaria hir. Mandou-lhe dar Nuno Velho hum pedaço de cobre, em hum prègo pequeno, com que o negro houve por bem, que fosse o filho. Concluido este concerto levantou-se o Arrayal, e começou a caminhar por boa estrada, e muy seguida, a qual atravessava huma ribeira, que os nossos passãraõ, e della subiraõ hum monte em que se detiverãõ as horas da calma. Vieraõ alli muitos negros e negras de humas povoaçoens, que nas fraldas do monte estavaõ, com leite, manteiga, e bolos de milho, e passada a sésta tornãraõ a caminhar, e com



huma hora de Sol se agazalhàraõ debaixo de grandes maceiras de anafega, carregadas de fruto, com o qual se entretiveraõ aquella tarde, não lhes faltando agoa de hum ribeiro, em que havia muitas adens.

Foy o frio, e a orvalhada taõ grande aquella noite, que partiraõ os nossos o dia seguinte às oito horas, passàraõ huma grande ribeira por pedras, dando a agoa pelo joelho, e por bom caminho vieraõ ter a sésta junto de outra, cercada de muitas povoaçoens. das quaes vieraõ negros a resgatar bolos de milho, e leite. E o alojamento da tarde se fez em lugar abundante de agoa e lenha. Assentado o Arrayal descêraõ por hum outeiro abaixo alguns cento e vinte negros acompanhando hum de grande disposiçaõ, que as guias disseraõ ser Rey delles : pelo que como tal o agazalhou Nuno Velho em huma alcatifa, e pela lingua lhe disse, como se perdera, e vinha de muy longe por aquellas terras, nas quaes achàra sempre acolhimento nos Senhores dellas, e assim o esperava delle. Respondeo o Rey (que se chamava Gimbacucuba) que elle tambem estava perdido, fóra do seo Reyno, o qual outro seo vizinho lhe tomàra com guerra, matando-lhe muita gente, e se recolhera naquella terra de hum seo parente, pezando-lhe não estar na sua para o agazalhar, como os outros Reys atràs fizeraõ. Mostrou desta sua desgraça o Capitaõ mór sentimento, e desejos de o poder ajudar na recuperaçaõ do seo estado (ao que todos os negros dèraõ huma alegre grita) e perguntou-lhe as causas da guerra, e com quem a tivera. Disse-lhe o Rey que hum Capitaõ do Inhaca lhe tomàra a terra, e matàra a gente, e pois estava sem huma e sem outra, que não havia para que tratar naquella materia. Prometteo-lhe Nuno Velho o seo favor com o Inhaca, e que faria com elle, que lhe restituisse o Reyno por respeito dos Portuguezes, dos quaes era amigo, e para que os seos vissem o officio, que elle nisso fazia, que mandasse dous em sua companhia. Aceitou o negro o offerecimento, e como pobre e desterrado deo a Nuno Velho hum cabaço de leite, que lhe foy pago com humas contas, e com huma perna de coral, que elle estimou muito, por lhe dizerem, que era bom para o coração, e para os olhos, e querendo já anoitecer se foy, ficando os nossos, e recolhendo-se nas suas tendas.

Saíraõ dellas em amanhecendo, e a pouco caminho encontràtaõ com o Rey Gimbacucuba, que ao pè de huma arvore os esperava com tres mulheres suas, e muitos negros. Assentouse com elle o

Capitaõ mòr, e tornou-lhe a pedir os homens, para que alcançando do Inhaca, que lhe tornasse o Reyno (como esperava, e tinha por certo) lhe trouxessem as novas. Agradeceo o Rey a vontade, e apartando-se com dous negros, que elegeo para a jornada, esteve fallando com elles, como ã os informava do que deviaõ fazer, e sendo horas de jantar se despedio de Nuno Velho levando huma peça de Canequim, que lhe deo, da qual fez quatro pannos, que elle, e suas mulheres puzeraõ por nova e estranha gala, e como tal a estimàraõ. Estando os nossos nesta estança vieraõ alguns Cafres doentes, e aleijados pedir ao Capitaõ mòr, que os sarasse, offerecendo-lhe carneiros, e cabritos que traziaõ. Dezejou elle sarar-lhes as almas, jã que não podia as enfermidades, e aleijoens dos corpos, e assim lhes disse, que só hum Deos que estava no Ceo (o qual lugar mostrou com a mão) tinha poder para dar saude, como só era o que dava a vida, e a tolhia. E com o sinal da Sagrada Cruz (poderoso meyo para outras mayores maravilhas, que sarar estes Gentios) os despedio, não lhes tomando nenhum dos seos presentes. Passada a calma foraõ os nossos caminhando por entre muitas povoaçoes, nas quaes eraõ bem recebidos, e com os seos cantares festejados, e em huma dellas viraõ sair de hum curral muito gado, entre o qual havia dous muy grandes boys, hum tinha tres cornos procedidos de hum que sahia da testa hum palmo, donde todos tres com grande igualdade voltavaõ para baixo, ficando hum delles no meyo; e o outro boy tinha quatro, dous ordinarios, e outros dous, que debaixo destes voltavaõ a redor das orelhas. E pondo-se jã o Sol se fez o alojamento a longo de hum ribeiro, com o qual se passàraõ na jornada daquella tarde outros sete.

Saõ as noites por esta terra muy frias, e esta o pareceo muito mais aos nossos por falta da lenha; pelo que como foy manhã, para se aquentarem com o exercicio, começàraõ a caminhar por terra despovoada, sendo-o tambem a dos dous dias seguintes: era porèm de bons pastos, e de altas arvores cuberta, e taõ fresca, que rodeando-se hum monte se passàraõ muitas ribeiras, e se fez estança ao longo de outra, que por hum estendido campo hia dando muitas voltas. Acharaõ nella os nossos perdizes, e não viraõ mais lagartixas, cobras, e carochas, como pela outra atràs haviaõ visto. Encontràraõ huma serra aos vinte e dous, que para se atravessar com menos aspereza guiàraõ os negros ao Noroeste. E tornando aos vinte e dous ao Nordeste, ora subindo montes, ora

caminhando por valles, e passando ribeiras, alojãraõ-se ao longo de huma com o gado, do qual matando o que para seo mantimento era necessario, achãraõ nesta estança trinta e nove vacas.

Choveo a manhã do dia seguinte, e em quanto a agoa impedio o caminho mandou Nuno Velho a hum Andrè Martins de Alcouchete com hum lingoa, e com huma das guias, pedir licença ao Senhor da terra em que entravaõ, para passar por ella. E sendo já dèz horas levantou-se o Arrayal, e caminhando pelo pé de hum monte, por baixo de arvores espinhosas, quasi huma legoa, encontrou duas cazas de negros, junto das quaes se tornou a assentar. Alli veyo ter Andrè Martins com o Ancosse, a quem Nuno Velho agazalhou, como aos outros, e com humas contas de cristal o contentou, e em retorno elle lhe prometteo guias, e tudo o mais, que na sua terra havia.

Naõ deo porèm ao outro dia (chegados os nossos às suas povoaçoens, que eraõ sete, onde se recolhẽraõ) mais que leite, manteiga, e bolos de milho, naõ consentindo, que se resgatassem vacas, porque estava de guerra com outro seo vizinho, e naõ queria que se vendessem os seos mantimentos, que para ella poderiaõ haver mister. Mas levado do appetite de huma garrafa de porcelana que vio ao Capitaõ mòr, deo-lhe a troco hum grande boy, e com grande festa, vendo-a luzir, e esfregando o vidrado, que se naõ tirava, a poz nos olhos, e depois os seos, nas partes do corpo em que tinhaõ alguma dor, persuadindo-se que dava saude. E como pelas Aldeas se soube, que o seo Ancosse, chamado Uquine Inhana, tinha aquella peca, vieraõ todos a vella, e fazer com ella as mesmas ceremonias e superstioens.

Foy necessario este ajuntamento dos negros, para ajudarem a passar os nossos huma muy grande ribeira aos vinte e seis, que sem elles fora de muito trabalho e perigo; porque era rapida, e dava a agoa pella cinta. Pòstos da outra banda se despedio o negro dando duas guias, e naõ consentindo, que passassem as que o campo trazia, nem os dous negros, que o Rey Gimbacucuba desterrado dera a Nuno Velho Pereira, para por elles lhe mandar a reposta do Inhaca, naõ permittindo estes Cafres, que passassem por suas terras os negros das alheyas. E depois que se descansou hum pouco, se tornou a caminhar por entre povoado, de que vinha muita gente vender mantimentos, e ver os nossos. Os quaes, posto que eraõ duas horas de dia, se recolhẽraõ onde havia lenha e agoa, por estar a outra longe.

Chegou-se a ella o outro dia às dèz horas, e era de huma ribeira, que corria do Nordèste ao Suduèste, e a mais larga, e de mayor corrente, que se havia visto por aquelle caminho, e se na passada houve negros, que a ajudàraõ a vadear, nesta onde mais necessarios eraõ não faltàraõ. Porque pòstos os nossos à borda, veyo o Senhor da terra por nome Mutuadondommatale, com alguns trinta, e passando-a hum delles por hum prègo que lhe mandou dar Nuno Velho Pereira, com agoa pelos peitos, corria com tanta furia, que desconfiàraõ os nossos de a poderem atravessar. E assim buscou o Piloto no mato alguma madeira, de que fizessem jangadas, mas achou-a toda taõ maciça e cerrada, que não nadava na agoa, e como pedra se hia ao fundo. Pelo que sabendo Nuno Velho do Ancosse, que a ribeira baixaria ao outro dia, por ser a agoa de chea, causada de huma trovoada passada, mandou que se assentasse o Arrayal no mesmo lugar, e pediu ao negro, que se queria hir, viesse pela manhãa com os seos para ajudarem a passar os nossos. Saõ já estes negros mais cobiçosos, e interesseiros, que os de atrás, e por cobre (do qual trazem manilhas nos braços) por que outros davaõ tres vacas, dèraõ huma, não tendo ja tanta valia entre elles como entre os passados, e estimando-se a roupa, que os outros não queriaõ. Pelo que convem fazer grande cabedal do cobre, e ferro para o resgate dos mantimentos athè esta parajem, e guardar os pannos, para o fazerem daqui por diante, e assim os pediaõ estes negros a troco das vacas. E porque nelles se conheceo alguma cobiça, e esta os não puzesse em condiçaõ de fazerem algum desacato, mandou Nuno Velho, que as vacas, que se houvessem de matar para o mantimento do campo, fosse à espingarda, como em semelhantes casos se usava, para que com o seo tom ficassem espantados e medrosos. Conseguio-se o que se pertendia, porque morta por esta maneira huma vaca, ficàraõ os Cafres que estavaõ presentes admirados, e o Ancosse, que era já hido, ouvindo no caminho o estrondo, voltou com grande pressa a saber o que era. E vendo os seos pasmados daquella taõ grande maravilha para elles, que lhe contàraõ, pediu a Nuno Velho mandasse matar outra, a qual dando-lhe huma arcabuzada cahio logo. De que não menos maravilhado o negro, tomou o arcabuz na maõ, e dando-lhe mil voltas, disse que pois matava vacas, que tambem mataria homens. Respondeo-lhe o lingoa, que assim era, e que a tudo tirava a vida, matando a hum elefante, e a hum passarinho; com que ficou muito mais confuso, e com grande medo se tornou

às suas povoaçoens, não sendo menòr o que levavaõ os seos que o acompanhavaõ.

Amanheceo o dia seguinte taõ nublado que receàraõ os nossos, que chovesse, e crescesse a ribeira. Mas levantando-se o Sol foy resolvendo as nuvens, e tornando-o claro e sereno determinàraõ passalla, e muito mais depois que por huma baliza, que nella puzeraõ a tarde de antes, conhecèraõ, que havia baixado hum palmo e meyo. Assim sendo já vindo o negro com os seos, escolheo delles dèz os mayores, que começàraõ a passar os moços às costas, Francisco Pereira, e Francisco da Silva com outros negros tomàraõ aos hombros nas colchas D. Isabel, e sua filha, e todo o mais Arrayal os foy seguindo. O gado passou trabalhosamente, porque não tomando pè levava-o a corrente. Mas hum Cafre tirando pelas ventas com huma còrda a huma vaca a fez passar, com que as outras esforçadas se puzeraõ da outra banda. Nella se fez o alojamento, havendo que se fizera boa jornada, vadeando aquella taõ perigosa ribeira, a que os negros chamaõ Uchugel, aos quaes se pagou muy bem o trabalho.

Mandou pela manhã o Ancosse dous negros para guias, como promettèra, e hum para que lhe levasse a paga dellas, que foraõ dous pedaços de cobre (o qual tambem não foy sem ella) e como os nossos não esperassem outra couza para continuar seo caminho, logo o fizeraõ, e com grande cançasso, por ser muy cheyo de pedras, costeàraõ huma serra grande, que ficava da parte do Norte, e ao pè della lhes anoiteceo em hum ribeiro, onde havia bom pasto e arvores.

Sendo a estrada da mesma maneira a manhã seguinte, encontràraõ às onze hum negro, a quem o Capitaõ mòr disse, que fosse chamar o seo Ancosse. Não tardou muito a vir com alguns quarenta, todos com azagayas, e rodellas, e adargas, que fazem de couros. Os quaes bem recebidos dos nossos, levando Nuno Velho o Ancosse pela mão, chindo os outros diante escaramuçando, chegàraõ às suas povoaçoens, que ao longo de hum ribeiro estava. Nelle fez alto o Arrayal, e não se veyo resgatar a elle mais que huma vaca do Senhor da terra, por não haver nella mantimentos aquelle anno à falta de chuva, e assim custou cara, dando-se por ella hum pedaço de Astrolabio quebrado, duas azas de caldeiraõ, e seis pedaços de cobre. Nem a terra podia ser muy fertil, porque toda era de montes asperos, e de grandes penedias e rochedos de cor negra, e arvores poucas, e espinhosas. Da mesma qualidade

foy o caminho do derradeiro de Mayo, e onde nelle achàraõ os nossos cõmodidade para se agazalharem, o fizeraõ.

Vinhaõ no Arrayal dous Grumètes doentes de cameras de sangue, causadas de beber muito leite, e naõ podendo já aturar com os companheiros, ficàraõ o primeiro de Junho no alojamento, confessados por Frey Pedro, e encomendados a hum negro, que por quatro pedaços de cobre lhes dèsse de comer os dias que vissem, que segundo sua fraqueza deviaõ ser muy poucos. E sendo a terra melhor, e o caminho menos frágoso paràraõ os nossos o tempo da calma junto de humas povoaçoens. E porque se achou o Capitaõ mòr Juliaõ de Faria indisposto, ficàraõ no mesmo lugar a noite, e nella resgatàraõ huma vaca do Senhor da terra por huma aza de caldeiraõ, tres pedaços de cobre, e huma moeda de prata Turquesca do tamanho de hum real de oyto.

Sentindo-se com melhoria o Capitaõ se caminhou o outro dia com as guias, que deo o Ancosse das povoaçoens, despedindo as que vinhaõ com os nossos. Subiraõ o cume de huma serra, e baixando della deraõ em terra chã e aprasivel, na qual encontràraõ muitos negros e negras, que lhes davaõ espigas de milho, porque lhes puzessem as mãos nas partes do corpo em que tinhaõ dores, esperando livrarem-se dellas com aquelle remedio: faziaõ-lhe os nossos o Sinal da Cruz, e elles ficavaõ em extremo contentes e alegres, e pondo-se diante da Avanguarda hiaõ cantando ao seo modo. No meyo da descida de hum monte ficou o Arrayal, por ser tarde, e quasi noite vieraõ a elle dous negros com huma vaca, que apresentàraõ a Nuno Velho Pereira da parte de huma viuva, mulher que fora de hum Ancosse. Mostrou Nuno Velho aos Cafres estimar muito aquella lembrança, e mandou com elles à viuva huma cortina de cama, de seda da China, lavrada de ouro e matizes, e tres pedaços de cobre.

Deseo-se de todo pela manhã o monte, e atravessou-se huma ribeira, que pelo pè delle corria, e com o rosto ao Norte se tornou a subir huma serra, do alto da qual voltava o caminho ao Nordèste, e posto que com pedras, que lastimavaõ os pès dos descalços, se foy andando athè bem tarde, que chegàraõ a hum sitio, que escolheraõ para alojamento, por haver nelle agoa, e lenha.

Partiraõ delle aos quatro, e encontràraõ algumas povoaçoens, das quaes sahiaõ os negros com muito alvoroço a abraçar, e a beijar na face os nossos, e tratando-os com grande domesticidade lhes tomavaõ as contas, e deitadas ao pescoço beijavaõ a Cruz

dellas, como viaõ fazer. E entendendo a muita estima, que os nossos faziaõ deste Santo Sinal, perguntavaõ, se era licito depois de o ter recebido ajuntarem-se com suas mulheres. Com esta pratica chegãraõ todos a huma grande ribeira, a qual os Cafres ajudãraõ a passar aos nossos com muita alegria, e vontade, que lhes pagãraõ com algumas continhas de cristal, e tiras de panno, que logo atavaõ na cabeça: e porque eraõ já horas de sésta ficãraõ ao longo de huma sementeira de milho já maduro, no qual se não tocou, assim por não escandalizar os negros, como porque do que elles tinhaõ colhido, eraõ muy liberaes dando-o por muy pouca valia, e bolos feitos delle, e manteiga, e leite. Passada a calma, e a ribeira, na qual achãraõ os Portuguezes muy doces, e grandes murtinhos, caminhãraõ por huma varzia toda semeada do mesmo milho, e regada de agea, que vinha de huma serra fronteira, aqual subida topãraõ o Ancosse das povoaçoes com alguns trinta negros. Recebeu-o o Capitaõ mòr, e depois de lhe contar da sua perdiçaõ, e a jornada, e pedir o que lhe era necessario, disse o Cafre, que lhe pezava muito de seos trabalhos, mas que era bom não morrer, e que guias, e mantimentos lhe não faltariaõ. E em sinal desta promessa mandou vir dous grandes boys, quatro carneiros, e hum cabaço de leite, o que se lhe pagou com tres pedaços de cobre, huma aza de caldeiraõ, huma perna de coral, e huma moeda de prata Turquesca. E em particular lhe deo Nuno Velho outra cortina da China, semelhante à que mandou à viuva, com que o Ancosse, que se chamava Panjana, ficou em extremo contente, e caminhando juntos por aquella sua terra, estando já o Arrayal alojado trouxeraõ a este negro hum grande cabaço de vinho, cheyo de baratas, feito de milho a que chamaõ Pombe, de que deo de beber a Nuno Velho, e aos mais Portuguezes, que com elle estavaõ, e todos o gostãraõ, por lhe fazer mimo, e cortezia. E porque era já quasi noite, se foy ao seo povoado, promettendo tornar ao outro dia com as guias, e os nossos se recolherãõ nas suas tendas.

Comprio o negro sua palavra, e entreteve os nossos na estança athè o jantar trocando hum boy por tres pedaços de cobre, e dando outro a Nuno Velho, pelo qual elle lhe apresentou humas contas de cristal, huma pedra de sangue, e hum pouco de balsamo, que lhe disserãõ ser bom remedio para a asma, de que elle era enfermo. E vendo ao Piloto hum frasco de vidro de Ormuz lho pedio, e por elle lhe deo hum grande boy, e hum fermoso carneiro. Sendo

jà passado meyo dia, levantou-se o campo, e por boa estrada, e chãa foy marchando, hindo tambem o Ancosse, que se não sabia apartar dos nossos. E já Sol posto depois que se recolheo, se despedio delles, e do Capitaõ mòr, mandando-lhe huma vitella, e hum carneiro.

Temendo os negros hum pedaço de despovoado, que se seguia, não vieraõ ao outro dia, que foy o Pentecoste, para guiarem os nossos, como promettera o Ancosse, e pela mesma razãõ houve alguns Portuguezes mal sofridos, que determinãrãõ apressar a jornada, apartandose da companhia. O que entendendo: Nuno velho a noite de antes, e que se perderiaõ, effeituando seos errados intentos; com sua costumada prudencia aquietou este desassossego. E como foy manhã levantado o Arrayal foy caminhando sem guias por boa terra, athè às onze horas, que parou ao longo de hum ribeiro, onde vieraõ ter muitos negros com o seo Ancosse chamado Malangana, que vivia em humas povoaçoens apartadas do caminho. E por ver os nossos saíraõ a elle com huma vaca, que trocãrãõ por hum pedaço de coral, & dous de cobre. Pedio-lhe Nuno Velho guias, e pela mesma causa do despovoado as negãrãõ, mas ensinãrãõ a estrada, e mostrãrãõ com a maõ a derrõta que se havia de levar, a qual o Piloto marcou logo com a Agulha, e era ao Nordèste, e por ella, depois que os negros se foraõ, caminhãrãõ os nossos athè a noite, que em hum bosque se agazalhãrãõ.

Pelo mesmo deserto foraõ aos sete, e aos oito ao meyo dia encontrãrãõ huma serra muy fresca, que se dividia em duas partes, huma della s hia ao Norte, e outra a Lèste, e entre ambas ficava hum grande e estendido valle. Viraõ os nossos na entrada delle oito negros, que andavaõ queimando o feno, aos quaes se mandou hum lingoa, para que os chamasse; foraõ alguns buscar o seo Ancosse, e com elle vieraõ vinte. Andavaõ todos nesta serra levantados, e de roubos se sustentavaõ, e assim vinhaõ armados com azagayas e frechas: fingãrãõ terem o seo Povoado longe, e para o seo intento encaminhãrãõ os nossos a hum valle fundo, e em que não havia nem lenha, nem agoa. Levava Nuno Velho hum destes negros, e vendo o desenquieto, e que dava mostras de querer desviar alguma vaca do rebanho para a furtar, disse aos Soldados, que estivessem àlerta. E conhecendo o Piloto, que hia diante o mesmo dos que o acompanhavaõ, voltou para riba, e apoz elle todo o Arrayal, e parecendo-lhe aos Negros, que era descuberta



a sua danada tenção, foraõ dissimulando, e hum delles se meteo entre as vacas, e procurou desencaminhar huma ; pagouse-lhe este seo atrevimento com huma haste de alabarda, dando-se-lhe huma pancada na cabeça, de que cahio. O que visto dos outros, a todo correr fogiãõ, e este apoz elles, e sem taõ roim companhia acabãrãõ os nossos a jornada daquella tarde alojando-se já quasi noite na serra, onde vigiãrãõ com grande cuidado, temendo-se dos Cafres.

Como foy manhã fizeraõ o caminho ao longo da serra, que hia a Lèste, com o rosto a Lesnordèste, e della foraõ vistos de alguns negros do alojamento passado, a cujos brãdos se ajuntãrãõ outros muitos com azagayas, os quaes por hum outeiro abaixo vieraõ descendo para o Arrayal ; e porque se fossem como os passados, e o naõ achassem desordenado, fez alto, e posto em ordem tornou a marchar. Detiverãõ-se os negros entendendo a determinação dos nossos, e apartando-se delles alguns, chegãrãõ a parte donde os pudessem ouvir, e perguntãrãõ quem eraõ, e que buscavaõ pellas suas terras ? Respondeo-lhes o lingoa o que costumava, e delle, e de Nuno Velho assegurados, foraõ chamar a seo Capitaõ, que foy delle agazalhado, e com hum rosario de contas de cristal despedido. Hidos estes, pouco espaço a diante encontrãrãõ alguns sessenta, dos quaes vieraõ tres ao Arrayal, o mais velho, depois que soube a perdição, e caminho dos nossos, chamou aos outros a grandes vozes, dizendo: Vinde, vinde ver estes homens, que saõ filhos do Sol, e o vaõ buscar. Deixando todos as armas em guarda de hum companheiro, e a todo correr baixãrãõ a ver, e festejar os nossos, e com elles caminhãrãõ athè horas de sêsta, que à sombra de hum bosque passãrãõ. Trouxeraõ alli alguns negros milho, que deraõ por contas de cristal, e tiras de paño de cores para a cabeça, e à mesma estança veyo o seo Ancosse, em quem naõ achando Nuno Velho o agazalhado que esperava, e entendendo nelle dezejõs de acommetter os nossos achando-os desapercibidos, avisou aos Soldados, que o acompanhavaõ, para q̄ aprestassem os arcabuzes, e cada hũ assignalasse o negro, a q̄ queria atirar. Conhecendo esta determinação dissimulou com a sua, e o Capitaõ mór mandou que caminhasse o campo, e se naõ fizesse caso deste negro, nem da sua povoação, pela qual logo ao diante passou. Ao Sol posto se fez alojamento em hum lugar commodo, do que se havia mister, onde vieraõ dous negros de outras Aldeas, que contentes com dous pedaços de cobre promettẽrãõ tornar ao outro dia a guiar os nossos.

Assim o comprirão amanhecendo no Arrayal, com cuja guia subirão huma serra, e posto que della descobrirão outras, os Cafres os levirão por caminhos, que facilitavaõ a aspereza dellas, e ficirão a noite ao pè da derradeira : a qual atravessirão ao outro dia hindo a Lèste, e a Lessuèste, e passada tornirão ao caminho de Lesnordèste por bosques muy espessos de arvores altas e sombrias, e descendo huma còsta, no baixo entre grandes rochedos estavaõ humas cazas de negros, ao longo das quaes se alojãrão.

Eraõ estes Cafres pobres, e não tinhaõ senão hum pouco de milho, e algum leite, que lhes deraõ, e entre elles em huma cabana, que se fez apartada das suas, ficou hum velho de setenta annos por nome Alvaro Gonçalves, pay do Contra-Mestre, que vinha muy doente, e todos os companheiros taõ cançados, que o não podiaõ mais levar aos hombros, como athè alli fizeraõ. Quizera o piedoso filho ficar com elle, e não se lhe permittindo, deixou-lhe cobre para comprar o que houvesse mister, e em hum papel escrito os nomes das couzas necessarias, para as pedir aos negros, e com geraes lagrimas de taõ lastimoso apartamento o tirirão junto de seo pay, que com huma benção o despedio, ficando confessado, e como bom Christaõ muy confórme com a vontade de Deos. Detiverãõ-se os nossos por esta causa no alojamento da noite athè o meyo dia dos doze em que o Piloto tomou o Sol, e achou que estavaõ em vinte e sete grãos e vinte e sete minutos, pelo que determinou de caminhar a Lèste quarta a Nordèste para tomar mais depressa a praya, da qual se fazia quarenta legoas, e sendo duas horas veyo o Senhor das Povoaçoes com guias, pelas quaes lhe deo Nuno Velho quatro pedaços de cobre, e seguidas do Arrayal por terra chãa e boa, direitos a Lèste (para onde diziaõ os negros, que estava o Povoado em que se vendiaõ as suas contas vermelhas, que são as que vem ao rio de Lourenço Marques) chegou ao Sol posto a hum valle, onde se fez o alojamento.

Delle partirão aos treze, dia de Santo Antonio, e às dès horas virãõ muitas povoaçoes das quaes vinhaõ muitos Cafres a ver os nossos, e como chegãrão a elles os saudãrão dizendo, Nanhatà, Nanhatà, como os primeiros. Traziaõ estes entre si o seo Capitaõ, que residia naquelle Povoado por mandado do Ancosse que estava ausente ; foy bem recebido do Capitaõ mòr, e querendo saber delle algumas couzas necessarias para o caminho, disse-lhe o negro que dalli ao mar era jornada de seis dias, e por outra parte era de doze passando pelas terras do Inhaca, por onde se havia de vadear hum

rio grande com agoa pelos peitos. Alegrou esta nova a todos, sabendo que estavaõ taõ pertos do lugar, em que esperavaõ achar embarcaçaõ. E passando as horas de sésta, veyo hum filho do Ancosse visitar a Nuno Velho da parte de seo pay, e feita a visita se tornou logo, levando ao pescoço huma medalha de prata, que se tirou de hũ cõpo, e os nossos depois q̃ naquella estança matãraõ algumas vacas para o provimento ordinario, e resgatãraõ milho, leite, manteiga, e carneiros, foraõ caminhando com o mesmo Capitaõ por guia, athè que se recolhãraõ quasi noite, junto de huma ribeira donde o negro avizou ao seo Ancosse, para que viesse ver Nuno Velho pela manhã.

Estava a sua povoaçãõ longe, e assim eraõ quasi onze horas quando veyo. Sahio-o a receber Nuno Velho acompanhado de quinze Arcabuzeiros, e o Ancosse (que se chamava Gamabela) vinha com cem negros sem armas, e tomandose ambos pelas mãõs sentados em huma alcatifa, lhe disse o Capitaõ mòr, quanto folgava de o ver, e de ser chegado àquella sua terra onde tinha o remedio certo, para hir à que elle pretendia, e desejava. Respondeo-lhe o Gamabela, que tinha razaõ de estar contente, porque jã estava perto do campo, e que para acabar a jornada lhe naõ faltaria couza alguma, que elle tivesse, e pudesse. Apresentaraõ-se logo hum ao outro, o Ancosse duas vacas, e Nuno Velho humas contas de Madreperola, huma peça de prata, sete pedaços de cobre, e huma pedra de sangue. Apoz isto tratãraõ das guias, e foraõ nomeadas do Gamabela, o seo Capitaõ (que com os nossos viera da outra povoaçãõ) e outros dous negros. Contente toda a gente do bom acolhimento deste Cafre, e elle muito mais de o fazer, disse a Nuno Velho, que em pago da vontade com que dava tudo o que lhe tinha pedido, queria delle huma peça, que em seo nome lhe ficasse para com ella se lembrar sempre delle, e dos Portuguezes q̃ o acompanhavaõ. Respondeo-lhe Nuno Velho Pereira que assim o faria como elle pedia, e que daria a mais preciosa, e estimada joya, que havia no mundo, e tomando a Cruz das contas que ao pescoço tinha, tirando o sombreiro, levantados os olhos ao Ceo, com grande devoçao a beijou, e dando a aos Portuguezes, que junto delle estavaõ, os quaes fizeraõ a mesma cerimonia, a deo ao Ancosse, dizendo-lhe, que aquelle era o sagrado penhor, que lhe deixaria da sua amizade, ao qual fizesse a mesma reverencia, que vira fazer aos nossos. Tomou-a o barbaro, e com semelhante acatamento a beijou, e a poz nos

olhos, e assim o fizeraõ todos os outros negros. E vendo Nuno Velho a veneraçãõ que faziaõ à Santissima Cruz, mandou a hum Carpinteiro, que de huma arvore, que junto delle estava (ditosa e bem nascida naquella Cafraria, pois de hum ramo seo se fez o sinal de nossa salvaçaõ) fizesse huma Cruz, que logo foy feita de oito palmos de alto. E tendo-a com as mãos Nuno Velho, a entregou ao Gamabela, dizendo-lhe, que naquella arvore vencera o Autor da vida a morte com a sua propria morte, e assim della era remedio, dos enfermos saude, e na virtude daquella sinal venceraõ os grandes Emperadores, e agora venciaõ os Reys Catholicos a seos inimigos, e como dom taõ excellente lho dava, e offerecia, para que o puzesse diante da sua casa. E todas as manhãas, como saisse della, o reverenciasse beijando-o, e posto de joelhos o adorasse, e quando faltasse saude aos seos vassallos, ou chuva aos seos campos, com confiança lha pedisse: porque hum Deos, e Homem, que morto nelle remira o mundo, lha concederia. Entregue com estas palavras o verdadeiro troféo, e a singular gloria da Christandade ao Ancosse, elle a poz às cõstas, e despedido dos nossos com saudosas lagrimas do penhor que lhes levava, e seguido dos seos, que seriaõ alguns quinhentos, se foy com ella à sua Povoaçãõ, para fazer o que Nuno Velho lhe dissera, e pedira. Triunfo foy este da Sagrada Cruz, digno de se festejar à imitaçaõ dos de Constantino, e Heraclio, porque se aquelles christianissimos e devotos Emperadores libertaraõ a verdadeira de seos inimigos, hum dos Judeos, e outro dos Persas, com que ella ficou triunfante; esta (imagem daquella) foy por este honrado e virtuoso Fidalgo levantada e arvorada no meyo da Cafraria, centro da gentilidade, da qual hoje està triunfando. E pois que abraçado com este doce Madeiro se salvou o mundo do seo naufragio, quererà Deos Nosso Senhor allumiar o entendimento destes Gentios, para que abraçando-se com esta fiel Cruz que lhes ficou, se salvem da perdiçaõ, e cegueira em que vivem.

Plantada por este modo a arvore da Santa Cruz na Cafraria, da qual se pòdem esperar suavissimos frutos da salvaçaõ daquella gente; ao outro dia, que foraõ quinze, despedidos os nossos della, com o Gamabela, que quiz acompanhar ao Capitaõ mòr na primeira jornada, e com as guias, que elle tinha nomeadas, partiraõ daquelle lugar, e às dès horas chegaraõ a huma casa, donde se licenciou de Nuno Velho o Ancosse com verdadeiras demonstraçoens de amizade. Hido o negro continuou-se o

caminho por entre arvores espinhosas, e terra despovoada, em que havia muita herba babosa, e sendo noite se alojãrão ao longo de huma ribeira muy fresca. Donde como amanheceo tornãrão a caminhar athè as duas horas, que achãrão povoaçoes sem gente, mas com muitas gallinhas, e mantimentos. Mandou Nuno Velho guardallas, porque se naõ tomasse dellas couza alguma, e chamados seos donos (que em huns outeiros estavaõ) das guias, e das lingoas, baixãrão alguns, e deraõ por razãõ da fogida, e desemparo das cazas, a guerra que tinhaõ com huns vizinhos seos: os quaes poucos dias antes lhes levãrão todo o gado. E vendo que naõ eraõ os nossos os inimigos de que se temiaõ, tornãrão todos às suas choupanas, e deraõ hum negro que guiou o Arrayal aonde havia lenha, e agoa necessaria para a estança daquella noite.

Foy o outro dia da festa do Santissimo Sacramento, em que por huma muy estendida varzia os nossos caminhãrão, povoada de bons pastos, e arvoredos, e muito mais de vacas bravas, bufalos, veados, lebres, porcos, e elefantes, que em numerosos bandos andavaõ por ella pacendo. Foraõ estes os primeiros animaes deste genero, que encontrãrão por este longo caminho, os quaes descem àquelles campos de huma grande serra, que os atravessava de Norte a Sul. Nella se entrou por hum valle, pelo qual corria huma ribeira, que se passou muitas vezes, e junto della se fez alojamento.

Levantou-se delle o Arrayal, como foy manhã, e caminhando athè as dès horas pelo mesmo valle e ribeira (que era em extremo viçosa, e fresca, cuberta de arvores de varias cores, nas quaes se viaõ muitas papagayos verdes com bicos vermelhos, perdizes, rolas, e outros diversos generos de passaros) subio-se huma ponta da serra da parte do Suduèste, e em huma chãa que no alto della se fazia se encontrãrão quatro negros, que andavaõ à caça, os quaes sabendo das guias, com quanta largueza compravaõ os nossos os mantimentos, foraõ-se logo, dizendo que os hiaõ buscar ao seo povoado. Naõ os esperou porèm o Arrayal, nem se deteve, senaõ às horas de sésta, em hum bosque ao longo da propria ribeira. Havia da outra banda hum outeiro, que se subio passada a calma, e delle seguia huma estendida campina, que toda da dita ribeira se regava: na qual havia àlem da caça da jornada passada, patos, adens, tordos, grous, gallinhas do mato, e bogios, e em huma alagoa, que della se fazia no lugar em que os nossos se recolhãrão,

à noite virão muitos Cavallos marinhos, que com seos rinchos os não deixàraõ dormir quietamente. Pelo que mais tarde do ordinario se levantàraõ o outro dia, no qual se chegou a hum brejo, que as guias disseraõ estar perto do povoado, e alojando-se ao longo delle, despedio Nuno Velho huma, para que fosse avisar ao Ancosse da sua chegada.

A manhã seguinte o mandou logo visitar por Antonio Godinho, com outro negro, o qual voltou a tempo que os companheiros estavaõ já da banda de além do brejo muy cançados de tirarem o gado por cordas, porque nelle atolava. Mas com as novas que deo, esquecêraõ todos os passados trabalhos. Estas foraõ ser o Ancosse, que visitàra, Capitaõ do Inhaca, o qual o recebêra com gazalhado, e promettêra tudo o que havia na sua terra, athè chegarem ao Inhaca, de quem sabia serem os Portuguezes amigos: e que o Navio não era partido, porque havia poucos dias, que passàraõ por aquella sua povoação negros com Marfim para o resgate. Chegou logo hum Capitaõ deste Ancosse, que da sua parte vinha visitar Nuno Velho, com dous cabritos, e duas gallinhas, e apoz elle o mesmo Ancosse, que Nuno Velho assentou na sua alcatifa, e depois que confirmou as novas, que dêra Antonio Godinho, e mostrou estimar muito perguntar-lhe o Capitaõ mòr pelo Inhaca, apresentou-lhe duas vacas, e elle lhe deo huma cobertura de hum còpo de prata, e quatro pedaços de cobre, e a hum sobrinho seo, que trazia comsigo, outros tres pedaços, e deitou-lhe ao pescoço ametade de hum còpo pequeno de prata, com que se foraõ muy contentes, por ser a povoação longe, e os nossos o ficàraõ muito mais, não se mudando daquella estança do brejo, na qual o Piloto tomando o Sol achou ser a altura do Polo do Sul de vinte e sete grãos, e vinte minutos, fazendo-se do porto em que estava o Navio trinta legoas.

Caminhàraõ os nossos para a povoação do negro, como foy manhã, donde esperando levar boas e fieis guias, as achàraõ màs e falsas; foy huma dellas o mesmo Ancosse, o qual querendo-os molestar, e cançar, para lhe darem mais alguma couza, com hum rodeyo os fez tornar ao mesmo brejo donde partiraõ. Mostrou-se Nuno Velho queixoso, e aggravado, e pedio-lhe o que lhe tinha dado, porque delle não queria guias, e assim desenganado o Cafre da sua vã esperança, tomou mais dous pedaços do cobre que lhe dêraõ, e com outros tres negros seos, que o quizerãõ acompanhar, começou a guiar o campo por hum caminho de area, pelo qual

havia palmeiras bravas, humas dellas com tamaras, e outras com huma fruta, que em Cuama chamaõ Macomas, e são do tamanho e feição de peras pardas : e sendo já noite se alojou debaixo de hum arvoredõ sem agoa.

Chegando pela manhã a humas cazas, levou o Ancosse os donos dellas comsigo, e desviou os nossos do caminho, metendo-os por hum bosque, para nelle desencaminhar algumas vacas, e acolherse com ellas; o qual passado, e huma ribeira entrãrãõ por outro, mas como nestes lugares se não descuidassem os nossos, com as lembranças do Capitaõ mòr, hindo o negro diante com huma lingoa, e não podendo fazer o que pertendia, sendo o mato espesso, e assim não visto dos que vinhaõ atràs, lhe atirou com huma azagaya, e errando-a fogio. A lingoa pegando de hum dos negros das cazas, que perto de si estava, gritou, ao que acodiraõ os nossos deitando tambem maõ dos companheiros do que estava prezo. Com elles se sahiraõ fóra do bosque ao caminho, de que os haviaõ apartado, e perguntando-lhes quem era o Ancosse fogido, disserãõ-lhe ser hum grande ladraõ chamado Bambe, ao qual por temor obedeceraõ, e acompanhãrãõ. E pedindo-lhes Nuno Velho, que o quizessem guiar athè o Inhaca, promettẽrãõ de o fazer, e que se o não levassem lá, que os matasse. Postos com tudo a bom recado foraõ caminhando por hum mato, atravessando hum brejo; da outra banda havia boa estrada, que seguiraõ athè noite, que ao longo de hum ribeiro se recolhẽrãõ, não faltando lenha de grandes arvores, que junto delle havia.

He esta terra alagadiça, e assim de muitos brejos, e tendo já passados os que se haõ dito, na manhã dos vinte e tres passãrãõ outro trabalhosamente, porque àlem de atolar muito, era no meyo taõ alto, que se não chegava ao fundo com hum pique. Atravessou-se este espaço, que era breve, com troncos, que se cortãrãõ de arvores, de que se fizeraõ Minhoteiras, e o mais se remediou com muita espadana, que no brejo havia. Postos da outra banda os nossos, e sendo horas de descançar do trabalho, e da calma, o fizeraõ à sombra de arvores; donde mandou Nuno Velho soltar hum dos negros, para que se fosse à sua caza, e dẽsse novas dos outros, e com huma tira de Bretangil vermelho, e hum pedaço de cobre se houve o Cafre por satisfeito da prizaõ; e com os que ficavaõ (que tambem hiaõ contentes esperando grande paga) caminhãrãõ athè o Sol posto, que chegãrãõ a outro brejo, aonde se fez o alojamento. Delle se via ao Suduẽste a fóz de hum rio, que

he o que nas cartas de marear se chama de Santa Luzia, em altura de vinte e oito grãos, quasi o qual se tinha já passado o dia atrás, por parte que não deo molestia, e longe da boca. Nella acabou Fernando Alvares Cabral, Capitaõ da Nao S. Bento, atravessando a em huma Almadia, e ao longo della, ao pè de hum outeiro, onde não chegaõ as ondas que o afogaraõ, està enterrado.

O dia de S. Joaõ Baptista (que foy o seguinte) pela manhã, se descobrião de hum alto povoaçoes, cujas cazas eraõ como as nossas choupanas de vinha, e não redondas como as passadas. Os negros das quaes, como viraõ os nossos, se ajuntaraõ alguns duzentos; foy ter com elles o lingoa, de quem sabendo que eraõ Portuguezes, vieraõ logo ver o Capitaõ mòr, e certificarlo, que estava nas terras do Inhaca, sendo aquella Povoação de huma irmãa sua, e que o Navio do resgate não era partido. Alvoracaram-se todos com taõ boas novas, e chegando às cazas, veyo a irmãa do Inhaca (que os negros diziaõ) com seo marido visitar Nuno Velho, que os recebeo com a devida cortezia, e mostrandose pezaroso de se não poder deter alguns dias com elles, deo-lhes hum panno preto, e dous pedaços de cobre. Descobria-se deste povoado o mar, que como couza nova espantou os nossos, e he na parajem onde chamaõ os Medaõs do ouro. E sendo já as horas da calma passadas, tornaraõ a caminhar com hum negro do Inhaca, que da sua parte viera ver a irmãa (despedindo os outros bem pagos) por huma grande praya de area ruiva, que em breve espaço os cançou muito, e della subindo ao alto dos Medaos, por onde se podia andar com menos cançasso, chegaraõ Sol posto a huma povoação, que estava ao longo de hum rio, o qual por ser marè vazia passaraõ logo, e sendo já noite se alojaraõ da banda de àlem, onde compraraõ por pequenos pedaços de pannos, milho, gallinhas, e tainhas grandes e gostosas.

Sendo o outro dia pela manhã preamar estava o rio muy crescido, e grande, e na boca fazia hum Ilheo, e assim não sendo baixamar, não se vadêa. He este o rio a que os perdidos Portuguezes da Nao S. Thomè puzeraõ nome da Abundancia. E levantando-se o Arrayal, foy marchando por detrás dos Medaõs de area por muy aprazivel, e fresca terra, athè o meyo dia, que ao longo de huma Aldea parou. Tomou nella o Piloto o Sol, e achou de altura vinte e seis grãos e quarenta e sinco minutos, e passada a calma, e hum brejo se fez o alojamento debaixo de arvores grandes, que foraõ bem necessarias para defender da chuva, que houve aquella noite.



Por largos e estendidos campos se caminhou athè às dès horas do dia seguinte, que chegãrão os nossos a huma fermosa e grande alagoa de agoa doce, que teria huma legoa de comprido, perto della estavaõ duas povoaçoens em que se resgatãrão gallinhas, e sesteando ao meyo dia, tomou o Sol o Piloto, e achou-se em vinte e seis grãos e vinte minutos de altura. Dalli ao longo da mesma alagoa foraõ andando, vendo muitas adens, patos, e garças, e em hum campo (ãlem della) se assentou o Arrayal, por se não poder chegar de dia ao povoado. Onde se matãrão tres vacas, para o provimento ordinario, e ainda ficavaõ vinte e tres, e porque passou pelo alojamento hum negro, que deo novas, não ser partido do rio o Navio, determinou Nuno Velho mandar tres homens com a guia para se certificar do que todos estes Cafres diziaõ. Foraõ estes Antonio Godinho, Simaõ Mendes, e Antonio Monteiro, e sendo já muito noite, veyo hum negro com a guia, enviado do Inhaca a vizitar Nuno Velho, o qual chegando a elle, fazendo huma grande mezura, e tirando hum barrete que trazia na cabeça, disse: *Beijo as mãos a V. M.* como Cafre criado entre Portuguezes, ficando naquella terra da perdição do Galeaõ S. Joaõ. Festejãrão todos a cortezia, e as palavras della, e perguntando-lhe Nuno Velho cujo era? disse que d'ElRey, o qual recebèra tanto gosto, vendo os Portuguezes na sua povoação, e sabendo delles, que elle era chegado àquella terra, que logo o quizera vizitar, mas por ser noite o deixãra de fazer, que em tanto estivesse descançado, porque o Navio ainda estava no rio. Foy esta a mais alegre nova, que tiverãõ os nossos Portuguezes em toda a jornada, porque estando o Navio no rio, tinhaõ todos esperanza de vida, e salvação, e sendo partido, era duvidosa, por haverem de atravessar a bahia, e caminhar athè Sofála, ou esperar hum anno, que viesse o outro Navio. Havia em qualquer destes caminhos grandes difficuldades, porque o de Sofála era largo, e de dous mezes pelo menos, que sobre tres que tinhaõ caminhado, era grande soma para a fraqueza que todos traziaõ: se se determinavaõ esperar; era mayor o perigo, porque havia de ser ao menos hum anno, ao cabo do qual se não chegaria com vida, sendo a terra muy enferma, as agoas roins, e os mantimentos poucos. Pelo que com justa causa se alegrãrão muito aquella noite com a certeza de não ser partido o Navio.

Tornou como foy manhãa hum dos homens que Nuno Velho tinha mandado ao Rey Inhaca com larga relação do Navio, que em tudo era confôrme com o que o Enviado dissera. E assim,

posto que chovendo, se levantou o Arrayal alvoroçado, e caminhou athè a povoação do Inhaca, da qual vinhaõ muitos negros encontrar os nossos chamando-lhes Matalotes. Mandou o Capitão mòr recado ao Rey da sua chegada, e da sua parte lhe foy respondido, que o fosse esperar ao pè de huma arvore, que estava junto da sua caza, em quanto elle se levantava e vestia. Assim o fez Nuno Velho levando comsigo oito Arcabuzeiros, o Provedor, o Thesoureiro, o Piloto, e o Lingoa, e assentado debaixo da arvore em esteira, que o Rey tinha mandado estender. Veyo o Inhaca sem nada na cabeça, cingido hum panno ao modo que o trazem na India as mulheres, e com hum grande ferragoilo cuberto. Era de alta estatura, agigantado, bem feito, e de rosto alegre e aprazivel, e chegado a Nuno Velho, que já estava em pè, o tomou pela mão, e juntos se assentàraõ na esteira. Deo-lhe as embòras da chegada, e os pezames da perdição, o que Nuno Velho agradeceo com muitas palavras, e assim o que fizera a Dom Paulo de Lima, e aos da sua companhia da Nao S. Thomè, quando por alli passáraõ, e pedio-lhe hum homem para mandar huma carta ao Capitão do Navio. A tudo se mostrou o Rey obrigado pela amizade, que seo pay tivera com os Portuguezes, e logo chamou hum negro seo que com Antonio Godinho, e outros dous Soldados, e huma Lingoa levàraõ a carta. Seguio-se apoz isto o presente do Capitão mòr, que foy hum sombreiro de Feltro negro, hum panno da China lavrado de seda, e ouro, duas vacas, huma dellas prenhe, e em duas cadeyas de prata, que se tiràraõ do apito do Mestre, huma medalha, e huma pequena garrafa de prata. E porque os nossos estavaõ desacomodados, mandou o Rey (que com as peças se mostrou contentissimo) a hum negro seo, que os fosse agazalhar em hum sitio perto das cazas, em que havia agoa e lenha. Nelle se ordenou logo o alojamento pelo Capitão Juliaõ de Faria, que se foy com toda a gente, e ficou Nuno Velho, e os Officiaes, e os Soldados que o acompanhavaõ, praticando com o Inhaca. E parecendo horas de jantar disse o Piloto, que assinalava o relógio as onze; de que o Rey se maravilhou assás, e muito mais de lhe mostrar pelos rumos do Agulhaõ o caminho que athèlli fizeraõ. E assim sendo tempo se levantàraõ, e dadas as mãos se foraõ ao alojamento, onde depois que o Rey visitou D. Isabel e sua filha, jantou com Nuno Velho na sua tenda, e sendo duas horas se licenciou a todos com boa graça, para se despedir ao outro dia.

Assim o fez como foy manhã, vestido hum roupaõ de grãa

guarnecido de veludo encarnado, o sombreiro, que lhe deraõ, na cabeça, as cadeas do apito ao pescoço, e os braços cheyos de manilhas de lataõ; fizeraõ-se as devidas cortezias entre elle, e Nuno Velho, o qual lhe deo o apito, e o poz nas cadeyas donde se tirara, e tocando-o o Mestre, ficou o Rey delle contente, parecendo-lhe boa peça para a guerra: e a hum filho seo se deo hum còpo de prata, que o pay lhe tomou. Estando jà todos em ordem de marchar, se despediraõ do Inhaca, e elle delles, com affectuosos abraços, e postos no caminho, por baixo de arvoredos, e ao longo de alagoas de agoa doce, foraõ andando athè às dês, que parãraõ a passar a calma. Alli viraõ dês negros da terra com dous Marinheiros do Navio, e hum natural de Moçambique (que là chamaõ Topàs) o qual disse a Nuno Velho, que estando resgatando marfim pelo rio acima, soubera dos Cafres, que estavaõ Portuguezes com o Inhaca, pelo que deixado tudo os vinha ver, com aquelles seos companheiros. Pagou-lhes esta boa vontade Nuno Velho dando ao Topàs huma garrafa de prata, e aos dous Marinheiros outra, e sendo horas de continuar o caminho, o fizeraõ athè a tarde, que onde houve agoa se alojãraõ.

Sendo nove horas do dia seguinte, que foy o de S. Pedro, chegãraõ a huma povoação de hum filho do Inhaca, o qual com recado que teve de Nuno Velho, o veyo logo visitar, e lhe deo hum homem seo, que lhe pedio, para o mandar com outra carta ao Capitaõ do Navio, que com hum dos dous Marinheiros partio com toda a diligencia; em recompensa lhe apresentou Nuno Velho hum pè de còpo de prata, e hum panno da China como o que se deo a seo pay, e elle em retorno lhe fez hum presente de huma cabra, e de hum cesto de Ameixoeira. Era este Cafre muy parecido a seo pay, e vivia aqui delle apartado, e em sua desgraça, por lhe haver procurado a morte, e occupar o Reyno. E com a communicacão dos Portuguezes fallava algumas palavras das nossas. Despedio-se delle o Capitaõ mòr, e caminhando depois das horas de sèsta, junto de hum brejo se estanciou.

Faz o mar nestas terras do Inhaca huma grande bahia de quinze ou vinte legoas de comprido, e a partes pouco menos de largo, e nella esbocaõ quatro grandes rios, pelos quaes entra a marè dèz e doze legoas. O primeiro da parte do Sul se chama Melengana, ou Zembe, que divide as terras de hum Rey assim chamado, das do Inhaca; o segundo Ansate, e dos nossos de Santo Espirito, ou de Lourenço Marques, que lprimeiro descobrio nelle o resgate

do marfim, de quem tomou a bahia o nome; o terceiro Fumo, por passar pelas terras de hum Senhor deste nome; e o quarto, e ultimo do Manhiça, que he da parte do Norte, ao longo do qual foy o desbarate de Manoel de Souza Sepulveda, e as lastimosas mortes de Dona Leonor sua mulher, e filhos, e seo desaparecimento; e nelle acabou tambem D. Paulo de Lima, mas não a memoria de suas gloriosas empresas. Fica na boca desta Bahia (a qual a lugares tem quatorze e quinze braças de fundo) junto da sua ponta Austral, huma Ilha grande de tres legoas de circuito, a qual faz nella duas entradas, huma pela parte do Nordèste, de sete ou oito legoas de largo, e outra do Sul, estreita, e de pouca distancia. Chamaõ os nossos a esta Ilha do Inhaca, e nella traz o Rey muito gado pela abundancia do seo pasto. De huma ponta desta Ilha faz o mar huma Ilheta, a qual se passa de baixamar com a agoa pelo joelho, tem de altura vinte e sinco grãos quarenta minutos, e chamaõ-lhe hoje, dos Portuguezes, pelos muitos que nella estão enterrados, dos que se salvãrão da Nao S. Thomè. Vem aportar a ella de dous em dous annos hum Navio de Moçambique a resgatar marfim, e nella estava quando estes nossos Portuguezes chegãrão às terras do Inhaca. E porque segundo a relação dos Negros, era já monção, e tempo da partida, e nelle pretendia embarcar-se Nuno Velho com os mais Portuguezes, que com elle vinhaõ, escreveo por todas as vias ditas a Manoel Malheiro Capitaõ do Navio, que os esperasse, e mandasse embarçoens à praya, que os passassem à Ilha. De que não teve reposta, senão o derradeiro de Junho, que partidos os nossos do brejo, em que o dia antes se alojãrão, e perto já da praya, encontrãrão hum Cafre Marinheiro do Navio com duas cartas, huma do Capitaõ para Nuno Velho, e outra do Piloto para Rodrigo Migueis. Nellas os avizavaõ como ficavaõ em sua companhia os homens que lhes deraõ as suas, e que o dia seguinte viriaõ as embarçoens a passar a gente à Ilha. E sendo quasi noite chegãrão em huma embarcação o Capitaõ do Navio, que foy bem recebido de Nuno Velho, e porque vazava a marè, pareceo bem, que se tornasse logo, levando comsigo Dona Izabel, e sua filha, o Provedor Diogo Nunes Gramaxo, e os dous Frades, Frey Pedro, e Frey Pantaleaõ. Assim se fez ficando os companheiros bem agazalhados, e providos dos mantimentos da terra, que eraõ milho, ameixoeira, gallinhas, peixe, e marisco.

Tornou a mesma embarcação com outra, como foy manhãa para passar todo o Arrayal à Ilha, o qual estava já ao longo da praya

esperando-as. Mas como a marè não fosse senão às tres horas, e na passagem do gado se gastasse muito tempo, não se passou da primeira Ilha, e nella se alojou aquella noite. E como foy manhã, e conjunção de marè vazia, atravessáráõ os nossos à outra Ilha, na qual estava a gente do Navio aposentada em choupanas feitas nella para seo gazalhado, nas quaes com grande vontade foraõ recolhidos e hospedados cento e dezasete Portuguezes, e sessenta e sinco escravos, que a ella chegáráõ salvos do naufragio, e peregrinação. A qual fizeraõ em tres mezes, e nelles caminháráõ mais de trezentas legoas, posto que do Penedo das Fontes, donde partíráõ, athè esta Ilha em que estavaõ, por linha direita não são cento e sincoenta legoas.

Quiz logo ao outro dia saber Nuno Velho os mantimentos, e agoa que havia no Navio, e perguntando ao Capitaõ, disse-lhe, que os Marinheiros tinhaõ noventa caçapos de milho, ã são alguns setecentos alqueires, e feijaõ, e ameixoeira, e os tanques do Navio cheyos de agoa, nos quaes poderia haver doze pipas; e porque era pouca despejáráõ-se por ordem de Nuno Velho quinze jarras, que hiaõ cheas de mel (que o ha na terra muy bom) e enchéráõ-se de agoa. O milho, e mel, logo o mandou pagar aos Marinheiros, pelo preço que valeria em Moçambique, e n'um se montou cento e oitenta cruzados, e no outro noventa e seis. Sobejáráõ tambem da jornada cento e nove vacas, que foy hum grande terço da matalotajem. A qual assim ordenada, e feita, e o marfim do resgate por lastro, muy bem arrumado, e igualado para servir de camas molles a estes nossos Portuguezes, embarcaráõ-se a nove de Julho para esperarem no Navio a conjunção da Lua, ã era a doze, e com ella os Ponentes para fazerem sua viagem; e anticipa-se tanto a embarcação, porque para partir o Navio, se hade pôr fóra de hum baixo, que està perto da Ilha, onde se espera o tempo, que a estar dentro delle, não pòde sahir com o mesmo Ponente. Metidos no Navio huns, e outros, que faziaõ numero de duzentas e oitenta pessoas, ficou taõ embaraçado, que disse o Piloto delle (chamado Baptista Martins, Marinheiro que fora da Nao S. Thomè) que se não atrevia a governallo, nem se poderia marear; pelo que se tomasse algum meyo em tamanho excesso. Chamou o Capitaõ mór a conselho, e nelle se averiguou, que deixassem em terra os Marinheiros do Navio com suas mulheres, e familias, os quaes eraõ Mouros, e como taes teriaõ nella melhor remedio, que os Portuguezes. Logo se poz esta determinação em effeito, e desem-

barcaraõ-se todos os Mouros com suas familias, e fato, que eraõ quarenta e sinco pessoas. O que elles soffreraõ bem com a boa paga, e satisfaçaõ, que Nuno Velho Pereira lhes mandou dar, com a qual esperavaõ fazer a jornada por terra a Moçambique, mais proveitosa e aventajada, que a que podiaõ fazer por mar, no seo mel que ficou pela praya, e no milho que levavaõ os Portuguezes. Desembaraçado por este modo o Navio, e chegada a conjunçaõ da Lua, ficou o tempo levante donde estava, e assim foy necessario esperar a outra Lua seguinte. De que enfadados, alguns Portuguezes, e assim a estreiteza do Navio, e carestia da agoa, determinaraõ de hir por terra athè Sofála, que eraõ dalli cento e sessenta legoas, e posto que Nuno Velho Pereira sentio muito quererem-se apartar da sua companhia, vendo a sua resoluçaõ, e como era em beneficio dos que ficavaõ, lhes deo licença, e oito espingardas com toda a muniçaõ necessaria, e cento sincoenta cruzados em pèças de prata, e muita roupa. Foy por Capitaõ destes Portuguezes, que eraõ vinte e oito, hum Soldado chamado Baltazar Pereira, de alcunha o Reynol das forças, os quaes desembarcados aprestaraõ duas embarçaõens (que o Navio trouxe, para fazer o resgate pelos rios) em que passáraõ à outra banda da Bahia, ao rio do Manhiça, e fazendo seo caminho por aquella terra, fizeraõ tantas desordens, que sendo a estrada seguida, pela qual foraõ muitos Portuguezes da Nao S. Thomè, e as jornadas contadas, foraõ todos mortos dos Cafres, e só dous homens desta companhia chegaraõ a Sofála. Vinda a monçaõ, partio o Navio (que se chamava Nossa Senhora da Salvaçaõ) aos vinte e dous de Julho a Moçambique, e metido do Cabo das Correntes para dentro, houve hum tempo Sul taõ rijo, que se tiveraõ os nossos por mais perdidos, que na Nao S. Alberto. Alijaraõ muitos mantimentos ao mar, e passados dous dias desta borrasca, voltou bonança, com que chegaraõ a Moçambique a seis de Agosto: onde desembarcados todos, foraõ em procissaõ com os Frades Dominicos (que avizados os esperavaõ na praya) a Nossa Senhora do Baluarte, dando graças a JESU Nosso Redemptor, e á Sacratissima Virgem sua Máy pelos extraordinarios beneficios, e singulares mercês recebidas de suas Divinas, e liberaes mãs, neste seo Naufragio, e jornada.

[English translation of the foregoing.]

WRECK  
OF  
THE SHIP SAINT ALBERT

*At the Rock of the Fountains, in the year 1593.*

The account of the wreck of the *Saint Albert* at the Rock of the Fountains, where the Land of Natal commences, and of the hundred days' journey of the Portuguese who were saved and travelled overland until they reached the river of Lourenço Marques, where they embarked for Mozambique, is of great importance to our navigators, and very useful as a warning to them. It teaches them what they should do in a similar case, what advantageous means of safety they should use, what is apparently most prejudicial and to be avoided, what precautions should be taken to reduce loss by sea and render their journey by land more secure, and how they may disembark with the least peril.

The cause of the loss of this ship (which is the same in nearly every case of wreck), and the account of the journey, show what should be followed and what avoided, what preparations should be made in view of a march of such length and difficulty, how the Kaffirs should be treated and communicated with, and by what means the necessary commerce with them should be carried on. The barbarous nature and customs of those people are also exemplified.

That the necessary information upon matters so novel and important may not be wanting, I have written this brief treatise, in which I have abridged the contents of a long manuscript account written by the pilot of the said ship, which I have corrected and verified by information afterwards given to me by Nuno Velho Pereira, chief captain of the Portuguese during the journey.

The ship *Saint Albert* left Cochin on the 21st of January 1593. Her captain was Julião de Faria Cerveira, her pilot Rodrigo

Migueis, and her master João Martins. In her there were passengers for Portugal : Dona Isabel Pereira, daughter of Francisco Pereira, captain and chief officer of customs in the island of Goa, a widow who had been the wife of Diogo de Mello Coutinho, captain of Ceylon, who was accompanied by her daughter Dona Luiza, a beautiful girl of sixteen ; also Nuno Velho Pereira, recently captain of Sofala, Francisco Velho, his nephew, Francisco da Silva, João de Valadares de Sotomayor, Dom Francisco de Azevedo, Francisco Nunes Marinho, Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcellos, Antonio Moniz da Silva, Diogo Nunes Gramaxo, captain of the ship *St. Luis*, of Malaca, which ran ashore in a port in India, Antonio Godinho, Henrique Leite, Friar Peter of the Cross, an Augustinian, Friar Pantaleão, a Dominican, and many others.

The ship pursued her course with favourable weather till she reached latitude  $10^{\circ}$  S., where her misfortunes began, for here she sprang a leak, though not a very large one. It did not prevent her from following the course for the southern point of the island of Madagascar, but having reached twenty-seven degrees a south wind arose which caused the leak to increase. The ship was sailing on a bowline very near the wind, in order to keep off the said point, when she gave a forward plunge and sprang the bowsprit, which was, however, at once repaired. Proceeding thus, without much trouble with the pump, they came in sight of the Land of Natal on the 21st of March, in latitude  $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  ; and keeping along that coast, the latitude next day was found to be  $32^{\circ}$ .

That evening a westerly wind was blowing from the land, with which they stood out to sea with only the large sails set, and in the third watch, without any cause from wind or sea, the ship began to leak very much, the water rising rapidly in the pump. Going below to examine the cause, they found that the water was coming in at the stern under the flooring timbers, a very dangerous place, where it would be difficult to provide a remedy. It seemed to the captain and officers that they might get at the leak by cutting away a portion of the flooring timber, which they did, and found it. They then began to stop it, for which the pilot and the master asked a reward from Nuno Velho Pereira, who promised them one. But this improvement did not last long, for the water, finding the weak spot that had been made, pressed



against it with greater force, and entering the ship, increased rapidly.

This experience shows, and also the case of the ship *St. Thomas*, which was similar, that every means should be tried to find a leak except that of cutting away timber, because it is more necessary to strengthen than to weaken such a place. Though it may appear a good plan, it afterwards makes matters much worse, as was seen in the case of both these ships, for if they had not cut away timbers in the *St. Albert* and in the *St. Thomas*, the water would not have overwhelmed them so, and it being less and other remedies more successful, one might have reached Mozambique, and the other have been run ashore and not have been wrecked so far from it.

The officers, seeing the dangerous condition of the ship and that there were eighteen palms of water in her, determined to resort to baling and to raise the stern by throwing goods overboard. Both plans were at once put into execution, the master opening the main hatch, through which they drew up the water in kegs, which greatly relieved the ship.

On learning this, some who were attached to the baubles in their chests, which were brought on deck, hesitated to cast them overboard, still hoping to save them and themselves as well, but Nuno Velho Pereira promised, if God brought them safely to land, to give them instead forty-five quintals of cloves which were in the ship. This hope of profit was so powerful that the deck was immediately cleared; and the peril afterwards increasing, they threw overboard everything in the bombardiers' quarters and in the store-rooms, so that the sea was covered with treasures, most of them thrown away by their owners, to whom they were now as hateful and valueless as they were formerly beloved and esteemed.

When it was nearly dawn of the next day, the water was coming in in such quantities that the chests could not be removed from the second deck, but they were broken open with hatchets, and their contents thrown overboard. Though the water was drawn out in kegs through the hatches and store-room and the pumps were used at the same time, no effort availed to reduce it. They continued at this labour all day, Nuno Velho Pereira, the captain, the noblemen, and the soldiers working in one place with great diligence, and the master and seamen in another.

At nightfall the pumps got stopped with pepper, and became useless. There were now twelve palms of water in the ship, owing to which many lost courage, and those who did not were so weary that there was no one to go below to fill the kegs, though the salvation of the ship depended upon the continuance of this labour. Nuno Velho Pereira therefore went down into the lower hold at great risk, hanging to the baling tackle, and began to fill the kegs. Moved by his example the other noblemen and the soldiers did the same, and did not cease from these efforts all that night.

At dawn of the following day they saw the land, as the pilot had promised the previous afternoon; the sudden sight of which gladdened them all and filled them with hope, as if the saving of their lives was not as doubtful on shore as on the ship, which the sea was engulfing with great fury.

Seeing land, they occupied themselves with throwing overboard everything in the after castle and on the poop, and having thus somewhat relieved the ship, they set the main and sprit sails to reach the coast more rapidly, being still able to steer, though it would seem a miracle, for both decks were covered with water and the chain plates were dragging in it.

Nuno Velho, foreseeing the future need of arms and ammunition, without which they would as certainly lose their lives on the land they were approaching as on the sea where they now were, advised the captain to command all the arms, powder, lead, and lunt that could be found to be got together, and he ordered Antonio Moniz da Silva to collect as many guns as he could and tie them together and put them in a large cask, that they might be saved in it. This was done, and all these things were placed on the forecastle, whence they were saved with difficulty when the pieces of the ship washed ashore.

This precaution and forethought of Nuno Velho was of such importance that without it there would have been no help for all the Portuguese, for the Kaffirs were obliged by their fear and awe of firearms to be friendly, to sell provisions to them, and to refrain from working their will upon them, those people being naturally inclined to theft and treachery, as will appear in the course of this narrative. Thus on similar occasions, and in the like disastrous circumstances, great care should be taken to collect the arms, cloth, and copper, for defence and trading, upon

which so much depends, and everything should be placed on the fore-castle that it may more easily be saved.

Being now near land, by order of the master the carpenters began to cut away the masts, and in eight and a half fathoms the rudder striking was displaced, and in eight fathoms the ship first struck the ground. At once the shrouds were cut, and the masts fell amid the loud and piteous clamour of all on board. When the masts fell many rashly threw themselves upon them, thinking this a sure means of escape from the wreck, but being still encumbered with part of the rigging, the impetuous waves which broke against the ship with great fury swept over them, and all on them had their arms and legs broken and were drowned.

This evil was balanced by a benefit from the masts unexpected by the living, (who saw the mournful spectacle from the ship), for the furious blows which terrified them and which they expected to overwhelm them proved their salvation by striking against the ship and breaking it. She grounded between nine and ten in the morning of the 24th of March, at about four hundred paces from the shore, and at once broke into two pieces. The upper deck parted from the lower, which last remained in the place where the ship struck, and the other drifted towards the land until very close to it.

On the front part were the captain, the pilot, the master, and many others. All the rest were upon the poop, with Nuno Velho Pereira, who accompanied and was much attached to Dona Isabel and Dona Luiza, and who tried to protect them from the waves which rolled in between the masts and the poop and broke in spray over them. He sheltered the ladies with a large camlet cloak, and stood so as to receive the first shock, which was such, especially on the poop that was still encumbered with part of the rigging attached to the masts, that many men were obliged to lash themselves to some of the fixed timbers to avoid being washed off. Others, who knew how to swim, fearing that night would fall before the piece of the ship on which they were should reach the shore, and that then the masts would either crush them or force them under so that they would be drowned, jumped into the sea, and by blows from the wreckage that was tossing about, and the back current of the huge waves which broke upon the great and sharp rocks of the shore, many of them perished.

At the fall of night the poop separated from the fore part, to which it had till then been attached by the fastenings underneath. By this it was also freed from the masts, and drifted straight ashore and grounded. Nuno Velho, fearing that the currents on that coast, which flow south-west, would carry them away, when it was nearly low tide directed one of his servants, a good soldier named Diogo Fernandes, to swim ashore and fasten a rope by which the piece of the ship could be made secure. The soldier did this, with a great effort and a better will, and most of the people on the poop jumped ashore. In the middle of the night the forecastle part was brought to the poop, which served as a bridge, and those who were on it got to land. And at the beginning of the third watch Nuno Velho Pereira and the noblemen and soldiers who accompanied Dona Isabel and Dona Luiza drew the poop in by the rope while the tide was rising, and when it ebbed they landed dry shod.

After they had greeted each other with tearful embraces, they gave thanks to God for the great mercies He had shown them on the day of His miraculous incarnation, by delivering them from the perils of shipwreck and bringing them to this shore. The latitude of the place is thirty-two degrees and a half south. It is called by our people the Rock of the Fountains, and by the negroes Tizombe. The Portuguese, on counting their numbers, found they were one hundred and twenty-five living and twenty-eight dead, and slaves a hundred and sixty living and thirty-four dead.

They spent the rest of the day drying the clothes with which they had escaped before fires which they made with the timber that drifted ashore from the wreck, warming themselves from the severe cold they had endured, and resting from their past labour and anguish.

Such was the wreck of the ship *Saint Albert*, caused, not by the storms of the Cape of Good Hope, as she was lost before reaching it and in favourable weather, but by careening and overloading, through which this and many other vessels have been buried in the depths of the sea. Both these evils are due to the covetousness of the contractors and navigators. The contractors, because it costs much less to careen a ship than to lay her aground, are delighted with the Italian invention, which, though it serves very well in the Levant, where galleys may remain in harbour

during storms and tempests, and where they put into port every eight days, in this our ocean is one of the causes of the loss of ships.

Besides the rotting of the timber caused by being so long in the water, even though cut at the proper season, it is strained when a ship is turned over for careening, from the weight of such large vessels. When a ship is caulked in this way she does not take the oakum properly, being damp and badly dried, and afterwards during a voyage, when she is beaten by heavy seas and buffeted by strong winds, the caulking drops out and the open seams let in the water, which sinks her. Experience has shown that when this prejudicial invention was not in use a ship could make ten or twelve voyages to the Indies, whereas now she cannot make two.

This evil is increased by the officials who undertake the work, or get it done by contract, which is a prejudicial system. These, to spare time when they cannot spare the materials, never finish anything properly, as is necessary in work of such importance, and thus leave everything imperfect. If they discover in an old ship any defects or deficiencies which cannot be remedied without loss to themselves, they conceal them, and hide the damage so that all appears to be in good order, but the certainty of shipwreck lurks beneath.

They also fell the timber out of the proper time, which is in the waning of the January moon, and this causes it to be heavy, green, and unseasoned. On this account it warps, shrinks, splits, becomes displaced at the joints, and casts the nails and caulking, so that the seams gape, and with the dampness of the water without and the great heat of the pepper and spices within, it grows rotten and useless on the first voyage; hence one plank cut out of season is sufficient to cause the loss of a ship. In this state the timber of the *Saint Albert* must have been, for her keel, which is the chief base and foundation of every ship, was so rotten that when the fury of the sea dashed it from the spot where it was aground and washed it ashore, with several pieces of artillery, Nuno Velho Pereira broke small pieces off it with a Bengal cane.

The navigators are no less to be blamed for the loss, though it affects them more closely. They adventure their lives in a ship which they overload, without distributing the merchandise

properly, putting the light goods in the lower part, and the heavier above, which is contrary to what ought to be done. To enrich themselves quickly they overload a ship in such a manner that they exceed her proper cargo, which necessarily makes it impossible to govern her, and if any of the aforesaid mishaps occur her timbers part and she goes down. This is so inevitable that without it the other causes will hardly suffice to bring about the loss of a ship, but this alone is sufficient. Experience shows that some old ships, repaired and fitted for sea by careening, come from India, because they do not carry a full cargo, whereas new ships with an excess of cargo are lost.

Our people being thus saved from the wreck of the *Saint Albert*, the next day, the 26th of March, the captain directed them to set to work to collect what arms and provisions they could find, which was immediately done. The master, boatswain, and all the seamen went to the pieces of the wreck, and the soldiers searched along the shore. These found three barrels of powder, and the others twelve guns, several shields and swords, three caldrons, and a little rice. The powder was entrusted to the bombardiers, the office of chief-gunner being given to the most experienced, that they might dry and refine it with a barrel of vinegar which was washed ashore.

The provisions and arms were placed along the quarters of Nuno Velho Pereira, all our people watching with great vigilance to secure themselves from the thefts and assaults of the Kaffirs. To the same end they entrenched themselves, as well as time and the site would permit; and to shelter themselves they made tents of valuable carpets of Cambaya and Odiaz, of rich quilts, of gun-joens, chests, and mats from the Maldivé islands, which had been laden in the ship for a very different purpose; and in these they took refuge from the cold at night and from the sun by day.

The next day, which was the 27th, they resolved to choose a chief captain, for which purpose the soldiers named ten electors, who were the captain Julião de Faria, Francisco da Silva, João de Valadares, Francisco Pereira Velho, Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcellos, Diogo Nunes Gramaxo, Antonio Godinho, Francisco Nunes Marinho, Friar Peter, and Friar Pantaleão; and the seamen named the pilot and the master. These were given full power, and the rest obliged themselves by oath to hold good their election, and to obey whoever they might appoint.

With one consent they elected Nuno Velho Pereira, on account of his nobility, prudence, strength, and experience. He objected to their choice, begging them to give this charge to the captain Julião de Faria, who by his parts and his behaviour during the wreck of the ship had well deserved it, and he promised to assist him with such counsel as might be desired and could be expected from his age. They would not accept this refusal of Nuno Velho, and that he might not persist in it, they declared that if he would not undertake the command, they were determined to separate, and pursue their journey disunited and in bands, where and how they pleased. As this resolution meant the total destruction of all these people, that it might not be carried out, putting the public good before his own ease, he accepted and took the usual oath to fulfil the obligations, the others taking a similar oath that they would obey him.

It being now late, and the tide low, some of the seamen went to the wreck with the master, and brought back six guns, twelve pikes, and three bags of rice, all of which was delivered to Nuno Velho, who commanded it to be dried, that with what had previously been recovered it might be equally divided among all. In order to obtain everything else of value, that night they set fire to the relics of the ship.

This should always be done in similar cases, that our people may obtain the nails with which to trade, and that the negroes may not get them except from their hands, and thus they may have the necessary value. That which cannot be made use of should be thrown into the sea when they are not looking, and where they will not be able to profit by it; for if the wreck is left on the shore in a position such as this one was in, when the Kaffirs come afterwards to trade with cattle, seeing it there, they will not sell them, but take them back, knowing that they will soon get possession of the iron for which they were ready to barter their cows and sheep.

In the morning of the next day Nuno Velho sent the captain to the shore, and the master with several men to the ship, where they found three muskets, four guns, two bags of rice, a hogshead of meat, two of wine, four jars of bread, some oil, and a large quantity of preserves. After dinner they found a chest belonging to the chief captain, which contained many gold and silver pieces, and some small writing desks full of glass rosaries. All these

things were given to the captain, who delivered them to Nuno Velho, and they were put under guard by his command. Provisions were then served out to the people.

It being now late, the chief of that land, who had heard from some of his Kaffirs that our people were there, came to visit the chief captain with about sixty negroes. When he drew near, Nuno Velho rose and went forward a few steps to receive him, and the negro, after saluting him, said *Nanhatã! Nanhatã!* in sign of peace and friendship. He laid his hand on the chief captain's beard, and stroking it down, kissed his hand afterwards, the other savages showing the same courtesy to our people, and they to them.

This negro was called *Luspance*. He was of good stature, well made, of a cheerful countenance, and not very black. He had a short beard, and long moustaches, and appeared to be about forty-five years of age.

When these courtesies had passed between Nuno Velho and the negro, they both sat down upon a carpet, and beside them were two slaves, one belonging to Manuel Fernandes Girão, who understood the language of these Kaffirs and spoke also that of Mozambique, the other belonging to Antonio Godinho, who spoke the last named language as well as ours; and thus through the medium of these two interpreters they conversed.

Nuno Velho asked the Kaffir what he thought of his soldiers. He replied that he had a high opinion of them, for their bodies were fashioned like his, and they were the children of the sun, being white; but he would be glad to know how they came there. Nuno Velho answered this question by saying that they were subjects of the most powerful king on earth, to whom the whole of India was obedient and paid tribute, where his viceroy dwelt to govern it. He was going from India to Portugal, his country, in a great ship which held all these people and as many more who had perished; but the fury of the sea had thrown them on this coast, where the ship was broken to pieces. At this all the Kaffirs were lost in wonder.

The king then made them a present of two large sheep of the Ormuz breed, which were killed at once, and divided among the people. The negro, seeing them dead, went with one of his Kaffirs to the place where they were being flayed, and ordered him to take up some of the refuse from their entrails, which he



threw into the sea with his own hands, with some ceremony and words of gratitude that it had brought these Portuguese to his country, from whose loss he hoped to get great gain; and therefore he offered the sea this present, as to a friend.

This being done, he returned to Nuno Velho, who invited him to partake of sweetmeats and wine, which he praised very much, it seeming to him a very good thing for the stomach, which was warmed by it. When he was about to leave, the chief captain gave him a brass basin full of nails and a gilt Chinese writing-case, with which the negro was much delighted. Taking leave of him and the other Portuguese with the same ceremonies as on his arrival, he withdrew, promising to send one of his men the next day to show them where to find water, of which they already felt the want. Till that time they had been drinking water from the barrels washed up on the shore, though it was somewhat brackish from the mixture of salt water.

The dress of these Kaffirs is a mantle of ox-hide, with the hair outwards, which they rub with grease to make it soft. They are shod with two or three soles of raw leather fastened together in a round shape, and secured to the feet with straps; in these they run with great lightness. In their hands they carry the tail of an ape or a fox fastened to a thin piece of wood, with which they clean themselves and shade their eyes when observing. This dress is used by almost all the negroes of Kaffraria, and their kings and chiefs wear, hanging to the left ear, a copper ornament made after their own fashion.

These and all other Kaffirs are herdsmen and cultivators of the ground, by which means they subsist. They cultivate millet, which is white and the size of a peppercorn; it is the fruit of a plant of the size and appearance of a reed. Of this millet, ground between two stones or in wooden mortars, they make flour, and of this they make cakes, which they cook among embers. Of the same grain they make wine, mixing it with a quantity of water which, when it has fermented in a vessel of clay and has cooled and turned sour, they drink with great enjoyment.

Their cattle are very fat, tender, well-flavoured, and large, the pastures being very rich. Most of them are hornless, and the greater number are cows, in the abundance of which their riches consist. They use milk and the butter which they make from it.

They live in small villages, in huts made of reed mats, which

do not keep out the rain. These huts are round and low, and if any person dies in one of them, the others take it down with all the rest of the village, and remove to another spot, thinking that in a place where their neighbour or relation died everything will be unlucky. And so, to save this trouble, if anyone is ill they carry him into the thicket that if he is to die it may be out of the houses. They surround the huts with a hedge, within which they keep the cattle.

They sleep in skins of animals, in a narrow pit in the ground, six or seven palms in length and about two deep. They use vessels of clay dried in the sun, and some of wood carved with small iron axes, which are like wedges set in a piece of wood; with these they also clear the thickets. In war they make use of assagais, and they employ gelded dogs in size and appearance like our large curs. They are very barbarous, and worship nothing: thus they will readily receive our holy Christian law.

They think the sky is another world from this in which we live, inhabited by a different people, who cause the thunder by running and the rain by making water. Most of the inhabitants of this land, from latitude 29° and downwards, are circumcised. They are very sensual, and have as many wives as they can maintain, of whom they are very jealous. They obey chiefs whom they call Inkosis.

The language is the same in nearly all Kaffraria, the difference being only like that between the different dialects of Italy and the ordinary dialects of Spain. The people never go far from their villages, and thus they know and hear nothing except what concerns their immediate neighbours. They are very mercenary, and so long as they have not received payment they will serve, but if payment is made in advance no service is to be expected of them, for when they have received it they run away.

They value the most necessary metals, as iron and copper, and for very small pieces of either they will barter cattle, which is what they esteem most, and with which they trade, exchanging them for other treasures. They do not prize silver or gold, nor does there appear to be any of these metals in the country, for our people saw no signs of them in the parts they traversed.

The above is all they noticed of the dress, customs, ceremonies, and laws of these Kaffirs, nor could there be more to notice among so barbarous a people.

The land has products in abundance and is fertile. The Portuguese saw of plants which they knew: origanum, worm-wood, ferns, water-cress, pennyroyal, mallows, garden rosemary, rue, myrtle with large and excellent berries, brambles bearing fruit, rosemary, blites, wild mint, and aloe shrubs so large that they were like trees, the leaves being four or five palms in length, and one in width, from the middle of which there grew stems with yellow flowers. There were also many plants which they had never seen except in that country. The trees were very different from ours, and among them they found some bearing very small olives, wild olive trees, jujub trees, and fig trees.

There are large and dense forests, in which they never saw any lions, tigers, or animals of that kind. Of poisonous reptiles they only met with one large viper, which they killed, several cobras like our water snakes, and lizards: the rest will be spoken of in their place. In the rivers, which are numerous, they saw fish. Anything further of note will be spoken of in its place, these remarks, applying to Kaffraria in general, being made here that the particulars in the course of this narrative may be better understood.

To return to the narrative. In the morning of the next day, the 29th of March, it seemed necessary to the chief captain to select officers for the proper government of their little army, since without this nothing can be preserved for any length of time. He gave the charge of arranging and dividing it to Captain Julião de Faria Cerveira; Diogo Nunes Gramaxo he appointed steward, and João Martins, the master, treasurer; and he ordered that they two and Friar Peter should have charge of the pieces of gold and silver and other things for trading, and that when bartering Antonio Godinho should be present, he being a man of much experience in dealing with Kaffirs, with whom he had long associated in the rivers of Cuama.

Captain Julião de Faria then divided the camp into the principal parts, namely vanguard, main body, and rearguard, and divided the soldiers into three companies, to keep the watches, of which Francisco da Silva, João de Valadares, and Francisco Pereira were appointed captains. He also divided the seamen into three bands, with the pilot, the master, and Custodio Gonçalves, the boatswain, as captains. The arms which had been collected were given out to the soldiers in proper order.

They consisted of twelve pikes, twenty-seven firelocks, five muskets, and swords and shields.

Nuno Velho, foreseeing what would be required for so long a journey, commanded the bombardiers that after refining the powder they should put it into some bamboos that were found on the shore, and that had served instead of buckets on the ship. These were covered with leather, to keep the powder from the damp. He ordered that little bags like wallets should be made to hold the copper of a kettle and six caldrons cut into small pieces for trading, and other larger sacks of the same pattern to contain the few provisions saved from the ship.

Nothing else having been saved, except the writing-cases aforesaid and the chest of Nuno Velho containing seventeen pieces of gold and twenty-seven of silver, he made a free present of it to his soldiers, saying that he wished the gift was equal to the good will with which he offered it to them. He ordered the pieces to be given to the steward and the treasurer, that when they reached one of our ports the value of what remained might be divided among all, as was afterwards done in Mozambique, where sixteen hundred cruzados, for which it was sold, were distributed among them all.

These things having been arranged, our people provided themselves with water, which the negroes showed them in two places, one along the shore in a pool where there was but little, and the other behind a hill in some pits on the banks of a river. This scarcity of water is general along the whole coast of Kaffraria, and not less so are springs in the interior, but rivers of good water are abundant, so that springs are not needed.

On the last day of March, they consulted what course they should take. Though the majority were in favour of travelling along the shore, Nuno Velho, remembering the wreck of the *St. Thomas* on the land of Fumos in the year 1589, of which he had read in Goa the account written by Gaspar Ferreira, the under-pilot, urged that by this example and that of the galleon *St. John*, which was wrecked in those parts in the year 1552, it was shown what hardships, difficulties, and dangers they would have to encounter, and the hunger, thirst, and sickness which they would suffer in travelling along the coast of Kaffraria; and that their sufferings would surpass those of the other shipwrecked people, the distance being much greater from the place where

they were to the river of Lourenço Marques, the first port along that coast to which the Portuguese resort for trade and barter.

Upon this prudent advice (as was afterwards proved by experience) they changed their minds, and resolved by common consent to pursue their journey inland, and avoid the inevitable hardships of the coast. This being settled, and the captain having arranged the people in the order in which they were to march, and the places where they were to keep their respective guards having been assigned to the soldiers, there came the same chief who had visited them before, and Nuno Velho asked him for guides to conduct them to another chief, his neighbour. He promised to provide them, and sent them when they were setting out.

The chief captain ordered all to be ready to start the next day, which was the first of April. During the night there was a false alarm, and with great zeal and good order the soldiers seized their arms, and placed themselves at their posts. When the alarm was quieted, it being daylight, they began their journey, moving to a valley which was between two mountains, marching in very good order. Then the guides came with their chief Luspance, and they brought two cows and two sheep, which they bartered for three pieces of copper the size of a hand.

The cows, by order of Nuno Velho, were shot with the guns, as was usually done before the negroes, in order to astonish and terrify them. To the same end he ordered muskets to be fired at some empty hogsheads, which were shattered with a loud noise. The chief, overcome with fear, tried to escape; but Nuno Velho took him by the arm and reassured him, and our people did the same to the other Kaffirs. When they had eaten in company, the Kaffirs withdrew, to return the next day at the time of setting out; but the departure was deferred because it rained heavily in the night, making it necessary to dry the tents and clothes in the sun, which was very bright.

The next day, however, which was the 3rd of April, at nine o'clock the Portuguese left the shore, some of them wounded during the wreck, among whom was Francisco Nunes Marinho, who was badly hurt in the leg,—and a little negro with a broken leg, who was left with the Kaffirs and recommended to them. In return for copper given to them to nurse and maintain him, they took him in, and lodged him with great show of goodwill. Thus

were left the pieces of the ship on which they were saved, and beneath the waves the riches they had amassed with such anxiety during a long time, now lost in a single day.

The captain and pilot went in front with one of the guides, and the others with their king accompanied Nuno Velho. The pilot observed the direction of their course upon a sun-dial, and found that it was N.N.E. The road was level, and over a plain covered with grass, through which they travelled slowly, it being their first day's march. At three o'clock they reached a valley, through which flowed a beautiful streamlet that entered another river which farther down the vale mixed its fresh water with the salt water of the sea. In this place the guide called a halt, which was the first of the journey; and along the river in thickets of different colours which were in the valley, the people took shelter.

The next day, searching along the river, which is the Infante (the Umtata), for a ford by which to reach the other side, they came upon two negroes, whom Luspance asked to conduct them to their chief, for which they would be well paid. The two negroes agreed, and for this purpose were presented to the chief captain, who put two glass rosaries round their necks, with which they were satisfied. They then showed our people the ford, which they crossed with the water to their knees, the tide being low. In this river there were many hippopotami and many ducks.

When they reached the other bank, the negroes and the chief Luspance who had accompanied them from the shore took their leave, and thereafter they followed the two new guides. These led them up a hill, thickly wooded, at the top of which they reached an agreeable plain, bordered on each side with hills covered with trees. The plain extended to the foot of a high circular mountain, climbing up the side of which fatigued our people very much. Therefore on reaching the summit, Nuno Velho asked the guides if it was far to the spot where they intended to halt, and on their replying that it was, and that they could not reach it that night, he ordered that they should go no farther, but that the people should take shelter, which they did in a valley into which they descended, where there was plenty of wood and a streamlet of very good water.

The direction in which they travelled that day and many others

was still N.N.E. They had marched about two leagues, and the Kaffirs declared that in this direction they would always find villages, with provisions, water, and fuel. When the negroes saw our people encamped, they asked leave of the chief captain to return to their village that night, and said they would bring some cows next morning. He gave them leave, and promised that the cows should be well paid for.

The Kaffirs kept their word, and returned in the morning with eight cows, for which they were given pieces of copper worth about two cruzados. That day they journeyed through rich meadow lands, covered with long grass, and crossed by many streams; and at sunset they encamped on the bank of a river, thickly wooded, where they killed two of the cows which they had bought. The meat was equally divided among all, as was done during the whole of this journey. In this place our people buried two muskets, by order of Nuno Velho, because they were very heavy, a great encumbrance, and little needed. There was much rain in the night, for it was the beginning of winter in those southern parts, the month of April there corresponding with that of October in these our northern lands. An old Indian woman, the captain's slave, remained in this place, being unable to continue the journey.

As our people were very wet, they could not go far the next day, though the ground was very good and level, with a few low hills, and abounding with pasture and water. Though the negro village was not far off, according to report, the rain came on so heavily that they did not go over the river, which was well supplied with wood, but remained upon its bank.

On the following morning, the 7th of April, when all the people had eaten, which they did at dawn that they might travel all day, they began their march over a good level road. Coming in sight of some negroes' houses, which were those of the guides who accompanied them, these, fearing our people would injure their crops of millet, which surrounded the houses, left the road, and guided them where there was no grain. The chief captain noticing this, inquired the cause, and on learning it ordered a halt and issued a proclamation that no one should touch anything belonging to these Kaffirs, under pain of death. They, learning this from the interpreter, were amazed, and laughing returned to the road. Our people encamped close to their houses, and bought

a little millet from them for the slaves; and one of them went to visit his chief, who was not far off.

The next day, travelling over level ground with rich and abundant pasture, our people reached the village of this king at eleven o'clock, and found him waiting for them upon the road, with four negroes in his company. They were amazed at seeing white men, but being reassured by the negroes who accompanied our people, they drew near, and their chief approached the chief captain, using the same ceremony as Luspace. Laying his hand upon his beard, and finding it soft and smooth, and his own rough and woolly, he laughed heartily. He accompanied Nuno Velho, and his followers accompanied our people, who continued on their way, leaving the village behind them. The negro ordered three cows to be brought, for which they gave him nine small pieces of copper.

At four in the afternoon they encamped where there was wood and water, and the chief having taken his leave, they killed three cows, which were equally divided among the people, as usual. In the country through which they had travelled they found ducks, partridges, quails, doves, herons, sparrows, and crows. Four of our slaves remained in this place, three negroes, and one from Malabar.

The next day, the 9th of April, after travelling a short distance they came to a village consisting of a few houses around a kraal, in which there were about a hundred cows and a hundred and twenty very large sheep of the Ormuz breed. Here lived an old man with his sons and grandsons, who with great surprise and joy received our people, and brought them gourds full of milk which they got ready in haste. They bought four cows from him, for copper which was worth about four pence.

Continuing on their way, they met five negroes, among whom was the brother of the Kaffir guide to whom the chief Luspace had entrusted them. He, hearing of his brother's coming, went in search of him, and presented him to the chief captain, telling him of the relationship between them. Nuno Velho received him very politely, and he made much of him with their usual ceremony. This negro was named Ubabu, he was of medium stature, well made and proportioned, not very black, and of a cheerful appearance.

It being midday, Nuno Velho commanded the pilot to take



the altitude of the sun with the astrolabe which was saved from the wreck, that they might know their present latitude. The pilot having done so, found that they were in  $32^{\circ} 6'$  south latitude, by which reckoning according to the course they had taken they had travelled ten leagues in eight days and a half, which they did not think inconsiderable, considering their encumbrances, not the least of these being Dona Isabel and her daughter Dona Luiza, whom the slaves of the chief captain bore on their shoulders in Indian cloths arranged like the hammocks of Brazil, which in Cuama are called machiras.

At four in the afternoon they reached the village of the negro Ubabu, who made our people sit down near his house, and with every mark of satisfaction showed them his cattle, which were very tame. They consisted of about two hundred cows, most of them without horns, but those with horns were larger than the others. They also saw a herd of two hundred large sheep. In order to show his satisfaction at entertaining them, he sent for his wives, who were seven in number, and three daughters and several sons. He told the women to dance, and they, clapping their hands and singing, there rose up about sixty negroes of the village who were sitting round looking at our people, and began to jump and dance to the same sound.

Nuno Velho declared himself satisfied with the entertainment, and asked the treasurer for some glass beads threaded on silk, which he gave to the children (as he did all through the journey), and three chessmen tied to silk ribands which he threw round the necks of the three daughters of Ubabu, at which the brothers and father were much gratified, and they promised Nuno Velho four cows in return. Then he and the rest went and encamped near the village, along the bank of a river where wood was not wanting.

The next day the negro, inflamed by covetousness which he had hitherto concealed, besides putting them off all the morning with pretexts and pretences when they asked for the four cows he had promised, demanded of Nuno Velho a caldron in exchange for them, and, as if sulking because he would not give it, went and sat down near his house with his family. The chief captain determined to win the negro with kindness, and accompanied by fifteen arquebusiers and the interpreters, he went to him, and with friendly words conducted him to his tent, where he treated

him with sweetmeats and wine. Here he again referred to the matter of the cows, and the negro demanded for three a brass candlestick which he had in his hand, at which Nuno Velho grew weary of him, and commanded the people to set out, saying that he would punish this Kaffir if he did not remember the kindness of his brother (who was called Inhancosa) and the obligation he was under to him.

This negro was absent, having gone to his house, which was at a distance from the camp, and when he returned and heard what had passed, he interceded for his brother Ubabu, and to excuse him said that he must be mad. He offered to accompany Nuno Velho as far as the road which ran behind an ascent at the back of the houses. On arriving at that place, he sent his little son for a cow, which he presented that afternoon. Here the people encamped on the thickly wooded bank of a river, and Inhancosa wished to depart, promising that he would return the next day; but Nuno Velho would not permit him to do so until he left another negro as hostage.

The next day, which was Palm Sunday, they changed the order of their march, the chief captain going first, because he walked slowly and most of the people could keep up with him. Guided by the negro who had taken the place of Inhancosa, they passed near a village, from which at the summons of the Kaffir some people came to sell a cow after they had camped where there was wood and water. Our people kept the cattle which they bought where they could guard them, and when they encamped they placed them in the middle, and watched them carefully all night, that they might not be stolen by the Kaffirs.

If the latter were surprised at the difference of colour and dress of our people, their cattle were not less so, for they would run towards the Portuguese from a great distance, sniffing the air as if amazed at such a novelty. The negroes were also watched (in secret), that they might not leave after they were paid, for it is their custom to run away as soon as anything is given to them.

The musketeers being wearied by the muskets, and these being unnecessary, it seemed proper to Nuno Velho Pereira and the captain that they should be thrown into the river, which was done with the consent of all. Then they journeyed on over a stony road, where Kaffirs brought them milk in exchange for

pieces of nails, which made the day's journey short; and when they were encamped, other Kaffirs came and bartered three cows for copper worth about two testoons. One of them offered to accompany our people, and Nuno Velho ordered the lid of a silver salt-cellar to be given to him.

The dress of these negroes is similar to that of the negroes of Tizombe, but they wear red beads in their ears, which the others do not. Nuno Velho asked the Kaffir to whom he gave the lid where these were obtained, and he saw from their appearance that they came from the land of the Inhaca, who is king of the people living by the river of Lourenço Marques. These beads are made of clay of all colours, of the size of a coriander seed. They are made in India at Negapatam, whence they are brought to Mozambique, and thence they reach these negroes through the Portuguese who exchange them for ivory.

The next day, before they had left the camping place, there came a son of a chief who was close by, with twenty-eight negroes in his company, round whose neck Nuno Velho hung the key of a writing case with a silver chain. The Kaffir showed great delight, and in the hope of getting something further said that his father had sent him to see the strange people, and that he would be glad if they would pass through his village, even if it were a little out of their way. Nuno Velho answered that they must keep to their course, but that they might meet upon the road. Upon which the negro and his company took their leave, and the other negro with great dissimulation went off with them, taking the silver lid with him.

Our people being thus left without a guide, it was necessary for the pilot to undertake that duty, by command of the chief captain. This he did, and by means of the needle of the sun-dial directed the course to the north-east, as had hitherto been the route. Whenever afterwards a guide was wanting he performed this duty, though he was often ill and suffering much pain, but he bore up against it with great courage (having shown no less at the time of the wreck), and fulfilled this obligation, guiding his companions over those lands never seen or visited by them or other Portuguese before.

Climbing a mountain which was near the camping place, they came upon a good road, where many negroes brought a quantity of milk, of which they gave a leather bag full, containing half

an almude, for three or four pump nails. At sunset they reached a large river, which the pilot thought to be one of the three marked in that latitude on the charts, of which they had already passed the Infante, which is the first, in which they saw the sea-horses, and they thought from the latitude this must be the third, which is called the St. Christopher, and their journey having been inland, they did not come across the central one, which is not very large.

This river was deep, and its current was very strong; but seeing that some cattle crossed it farther up than where they were, they forded it in that place, though with trouble and fear lest the current should carry away any of the sick and weak. All, however, reached the other side in safety, where they camped that night, and by the large fires which they made they warmed themselves and dried their clothes, that were wet with the passage.

The next day, following the course laid down by the pilot by a good road with villages along it, from which the people came to sell milk and a fruit resembling our water-melons, which the Kaffirs call mabure, about eleven o'clock, the sun being very hot, they rested beside a river shaded with trees. Here there came a negro, accompanied by many others driving some hundred cows before them, and as it appeared by his person and suite that he was of higher rank than any of the chiefs previously met, Nuno Velho ordered a carpet to be spread outside the camp, where he received him.

After saluting each other according to the custom of the country, the negro inquired who were these Portuguese, where they came from, and where they were going to. Nuno Velho replied that they were subjects of the powerful king of Spain, and he was their captain, that the sea (which the negroes call Manga) had cast them upon this land as they were going to their own country in a ship, and they were travelling through it in order to reach that of the Inhaca, where they would find a vessel to take them back to the place from which they started. Nuno Velho asked him for guides and provisions, both of which the negro supplied. The guides were two of his sons, with two other negroes who accompanied them, and the provisions were two cows.

When he approached Nuno Velho hung round his neck a

pestle which weighed about four pounds, and he also gave him a small kettle and some glass beads. To three of his sons he gave three rosaries. This negro seemed to be about eighty years of age, his name was Vibo, and he was tall and very black. At two o'clock he took leave of the chief captain, his two sons remaining with our people as guides.

They conducted the party over a very level country, and at sunset they halted and encamped under some large trees, which were in a field close to a village. Here the two brothers obtained permission to withdraw, leaving the other two negroes in their place, but these also took their departure the next day, fearing the unpopulated desert.

On the 15th of April, being Maundy Thursday, they set out before sunrise, journeying over beautiful plains with abundant pasture. They crossed two rivulets, near one of which they remained an hour, and encamped at the next. Here they killed two cows, which were sparingly divided, reserving the remaining two for the desert country through which, according to the negroes, they were to travel the next three days.

When our people were quiet after encamping, several pious persons erected an altar between two rocks, upon which they placed a crucifix with two lighted candles. Before it Friar Peter recited the litany, and afterwards preached a sermon suitable to the occasion, which was listened to with no less tears than it was preached with devotion.

The next three days they journeyed through the desert country. On the first day, which was Good Friday, at eleven o'clock they came to a marsh, where there was only a little muddy water and less shade; but at four in the afternoon they passed over a large running river, with the water to their knees, and camped upon the other side. As their provisions were but scanty, they availed themselves of certain roots which they gathered on the way, resembling those found between Douro and Minho and called there *nozeltas*, which were very sweet and not unlike small turnips.

As the slaves of Nuno Velho Pereira were very weary with carrying Dona Isabel and Dona Luiza, he begged the master to arrange with some of the seamen to carry these ladies. The master with the pilot's influence succeeded in arranging the matter, and they bargained with sixteen ships' boys to carry

them as far as the river of Lourenço Marques for a thousand cruzados, which Nuno Velho promised, and for which he was security ; and he paid that amount for them in Mozambique.

On the eve of Easter, very early and in a heavy dew they ascended a hill, and after sunrise they climbed others, which tired our people very much, most of them being barefoot, the shoes being already worn out, and a pair being now worth ten cruzados. Thus ascending and descending (but always following the same direction) they took their siesta under the shade of a dense thicket, through which ran a river that they crossed with the water to their ankles.

While they were resting here, a negro appeared, with two women. They sent the interpreter to him, who brought him to Nuno Velho (but leaving the women at some distance), and he asked him to be their guide, promising to pay him well. But the Kaffir excused himself, because of the women under his charge, saying that had he been alone he would have done as desired. Nuno Velho having given him a nail, he retired well satisfied. Not so our people, finding themselves in this desert country, through which they continued their journey until sunset, and then encamped at the foot of a mountain where there was wood and water.

On Easter morning they climbed the mountain, finding certain roots on their way which resembled carrots in the leaf and in taste, and in the thicket they found a fruit which was somewhat sour and resembled our unripe fruit, by means of which they felt their want of provisions less. They sheltered themselves from the heat on a height in the shade of some trees, and it being midday the pilot measured the altitude of the sun, and by his reckoning found that they were in south latitude thirty-one degrees. He immediately informed Nuno Velho Pereira and the rest of the company of this fact, and all rejoiced at the good news. But their joy did not last long, for resuming their journey and climbing another mountain in hope of discovering some village, nothing met their sight but vast and desert plains, at which they were discouraged and saddened.

They encamped that night in a spot where there was wood and water, and here they resolved that next morning they would send four men to a height which was on the south of their halting place, and four others to another height which was to

the north, to see if they could discover any village. And in the meanwhile the rest would proceed to a valley which seemed to be about half a league distant, in which they could see a large river, and there await the explorers.

In the early morning the appointed explorers set out, and when the sun was high the camp removed to the spot which had been decided on the night before. At ten o'clock the four men who had gone south returned without word of any village, and at eleven came the others, who were Antonio Godinho, Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcellos, Simão Mendes, and Antonio Moniz, singing. When they came to the chief captain they said that from the height to which he had sent them they had seen people in a valley not far off, and many cattle grazing.

All rejoiced at these desired tidings, and when the heat of the day was past they began their journey up the bank of the river, seeking a ford, which they found, and crossed to the other side with the water to their knees. Then they climbed a mountain, on the skirts of which they killed a hare, resting three times on the way up, and from the summit they saw the people and cattle which had been observed by the four explorers, and which, as it was now late, were gradually moving towards the village. It seemed advisable to Nuno Velho Pereira to send some men there, and he therefore ordered the master, with Antonio Godinho and an interpreter, to proceed to it, accompanied by three soldiers, who were Gonçalo Mendes, Antonio Monteiro, and Simão Mendes.

These men then set out, and the rest of the party kept under cover of the hills, and encamped in a valley close to some rocks, that they might not be discovered by the Kaffirs and frighten them by their numbers. The master and his companions, after they had walked about a league and a half, it being already night, came to a house, and standing at some distance from it, the interpreter called out and asked leave to enter. A negro, who was within with his wife and children at the fire, put it out that they might not be discovered in case they were enemies who called, and then, coming out, asked who was there, for he knew it was not a native of that country, from the different pronunciation of the words.

The interpreter replied that they were men he would be

pleased to see and converse with. The Kaffir, however, not trusting what he said, told him to come alone and leave the others where they were. He did so, and when the two negroes had conversed, and he in the house heard from the other that his companions came in peace, he said they might enter. The interpreter called them, and they were well received by the Kaffir and his wife, who gave them milk and fire, which they relit. The master presented to their hostess a glass rosary, with which she was very pleased, and she was much amazed to see that our people exactly resembled the negroes, except in colour.

The husband for a piece of copper sold them a lamb, which they killed at once and put to roast. As they were beginning to eat, with no lack of good-will, there came three negroes, and then six more, and though they sat down and reassured our people, their supper did not taste so good as it would have done without this company. Having finished it hastily and in dread, they took leave of the Kaffirs, saying that they wished to return to their captain and give him information concerning them. This they did as soon as they arrived at the camp, which was at dawn.

All rejoiced at what had occurred, and still more at the certainty of there being a village, to profit from which they at once proceeded on the road, which was very good. At nine o'clock they halted at the foot of a mountain, where there were three Kaffir houses near a river. The Kaffirs immediately brought milk, which they exchanged for the customary tacks.

The chief of that country, named Inhancunha, hearing of the arrival of our people, came to visit the chief captain, and was received and entertained by him on a carpet. He gave him a glass rosary, a piece of coral, and a brass thimble from the end of an umbrella, with which the negro was extremely delighted. He promised the guides that were asked for, and made Nuno Velho a present of a cow, which, with six others that were bought from him that morning, were killed and divided among them all, as provision for two days. In the afternoon ten more were obtained in exchange for pieces of copper. When the sun had set Inhancunha took leave of Nuno Velho, to wait for him in his village, which was on the summit of the mountain.

The next day they did not continue their journey, that the people might rest from past hardship; but they bought four



more cows and much milk and millet. It being known in the surrounding villages that our people had not gone, many negroes and negresses came to see them, and ten of the slaves remained with them, fearing other deserts such as they had passed through.

Nuno Velho, knowing how important it was to preserve what copper, iron, and cloth there was in the camp, to exchange for provisions and to pay guides, and that it was necessary to keep some to present to the kings and chiefs of the country through which they passed, hearing that some men were buying provisions without order of the steward and treasurer, which altered the price thereof and diminished the articles necessary for trading, ordered an inventory to be made of all the copper, iron, and cloth which they had. He obliged all to declare what they had upon oath, and to deliver the same to the said officials, that everything might be equally divided, and by being frugal, articles for trade might not be wanting when they were most needed.

The next day after sunrise they ascended the mountain, on the summit of which the chief Inhancunha was waiting, and he gave the chief captain two Kaffirs as guides, and three to herd the fourteen cows which our people had with them. It was two o'clock when they descended the mountain and reached a level country covered with great trees that bore a yellow fruit of the size of white plums, and somewhat sour in taste. Of these they ate, and carried away many, all off the same tree, and it was so laden with fruit that it seemed as if none had been gathered. Having passed these trees, and journeyed a little farther, it was time to halt, so they let the cattle loose in a field of abundant grass, and the people encamped under the surrounding trees, water not being wanting from a river which ran by them.

The next day, the 23rd of April, our people removed from this spot, driving the cattle before them, and passing through many villages, the inhabitants of which bartered milk and millet for a few tacks and glass beads. They climbed other hills, which tired our people very much, and at eleven o'clock they crossed a river, the water reaching to their thighs, and took their siesta on the other bank. When the heat was somewhat abated they resumed their journey. The land was not level, but was thickly populated, the soil being more fertile and richer than that of the country

which they had previously traversed. The negroes call it Ospidainhama. In the woods there are sweet-smelling pinks, both pink and red, exactly resembling those of Portugal, except in the stalks, which are longer. At sunset they encamped near a small village where they had wood and water, which latter was not wanting from the heavens as well, for in the night there was a severe thunderstorm from the west, with heavy rain.

Opposite the encampment there was a high mountain, which they climbed the following morning, and from which they went down into a plain covered with villages. Over this they journeyed till eleven o'clock, when they came to a river flowing among rocks that formed caves, in the shadow of which our people passed the heat of the day. Here many negroes came to see them from the villages, with women and children, and entertained them with singing and dancing. They were nearly all Fulos, good-looking and well disposed. Their dress was the same as that of the Kaffirs of Tizombe, but they do not make so much use of the ceremony of placing the hand on the beard. In exchange for a few tacks they gave a quantity of milk and cakes of millet, which they call *sincoã*. When the sun was declining our people left this river, and journeying over the same plain, reached another, near which they encamped that night under some large trees without fruit. They had twenty-two cows with them.

The next day they left this river, and began to climb a mountain, which was the first real mountain of the journey, and on the summit, which they reached at nine o'clock, there was a village. Thence they descended to a plain, on which they marched past numerous houses, until they reached a great river containing many hippopotami. This river, according to the statements of the negroes, was the same that they had left in the morning, which winds through the country with many curves. Our people encamped close to it, and the negroes bartered six cows for a large gimlet and some pieces of copper which weighed about a pound.

One of these Kaffirs talked apart with the interpreter, seeing which the pilot asked what had passed between them. He answered that the negro told him not to follow the path they were then pursuing, for it was old and had fallen into disuse, and along it there were many unpopulated mountains extending to a

great distance. He said that it would be better for them to take another road, which ran along a mountain close by, and which was not so solitary and rugged as the one they were on. It seemed proper to the pilot to follow the advice of the negro, more especially as the path pointed out was in the direction of his course, so he conferred with Nuno Velho, reporting to him all that had passed between the negroes.

The chief captain left the choice of the road to the pilot. Though they asked the Kaffirs for guides and promised liberal payment, none would undertake the task, fearing the unpopulated country which they had to pass through. Therefore to prepare for the journey next day, that night they killed two cows, which were divided among all. Twenty-six remained, which were now so tame that any Portuguese could take care of them.

At dawn they began their journey along the mountain, and to get round it they went towards the east. The negroes call it Moxangala. It is very fertile and cool, and water is so abundant that during the two days which our people journeyed along it they crossed twenty-three streams, of which three were very large. They crossed several that day, but at four in the afternoon they reached the foot of a height, where they encamped. Four negroes, who had come in the morning to see our people as something marvellous, accompanied them to this place. The principal man among them, who was called Catine, presented some milk to the chief captain, for which he paid with a chessman tied to a thread of white silk, which he hung round his neck.

These Kaffirs assured them that the road was right, and Nuno Velho asking them to guide him, they promised to do so if the pay was equal to the labour of traversing unpopulated parts. They did not disagree upon this, for they were shown a brass candlestick, and declared themselves satisfied. They remained with our people that night, and next day they sent two of their number for some cows to barter.

After this, when marching along the mountain, one of the negroes who went for the cows was observed on a height without them, upon which Catine fled. Our people laid hands upon the other, who was called Noribe, and he, finding himself a prisoner, cried out in fear and terror to the others, who consoled him from afar. He was quieted, however, by good words and gifts,

one being the candlestick promised to his companion, and he consented to guide them thus bound. Continuing along the mountain, and passing the heat of the day in the shade of some rocks among which a river ran, they journeyed in the afternoon towards the north-east, and at sunset they passed the end of the mountain, and came to a river which ran through a large forest with great fury. They encamped beside it, and furnished themselves with the necessary provisions for two days.

They crossed the river on some large stones which were in it, and journeying over level ground, they came to another mountain which extended from the east towards that of Moxangala, which they had just passed. Between the two was a valley, which led directly north-east. Our people travelled the whole length of the valley, and then climbed the other mountain, on the summit of which their guide escaped: from the turban by which Nuno Velho Pereira led him bound. With a great leap he cleared a brook, and fled, running with great agility.

Our people were left without a guide, and after they had descended from the place where they were, and had climbed another mountain which was all of stone, they lost the path they had been following. Here they saw a plain with abundant pasture, and at the end of it there were two large hills between two mountains. As these hills were to the north-east, and as it seemed that between them the road must pass, the pilot commanded that they should travel towards them. They did so, and beyond the hills finding a river which flowed by a large rock, they encamped there, but had no wood, which was very necessary, because there was a thunderstorm and rain in the night.

At dawn they crossed the river by means of stones which were in it, the water reaching to their knees. The ground on the other side was level, and on both sides were high hills covered with large green trees. The river made many windings through the country, so that they crossed it five times that day. At eleven o'clock they took shelter from the heat in the shadow of high rocks, and when the sun had declined, they continued their journey, and encamped on a large rock where there were a few trees, not finding a better place; and here they passed the night, with great wind and rain.

On the last day of April in the morning they climbed a mountain which was near the camp, and on its summit followed

level ground, until they crossed a large river, which flowed between two mountains. Our people climbed one of them in hope of discovering a village, but they were far from any, and disappointed at not seeing one, they descended again by a path which led to a valley, where they encamped at three o'clock, because there was wood and water.

The next day, the first of May, they entered a wood which was near the camp, so high, thick, and close overhead that though the day was very windy and rainy, as the night had been, within it they could not feel anything, and were sheltered as if in houses. They encamped near a river which ran through it, resolved to go no farther that day, as the wind, rain, and cold made travelling impossible.

At midday, however, there was an opportunity of measuring the altitude of the sun, and the pilot found that they were in latitude  $29^{\circ} 53'$ . This knowledge alleviated their present hardships and caused Nuno Velho Pereira and the rest of the company to rejoice. The pilot also affirmed that they had passed the rugged and wooded part of the country, and that therefore the weak should make an effort to travel on, and they would reach the river of Lourenço Marques at the end of June, which was the time when the trading vessels sailed for Mozambique. Rodrigo Migueis founded his opinion (with good reason) on the latitude being that of the end of the land of Natal, which is higher than that of any other part of the coast, and in consequence there is in this locality intense cold at sea and still more violent thunderstorms.

These ceased in the morning, and the weather cleared, therefore they broke up the camp, and leaving the forest, travelled towards a small hill, from which they descended to level ground. Thence they reached some hills, and having passed these, our people rested on the summit of a mountain, where they found water, as well as in the valleys. Here they left a dying Portuguese named Alvaro da Ponte, who was very ill, and had been carried on the shoulders of his companions, with great charity, for three or four days; but the recent cold weather reduced him to the last extremity. Friar Peter left him already speechless with two slave men and a female slave of Dona Izabel, who were in the same condition. With this comradè the less, our people went forward after the heat of the day through

an extensive valley, where they found a large river, near which they encamped, it being almost night. From this place the pilot, seeing that to the north and north-east there lay great and high mountains covered with snow, resolved to lead them east-north-east, which he did during the next day's journey.

This proved very laborious, as they climbed many hills, and then they came to a mountain. Two men went to its summit to see if there were any signs of a village, but returned without tidings of any, though they reported that they had seen four columns of smoke to the east-north-east. The people were somewhat cheered by this, thinking that these were signs of habitation in the direction in which they were journeying; but they could only have been caused by hunters, for the smoke from these negro villages is so slight that it can hardly be perceived in a house in which there is a fire. Therefore keeping in the same direction, they encamped on low ground near a river, where there was no lack of wood, after having passed between two mountains, and descended into the valley through which it flowed.

✓ Next day, in a heavy fall of dew, they climbed a small hill covered with such thick high grass that they could not see each other, and were obliged to hold it back to make way for themselves. From this hill, after descending to the level ground, they came to the largest and deepest river they had yet met with. It ran from north to south. The pilot and a companion went down the bank, and two others went up it, seeking a ford; but they could discover no better place for passing than that where the company had halted, for there it formed an island, and the water, being thus separated into two arms, was more scattered and flowed less furiously.

They all therefore resolved to ford it at that place. Two men entered first with pikes in their hands, the water reaching to their chests, and then they returned to show their comrades the way. It was arranged that the strong should enter the water, and extend pikes from one to the other, by which the weak and the women could cross as if holding to a balustrade. The sick were carried on the shoulders of their companions, with great charity, and in the hammocks of Dona Izabel, who with her daughter entered the river and crossed holding to the arms of Francisco da Silva and João de Valadares, and the chief captain crossed in the same way.

This passage occupied the whole day. Having reached the other bank, where the cattle were already, having easily crossed the river, they made large fires, at which they dried and warmed themselves. Spreading their tents under some great trees, they took shelter for that night, having gathered in the woods in the afternoon many jujubes and myrtle-berries.

There was a mountain opposite the camp, which they climbed when it was morning, and having passed this and others, they rested in the shade of some trees, refreshing themselves with a kind of water-melon which they found here, and that seemed more delicious owing to the sight of three negroes whom our people perceived upon a height. Nuno Velho Pereira sent one of his slaves to them, who through intercourse had now learned the language. He returned with them and presented them, and they saluted, saying *Alada!* *Alada!* a different salutation from that used by the others.

They gave the desired information of a village, saying that it was close by, and one of them then went to call eight of his companions whom he had left behind the hill. They all returned, and journeying in our people's company, (the heat being past), asked them since it was late and they could not reach the village that night, if they would halt at their houses? This seemed advisable to the chief captain, and therefore the negroes guided them to a deep valley covered with a thorny thicket, and as it did not seem that the place could be inhabited except by wild beasts, our people were upon their guard and prepared their arms, fearing some treachery. Nevertheless they followed the Kaffirs, and between some high sharp rocks, along which a river flowed, they saw six houses in which these barbarians lived with their wives; and close to these they encamped, keeping their customary watch.

The negroes, seeing that they could not carry out their purpose, which was to steal some of the cattle and whatever else they could,—this and the spoils of hunting being their means of livelihood in that desert place,—and fearing they might be discovered and punished, fled during the night with their wives, taking with them a little millet which was still in the ear, and leaving nothing in their houses but traps and snares for birds. It being clear day when it was discovered that they were missing, after seeking them that they might show the way, Nuno Velho

commanded the pilot to guide them, as he always did on such occasions.

He directed them to take their course to the east, and having travelled a long way without finding any village, by order of the chief captain some men went to two heights which lay to the east and north-east of the place where they were, but none of them could discover what they so ardently desired. The impatient among them now began to murmur, finding fault with this journey into the interior and desert parts, and loudly demanding to be led to the sea. The pilot and the master pointed out that their present course towards the east was the nearest way to the sea, which being confirmed by Nuno Velho, they were appeased. Striking the camp, and still keeping to the east, they came to a continuous path, along which they journeyed leisurely until night, when they encamped on the bank of a river, where there was much grass and very little wood.

The contrary was the case at their next halting place, which was under a grove of high trees, without water, having journeyed all the morning along a good and continuous path, which they lost in the afternoon in a valley, but found another a little before they encamped upon a height, after having climbed others and seen two negroes in the distance while they were resting at mid-day, who fled when they observed our people.

This stage brought them to the end of the uninhabited parts, which they traversed in fourteen days; and to make the journey less whoever passes through this Kaffraria when they are in latitude thirty degrees should travel east-north-east, for in this direction they will cross less desert and will sooner come to the inhabited country. Our people entered it on the 8th of May, so well provided with provisions that they forgot the want of them in the desert, for they lived upon cows, and of the twenty-seven which they had at the commencement they reached this place with twelve remaining.

In the morning of this day they continued their journey, in which they met four negroes who had seen our people long before and were watching them, fearing the injury they might do them by their number, and not daring to approach. Therefore Nuno Velho sent Antonio Godinho and Antonio the interpreter to the four who showed themselves, and for pieces of copper which were



given to them, three remained while the other went to call about fifty who were hidden behind the hill. They all came to the camp, and the principal men among them conversing with Nuno Velho gave him long accounts of the fertility and population of the country.

There being a question of buying provisions where the road divided into two leading to two villages, a difference arose among the Kaffirs as to which of them our people should visit first. Nuno Velho appeased them by giving to the chief of the four who were first met a tambaqua ring which he took from the finger of Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcellos, and promising that he would buy cows from them all, beginning with those who were nearest, who were the fifty that had come at the call of the first four. Singing and dancing, they guided our people still to the east-north-east, and coming to a valley with many trees and water, as it was late and the village about half a league farther on, they made their camp.

It did not seem too far for the negroes, for they brought a quantity of millet, cakes made of the flour of a grain resembling our millet in size and colour, which they call ameixoeira, beans, a vegetable called jugo, which is of the size of small beans, also milk and butter, which they exchanged for a few tacks and pieces of nails. Among these barbarians were some youths dressed in reeds fashioned like mats, which is the attire of a young noble before he bears arms or has female associates, which is generally at the age of twenty-two and upwards. [These people are all good-looking, blacker than those met before, more truthful, and they had no dogs in their company like the others.]

At two o'clock in the morning a negro came to see the chief captain, he was called Inhanze, the son of the king of that country, and he brought a present of a cow with a fairly-worded message from his father, saying that the king being in one of his villages at a little distance from the camp had heard of his arrival, at which he was much pleased, and as it was late and time that he should rest from the labour of his journey, he did not come to visit him then, but would do so in the morning. Nuno Velho Pereira replied with words of thanks, and gave him a piece of copper the size of a hand and a large nail, with which Inhanze withdrew well satisfied.

It seemed to Nuno Velho that in order to recover themselves

from the fatigue of their journey and gain fresh strength to pursue it, as well as to buy a large number of cows, it would be well to rest for two days in the valley in which they were encamped. The negroes of the vicinity, on learning this, brought for sale a grain like canary seed, which they call nechinim and of which they make flour, sesame, millet, milk, butter, hens, and sheep, all in such quantities that no cows were killed, and enough was left over for the slaves, there being no one else in the camp who would buy anything more. In these two days they obtained also in barter for copper of small value twenty-four cows, which with the twelve that remained after crossing the uninhabited part, made thirty-six in all.

At eleven o'clock the king of the country, called Mabomboru ka Sobelo, accompanied by about fifty negroes armed with assagais, came to the camp, and he also brought his mother with him. The chief captain received them with due courtesy, and all three seated themselves upon a carpet. The Kaffirs were amazed at the sight of our people, and the king wished to hear the particulars of their shipwreck and wanderings, which were related by Nuno Velho Pereira.

The negro and his people showed great amazement when the chief captain stated that his fame had reached him before he came to his country, and had induced him to travel in this direction to see him. At this the king was very vain. His attendants said that it was fitting our people should be well entertained and guided by him, since they had come from so great a distance to see him. He assented, and promised guides and everything else which his villages contained. Nuno Velho thanked him, and placed a branch of coral fastened to a silk string round his neck, giving him also the lid of a kettle, and to his mother some green speckled glass beads. As it was dinner time, they partook of food with him, and at three o'clock withdrew with all their company.

During this halt the pilot measured the altitude of the pole, and found the latitude to be twenty-nine degrees and forty-five minutes, the little difference from his last observation being caused by their having travelled east-north-east and east.

Four slaves—two Kaffirs, one Japanese, and one Javanese—remained in this valley, which they named the Vale of Mercy, on account of the great mercy God our Lord had shown them there.

by bringing them to this more fertile and abundant land of Kaffraria, after they had traversed the desert for fourteen days. They left it on the 11th of May, with the guides which the king gave to Nuno Velho according to his promise. Before taking leave of him that morning the chief captain hung round his neck the silver cover of a water bottle fastened by a white silk string, and to the two negroes he gave two pieces of copper and two nails.

Their road led to the north-east. They climbed a height, the descent from which was of rock, and in the valley they found three villages. Having passed these, as well as a rivulet and a mountain, where they bought two cows, when it was getting late they reached another rivulet that flowed down through a thick wood, and then came to a mountain range which extended from the north-east to the other mountain. Here they were overtaken by the night, which was very dark, and thus they did not reach the lower ground where there was water, but encamped without it.

The next day at ten o'clock they descended the mountain. There was a good road to the north, shaded with trees bearing a very bitter fruit resembling ferrobass, along which they journeyed about half a league, until they reached a river which they forded with the water to their thighs. This river was the limit of the land of the chief Mabomboru ka Sobelo, and therefore, when they had crossed it, one of the guides went to summon the lord of the land in which they were, whose name was Mocongolo. He came at once, bringing a cow for the chief captain, showing himself pleased to see him, and promising that he would furnish the provisions and guides which the two negroes who had accompanied them asked for in the name of their king.

This being the limit of their journey, the guides departed, with two more pieces of copper and two glass rosaries, ornamented in green, with which they thought themselves well paid. The others considered this such excessive prodigality that, coveting a similar gratification, many immediately offered themselves as guides. When the two negroes had gone, and Mocongolo had taken leave of Nuno Velho to await him in his villages, leaving some Kaffirs to guide him thither, they proceeded on their way, and encamped along the most beautiful and freshest stream which they had yet seen in their journey. It flowed from west

to east, through a valley between high rocks, all covered with large and spreading trees of different colours.

Invited by the coolness of this stream they remained there for a day, and on account of its charming appearance they named it the River of Beautiful Flowers. The negroes call it Mutangalo. They left it in good health on the 14th of May, with two negroes supplied by the chief, who was not dissatisfied with what Nuno Velho gave him. When they halted at eleven o'clock to rest during the heat under some trees, the wives of their guides came with two gourds of good butter, which they bartered for copper of the value of six reis. But Nuno Velho wished to reward them for the good will they had shown in bringing it, and gave them two halves of glass rosaries, with which they were extremely delighted, and their husbands were very grateful.

As there was no water in that place, and our people were in need of it, one of the negroes went to bring some from a spring which was at a little distance from the camp. This was the first spring they had seen on their journey, having hitherto found excellent water only in the rivers which they passed. The mid-day heat being ended, which could be felt, although it was winter, when the sun was not covered with clouds, our people journeyed by a good road, where three negroes came to them with a gourd of very delicious white honeycomb, which the chief captain bought and divided among all as a novelty. A little before night-fall they encamped in a fresh valley which extended between great rocks. In it there were fifteen villages, from which the negroes came with quantities of provisions, that they sold at the usual price.

Our people went round one of the rocky projections, which faced south-east, and having passed a river that ran along it, they again journeyed north-east until ten o'clock, when they rested. And there came more than five hundred and fifty negroes and negresses with provisions, of whom they bought six cows, for the value of three testoons, many cakes of millet, milk, butter, and honey. These Kaffirs were accompanied by their chief named Gogambampolo, who made the chief captain a present of a cow, as did also one of his sons who accompanied him, in return for which they received two pieces of copper and two large nails. Upon this they took their leave, and our people

journeyed on over a level plain covered with high grass, where they remained that night, near a river.

In the morning of the next day, continuing their journey over the same plain, at ten o'clock they came to a small river, where there were about thirty villages on both sides. Many negroes came out from them, rejoicing and singing at the sight of the Portuguese, and with great show of affection, for which they were well paid, helped them to cross the river. The villages on the other bank were subject to another chief, who came at once to visit Nuno Velho, and presented him with a cow. In return he received a piece of coral, two pieces of copper, and some glass beads. Upon this he gave his people leave to bring what they had for sale, they not being in the habit of doing so without permission, but they delayed, and our people made such haste that they left the place without trading for anything. In another spot where they found water they encamped and killed what cows were required for food, as they did whenever it was necessary.

While this good road lasted, our people made no delay, and journeyed two leagues by eleven o'clock. While they were resting they saw five negroes on a hill, and one of the guides went to them, reassured them, and induced them to call their chief, who with more than a hundred Kaffirs was concealed behind the hill. The negro came, accompanied by his people, all armed with assagais, and saluting Nuno Velho with his *Alala! Alala!* he gave him welcome to his land, in which, he said, he should be well entertained and provided with guides.

As they wished to continue on their way, the chief captain led the chief by the hand, and his negroes going singing before, guided them to a river, which they did not cross, both because it was late and because the path terminated on that bank. On the other bank there was a rugged mountain range, and villages on both sides from which the people came to sell quantities of provisions. Nuno Velho gave the negro the usual treasures, which were a branch of coral, some beads, and two pieces of copper, in return for a cow which he presented to him. On being asked for two of his men as guides, he gave them at once.

One of these negroes affirmed that they were already in the land of the *Inhaca*, where the Portuguese come with their *pan-gayos*. Although this was false, our people were much rejoiced

on hearing it, thinking they were in a land where they were known, and that the river of Lourenço Marques could not be at any great distance, since this negro had been there, it being the natural custom of the Kaffirs not to travel far from their villages. But they were deceived, for it was more than a hundred leagues off, and the negro had never been there. However, it gave them fresh courage and animated them for the rest of the journey, and they passed that night in more than usual contentment in their camp, which they made along the said river.

Here they waited next day for the chief until nine o'clock, and when he arrived he arranged with Nuno Velho that he should give the guides three pieces of copper of the size of six fingers when they returned. There also came the father of one of them, and asked for something, without which he would not allow him to leave. Nuno Velho ordered a piece of copper and a small nail to be given to him, upon which the negro was willing that his son should go. This having been arranged, they broke up their camp and set out, following a good and continuous road, crossed by a river which they passed over, and then climbed a mountain, where they halted during the heat of the day. Here there came many negroes and negresses from the villages on the skirts of the mountain with milk, butter, and cakes of millet; and the siesta being over they resumed their journey. An hour before sunset they halted under some large jujube trees laden with fruit, with which they refreshed themselves that evening, water not being wanting from a river, in which there were many wild ducks.

The cold and dew were so great that night that our people set out the next morning at eight o'clock. They crossed a large river by means of stones, the water reaching to their knees, and following a good road, took their siesta near another river, where they were surrounded by many villages, from which the negroes came to sell millet cakes and milk. They encamped that night in a place where there was an abundance of wood and water, and when they were settled about a hundred and twenty negroes descended a hill, accompanying one of great dignity who the guides said was their king. Nuno Velho therefore received him upon a carpet, and told him, through the interpreter, of his having been wrecked and how he had travelled far through these lands, and had always been well received by

the kings thereof, so that he hoped for similar treatment at his hands.

The king, who was called Gimbacucuba, replied that he also was lost, and absent from his kingdom, which another, his neighbour, had taken from him in warfare, killing many of his people and obliging him to withdraw to this country, which belonged to one of his relations; and he regretted that he was not in his kingdom to receive him as the other kings had done. The chief captain expressed his sorrow for his misfortune, and his desire to assist him in recovering his kingdom, at which all the negroes gave a joyful cry. He then asked him the motive of the war, and the name of his enemy. The king replied that one of the Inhaca's captains took his kingdom and killed his people, so that he was deprived of both and had no means of pursuing the matter.

Nuno Velho promised to use his influence with the Inhaca to induce him to restore him to his kingdom, out of consideration for the Portuguese, of whom he was a friend; and that his people might see how he would proceed in this business, he bade him send two of them in his company. The negro accepted the offer, and being poor and in exile presented to Nuno Velho a gourd of milk, for which he gave him some beads and a branch of coral, that he esteemed very highly on their telling him it was good for the heart and the eyes. When it was nightfall he withdrew, and our people remained in their camp.

They set out in the morning, and at a little distance met the king Gimbacucuba, who was waiting for them at the foot of a tree with three of his wives and many negroes. The chief captain sat down with him, and again asked him for two men, that when he had obtained from the Inhaca the restoration of his kingdom, as he hoped and believed to be certain, they might return to him with the news. The king was grateful for his good will, and taking aside two negroes whom he had chosen for the journey, he conversed with them as if instructing them what they were to do. When it was dinner time he took leave of Nuno Velho, carrying with him a piece of muslin, of which they made four cloths, which he and his wives put on as a new and strange gala costume, for so they esteemed it.

While they halted here, there came several sick and lame Kaffirs, and asked the chief captain to cure them, offering him

sheep and kids. Desiring to cure their souls, if not the sickness and infirmities of their bodies, he told them that one only God in heaven, pointing thither with his hand, had power to give health, as He alone gave life and withdrew it; and with the sign of the cross (a powerful means of working greater wonders than the cure of these heathens) he dismissed them, taking none of their presents.

When the heat was over, our people went on their way, passing through many villages, in which they were well received and entertained with songs. In one of these they saw a great number of cattle coming out of a kraal, among them two very large oxen, of which the first had three horns branching out of one about a hand-breadth from the head, where all three turned back very regularly, one remaining in the middle, and the other ox had four horns, two ordinary and two under these which twisted round the ears. At sunset they encamped along a river, having passed seven others in that day's journey.

The nights in that country are very cold, and this seemed still more so to our people for want of wood. Therefore as soon as it was morning, in order to warm themselves by exercise they began to march through an uninhabited country, as they did also during the two following days. Nevertheless there were good pastures and high trees, and it was so habitable that going round a mountain they passed numerous rivulets, and halted near one which made many windings through an extensive plain. Here they found partridges, but saw no more lizards, snakes, and beetles as they had seen in the country previously passed through. On the 22nd they came to a mountain range, and in order to cross it more easily the negroes led them to the north-west. Then returning on the same day to the north-east, after climbing mountains, journeying through valleys, and crossing rivers, they encamped beside a stream with their cattle, of which they killed what was required for their maintenance. At this halting-place they found that they had thirty-nine cows.

It rained in the morning of the next day, and while they were thus prevented from continuing their journey, Nuno Velho sent one André Martins de Alcouchete with an interpreter and one of the guides to ask leave of the lord of the country to pass through it. At ten o'clock they broke up their camp, and travelling along the foot of a mountain, under thorny trees, for nearly a



league, they came to two negro houses, near which they encamped again. Here André Martins came with the chief, whom Nuno Velho received as he did the others, and pleased him by giving him some glass beads, in return for which he promised guides and everything else that his country contained.

But the next day when our people reached his villages, which were seven, where they encamped, he would give nothing but milk, butter, and millet cakes, not allowing his followers to sell cows, because he was at war with one of his neighbours, and would not permit provisions to be disposed of, in case they might be needed. But coveting a china bottle which he saw in the possession of the chief captain, he gave him a large ox in exchange, and with great delight seeing it shine and that the glazing would not rub off, he put it to his eyes and to those of his people, and to those parts of the body in which they felt any pain, they persuading themselves that it would give them health. And when it was known in the villages that their chief, who was called Uquine Inhana, had this bottle, they all came to see it, observing the same ceremonies and superstitions.

This gathering of negroes was very necessary to assist our people on the 26th in crossing a very large river, which without their help would have been a matter of great difficulty and danger, for it was extremely rapid, and the water reached to their waists. On the other bank the negro took leave of them, giving them two guides, and not allowing those they had with them to go any farther, nor the two negroes whom the exiled king Gimbacucuba sent with Nuno Velho Pereira to bring back the answer from the Inhaca, these Kaffirs not permitting the negroes of other rulers to pass through their lands. When they had rested a little, they resumed their journey though an inhabited country, where many people came to see them and sell them provisions. And though it was only two o'clock in the afternoon, our people encamped where there was wood and water, for the next water was a long distance off.

They reached it the following day at ten o'clock, and it proved to be a river running from the north-east to the south-west. It was the widest and had the strongest current of any they had yet come to, and if there were negroes to assist them in fording the last, they were not wanting here, where they were more needed. For when our people reached the bank, they saw the

lord of that country, whose name was Mutuadondommatale, with about thirty others; and one of them, in return for a nail which Nuno Velho Pereira ordered to be given to him, crossed the river with the water to his chest, the current running so furiously that our people were doubtful if they could ford it.

The pilot therefore looked in the thickets for some wood to build rafts, but all they found was so heavy and close-grained that it would not float on the water, but sank to the bottom like a stone. Hereupon Nuno Velho, hearing from the chief that the river would go down the next day, being swollen from a recent thunderstorm, ordered them to encamp in that place, and asked the negro, who wished to retire, to return with his people in the morning and help them to cross.

These negroes are even more covetous and self-interested than those met earlier in the journey, and for the same amount of copper,—of which they wear bracelets,—for which the others gave three cows they would only give one, it not being so valuable among them, and they also value calico, which the others would not accept. It is therefore proper to trade with copper and iron for the purchase of provisions until reaching this place, and to keep calico for this place and the country beyond, for this is what they demanded in exchange for cows.

Nuno Velho, seeing signs of covetousness in them, that it might not lead them into some excess ordered that the cows which they required for their maintenance should be shot, as was their custom in similar cases, that the timid might be frightened by the discharge. This had the desired result, for having killed a cow in this manner, the Kaffirs who were present were struck with amazement, and the chief, who had already gone, hearing the report, returned in great haste to see what it was. Seeing his people overcome with surprise at what to them was a great marvel, which they related to him, he asked Nuno Velho to command another to be killed, which was shot with an arquebuss, and fell immediately.

At this the negro was no less amazed, and taking the arquebuss in his hands he turned it about a thousand times, saying that since it killed cows, it would no doubt kill men. The interpreter assured him that such was the case, and that it would deprive everything of life, killing an elephant or a little bird, at which he was much confused, and in great fear withdrew to his villages,

the terror of those who accompanied him being no less than his own.

At dawn of the next day it was so cloudy that our people feared it would rain and swell the river, but at sunrise the clouds dispersed, making the weather clear and serene, so that they resolved to cross, more especially as from a mark which they had placed the night before they found that the water had decreased by a handbreadth and a half. The negro with his people having arrived, they chose ten of the tallest, who began to carry the young men over on their shoulders. Francisco Pereira and Francisco da Silva with some other negroes took Dona Isabella and her daughter on their shoulders in quilts, and the rest of the party followed them. The cattle crossed with great difficulty, for not keeping their footing they were swept away by the current, but a Kaffir got a cow over by pulling at a cord fastened to its nostrils, and with the help of this device the rest were got to the other side. Here they encamped, accounting the fording of this perilous stream a good day's journey. The negroes, who were well paid for their trouble, call this river the Tugela.

The next morning the chief sent two negroes as guides, according to his promise, and one to take their pay which was two pieces of copper back to him (who did not go without it), and as our people were only awaiting this to continue their journey, they set out at once, and with great fatigue, the road being very stony, they skirted a large mountain which lay to the north, and at the foot of it on the bank of a streamlet they were overtaken by night in a place where there was good pasture and trees.

Following in the same direction the next morning, at eleven o'clock they met a negro whom Nuno Velho sent to bring his chief. It was not long before he came, with about forty others, all armed with assagais and shields, which they make of hides. They were well received by our people, and Nuno Velho leading the chief by the hand while the others went skirmishing before, they reached their villages, which were on the bank of a river.

Here they halted, but nothing was brought for sale except a cow belonging to the lord of the country, because provisions were scarce that year, owing to want of rain. The cow therefore cost dear, as they gave for it a piece of a broken astrolabe, two handles of a kettle, and six pieces of copper. The land could not be very fertile, for it was full of rugged mountains, with large stones and

rocks of a black colour, and with only a few thorny trees. The country which they traversed on the last of May was of the same character, and our people encamped when they found a convenient spot.

There were two ships' boys in the company suffering from a bloody flux caused by drinking so much milk, and being unable to keep up with their companions they remained in the place where they encamped on the 1st of June,—after they had been confessed by Friar Peter,—in the care of a negro, who in return for four pieces of copper engaged to provide them with food for the days they might live, which, judging from their weakness, would be but few.

The ground being now better and the road clearer, our people halted during the heat of the day near some villages. As the captain Julião de Faria was indisposed, they remained there that night, and bought a cow from the lord of the country, for the handle of a kettle, three pieces of copper, and a piece of Turkish silver money of the size of a real of eight.

The next day as the captain was better they set out with the guides given them by the chief of those villages, dismissing those who had come there with them. They climbed to the summit of a mountain, and descended from it to a level and pleasant land, where they met many negroes and negresses who offered them ears of millet to lay their hands on those parts of their bodies where they suffered pain, hoping to be cured by these means. Our people made the sign of the cross upon them, at which they were extremely happy and contented, and placing themselves in the van went along singing after their manner.

Midway in the descent of a mountain they encamped, as it was late, and when it was nearly night two negroes came to the camp, bringing a cow which they presented to Nuno Velho Pereira from a widow, who had been the wife of a chief. Nuno Velho showed the Kaffirs how much he valued this attention, by sending to the widow three pieces of copper and a bed-curtain of China silk of different colours worked with gold.

In the morning they descended the mountain and crossed a river which flowed at the foot of it, and with their faces to the north they climbed another mountain, on the summit of which the road turned to the north-east. Though the ground was stony and wounded the feet of those who were unshod, they

walked on until it was very late, when they reached a spot where they made their camp, because there was wood and water.

They set out again on the 4th, and passed several villages from which the negroes came out with great rejoicing to embrace and kiss them, treating them with the utmost familiarity and taking the rosaries which hung round their necks, kissed the cross upon them, as they saw our people do. Understanding the great esteem in which our people held this holy sign, they asked if it was lawful for them to associate with their wives after they had received it. Conversing thus, they came to a great river, which the Kaffirs helped our people to cross with much pleasure and goodwill, for which they were paid with some glass beads and strips of cloth, which they immediately tied round their heads.

It being now the time of the siesta, they halted by a field of millet which was already ripe, but they did not touch it, in order not to offend the negroes, who were very liberal with that which they had gathered, disposing of it at a low price, as also cakes made of it, and butter and milk. The heat being past, they crossed a river, where they found very large and sweet myrtle berries, and travelled over a plain covered with crops of millet and irrigated with water from a mountain which was in front of it, on reaching the summit of which they met the chief of the villages with about thirty negroes.

The chief captain received him, and on his relating the particulars of the shipwreck and journey, and asking him for what was necessary, the Kaffir said that he was sorry for his many hardships, but it was fortunate that he had escaped death, and that guides and provisions should not be wanting. In proof of which promise he sent for two large oxen, four sheep, and a gourd of milk, for which he was paid three pieces of copper, the handle of a kettle, a branch of coral, and a silver Turkish coin. Nuno Velho also gave him another curtain of Chinese silk like that he had sent to the widow, with which the chief, who was named Panjana, was extremely pleased. They all travelled on together through his territory.

When the camp was formed his people brought this negro a large gourd of wine made of millet, called by them pombe, which was full of insects, and he offered some to Nuno Velho and to the other Portuguese who were with him. They all tasted it to

please him and show him courtesy. And as it was now almost night, he withdrew to his village, promising to return next day with guides, and our people retired to their shelters.

The negro was as good as his word, and detained our people in their camp until dinner time, bartering an ox for three pieces of copper, and making Nuno Velho a present of another, in return for which he gave him some glass beads, a bloodstone, and a little balsam which he told him was a good remedy for asthma, from which he suffered. Seeing the pilot with a flask of Ormus glass, he asked him for it, and gave him a large ox and a fine sheep in exchange. It being now past mid-day, they struck their camp, and journeyed on over a good and level road, the chief, who would not part with them, being still in their company. After sunset, when they were encamped, he took leave of them and of the chief captain, sending him a calf and a sheep.

The negroes, fearing the tract of uninhabited country now before them, did not come the next day, which was Pentecost, to guide our people as the chief had promised. For the same reason there were several impatient Portuguese, who determined to press forward and separate themselves from the rest of the company. Nuno Velho, hearing of this the night before, and knowing that they would be lost if they carried out their mistaken purpose, with his customary prudence appeased this disturbance.

When they had struck their camp in the morning, they travelled, without guides, over good ground until eleven o'clock, when they halted on the bank of a river. Here they were visited by many negroes, with their chief, who was called Malangana. These lived in some villages at a little distance from the road. Seeing our people, they came out, bringing a cow, which they bartered for a piece of coral and two pieces of copper. Nuno Velho asked the chief for guides, which he refused on account of the country being uninhabited, but he pointed out the road, showing with his hand the direction in which they must go. The pilot noted this with his compass, and it was to the north-east. After the negroes had gone, our people travelled in that direction till night, when they encamped in a thicket.

They went through the desert on the 7th, and on the 8th at mid-day they came to a richly verdured mountain range, which divided into two, one running north, and one running east, a great valley extending between them. On entering it, our people saw

eight negroes, who were burning the grass, and sent an interpreter to summon them. Some of them went for their chief, who came with twenty others. They were rebels, who lived in these mountains, subsisting by theft, and therefore they were all armed with assagais and arrows. They pretended that their village was at a distance, and in order to carry out their purpose conducted our people to a deep valley, where there was no wood or water.

Nuno Velho led one of these negroes with him, and seeing that he was restless and showed signs of wishing to separate a cow from the herd, in order to steal it, he told his soldiers to be upon the alert. And the pilot, who was in front, noticing the same disposition in those who accompanied him, turned back, and all the rest of the company with him. The negroes, thinking their evil intention was discovered, continued to dissimulate, until one of them, getting among the cows, succeeded in separating one from the rest; but he was punished for his daring by a blow on the head from the butt end of a halberd, which felled him to the ground. Seeing this, the others fled at full speed, and he after them. Freed from such bad company, our people ended that afternoon's journey, and camped on the mountain when it was almost night, keeping a vigilant watch for fear of the Kaffirs.

In the morning they journeyed along the mountain range which ran towards the east, with their faces to the east-north-east. They were seen from the mountain by some of the negroes of their last encampment, at whose cries many others assembled with assagais, and began to descend a hill towards the camp. In order to act as on previous occasions and not be found in disorder, our people called a halt, and having formed in order, resumed their march. The negroes, seeing their purpose, delayed, and some of them separating from the rest came to a spot where they could be heard, and asked who they were, and what they were doing in their country.

The interpreter gave the usual answer, and being reassured by him and Nuno Velho, they went and called their chief, who was entertained, and dismissed with a rosary of glass beads. These being gone, when they had journeyed on a little distance, they met about sixty others, of whom three came to the camp, and the oldest among them, when he heard of the shipwreck and journey of our people, cried aloud to the rest, "Come, come and see these

men, who are the children of the sun and go to seek him." Upon which all the rest, leaving their arms in charge of a comrade, ran down to see and make much of our people, and journeyed with them till the hour of the siesta, which they took in the shadow of a wood.

Here some negroes brought millet, which they gave in exchange for glass beads and strips of coloured cloth for their heads. Their chief also came to this halting-place, and Nuno Velho not receiving the welcome he expected from him, and detecting in him a desire to attack our people if he found them off their guard, warned the soldiers who accompanied him to prepare their arquebusses, and each to fix upon the negro at whom he would fire. Seeing this, the negro dissimulated his intention, and the chief captain ordered the company to set out again, and to take no notice of him or his village, before which they afterwards passed. At sunset they encamped in a convenient spot, of which they stood in need. Here there came two negroes from other villages, who, satisfied with two pieces of copper, promised to return the next day to guide our people.

They kept their word, coming to the camp in the morning, and under their guidance they climbed a mountain, and though from its summit others appeared, the Kaffirs led them by paths which made the ruggedness more easy. They encamped at night at the foot of the last, which they crossed next day, going east and east-south-east. Having passed it, they resumed their course to the east-north-east, through thick woods of high and dark trees, and descending a hill, in the valley, between great rocks, there were some negro houses, near which they encamped.

These Kaffirs were poor, and had nothing but a little millet and some milk, which they gave. There remained with them, in a hut which they made him apart from theirs, an old man of seventy years named Alvaro Gonçalves, the boatswain's father, who was very ill, and all his comrades were so tired that they could no longer carry him on their shoulders, as they had hitherto done. His pious son would have remained with him, but not being permitted to do so, left him copper to buy what he required, and the names of the necessary things written on a piece of paper, that he might be able to ask the negroes for them. With general tears at such a sorrowful parting, they drew the son away from his father, who dismissed him with a blessing,



and remained, having confessed himself, like a good Christian resigned to the will of God.

This delayed them in the camp until mid day of the 12th. The pilot observed the altitude of the sun, and found that they were in latitude  $27^{\circ} 27'$ , for which reason they determined to travel east by north, in order to reach the seashore sooner, from which they were now forty leagues distant. At two o'clock the chief of the villages came with guides, for whom Nuno Velho gave him four pieces of copper. Following them over good and level ground directly to the east, in which direction, these negroes said, lay the village where their red beads were sold, which are those which come from the river of Lourenço Marques, at sunset they reached a valley where they encamped.

They left it on the 13th, the feast of Saint Anthony, and at ten o'clock they saw many villages, from which numbers of Kaffirs came out to see them, and on reaching them saluted them by saying, Nanhata! Nanhata! like the first met with. Among them was their headman, who dwelt there by command of the chief, who was absent. He was well received by the chief captain, and on asking him for some necessary information concerning the road farther on, the negro answered that it was six days' journey to the sea from that place, and in another direction twelve, passing through the territory of the Inhaca, where it was necessary to ford a great river, with the water to their breasts. This news pleased them all, hearing that they were so near the place where they hoped to find a ship.

During the time of the siesta, a son of the chief came from his father to visit Nuno Velho, and having done so returned immediately with a silver medal round his neck, which was taken from a goblet. Our people, after they had killed several cows for their ordinary provisions and bought millet, milk, butter, and sheep, journeyed on with the headman himself for their guide, until they encamped, when it was almost night, near a river, where the negro sent word to his chief to come and see Nuno Velho in the morning.

His village was far off, and therefore he did not come until nearly eleven o'clock. Nuno Velho went out to receive him, accompanied by fifteen arquebusiers, and the chief, who was called Gamabela, had with him a hundred unarmed negroes. Taking each other by the hand, and seating themselves upon a carpet,

the chief captain told the other how much he was rejoiced to see him and to arrive in this his country, where he was sure of assistance to reach his desired destination. Gamabela replied that he did well to rejoice, for he was now near the end, and to conclude his journey nothing should be wanting which he had or could do.

Then they exchanged presents, the chief gave two cows, and Nuno Velho some mother-of-pearl beads, a piece of silver, seven pieces of copper, and a blood-stone. After this they treated of guides, and Gamabela named the headman who came with our people from the village and two other negroes. All the people were pleased with their good treatment by this Kaffir, and he still more so in showing it to them. He said to Nuno Velho that in return for the good will with which he had given them all they asked for, he wished for some token in his name by which he might always remember him and the Portuguese who accompanied him. Nuno Velho replied that he would grant his request, and would give him the most precious and valuable jewel in the world; and taking the cross off the rosary which he had round his neck, and removing his hat, with his eyes raised to heaven, he kissed it with great devotion, and gave it to the Portuguese near him, who went through the same ceremony; then he gave it to the chief, saying that this was the sacred pledge of his friendship which he would leave him, bidding him show it the same reverence as he had seen them do. The barbarian took it, and with the same gesture kissed it and put it to his eyes, and thus did all the other negroes.

Nuno Velho, seeing the veneration which they showed to the most holy cross, bade a carpenter make from a tree which stood close by (happily and fortunately grown in that Kaffraria, since from one of its branches was made the symbol of our salvation) a cross which he constructed at once, eight palms in height. Holding it with his hands, Nuno Velho delivered it to Gamabela, telling him that upon that tree the author of life overcame death by his own death, and therefore it was a remedy against it, and health to the sick, and in virtue of that sign the greatest emperors had conquered and the Catholic kings now overcame their enemies; and as an excellent gift he offered and gave it to him, that he might place it before his house. And every morning, on coming out, he should reverence it, and kiss it, and adore it on

his knees, and when health was wanting to his subjects, or rain for his fields, he should ask for it with confidence, for a God and Man who died upon it and redeemed the world would grant it.

With these words he delivered the true trophy and singular glory of Christianity to the chief, who placed it on his shoulders, and being dismissed by our people with salutary tears at the pledge he was taking from them, followed by his people, who numbered about five hundred, he carried it to his village to do as Nuno Velho had said and requested. This was a triumph of the Holy Cross, worthy of being celebrated like those of Constantine and Heracleus, for as those most Christian and pious emperors were truly delivered by it from their enemies, one from the Jews and the other from the Persians, by which it was exalted, this one (the image of the other) was by this honourable and virtuous nobleman lifted as a standard in the midst of Kaffraria, the centre of heathenism, over which it is triumphing to-day. And since by clinging to this sweet wood the world was saved from wreck, may God our Lord enlighten the understanding of these heathens, that clinging to the faithful cross which was left to them, they may be saved from the perdition and blindness in which they live.

The tree of the Holy Cross having been thus planted in Kaffraria, from which sweet fruit of salvation among these people may be expected, the next day, which was the 15th, our people having taken leave of it, with Gamabela, who wished to accompany the chief captain the first stage, and the guides whom he had appointed, they left that spot, and at ten o'clock reached a house where the chief took leave of Nuno Velho with sincere demonstrations of friendship. The negro having gone, they continued their journey among thorny trees and through uninhabited country, in which there were many aloe shrubs, and at nightfall they encamped beside a fresh river.

In the morning they continued their journey, and travelled on until two o'clock, when they came to some villages where there were no people, but many hens and much provisions. Nuno Velho ordered them to be careful that nothing was taken from the villages, and the owners, who were on some hills, being called by the guides and interpreters, some of them came down, and gave as the cause of their flight and the desertion of their houses the war in which they were then engaged with some of their

neighbours, who a few days before had carried off all their cattle. Seeing that our people were not the enemies they feared, all returned to their huts, and gave them a negro to guide them to a place where there was the necessary wood and water for that night's encampment.

The next day, which was the feast of the Blessed Sacrament, they travelled over an extensive plain, where were good pastures and trees, and many wild cattle, buffaloes, stags, hares, pigs, and elephants, which were grazing in large herds. These were the first animals of the kind which they met with in their long journey, and they had come down to the plains from a great mountain range that ran from north to south. Our people entered the plain by a valley with a river flowing through it, which they crossed many times, and near it they encamped.

In the morning they struck their camp, and journeyed until ten o'clock along the same valley and river, amid extremely rank vegetation. The ground was covered with trees of different colours, in which were seen many green parrots with red beaks, partridges, turtledoves, and other kinds of birds. They climbed a spur of the mountain from the south-western side, and on a flat upon its summit they met four negroes, who were engaged in hunting. These, hearing from the guides with what liberality our people bought provisions, went away, saying that they would bring some from their village. But the travellers did not wait for them, and made no delay, except during the hours of the siesta, which they spent in a wood along the river.

On the other side was a hill, which they climbed when the heat was past, and then followed an extensive plain watered by the said river; and here, besides the game which they saw the day before, were geese, ducks, thrushes, cranes, wild hens, and monkeys; and in a large pool which the river formed at the place where our people encamped at night, they saw many hippopotami, whose neighing prevented them from sleeping quietly. Therefore they arose later than usual the next day, and came to a marsh, which the guides said was near a village, and encamping beside it Nuno Velho sent a man to tell the chief of their arrival.

The next morning he sent Antonio Godinho with a negro to visit him, and he returned when his comrades had reached the other side of the marsh, very weary with dragging over the cattle with ropes, without which they stuck fast. The tidings which

he brought, however, made them forget all their past labours. He said that the chief he had visited was one of the Inhaca's captains, and that he gave him welcome and promised to provide them with everything in his country until they reached the Inhaca, with whom he knew that the Portuguese were friends; and that the ship was not gone, because a few days before negroes passed through his village with ivory for the trade.

Then there came one of this chief's headmen to visit Nuno Velho on his behalf, bringing two kids and two hens; and after him came the chief himself, whom Nuno Velho seated on his carpet. After he had confirmed the tidings given by Antonio Godinho, and shown his pleasure at the chief captain's inquiries about the Inhaca, he presented him with two cows. Nuno Velho gave in return the lid of a silver goblet and four pieces of copper, and to a nephew whom he had with him three other pieces, and hung round his neck half of a small silver cup, with which they withdrew well pleased to their village, which was at a distance, and our people remained still more so. They did not remove from their halting-place by the marsh. The pilot measured the altitude of the sun, and found that they were in south latitude twenty-seven degrees and twenty minutes, a distance of thirty leagues from the port where the ship was.

Our people went towards the negro's village in the morning, hoping to find good and faithful guides, but they proved bad and false. One was the chief himself, who, wishing to vex and tire them that they might give him something more, led them by a roundabout way back to the marsh from which they had started. Nuno Velho complained, showing himself displeased, and asked him to return what he had given him, for he wanted no guides from him. The Kaffir, finding his vain hope deceived, took two more pieces of copper which they gave him, and with three other negroes who wished to accompany him, led them by a sandy path, along which there were wild palm trees, some bearing dates and others a fruit which in Cuama is called macomas, which is of the size and appearance of grey pears. When it was night they encamped under some trees, without water.

The next morning they reached some houses, and the chief took the owners of them with him, and led our people out of the road into a thicket, intending to separate some of the cows from the herd and make off with them. Having passed this thicket

and crossed a river, they entered another wood, but in all these places our people, warned by the chief captain, were never off their guard. The negro, who went in front with the interpreter, finding that he was unable to accomplish his purpose, and the wood being thick so that he was not seen by those who followed, threw an assagai at his companion, and, missing his aim, fled. The interpreter caught hold of one of the negroes from the houses, who was near him, and shouted, at which our people came up and laid hands on the companions of him who was already prisoner.

With them they left the wood, and returned to the road from which they had been led away, and on asking them who the chief was who had fled, they replied that he was a great thief named Bambe, whom they obeyed and accompanied out of fear. On Nuno Velho asking them if they would lead him to the Inhaca, they promised to do so, and said that he might kill them if they failed to bring him there. Nevertheless with great caution they journeyed through a wood and crossed a marsh, and on the other side there was a good road which they followed until night, when they encamped beside a river, wood not being wanting from some great trees which were close by.

This land is very boggy, and has many marshes. Having passed those already mentioned, on the morning of the 23rd they crossed another with great trouble, for besides sticking in it a great deal, in the middle it was so deep that they could not feel the bottom with a pike. They crossed it where it was not wide with the help of trunks of trees which they cut down, of which they made foot-bridges, and for the rest supported themselves by grasping the many reeds which grew in the marsh. When they reached the other side, it was time to rest from their efforts and the heat, which they did in the shade of some trees.

Here Nuno Velho ordered one of the negroes to be set free, that he might return to the houses and give tidings of the rest; and with a strip of red cotton cloth and a piece of copper the Kaffir was compensated for his captivity. With those who remained, who were also content, hoping for liberal pay, they journeyed on until sunset, when they came to another marsh, where they encamped. From this place the source of a river was visible to the south-west, which in the charts is called the Saint Lucia, in latitude 28°, almost the same as that where they had

crossed it the day before without trouble, far from the mouth. In this river Fernando Alvares Cabral, captain of the ship *St. Benedict*, met his death, while crossing it on a raft, and on its bank, at the foot of a hill, beyond the reach of the water which drowned him, he is buried.

In the morning of the feast of Saint John the Baptist, which was the next day, they saw some villages from a height, the houses of which were like our vintage huts, and not round like those previously seen. The negroes of the villages, seeing our people, assembled to the number of about two hundred, and the interpreter went to speak to them. Learning from him that the strangers were Portuguese, they came directly to see the chief captain, and assured him that he was in the country of the Inhaca, this being the village of one of his sisters; and they said that the trading ship had not left. All were rejoiced at such good news, and on reaching the houses, the Inhaca's sister, of whom the negroes had spoken, came with her husband to visit Nuno Velho. He received them with due courtesy, and expressing his regret that he could not stay with them some days, gave them a piece of black cloth and two pieces of copper. From this village the sea is visible, which excited our people as if the view of it was new to them. It was that part of the coast which is called the Banks of Gold.

As the heat of the day was now past, they resumed their journey with one of the Inhaca's negroes, who had come from him to visit his sister, and dismissed the other guides well paid. They travelled along a great tract of reddish sand, which tired them in a little while, and then climbing to the top of the banks where they could walk with less fatigue, at sunset they reached a village beside a river, which they crossed, the tide being low. It being now night, they encamped on the northern bank, where for some small pieces of cloth they bought millet, hens, and large and delicious fish called tainhas.

The next morning, it being high tide the river was much swollen and formed an islet in its mouth, and thus when it is not low tide it cannot be forded. This is the river to which the wrecked Portuguese of the ship *St. Thomas* gave the name of Abundance. Striking the camp, they journeyed on behind the sandbanks, through a fresh and pleasant country, until midday, when they halted beside a village. Here the pilot measured the

altitude of the sun, and found the latitude was  $26^{\circ} 45'$ . When the heat was past, they crossed a marsh, and then encamped under large trees, which proved very necessary to shelter them from the rain which fell that night.

Over wide and extensive plains they travelled next day until ten o'clock, when they reached a beautiful lake of fresh water about a league in length, near which were two villages where they bought some hens. While they were taking their siesta in the middle of the day, the pilot observed the sun, and found the latitude was  $26^{\circ} 20'$ . Thence they travelled along the lake, seeing many ducks, geese, and herons, and on a plain beyond it they encamped, as they were not able to reach the village before dark. Here they killed three cows for their ordinary provision, twenty-three still remaining.

Inasmuch as a negro who passed through the camp stated that the ship had not left the river, Nuno Velho resolved to send three men with the guide to make sure of what all these Kaffirs said. These were Antonio Godinho, Simão Mendes, and Antonio Monteiro. After darkness had set in, there came with the guide a negro sent by the Inhaca to visit Nuno Velho, who drawing near to him made a deep bow, took off the cap he had on his head, and said "I kiss your worship's hands." He was a Kaffir brought up among Portuguese, who had remained in that land from the wreck of the galleon *St. John*. All were delighted at his speech and courtesy, and Nuno Velho asking him who he was, he replied that he came from the king, who was glad to see the Portuguese in his village and to hear from them that they had arrived in that land; that he wished to visit him at once, but put it off as it was night; and that they should rest meanwhile, for the ship was still in the river.

This was the most joyful news which the Portuguese had heard in all their journey, for the ship being in the river, they all had hope of life and safety, which would have been doubtful if she had sailed, for then they would either have been obliged to cross the bay and travel to Sofala, or to wait a year for the arrival of another vessel. Both of these courses presented great difficulties, for the journey to Sofala was long, and would take two months at least, which, after the three they had been travelling already, would be a great undertaking in their weak state; and if they should resolve to wait, the peril was still greater, as it would be



for at least a year, at the end of which they would not be alive, the country being unhealthy, the water bad, and provisions scarce. Therefore they had good cause to rejoice that night, hearing for a certainty that the ship was not gone.

The next morning one of the men whom Nuno Velho had sent to the king Inhaca returned with a long account of the ship, agreeing in every particular with what the envoy had said. Therefore, though it was raining, they joyfully struck their camp, and proceeded to the village of the Inhaca, from which many negroes came out to meet them, calling them sailors. The chief captain sent the king word of his arrival, and received an answer from him that he should go and await him under a tree close to his house, while he was rising and dressing. Nuno Velho accordingly did so, taking with him eight arquebusiers, the steward, the treasurer, the pilot, and the interpreter, and sat down under the tree upon a mat which the king had ordered to be spread.

The Inhaca came, with nothing on his head, girt with a piece of cloth such as women wear in India, and covered with a large cloak. He was very tall, corpulent, and well built, with a cheerful and pleasant countenance. He drew near to Nuno Velho, who was already standing, and took him by the hand; and together they sat down upon the mat. He congratulated him upon his arrival, and condoled with him concerning his shipwreck, for which Nuno Velho thanked him with many words, and also for what he did for Dom Paul de Lima and the company of the ship *St. Thomas*, when they passed that way. The chief captain then asked him for a man to carry a letter to the captain of the ship. The king declared himself obliged to act as he had done, because of his father's friendship with the Portuguese. He then summoned one of his negroes, who with Antonio Godinho, two other soldiers, and an interpreter, carried the letter.

The chief captain's present followed, which was a black felt hat, a piece of Chinese cloth worked with silk and gold, two cows, one of them with calf, two silver chains taken from the master's whistle, a medal, and a small silver bottle. As our people were uncomfortably situated, the king, who was delighted with the presents, ordered one of his negroes to lead them to a place near the houses where there was wood and water. Here the camp was arranged by Captain Julião de Faria, who went there with the

people, Nuno Velho and the officials and soldiers who accompanied him remaining in conversation with the Inhaca.

It now seemed to be dinner-time, and the pilot said that it was eleven o'clock by the watch, at which the king was somewhat surprised, and still more so when he was shown with the compass the direction in which they had until then been travelling. And thus, as it was time, they arose, and hand-in-hand went to the camp, where, when the king had visited Dona Isabel and her daughter, he dined with Nuno Velho in his tent. At two o'clock he took leave of them all with good grace, promising to speed them on their journey the next day.

He came in the morning, dressed in a garment dyed with cochineal and trimmed with red velvet, the hat which they gave him on his head, the chain of the whistle round his neck, and his arms covered with brass bracelets. The usual courtesies having been exchanged between him and Nuno Velho, the latter gave him the whistle, fastening it to the chain from which it had been taken, and the master sounding it, the king was very pleased with it, as it seemed to him a good thing in time of war. To one of his sons they gave a silver cup, which his father took from him.

Being now ready to march, they took leave of the Inhaca and he of them, with affectionate embraces, and setting out, they journeyed on under the trees and along lakes of fresh water until ten o'clock, when they halted to rest from the heat. Here there came some negroes of that country, with two sailors from the ship and a native of Mozambique (who are there called *Topàs*). This man told Nuno Velho that as he was trading for ivory up the river, he heard from the Kaffirs that there were some Portuguese with the Inhaca, whereupon he left everything to come and see them with his companions. Nuno Velho rewarded them for their good will, by giving the *Topàs* a silver bottle, and another to the two sailors; and as it was now time to continue their journey, they went on until evening, when they encamped where there was water.

At nine o'clock the next day, which was the feast of St. Peter, they reached a village belonging to a son of the Inhaca, who, upon a message from Nuno Velho, came at once to visit him, and supplied a man at his request to carry another letter to the captain of the ship. This man with one of the two sailors set

out with all diligence. Nuno Velho gave the chief the foot of a silver goblet and a piece of Chinese cloth like that he had given to his father, and he in return made him a present of a goat and a large basket of grain. This Kaffir was very like his father, and lived here apart from him, and out of his favour, on account of having attempted to kill him, in order to succeed to the kingdom. Through intercourse with the Portuguese he spoke a few words of our language. The chief captain took leave of him, and journeying on when the time of the siesta was past, they encamped near a marsh.

In these lands of the Inhaca the sea forms a great bay fifteen or twenty leagues in length, and in parts little less in width, into which flow four great rivers that the tide enters for ten or twelve leagues. The first, to the south, is called the Melengana or Zembe, and divides the lands of a king so-called from those of the Inhaca. The second is called the Ansate, and by our people the Santo Espirito or river of Lourenço Marques, the man from whom the bay takes its name having been the first to open up the ivory trade here. The third is called the Fumo, because it passes through the territory of a chief of that name. The fourth and last, called the Manisa, lies to the north, along which occurred the disaster of Manuel de Souza Sepulveda, the pitiful deaths of his wife Dona Leonor and of his children, and his own disappearance. There also died Dom Paul de Lima, but not the memory of his glorious exploits.

In the mouth of this bay (which in parts is fourteen or fifteen fathoms deep), near its southern point, is a large island, three leagues in circumference, which divides the entrance into two passages, one to the north-east seven or eight leagues in width, and the other to the south narrow and confined. Our people call it the island of Inhaca, and the king keeps a quantity of cattle there, because of the abundant pastures. A channel of the sea makes off one point of this island a separate islet, which can be reached at low tide with the water to the knees. It is in latitude  $25^{\circ} 40'$ , and is called to-day the island of the Portuguese, because of the many who escaped from the wreck of the *St. Thomas* only to die and be buried there.

A ship from Mozambique visits this bay about every two years, to carry on the ivory trade, and one was there when our Portuguese reached the country of the Inhaca. According to

the statements of the negroes, it was now the monsoon and time for it to leave, and as Nuno Velho wished to embark in it with the other Portuguese who were with him, he wrote by the different messengers aforesaid to Manuel Malheiro, the captain of the ship, to wait for them, and to send boats to the shore to carry them to the island. To these letters he received no reply until the last day of June, after our people had left the marsh where they had encamped the previous day, and had nearly reached the shore, when they met a Kaffir sailor from the ship, with two letters, one from the captain to Nuno Velho, and the other from the pilot to Rodrigo Migneis, informing them that the men who had carried the letters had remained in their company, and that the boats would come the next day to carry the people to the island.

When it was almost night the captain of the ship came in a boat, and was well received by Nuno Velho; and as the tide was ebbing, it was thought proper that he should return at once, taking with him Dona Isabel and her daughter, the steward Diogo Nunes Gramaxo, and the two religious, Friar Peter and Friar Pantaleão. This was done, and the others remained, well sheltered and provided with provisions of that country, which were millet, ameixoeira, hens, fish, and shell-fish.

In the morning the same boat returned with another to convey to the island the rest of the company, who were already on the shore awaiting them, but as the tide was not suitable till three o'clock, and much time was spent in getting the cattle across, they went no farther than the first island, where they encamped for the night. In the morning, the tide being low, our people crossed to the other island, where those from the ship were lodged in huts made to shelter them, and where with great good will they received and entertained a hundred and sixteen Portuguese and sixty-five slaves who arrived there, having survived the shipwreck and their wanderings, in which they had spent three months, and in which they travelled more than three hundred leagues, although from the Rock of the Fountains, from which they set out, to this island, the distance in a direct line is not a hundred and fifty leagues.

The next day Nuno Velho wished to know what provisions and water were in the ship, and inquired of the captain, who replied that the sailors had ninety bags of millet, equal to about

seven hundred alqueires, and some beans and ameixoeira, and the ship's tanks were full of water and held about twelve pipes. As this was insufficient, by order of Nuno Velho they emptied fifteen jars that were full of honey, which is very good in that country, and filled them with water. He ordered that the sailors should be paid for the millet and honey, at the price which those articles were sold for in Mozambique, and one came to one hundred and eighty cruzados and the other to ninety-six. There were also left over from their journey one hundred and nine cows, which made a considerable portion of their provisions.

This being ordered and carried out, and the ivory placed as ballast, well and evenly stowed in order to make beds for our Portuguese, they all embarked on the 9th of July, to await in the ship the change of the moon, which would be on the 12th, and with it the westerly wind for their voyage. They embarked thus early, because for the ship to get away it must be outside a reef which is near the island, and there await favourable weather, for if it is inside it cannot put to sea with the said westerly winds.

When all were embarked, to the number of two hundred and eighty souls, the ship was so overweighted that the pilot, who was named Baptista Martins and had been a sailor in the ship *St. Thomas*, said he could not undertake to steer it, and as it would be unmanageable some measure must be taken to rectify the matter. The chief captain called a council, in which it was agreed that they should set on shore the ship's sailors, with their wives and families, who were Moors, and as such would be better able to provide for themselves than the Portuguese. This resolution was immediately carried out, and all the Moors disembarked, with their families and goods, being forty-five persons. They offered no objection, on account of the liberal pay and satisfaction which Nuno Velho Pereira ordered to be given to them, with which they hoped to make the journey by land to Mozambique with better advantage and greater profit than they could have done by sea, with the proceeds of their honey, which had been left upon the shore, and their millet, which the Portuguese took with them.

The ship being thus relieved, after the change of the moon the wind still remained east as before, and thus it became necessary to wait for the next moon. Some of the Portuguese, impatient

at this and at the want of space in the ship and the scarcity of water, determined to go by land to Sofala, which was a hundred and sixty leagues distant. Although Nuno Velho Pereira regretted that they should wish to separate from his company, seeing their determination and that it would be for the benefit of those who remained, he gave them his permission and eight firelocks, with all the necessary ammunition, fifty cruzados in silver pieces, and a quantity of calico. The captain of these Portuguese, who numbered twenty-eight, was a soldier named Baltazar Pereira, nicknamed the champion of the forces. They prepared two boats, which the ship had brought for trading up the rivers, in which they crossed to the other side of the bay, to the river Manisa, and journeying through that territory, they committed so many disorders that, though the road was open, by which many Portuguese of the ship *St. Thomas* had travelled and noted each day's journey, they were nearly all killed by the Kaffirs, and only two men of this company reached Sofala.

When the monsoon commenced, the ship, which was called *Our Lady of Salvation*, set out on the 22nd of July for Mozambique, and keeping inshore from Cape Correntes, there blew so great a tempest from the south that our people thought themselves more surely lost than in the *St. Albert*. A quantity of provisions was thrown overboard, and after two days' duration of this tempest the weather became fine again, so that they reached Mozambique on the 6th of August. There they all disembarked, and went in procession with the Dominican friars—who, being advised of their arrival, awaited them on the shore—to our Lady of Succour, returning thanks to JESUS our Redeemer, and to the most holy Virgin his Mother, for the extraordinary favours and singular mercies received from their divine and liberal hands in this their shipwreck and journey.

EXTRACTOS  
DEL LIBRO LLAMADO  
EMPRESAS MILITARES DE LVSITANOS

ESCRITAS POR

LVYS COELLO DE BARBUDA,

CRIADO DE SU Magestad, NATURAL, Y VESINO DE LA CIUDAD DE LISBOA.

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DESPUES el año 1607 tentaron los Olandeses la conquista de Moçambique ; dioles ocasion a querer emprender la muy grande falta que en la fortaleza auia te todo lo necessario a su defensa, de que (con grande diligencia) se auian informado, el año 1604 estuieron entonces alli cerca de vn mez, en que sondaron la barra, obseruaron arrecifes, y todas las mas cosas importantes a este su disignio. Es Moçambique vna pequeña Isla que está en la costa de Africa en diez y seys grados, de la parte del Sur: diuidela de tierra firme vn rio por dõde se bastecẽ de todo lo necesario a la vida: tiene puerto capaz de muchas naos poder estar en el: es tierra baxa, y por esto enferma, por razon de los pantanos, que con sus vapores inficionan el ayre, y hazen mal a la salud de sus habitadores. Los naturales desta tierra son Negros idolatras, aunque los principales de la Isla (quando Don Vasco de Gama la descubriò, como auemos dicho) eran morenos de color, Moros en profession, y de naciones diferentes a que sus intereses auia lleuado alli: es plaça de grande comercio, por tenerle con los rios de Cuama, de donde los nuestros traen oro, ambar, y marfil, a trueque de conticas de vidrio, lienços negros de poco porte: en ciertos tiempos se hazen vnas ferias en las orillas de aquellos rios, con vnos Negros del Monomotapa: era este vn Rey muy poderoso, y a quien otros pagauan tributo señor de vna Isla de trezientas leguas, ay en ella tantas minas de oro . . . .: es

tambien este Barbaro señor de muchas minas de plata (la muestra della han traydo ya por vezes los nuestros a España y se hallò ser mejor que la de Indias) Siendo el Rey Don Sebastian de lamentable memoria informado dellas, embió a su conquista Francisco Barreto (Gouernador que auia sido de la India) el año 1569 el qual como muriessse en esta empresa, y los Portugueses no tuuiesen tanto conocimiento de aquella tierra como agora tienen; y como tambien el Rey muriessse, dexó la conquista. Vino despues este gran Rey a tan miserable estado (por la rebellion de sus vassallos) que le fue forçado valerse de algunos Portugueses (que a su Corte auian ydo) y por su medio se confederò con el Capitan General de aquel castillo de Moçambique Don Estean de Atayde, para que le diesse fauor con que se defendiesse de los leuantados: hizo por este socorro donacion a su Magestad (por vna escriptura publica) de las minas de plata; dando para seguridad desta en rehenes sus propios hijos permitiendo que los Religiosos de Sancto Domingo que en las Iglesias de Sene y Tete residen) los hiziessen Christianos. He querido referir breuemente las grandezas desta tierra, para que se vea que hasta en las màs escondidas regiones del mundo tiene su Magestad thesoros, si quisiere gozarse dellos.

En veinte y nueue de Março del año ya dicho de 1607 llegó a vista desta Isla de Moçambique vna armada de ocho naos gruesas de Olandeses, en que venian mil y quinientos soldados a cargo de Pablo Varcaden, y dieron fondo fuera de la barra. Estaua entonces la fortaleza aun sin acabarse (andan estos descuy dos eslabonados a la paz) con poca artilleria, y la que auia estaua sin cajas, los lugares por donde auia de jugar desempedrados, y con muchos hoyos, no auia artillero, ni soldado de paga; la gente que auia era poca, y la que podia tomar armas eran setenta hombres, los quales el Capitan Don Estean de Tayde repartiò por los quatro baluartes de la fortaleza, con quatro Capitanes: Martin Gomez de Caruallo en el baluarte San Joan: en San Gabriel Diego de Caruallo: en Sancto Antonio puso Antonio Montero Corte Real y en el otto puso Andres de Alpoem de Brito: y lo mejor que con el no esperado successo pudo ser, se ordenaron a la defensa. Empeçò la armada enemiga a entrar por la barra, emparejadas las naos de dos en dos, soltando el artilleria (de que cada vna traya dos ordenes) porque con el grande humo no pudiessen de la fortaleza hazelle punteria, pero como ella està



fundada en lugar eminente sobre vna punta que de la Isla sale a la barra, pudieron los nuestros con su artilleria hazelle mucho daño. Estauan en el puerto tres nauios de mercaderias, a dos abrazaron los Portugueses, y el vno se lleuò el enemigo, el qual con grande silencio, gastò aquella noche en enterrar los muertos, y curar heridos: y al otro dia en reparar el daño que sus naos auian recebido de la fortaleza: fueron despues desembarcando, sin alguna resistencia, porque cincuenta mosqueteros que se les mostraron, no hiz eron màs effecto que darles a entender que auia gente de guerra en la fortaleza, adonde se retiraron, dexando pegado fuego a la poblacion que tenian fuera, para que las cosas que alli se hallassen no fuessen de prouecho al enemigo: pero como el agua ñ llovia mitigasse el fuego, quedosse despues aprouechando de muchas dellas, en daño nuestro.

Fueron los Olandeses marchando desde la marina hasta el Monesterio de Sancto Domingo, adonde (por ser sitio acomodado a ofender, y defenderse del artilleria) hizieron vna trinchea, en que acestaron dos pieças, con que empeçaron a batir la fortaleza, sin recibir algun daño, por quedar tambien reparados con el muro de la Iglesia, que en lo ancho casi igualaua a sus murallas: fueron lleuando otra trinchea de pipas de tierra hasta vna eremita que està entre el Monesterio, y la fortaleza, y alli pusieron vna compaña de mosqueteros, que por entre estos reparos dauan a los nuestros grandes cargas muy continuadas, no parecia con esto persona alguna sobre el muro.

Al otro dia hizieron otra trinchea de la otra parte de la eremita, adonde pusieron otra pieça de artilleria gruessa, cõ otra compaña de mosqueteros, y rompiendo la pared de la capilla mayor, acestaron otra piéça de mayor grandeza que las otras, y echaua bala de veinte y ocho liuras de hierro: deste lugar, y del Monesterio, y otros fueron rompiendo la tierra, y haziendo valos de màs de doze palmos de altura, hasta llegar cerca de la fortaleza; y en el Monesterio hizieron vn terre pleno, sobre que acestarõ tres pieças gruessas de artilleria, con que la batian por la parte màs cercana a sus puertas: enfrente hizieron otro terrepleno, en que pusieron cinco pieças de artilleria de las mayores que trayan, porque temian que los nuestros se las cegassen, las cubrian con lienços azules del mismo color de los fardos, y costales con que tenian reparado todas aquellas estancias de los valos, y trincheas: eran tan altos, que nuestra artilleria

no podia offender los enemigos, bien que al descubrir la suya tambien les hazia daño: no recibia poco el baluarte San Antonio del terreplano, porque el primero dia de la bateria pusieron por tierra todo lo alto del, y deshizieron todos los fardos, y costales, que por reparo auia los nuestros echo, y cõ esto les fue forçado rehazerse la noche siguiente, ayudados de alguna gente para esto prouechosa, aunque inutil para las armas, y de las mugeres que de la poblacion se auian recogido a la fortaleza.

Auia diez y ocho dias que el enemigo era desembarcado en que (no siendo mãs de mil y quinientos soldados, y algunos gastadores) tenian echo quatro baluartes, ò terreplenos, dos plataformas, rota la tierra por muchas partes, y lleuada en altura de doze palmos, y diez de ancho, hasta la misma fortaleza, y trabajado con tanto cuydado, y perseuerancia que parece que vencia la misma dureza de las piedras: algunos dellos perdian la vida en esta obra: obligaualos a ello con grandes exortaciones su Maesse de campo, el qual andaua armado de armas blancas, siempre a vista de los nuestros, pareciendole que alli no podria ser offendido dellos, pero fue muerto de la fortaleza, y siendo por los compañeros lleuado de alli, luego otro sucedió en su lugar, que fue continuando con la obra mãs acauteladamente.

Batieron en estos dias la fortaleza con siete pieças de campaña, y muchos berços, y dieron grandes cargas de mosqueteria (que por sus estancias auia) tan continuamente, que no passo ninguno en que los tiros de artilleria no fuessen ciento y veinte: despues amanecieron vn dia treinta passos del baluarte San Gabriel, con vn terrepleno echo de madera muy junta, y pusieron muchos caxones de tierra auiaños hallado en la poblacion) vnos sobre otros, en que acestaron muchos berços, y guarnecieron con dozientos mosqueteros, los quales sin mucho interualo dauan cargas a la fortaleza, y al baluarte San Gabriel, a que descubrian casi todo, y como la distancia era poca, no recibian daño de nuestra artilleria. Pudo con los nuestros el desseo de la defensa, y la vengança del mal que padecian tanto, que antes de ser mañana hizieron sobre dos puntas que del baluarte, y el parapeto se estendian azia el campo dos estancias de madera, en que pusieron algunos costales de tierra, de donde hizieron aquel dia notable daño a los enemigos, matando al que se descubria aunque con grande peligro por la bateria de los berços y mosquetes) hasta el poner del Sol, en que vn Olandes (como estauan tan

cerca leuantò la voz, diziendo : Portugueses, el matar callando es solo de fieras, no se haze la guerra entre hombres politicos con tanto silencio : varios casos nos hizieron enemigos, pero naturaleza a todos hizo hermanos : Descancemos, y demonos cuenta de nuestros successos, no para aliuiar los animos, sino para engrandecer cada qual sus hechos, y boluer a pelear con mayor esfuerço ; tenemos para esto licencia de nuestro General : si alcançays lo mismo del vuestro, lo estimaremos. Bien oya Don Esteuan de Tayde estas razones, porque estaua presente a ellas, y entendiendo que esta tregua podia ser de algun aliuiio a sus soldados, y tambien para reparar algunos daños recibidos, concedió que seguramente pudiesen hablar con ellos, la primera media hora del quarto de prima. Auian los enemigos procurado esta tregua, para con mayor dissimulacion poder llegar a la muralla de la fortaleza las galerias, y maquinas que auian echo, y como eran muy grandes no las podian traer por dentro de los valos, y por de fuera venian expuestas a la artilleria de la fortaleza.

Llegò la hora de la tregua, y se mostraron algunos Olandeses màs cerca del muro, entre su baluarte, y el de San Gabriel : saludaron los nuestros : dieronle buenas nueuas de la salud de su Magestad, (que està en el Cielo) de algunas cosas de la Corte, y del Reyno de Portugal, diziendo, que el año atraz no auian passado naos a la India, que la ocasion no auia sido el viento Sur, como allà se auia escripto por tierra, pero que aquella armada que alli tenian, con otra muy grande esquadra que en su compaõia entonces yua, se atrauessò en la barra de Lisboa, y no dexara salir por ella ningun baxel, en quanto durara la mocion de poder yr a la India : que en aquel presente año no tenian que esperar, porque el Reyno estaua tan impossibilitado, que no podria embiar màs de tres, ò quatro carracas viejas, y mal aparejadas, las quales no podrian escapar de aquella armada que alli tenian, y de otras treze naos, por que aguardauan : que tambien no tenian que esperar socorro de la India, porque el Virrey Don Martin Alfonso de Castro auia lleuado al Sur todo lo que en ella auia, adonde le auian desbaratado otras catorze naos suyas que tenian puesto cerco a Malaca ; que ya todas aquellas fortalezas le estauan sujetas, y presto se lo estarian todas las que quedauan ; pero que no se espantauan ya de sus malos successos, porque despues que auian perdido la libertad, quedando sujetos a Castilla degenerauan de los antigos Portugueses, de quien

ya no parecian descendientes. Los nuestros (agradeciendoles primero las buenas nuevas que de la salud de su Magestad les dauan les respondieron, que a las otras no dauan credito, porque su poder no passaua del ordinario officio de piratas, que quando por descuydo de los Españoles, o mal gouierno, aspirassen a mayores cosas, seria en vano, que sus intentos les seruirian solo de manifestar al mundo mayor rebelion: que quanto màs se jactassen de que y a toda la India era suya, màs grandes hazian sus delictos, y mayor su soberbia: que las ocasiones auian mostrado que sus fuerças no se estendian a màs que a baxeles desarmados desuiandose siempre de aquellos de que podian recibir daño: que si querian experimentar si los que estauan en aquella fortaleza eran descendientes de los antigos Portugueses, alcançassen licencia de su General para cincuenta Olandeses entrar en campo con veinte y cinco Portugueses, y que en este desafio se cõcluyesse la pretencion de la fortaleza, que su Capitan General seguraua el campo, y daria rehenes a cumplir la palaura; que el eligir las armas, y el dia, dexauan a su aluedrio. Suspensos quedaron los Olandeses vn rato, como que no auian deliberado la respuesta, hasta que haziendo los nuestros instancia por ella, dixo vno, que lo comunicaria con su General Y porque los nuestros mostraron que entendian dellos rehusar el desafio: respõdieron, que era costũbre antigua de pocos, viendose en semejantes aprietos, sacar fuerças de flaqueza; que mal podria el Capitan auenturar veinte y cinco soldados, quando todos los que estauan en la fortaleza no llegauan a ciento, que mejor seria tomar buen consejo, con tiempo, y entregarse, que llegar al vltimo estado, y rompimiento de la fortaleza, occasion en que la piedad no tenia lugar, y la licensiosa furia de la guerra todo lo arruyna: que procurassen saluar las vidas, que era lo que se deuia estimar, pues estauan ciertos que quando los muros perseuerassen contra su artilleria, no podian durarles municiones, y bastimientos, màs de tres mezes, que ellos tenian muy bien medidos con su posibilidad, que si el hambre, y las otras necessidades de cercados los auian de obligar a rendirse entonces, quicà cõ menos ventajas, porque lo guardauan para tiempo en que con la fortaleza perdiessen las vidas, y la libertad con las haciendas. Los Portuguezes pareciendoles mengua, y falta de su natural brio escuchar razones semejantes, les respondieron; que pues sabian tan mal guardalles el decoro, no querian màs oyr hablarlos, ni otra conuersacion alguna con

ellos, màs que la de las armas, en que no se mostrauan tan fuertes por las obras, como en las palauras.

Estauan ya los enemigos tan cerca, que le parecio al Capitan Don Esteuan que pudiese prejudicalle vna puente lleue diga que estaua en el fosso y daua seruentia del lugar a la fortaleza, quando estaua liure, y porque tambien los enemigos no pudiesen aprovecharse de la madera della, para alguna de sus maquinas, embiò vna noche diez soldados, que el quarto de la prima rendido salieron por vn postigo, y con mucha diligencia tomaron de alli la puente, y la escondieron a vista del enemigo, y segando la puerta de la fortaleza de la parte de fuera, se retiraron a ella: toparon en el camino dos espias Olandesas, y echando mano dellas, empezaron a dar voces por los compañeros, con que todo el exercito se puso en arma, y tocó a recoger: los dos oyendo el alboroto, temiendo que acudiesen a quitalle los prezos, los mataron, y se entraron por donde auian salido.

Deliberados los Olandeses en querer abreuiar el cerco, dieron fin a diez y siete galerias, ò mantas de altura, y ancho de los valos, con que auian llegadose a la fortaleza, y las metieron por dentro dellos, hasta el baluarte adonde las sacaron fuera de los valos de noche. Todo el dia siguiente estuieron aquellas maquinas a vista de los nuestros, sin que con el artilleria pudiesen hazerles daño alguno. La noche siguiente fueron abriendo vn grande fosso, para por el llegar a çapar la muralla: pudieron yr haziendo esta obra sin ser sentidos, por la grande tempestad de la noche, que con el obscuro agua, truenos, y vientos, los fauorecia, no se oya rumor alguno de los golpes que para abrir la tierra dauan, hasta que reparando bien en ello los cuydadosos defensores, vieron algunas centellas que el hierro con los golpes hazia saltar de las piedras en que dauan. El Capitan del baluarte San Gabriel (para certificarse de lo que barrũtaua) se dexó baxar con vna sogá por el muro y aduirtiendó que se venian ya llegando a el, dió voces a los soldados, que llegassen a impedir el intento del enemigo. Tocosse la campana del rebato, y todos se pusieron en orden, luego empezaron a tirar a bulto algunos mosquetes, y sin saber de que effecto serian, dieron fuego a algunas alcanzias de poluora, y las dexaron caer al pie de la muralla; con esto descubrieron los enemigos, que casi llegauan ya con la maquina al baluarte San Gabriel: echaron los nuestros azia aquella parte muchos artificios de fuego, con que abrazaron

muchos enemigos, y los màs se fueron retirando a su baluarte, dexando los instrumentos de la obra, sin que por aquella noche vsassen màs dellas.

Venida la mañana, descubrieron los nuestros vn fosso tan ancho, que en la parte adonde se acercaua más a la fortaleza, estauan dos galerias emparejadas de altura de veinte palmos: la noche siguiente se llegaron con otras dos (sin que se lo impidiesen los daños que de la muralla les hazian con los artificios de fuego,) y las arrimaron al mismo baluarte, y las refirieron de manera, que ni con piedras muy grandes, ni con algun fuego las pudieron derribar, ó abrazar Apartados los enemigos, pidieron los soldados licencia al General para darles vn assalto, y abrazarles las dos maquinas màs cercanas; concedioles lo que pedian, y con orden suya se conformaron para esto veinte y cinco soldados, y tomando por caudillo San Pedro Martyr (cuyo dia de su fiesta era el siguiente) salieron de noche, embiaron vno de la compañía a descubrir el campo, y a pocos passos diò con dos exploradores Olandeses, los quales dando rebato a los suyos, se pusieron en arma luego. El Capitan Don Estewan pareciendole que ya aurian perdido la occasion del hecho que yua emprender, mandò tocar a recoger, a tiempo que ya los nuestros auian dado principio a la obra: entrando por los fossos pegaron de las maquinas para quitarlas de alli, y no pudieron hazerlo por estar clauadas en la tierra, y ser tan fuertes, y pezadas, que ni mouerse podian; pero consitados de su mismo furor (viendo que les succedia mal su intento) le passaron a los enemigos, hizieron rostro a ellos (estauan treinta passos del baluarte San Gabriel) hallaron en el fosso que auian echo para la fortaleza quatro soldados Olandeses que estauan de posta, acometiendolos mataron dos, y los otros dos heridos los entregaron a dos compañeros, que los fueron guiando a la parte por donde auian salido: los veinte y tres enuistieron los valos de los enemigos, los quales juntos hasta ciento vinieron a los nuestros, dandoles vna ruciada de mosqueteria, para terror, en ninguno hizieron daño, temiendo hazello tambien a los compañeros, con la obscuridad de la noche, que todos auia mesclado, y no diuisauan los Olandeses quales eran vnos, ó quales otros: con esto tuieron lugar los Portugueses de matar algunos, y los fueron llevando (despues de passados los valos) hasta su cuerpo de guarda, adonde siendo socorridos de los compañeros empezaron a hazer grande resistencia, pero quedando de peor cõdicion que

los nuestros, por auerse subido en los caxones de tierra que por trinchea auia puesto, y por quedar muy altos en aquel lugar recibian màs daño de los nuestros, y les hazian menos: ayudaua tambien la fortuna de los pocos Portugueses, ser aquel lugar estrecho adonde peleauan, y los enemigos muchos, en los quales, despues de auer quebrado las lanças, se valieron de las picas de los enemigos; hizieronlos (al fin) retirar hasta su mismo baluarte, adonde acudiendo su General con quinientos hombres, se empeçaron a retirar los nuestros (siempre con la cara a ellos) azia la fortaleza, sin recibir daño notable: y como los enemigos del socorro se diessen mucha priessa, llegaron al fosso de la fortaleza, casi a tiempo que los Portugueses le auian passado por vn lugar estrecho en que les hizieron rostro, quedando ya con las espaldas seguras en la muralla, y por vno, y otro lado amparados del agua de la marea que auia llenado el fosso, no dexando màs de vn pequeño lugar, en que solo cincuenta Olandeses podian pelear, y como llovia, no podian los mosquetes tomar fuego, y los nuestros se defendian sin notable peligro, hasta que siendo sentidos de la fortaleza, fueron de los muros ayudando a los suyos, y matandoles los Olandeses con muchos arteficios de fuego, de manera, que los obligaron a retirarse desordenados, y algunos cayan en el fosso, donde el agua los cubria, y ahogaua. Alcançada esta vitoria, fueron los veinte y tres al postigo por donde auian salido, y los dos compañeros que alli quedaron con los dos Olandeses, viendo que dauan voces para que los suyos le acudiesen, los mataron, temiendo ser sentidos, y con las cabeças los aguardaron, y se entraron todos en la fortaleza, aunque bien heridos, contentos del successo.

Los Olandeses, ó porque no se vuiessen bien con la deliberada osadia de tampoco, y con esso se les dificultasse màs la empresa, ò porque tuuiessen grandes daños que reparar (segun se entendia suspendieron la bateria, y en todo el dia siguiente no vuo alguno que diese fuego a pieça, ò mosquete. Don Esteuan queriendo aprouecharse desta suspension, mandó vn soldado que pegasse fuego a las maquinas, el qual ayudado de los materiales que de encima del muro le echaron, las abrazó, y se retirò, sin que del baluarte Olandes (que tan vesino estaua) le tirassen bala, ò se lo impidiessen de algun modo.

En esta suspension de armas estuieron los Olandeses ocho dias, en fin de los quales embió su General pedir al Capitan Don

Esteuan licencia para escreuirle, que entre tanto que lo hazia, y le respondia, sessassen las armas de vna, y otra parte concedida, llegaron al pie de la muralla seys Olandeses vestidos en traje Español, saludaron los nuestros, y les dieron la carta por vn cordel, que del muro echaron para esso, contenia lo siguiente.

Notoria cosa es a los que tienen noticia de la guerra, que los enemigos hagan vnos a otros todo el daño possible. En esta que auemos empegado es nuestro intento destruyr, y abrazar todas las Iglesias, Monesterios, casas, y palmares desta Isla, y los de màs edificios, y eredades de tierra firme; pero antes que lo executemos, he querido hazerlo saber a V Señoria, para que pueda libertar la perdida que desto se puede seguir; para lo qual, con toda breuedad, podrà embiar personas para ello, y les otorgamos saluo conduto, despues que por los portadores desta vuiéremos entendido su deliberacion de V. Señoria: fecha en siete de Mayo del año 607.

PABLO VANCARDEN.

Vista la carta por Don Esteuan de Tayde, consideradas las razones que auia para no acostumbrallos a semejantes rescates, respondiò a los Olandeses en esta forma.

Obligado de cortesia respondo a la de V. Señoria: que ni quiero su seguro, ó saluo conduto para mis soldados, ni doy credito a las razones de su carta: no tengo otra orden de mis Mayores, ni otro intento de màs que de hazelle toda la guerra que me fuere possible. Fue forçoso no poner los nuestros en precio los males que determinauan hazer en lo que estaua fuera de muro, ò defensa, porque la cudicia los obligara a querer vender los mismos daños a los nuestros todas, ò las màs vezes que passassen con armada gruessa. Con la respuesta de Don Esteuan, pegaron los Olandeses fuego a todo el lugar, talaron los palmares, y arboledas de la Isla, y las huertas que eran muchas; y lo que es mucho màs de sentir, y de llorar, abrazaron los perfidos ereges, con nefanda furia, todas las imagines que auia en las Iglesias, despues de que con mil barbaros desacatos las trataron (esto auia de anticipar el castigo desta gente rebelde, y obstinada.) Auiendo dado fin a este hecho fiero, fueron leuantando el cerco, lleuando con grande silencio el artilleria, y embarcandose estuieron en las naos ocho dias, adonde mas seguros pudiesen descansar; y passados salieron de la barra vna mañana de niebla, fueron de la fortaleza muy mal tratados del artilleria, y vna de sus naos del todo destroçada, con que ellos mismos dieron en tierra para sacacalle el artilleria, y lo que mas



lleuaua de municiones y bastimiento, despues le pegaron fuego, y a las otras repararon, y partieron de alli. Murieron de los Olandeses màs de trezientos: y de los nuestros fueron muertos treze, en el discurso de dos mezes que durò el cerco.

Estando despues reparando la fortaleza, llegó de Portugal Don Jeronymo Coutiño con tres naos, de que yua por General, desembarcando mandò a su gente que deshiziesse los baluartes de los enemigos, y los valos, è igualasse la tierra de los fossos, mandò acabar de derribar el Monesterio de Sancto Domingo, y la eremita de San Gabriel, porque si boluiesse hallassen menos aquellos reparos, con que offendian a la fortaleza a que tambien proueyó de moniciones, y bastimiento, acudiendo con grande diligencia a todo. Queriendo despues dar fin al viage de la India, fue vista el armada Olandesa, que auendosi reparado en la Isla del Comoro (que està cerca) daua buelta a ver si hallaua la fortaleza descuydada, ò si hallaua alguna nao del Reyno de Portugal, por que aguardauan. Llegaron los enemigos a la barra, y viendo nuestras tres naos que estauan dentro, se quizeron informar del poder que trayan, y del estado de la fortaleza, para lo qual echaron fuera vna lancha, y la embiaron arrimada a tierra firme, por fuera de la Isla de San Iorge hasta meterse en el rio de Calunde, sin ser vista de los nuestros, adonde estuuò sin poder tomar alguna persona de la Isla, que era lo que pretendia; y al romper de el Alua, le dieron caça los bateles de las naos hasta las suyas, sin que por su ligereza pudiessen tomarla: viendo los Olandeses que le seguian su lancha, soltaron el artilleria, y mosqueteria, para terror, y que viessen quan bien aparejados venian. Estauan nuestras naos llenas de banderolas, y gallardetes, y otros apercebimientos, mostrando que con alegria los aguardauan; pero no les diò el temor lugar a tentar la fortuna, pareciendoles difficultosa la empresa. Dexaronse los enemigos estar surtos en la barra sin hazer mas de entrar, y salir de guarda, con grande estruendo de su mosqueteria. Don Jeronymo Coutiño despues de auer socorrido la fortaleza) considerando quanto importaua dar remedio a la falta que naos de Portugal en la India hazian, determino de passar, aunque rompiesse con el enemigo, el qual, ó porque entendiendolo assi, lo rehuzasse, ó por querer dar fin a su nauegacion, lleuó las ancoras, y dexó la barra, con que nuestras naos se fueron tras ellas a la India, adonde llegaron primero.

Auianse facilitado los Olandeses la conquista de Moçambique, con tan ciertas esperanças, que antes de partirse de Olanda el General Vancarden diò (segū despues se supo) el omenaje de la fortaleza de Moçambique, teniendo por cierta su conquista: tanto ha crecido en los rebeldes la confiança, y el atreuimiento, con el poder de Principes impiis que para ello les dan fauor, y ayuda, con que no solo han procurado perturbar el comercio de las Indias Orientales, y Occidentales, mas tambien han passado a querer impedir la predicacion Euangelica en aquellas Prouincias, sembrado sectas, y doctrinas nueuas de sus Eresiarcas. Prometiò Vancarden sustentar la fortaleza, hasta que el Agosto que se seguia le embiassen socorro con que se pudiessen defender del armada de Portugal, que por este tiempo alli suele llegar. Por esta razon embiaron los Estados rebeldes treze naos, con mas de dos mil hombres, a cargo de Petro Blens, el qual llegó a la Isla de Sancta Elena tan temprano, que le fue necessario aguardar alli la mocion de los Punientes, para passar el Cabo de Buena Esperança.

Partió desta Isla a tiempo que en veinte cinco de Julio llegaron las treze naos a Moçambique: pusieron luego vna bandera blanca en la Capitana, que deuia de ser la señal para saber si la fortaleza estaua por suya, entendiendolo assi Don Esteuán de Tayde, mandò poner en la fortaleza otra colorada, y juntamente hizo dar fuego a vna pieça de artilleria con bala, para mostrarles que con ellas los aguardaua. Con esto quizo Petro Blens tambien tentar la fortuna, fue entrando la barra, y desembarcando en las lanchas con tanta diligencia, que no tuuieron lugar los de la poblacion de recoger a la fortaleza sus haziendas; el mismo rigor passò vna nao que alli auia inuernado, y por estar mal proueyda, la tomaron: pero despues, a pezar del mismo enemigo, fue por los nuestros abrazada, con vn galeon del trato de Goa, que tambien alli estaua.

Pusose en orden la defensa de la fortaleza, con la breuedad possible, aunque contrabajo, por la grande priessa con que los Olandeses desembarcaron: despues de se auer dado los lugares de la defensa a quien tocauan, al repartir de la poluora, dexó por descuydo) vn soldado bisoño caer la cuerda en mucha parte della, con que abrazò algunos hombres: passara màs a delante esta desgracia, si no la atajara la mucha diligencia de Don Esteuán de Tayde, que con grande peligro de su persoua mitigó el fuego que

puñera abrazar la fortaleza, ò a lo menos los almacenes de las municiones.

Sentaron los enemigos el cuerpo de su exercito, adonde los passados auian echo, era el Monesterio de Sancto Domingo, fueronse llegando con trincheas de mar a mar, hasta la fortaleza, y quarenta passos della leuataron dos baluartes de tierra, poco distantes el vno del otro, y en medio dellos hizieron vna trinchea, con que fueron continuando hasta la marina, y cõ ella se cerrarõ, por ser acomodada a ello la parte ñ de la Isla viene, con la fortaleza hasta el mar: pusieron en los baluartes ocho pieças, y las màs que quedaron en el sitio del Monesterio, empeçaron a batir la fortaleza muy perseueradamente, de manera, que al otro dia de la bateria vno personas que contaron mas de trezientos tiros de artilleria, con que arruynaron grande parte del lienço de la muralla (que està entre el baluarte San Antonio, y San Gabriel,) adonde su artilleria estaua acestada, y se auian echo larga entrada para la fortaleza, por la qual, si fueran Portugueses, vuieran sin duda subido: pero como los Olãdeses no son màs ñ buenos artilleros, y fuera desto, no valen màs de para abrazarse, como desesperados ereges, no tuuieron animo para acometer la entrada por lo arruynado de la muralla.

Cessó la bateria con el dia, y venida la noche se repararon los nuestros con diligente cuydado: pusieron fuegos en el muro, para ver si los enemigos se llegauan con el obscuro de la noche, por no atreuerse de dia. Tanto que fue mañana, y vieron los enemigos la diligencia con que los nuestros se auian reparado del daño passado: los combatientes de que los muros estauan guarnecidos, y el valor con que defendian sus puestos, afloxaron la bateria, como quien desconfiana de poder entrar la fortaleza. Los nuestros queriẽdo aprouecharse de la ocasion de su temor, pidieron veinte y cinco dellos licencia al Capitan Don Esteuan, para dar vn assalto al enemigo, como el del cerco passado (bien que a diferente hora,) concedida, salieron a las doze del dia de la fortaleza, con grande silencio, y tanto que les pareciò que podian ser descubiertos, dieron de golpe en la primera estancia de los Olandeses (inuocando Sanctiago) de manera que a todos hizieron dexar las primeras trincheas, y se fueron retirando para el cuerpo de guarda, adonde estaua su General: siguierõlos dandole en las espaldas, hasta que de la fortaleza les tocaron a recoger: fue notable el animo de vno de los veinte y cinco llamado Moraria, el qual

viendo tres Olãdeses apartados de sus baluartes, entre sus trincheas, y la fortaleza (estauan con picas armados de peto, espaldar, y murrion) los acometió, y con vna lança matò dos a vista de todos los que estauan sobre el muro, y al otro que subió a la trinchea tambien tratò muy mal. Viendo los del assalto que los socorros del enemigo se venian llegando, se retiraron, dexando muertos treinta, trayendo consigo dos banderas, tres caxas, quinze mosquetes, petos, y picas, que todo auian dexado con el subito temor los enemigos: fue tanto su desacuerdo, y prissa con que desampararon sus puestos, que si los nuestros lleuaran aparejos, pudieran clauarle el artilleria.

Al otro dia se vino vn soldado de los enemigos corriendo a los nuestros, y llegado al pie del muro diò voces, diziendo ser Catholico, echandole sogas con que le subieron, dixo que era Frances, y con mucha verdad informò a Don Esteuan de lo que passaua en el armada, de su disignio, y de como le auian muerto màs de dozientos hombres; y que quando llegaron les pareció que la fortaleza estuiesse tomada por la primera esquadra, (como el General della auia prometido en Olanda) de cuyo malsuccesso estauan muy sentidos, y de cõfiados de poder entrarla: tambien le informò de otras cosas que conuenia saber.

Este mismo dia embiò el General Olandes al Portugues vn trompeta con vna carta, en ã le dezia, que por les principios de aquella guerra podria juzgar quales vendrian a ser los fines della: que le aconsejaua embiasse con tiempo algunas personas de confiança que tratassen con el alguna buena composicion, y concierto, antes que del todo quedasse expuesto a la furia de sus soldados. Don Esteuan le respondió, que no tenia que tratar con el composicion alguna, màs de aquella que las armas determinassen; que ya auia obligado con ellas a Vancarden dexar aquella Isla, y lo mismo esperaua hazer con el.

Poco despues se passaron a los nuestros quatro soldados de los enemigos, diziendo, que eran Catholicos: el General Don Esteuan los recogió, con prosupuesto de que lo eran: pero el Olandes lo sintió de manera, que luego con grande diligencia embiò pedirselos, amenazandole con que si no los diesse mataria otros Portugueses que tenia prezos, y auia tomado en la nao, antes que los nuestros la pegassen fuego. Respondiòle Don Esteuan, que no le entregaria los soldados, pues con nombre de Catholicos se auian amparado del. Pero el impio Olandes mandò apartar

seys Portugueses de los que tenia consigo, y atadas las manos, los mandô matar a balazos, a vista de la fortaleza.

Al otro dia que fueron diez y siete de Agosto del año ya dicho, se mostrò vn galeon de Portugal que yua para la India, y queriendo acometer la barra, le rindiô el enemigo, despues de larga resistencia, hazia la gente del, numero de ciento y sessenta personas los màs dellos enfermos, a que el General Olandes repartió por sus naos, y les dixo que escriuiessen al Capitan Don Esteuan, diesse los quatro que a el se auian passado, y que no haziendolo, daria la muerte a todos. Ellos lo hizieron assi escriuiendole vna carta, en que le representauan su vltimo estado, quedando condenados a morir. Don Esteuan (despues de leyda la carta) se compadeciô notablemente de los prezos: mas viendo que el entregar los Olandeses encontraua su fidelidad, se deliberó en entregar aquellos que dezian ser Catholicos: quizo (al fin) auenturar las vidas de tantos Portugueses, por conseruar la de quatro Olandeses que podian engañarle en lo que dezian. Quedaron con esta respuesta los afligidos prizioneros muy atemorizados, pareciendoles que fuesse en ellos executada la yra del General Olandes; mas dissimulando la vengança prometida, y contentandose solo con las amenazas echas, leuantò el cerco a diez y nueue de Agosto, mandando primero pegar fuego a la poblacion, y a lo que por aquella Isla auia. Y con el silencio de la noche, y su escuridad, salió la barra, con toda el armada. Echó todos los Portugueses que auia tomado en el galeon, y en la nao que los nuestros abrazaron, en la Isla de San Iorge enfrente: y se fue derrota a la India.

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[I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Senhor Eduardo Henrique da Silva Guimarães for assistance in making an English translation of the foregoing, as, to my regret, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the Spanish dialect to do it unaided.—G. M. T.]

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*Extracts from "Military Achievements of the Portuguese," \* written (in the Spanish language) by LUIZ COELHO DE BARBUDA, servant of His Majesty, a native and residing in the neighbourhood of the city of Lisbon.*

After the year 1607 the Dutch attempted the conquest of Mozambique; for this enterprise taking advantage of the very great want of the fortress in everything necessary for its defence, of which (by great diligence) they had obtained information. In the year 1604 they were there about a month, when they surveyed the bar, inspected the reefs, and all things most important for their design. Mozambique is a small island which lies on the coast of Africa in sixteen degrees South latitude: it is separated from the mainland by a river by which they get all the necessaries of life: it has a port sufficiently large to contain many ships: the land lies low, and for that reason is unhealthy, on account of the swamps, which infect the air with their exhalations, and injure the health of the inhabitants. The natives of this country are negro idolators, although the principal people of the island (when Dom Vasco da Gama discovered it, as we have said) were of brown colour, Moors by creed, and of different nations whose interests had brought them there: it is a place of large commerce, with the rivers of the Zambesi, whence our people bring gold, ambergris, and ivory, in exchange for glass beads, black handkerchiefs of little value: at certain times fairs are held on the borders of those rivers, with certain negroes of Monomotapa: this was a very powerful king, and to whom others paid tribute, lord of an island of three hundred leagues, and there are in it many gold mines . . . : this barbarian is also lord of many silver mines, a sample of which has been taken several times by our people to Spain and was found to be better than that of the Indies (*i.e.* America). The king Dom Sebastian of lamentable memory being informed of their existence, in the year 1569 sent Francisco Barreto, who had been governor of India, to conquer them, and as he died in this enterprise, and as the Portuguese had not so much knowledge of that country then as they have now, and also as the king had died, the conquest was

\* A crown quarto volume of six hundred and sixty-nine pages, published at Lisbon in 1624, now difficult to be obtained. It is regarded in Portugal as a work of high authority.—G. M. T.

abandoned. This great king came afterwards to such a miserable state, in consequence of the rebellion of his vassals, that he was obliged to have recourse to some Portuguese who had gone to his court, and through their aid he entered into an alliance with the captain general of the castle of Mozambique Dom Estevão d'Ataide, in order that he should do him the favour to protect him from the insurgents: in return for this help he made a donation to His Majesty, by a public deed, of the silver mines; giving as security his own sons as hostages with permission that the Dominican friars, who reside in the churches of Sena and Tete, should convert them to Christianity. I have wished to refer briefly to the grandeur of this country, in order that it may be seen that in the most hidden regions of the world His Majesty possesses treasures, if he wished to enjoy them.

On the 29th of March 1607 there arrived in sight of this island of Mozambique a fleet of eight large Dutch ships, in which came fifteen hundred soldiers under command of Paul van Caerden, and they cast anchor outside the bar. The fortress was then unfinished, the neglect being due to the peace; it was provided with little artillery, and that without carriages, the embrasures were unpaved and with many cracks, there were no artillerymen nor paid soldiers; the people in the place were few in number, and those who were able to bear arms were seventy men, whom the captain Dom Estevão d'Ataide distributed among the four bastions of the fortress under four captains: Martim Gomes de Carvalho in the bastion S. João, in S. Gabriel Diogo de Carvalho, in S. Antonio he placed Antonio Monteiro Corte Real, and in the other he placed André de Alpoim de Brito; and in the best way that they could, though not expecting success, they prepared for defence. The enemy began to cross the bar with their ships arranged in two lines, firing their artillery, of which each one carried two tiers, because in consequence of the thick smoke they could not direct their fire from the fortress, but as it is built on a height upon a point which runs out from the island towards the bar, our men with their artillery could do much harm to them. In the port three merchant vessels were lying, two of them were set on fire by the Portuguese, and the other was captured by the enemy, who in great silence spent that night in burying their dead and attending to their wounded: and the next day in repairing the damage

that their ships had sustained from the fortress: they afterwards landed without any resistance, because fifty musketeers who were shown to them were intended for no other purpose than to make known to them that there were people of war in the fortress, to which they retired, having set fire to the town which was outside, so that the things which were contained in it should not be of profit to the enemy: but as the rain which was falling extinguished the fire, they afterwards obtained much, to our loss.

The Dutch marched from the seaside to the monastery of Saint Domingo, where, as this was well situated for offensive operations and for protection from artillery, they made a trench, in which they placed two guns, with which they began to fire upon the fortress, without receiving any damage, because they were also protected by the wall of the church, which was in its extent almost equal to the walls (of the fortress): they made another trench of casks filled with earth as far as a hermitage which is between the monastery and the fortress, and there they stationed a company of musketeers, who from these works made continuous discharges upon ours, although no person was seen upon the wall.

Next day they made another trench on the other side of the hermitage, where they placed another large gun, with another company of musketeers, and opening the wall of the chancel they placed in position a piece of artillery of larger size than the others, and which threw balls of iron twenty-eight pounds in weight: at this place, and at the monastery, and other positions they dug the soil, and made trenches of more than twelve handbreadths deep, until they got close to the fortress; and in the monastery they made an earthen bank, on which they placed three heavy guns, with which they battered it at the part nearest the gateways: in front they made another bank of earth, on which they placed five of the largest guns they had, because they feared that our people might damage them, they disguised them with calico of the same colour as the bales and sacks (full of earth) with which they protected their works: they were so high that our artillery could not injure the enemy, although when they were discovered some damage was done to them: the bastion S. Antonio received no little damage from the bank of earth, because on the first day the battering broke down all the upper part of it, and destroyed all the bales and sacks (full of



earth) which our people had made for defence, and in consequence of this they were compelled during the following night to remake them, assisted by some people useful for this purpose although useless for bearing arms, and by the women from the town who had taken shelter in the fortress.

Eighteen days had elapsed since the landing of the enemy in which, not being more than fifteen hundred soldiers and some pioneers, they had built four batteries or banks of earth and two platforms, had opened the earth in many parts, and raised banks to the height of twelve palms and width of ten nearly up to the fortress, and worked with so much care and perseverance that it seems as if they surpassed the hardness of stone: some of them lost their lives in this work: compelled to it by the great urgings of their master of the camp, who went about in white armour, always in sight of our people, bearing himself as if he could not be injured by them, but he was killed from the fortress, and being carried away by his companions, was at once replaced by another, who proceeded with the work more carefully.

They battered the fortress in these days with seven field guns and many short cannon, and they made great discharges of musketry (which they could do from their positions) so continuously that no day passed in which the discharges of artillery were under a hundred and twenty; afterwards they gradually approached one day within thirty paces of the bastion S. Gabriel, with a platform of timber well put together, and they placed many boxes of earth, which they had found in the town, one upon the other, on which they mounted many short guns, and garrisoned it with two hundred musketeers, who at short intervals fired upon the fortress and the bastion S. Gabriel, from which everything could be plainly seen, and as the distance was short, they did not receive any damage from our artillery. The desire to protect themselves, and revenge for the evil they had suffered, acted upon our people so much that before daybreak they made two timber scaffolds on two points which extended from the bastion and the parapet towards the camp, on which they placed some sacks full of earth, whence they did on that day notable damage to the enemy, killing any one who exposed himself, although in great danger from the battery of short guns and muskets, until sunset, at which time a Dutchman, as they were so close, shouted, saying: Portuguese! killing without com-

munication is only suitable for wild beasts, war is not made among civilised men with so much silence: various circumstances made us enemies, but nature made us all brothers: let us desist from fighting for a little, and let us talk over our successes, not to relieve the minds, but for each to magnify his deeds, and to return to the fight with greater zeal; for this we have permission from our General; if you succeed in getting the same from yours, we shall be delighted. Dom Estevão d'Ataide could well appreciate these arguments, for he was present at the time, and thinking that this truce might be of some advantage to his soldiers, and also for making good some of the damage received, he consented that they could converse together in safety during the first half-hour of the first watch. The object of the enemy in proposing this truce was with greater deceit to push forward the galleries and the engines they had made towards the wall of the fortress, and as these were very large they could not convey them within the trenches, and outside they would be exposed to the artillery of the fortress.

The hour of the truce arrived, and some Hollanders showed themselves closer to the wall, between their battery and that of S. Gabriel: they saluted our people: they gave them good news concerning the health of His Majesty (who is in heaven), concerning several occurrences at the court, and of the kingdom of Portugal, stating that in the preceding year no ships had sailed for India, that the cause had not been the south wind, as had been communicated by letters overland, but that the fleet which they had there, together with another large squadron which was then sailing in their company, had blockaded the bar of Lisbon, and had not allowed any vessel to leave while the monsoon lasted which would enable it to proceed to India: that in that year they had nothing to expect, because the kingdom was in such a state of depression that it could not send more than three or four old carracks, ill fitted out, which could not escape the fleet they had there and the other thirteen ships which they were expecting: that also they had no help to expect from India, because the viceroy Dom Martim Affonso de Castro had taken to the south all the vessels in those seas, where he had been defeated by other fourteen ships of theirs which they had stationed near Malacca; that all those fortresses (*i.e.* of Malacca) were already subject to them, and all the remaining ones would

soon be; but that these misfortunes did not surprise them, because since they (*i.e.* the Portuguese) had lost their independence, remaining subjects of Castile, they degenerated from the old Portuguese, of whom they did not appear to be the descendants. Our people thanking them first for the good news they gave concerning the health of His Majesty replied that they did not believe the rest, because they (*i.e.* the Hollanders) followed nothing but the ordinary occupation of pirates, that when through the neglect of the Spaniards, or bad government, they aspired to greater things, it would be in vain, that their efforts would serve only to exhibit their rebellion more clearly to the world: that the greater their boast that the whole of India was already theirs, the greater they made their own crimes and the greater their haughtiness: that events had shown that their power did not extend beyond (capturing) unarmed vessels always avoiding those from which they could receive injury: that if they wished to prove whether those who were in that fortress were descendants of the old Portuguese, they should obtain permission from their general for fifty Hollanders to enter the field against twenty-five Portuguese, and that in this challenge the ownership of the fortress should be decided, that their captain general would guarantee no interference in the combat, and would give hostages to keep his word; that the selection of the arms and the day, they would leave to their (*i.e.* the Hollanders') decision. The Dutch remained for a little while in suspense, as if they had not arrived at a decision, until our people insisting upon a reply, one of them said that he would communicate with his general. And because our people showed that they understood the challenge was refused, they (*i.e.* the Hollanders) replied that it was an old habit of a puny force, seeing itself in such difficulties, to conceal signs of weakness; that the captain could hardly risk twenty-five soldiers, when all that were in the fortress did not reach a hundred, that the best course would be to take good advice in time, and surrender, rather than hold out to the last extremity and until the fall of the fortress, in which event no mercy would be shown, and the licentious fury of war would lead to total ruin: that they should endeavour to save their lives, which was what ought to be taken into consideration, as they might be sure that even if the walls should withstand their (*i.e.* the Hollanders') artillery, the munitions and supplies could not last longer than

three months, of which the possibility had been well calculated, that if hunger and other necessities of a siege should compel them to surrender, perhaps with less advantage, why did they hold out for the time when with the fortress they might lose their lives and liberty with their property. The Portuguese, thinking that it was against their natural mettle to listen to such reasoning, answered them that as they did not know how to preserve decorum, they would listen no longer to their prating, nor have any other conversation with them than that of arms, in which they did not show themselves so strong in deeds as in words.

The enemy were already so close that it seemed to Captain Dom Estevão that a drawbridge which was over the moat and gave admittance to the fortress from the place where they were might cause some injury if it were left exposed, and also that the enemy might not make use of the wood of it for any of their engines, he sent out ten soldiers one night after the first watch who went through a postern, and with much diligence removed the drawbridge and hid it from the enemy, and blocking up the gateway of the fortress from the outside, they reëntered it: on the way they came across two Dutch spies, and on seizing them they began to shout for their companions, upon which the whole force sprang to arms, and sounded the recall: the two (who guarded the captives) seeing the disturbance, fearing that they might come to rescue the prisoners, killed them, and went in by the same way they had come out.

The Dutch having decided to endeavour to shorten the siege, constructed seventeen galleries or movable wooden coverings of sufficient height and width for the trenches with which they had approached the fortress, and they laid them along as far as the bastion but took them away from the trenches at night. All the following day those engines were in sight of our people without their being able to do any harm to them with the artillery. Next night they went on opening a large trench, so as to get under the wall: they were able to carry on this work without being noticed, in consequence of a great storm in the night, which with the darkness, rain, thunder, and wind favoured them, the noise of the blows given to open the soil was not heard, until on looking well into it the watchful defenders saw some sparks which the iron with the strokes caused to come out of the stones

which they struck. The captain of the bastion S. Gabriel, in order to ascertain what was going on, let himself down with a rope from the wall and noticing that they were already approaching it, shouted to the soldiers to come to prevent the design of the enemy. The alarm bell was rung, and all placing themselves in order, immediately began to fire some muskets at random, and without knowing what effect the shots would have, they set fire to some grenades and let them drop at the foot of the wall; by this means they discovered the enemies, who had nearly reached the bastion S. Gabriel with their engine: our people threw many fireballs in that direction, with which they burned many enemies, and the others withdrew to their battery, leaving behind the implements of their work, without making more use of them that night.

Morning having arrived, our people discovered a trench so wide that at the part nearest the fortress there were two wooden shields for protection side by side twenty palms high: next night they approached with two others, without being hindered by the damage which was caused by the fireballs from the wall, and placed them against the said bastion, and they made them so firm that neither with large stones nor with any fire could they be destroyed or burned. The enemy being in separate divisions, the soldiers asked the General for permission to sally out and burn the two nearest engines; he granted them what they desired, and under his instructions twenty-five soldiers made ready for this enterprise, and taking as leader Saint Peter Martyr, whose festival was the following day, they sallied out in the night, sent one of the company in advance as a scout, and a few paces distant he discovered two Dutch scouts, by whom the alarm being given to their people, they placed themselves at once under arms. Captain Dom Estevão thinking they had already lost the opportunity for the deed which they went to undertake, ordered the recall to be sounded, just at the time when our people had commenced their work: entering the trenches they got hold of the engines in order to remove them, and they could not do it because they were firmly fixed to the ground and were so strong and heavy that they could not even be moved; but impelled by their own fury, on seeing their design wanting in success, they rushed on towards the enemy and faced them. They were thirty paces from the bastion S.

Gabriel. They found in the trench that had been made towards the fortress four Dutch soldiers who were there on duty, attacking them they killed two, and the other two being wounded they placed under charge of two of their companions, who proceeded with them towards the place from which they had sallied out: the twenty-three attacked the intrenchments of the enemy, who having collected a hundred men came to meet our people, giving a discharge of musketry to frighten them, from which no one was hurt, they fearing to harm also their companions, in consequence of the darkness of the night, which had mixed them all, and the Dutch could not distinguish one from the other: owing to this the Portuguese had an opportunity to kill some, and they pressed onward, after having passed the intrenchments, as far as the main guard, where being assisted by their companions the Dutch commenced to make a vigorous resistance, but being in a worse condition than our people, in consequence of being obliged to climb on the boxes of earth of which the intrenchments were made, which were very high at that place, they received greater damage from our people and did less: the good fortune of the few Portuguese was also aided by that place being narrow, and the enemies many, in which, after having broken their lances, they made use of the enemies' pikes; at last they made them retreat to their own battery, where their General coming to the rescue with five hundred men, our people began to fall back towards the fortress, with their faces always towards the foe, without receiving any notable damage: and as the enemies who had come to help pressed them close, they reached the moat of the fortress almost at the same time as the Portuguese passed it by a narrow passage, where they faced them, remaining with their shoulders against the wall on one side and the other protected by the water of the sea which had filled the moat, leaving a very small spot where only fifty Dutch could fight, and as it was raining the muskets could not be fired, and our people defended themselves without notable danger until being observed from the fortress those on the wall helped their own people and killed the Dutch with many fireballs, so that they were compelled to retire in disorder, and some fell into the moat where the water covered them and drowned them. This victory being achieved, the twenty-three went to the postern by which they had come out, and their two companions who were there with the two

Dutch prisoners, seeing that they were shouting for their own people to help them, killed them for fear of being observed, and with their heads were waiting there, and all went into the fortress, although sorely wounded, well pleased with their success.

The Hollanders, either because they lost their self-confidence by the determined bravery of so few and saw that their enterprise would be more difficult, or because they had much damage to repair, suspended the battering, and all the following day not a single person appeared to fire a gun or musket. Dom Estevão wishing to take advantage of this suspension, ordered a soldier to set fire to the engines, who being helped by materials which were thrown to him from the wall, burned them and returned, without a shot being fired from the Dutch battery, which was so near, or being impeded in any other way.

In this suspension of arms the Dutch remained eight days, at the end of which their General sent a message to Captain Dom Estevão to ask permission to write to him, and that while correspondence was being exchanged there should be a truce on both sides. This being granted, six Hollanders dressed in Spanish costume arrived at the foot of the wall, saluted our people, and gave them the letter fastened to a string which was thrown from the wall for the purpose. The contents were the following:

It is well known to those who are acquainted with war that enemies do each other all the injury possible. In this which we have commenced our object is to destroy and burn all the churches, monasteries, houses, and palm groves of this island and the buildings and plantations on the main land; but before we carry out that design we have wished to inform you of it, in order that you may ransom yourself from the loss that may follow; for which you may send persons to us as quickly as possible, and we grant them safe conduct after we have been informed of your decision by the bearers of this. Dated on the 7th of May 1607.

PAUL VAN CAERDEN.

The letter having been read by Dom Estevão d'Ataide, the reasons for not accustoming them to such ransom having been considered, he replied to the Dutch as follows:

Obliged by your courtesy I reply to yours that I do not want either your security or safe conduct for my soldiers, nor do I give

credit to the arguments of your letter : I have no other order from my superiors nor other design than to carry on the war as vigorously as possible.

It was necessary for the protection of our people not to set a price upon the injuries which they determined to do outside the wall, or beyond defence, because greed would drive them to sell the same damages to our people every time or nearly every time they passed with a large fleet. With the reply of Dom Estevão, the Dutch set fire to the whole place, destroyed the palm groves and all the trees of the island and the gardens which were numerous ; and what is more to be thought of and deplored, the perfidious heretics burned with abominable fury all the images that were in the churches, after which they treated them with a thousand barbarous indignities (this should anticipate the punishment of this rebellious and obstinate people). Having completed this ferocious deed, they raised the siege, carrying away the artillery in great silence, and having embarked they were eight days in the ships, where they could rest with more safety ; and at the end of that time they crossed the bar one misty morning, they were badly treated by the artillery of the fortress, and one of their ships was totally destroyed, which they themselves ran ashore in order to take out the artillery and whatever else she carried of munitions of war and supplies, after which they set fire to her, and they repaired the others and left. Of the Dutch more than three hundred died : and of our people thirteen were killed during the two months that the siege lasted.

After this when the fortress was being repaired, Dom Jeronymo Coutinho arrived from Portugal with three ships, of which he was the General, on landing he ordered his people to destroy the batteries and the intrenchments of the enemy, and to level the ground of the trenches, he commanded them to complete the demolition of the monastery of S. Domingo and the chapel of S. Gabriel, in order that if they (the Dutch) returned they should not find those works with which they injured the fortress, which he also provided with munitions of war and supplies, attending to everything with great diligence. Wishing afterwards to complete the voyage to India, the Dutch fleet, which had been repairing at the island of Comoro (that is close by), was seen, returning in order to ascertain if the fortress was unguarded, or



if any ships from the kingdom of Portugal were there, for which they were waiting. The enemy arrived at the bar, and seeing our three ships which were inside, they wished to ascertain their strength and the condition of the fortress, for which purpose they put out a boat and sent it close to the shore beyond the island Saint George until it reached the river Calunde, without being seen by our people, where it remained without being able to take any person from the island, which was its object; and at break of day the boats of the ships gave it chase until it reached its own vessel, without succeeding in capturing it, in spite of their speed: the Dutch seeing they were pursuing the boat, fired with artillery and musketry to frighten them and that they should see how well armed they were. Our ships were decked with flags and pendants and other decorations, showing that with cheerfulness they were waiting for them; but fear did not allow them to try their fortune, the undertaking seeming to them very difficult. The enemy remained at anchor at the bar without doing anything beyond keeping a good look out and making a great noise with their musketry. Dom Jeronimo Coutinho after having succoured the fortress, considering how important it was to supply the great want of ships from Portugal in India, resolved to proceed on his voyage, even if he had to fight the enemy, who declined to oppose him, either because they knew how matters stood, or because they wished to complete their voyage, they raised their anchors and left the bar, on which our ships followed them to India, where they arrived first.

The Dutch had regarded the easy conquest of Mozambique with such sure hopes that before leaving Holland General Van Caerden appointed (as was afterwards known) a commander of the fortress, being sure of its conquest: so much have the confidence and the impudence of the rebels increased, with the power of the impious princes who give them favour and aid, with which they have not only tried to disturb the commerce of the Indies East and West, but also have gone so far as to endeavour to hinder the evangelical preaching in those provinces, and to disseminate sects and novel doctrines of their heresiarchs. Van Caerden promised to hold the fortress until in the following August they should send him help with which they could defend themselves from the Portuguese fleet which by this time should arrive there. For this reason the rebel states sent thirteen ships

with more than two thousand men, under command of Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff, who arrived at the island of St. Helena so early that he had to wait there until the monsoon from the west should allow him to pass the Cape of Good Hope.

He left this island at such a time that on the 25th of July the thirteen ships arrived at Mozambique: they hoisted at once a white flag on the admiral's ship, which was intended as a signal to ascertain if the fortress was theirs, understanding it so Dom Estevão d'Ataide ordered one of another colour to be placed on the fortress, and at the same time directed a gun to be fired with ball, to show that with these they were waiting for them. With this Verhoeff also wished to try his fortune, he crossed the bar, and disembarked in his boats with such diligence that the people of the town had not time to remove their property to the fortress; a ship which had wintered there, and which was poorly provided, experienced the same rigour, they seized her, but afterwards, in spite of the enemy, she was burned by our people, with a galleon in the Goa trade, which was there also.

The fortress was put in order for defence with all possible speed, although with difficulty, on account of the great haste with which the Dutch landed: after the places of defence were assigned to those to whom they pertained, on distributing the gunpowder an inexperienced soldier dropped through negligence a (fuse) string in the greater part of it, through which he burned some men: this mishap might have had worse consequences, if it had not been checked with much promptitude by Dom Estevão d'Ataide, who to the great danger of his person subdued the fire which might have burned the fortress, or at least the storehouses.

The enemy stationed the main body of their army where the previous besiegers had been posted, it was the monastery of Saint Domingo, they approached with trenches from sea to sea towards the fortress, and at forty paces from it they erected two batteries of earth at a little distance from each other, and between them they opened a trench, with which they pressed on as far as the seashore, and with it they cut off the part of the island on which the fortress stands: they placed eight guns on the batteries, and the remainder of their artillery on the site of the monastery, they began to batter the fortress with great perseverance, so that on the second day of the firing persons could count more than three hundred discharges of artillery, with which they destroyed a

great part of the section of the wall between the bastions S. Antonio and S. Gabriel, to which their artillery was directed, and had made a large entrance to the fortress through which, if they had been Portuguese, no doubt they would have stormed: but as the Dutch are nothing more than good artillerymen, and beyond this are of no account except to be burned as desperate heretics, they had not courage to rush through the ruin of the wall.

The battering ceased with the day, and the night having come our people repaired the breach with diligent care: they placed fires on the wall in order to see if the enemy should approach in the darkness of the night, as they had not dared to do in the day time. As soon as it was morning and the enemy saw the diligence with which our people had repaired the damage done, the combatants with which the walls were garrisoned, and the bravery with which they defended their posts, they slackened their fire, as if they had lost confidence in being able to enter the fortress. Our people wishing to avail themselves of the opportunity of their fear, twenty-five of them asked permission from Captain Dom Estevão to make a sortie upon the enemy like that of the preceding siege, although at a different hour, this being granted, they sallied from the fortress at midday with great silence, and as soon as they thought that they might be discovered they rushed suddenly on the first position of the Dutch, invoking S. Thiago, so that they forced all to abandon the first trenches and withdraw to the main guard, where their General was: they followed them closely until the recall was sounded from the fortress: the spirit was remarkable of one of the twenty-five named Moraria, who seeing three Hollanders at a distance from their batteries between their intrenchments and the fortress, armed with pikes and wearing breastplates, shoulder pieces, and casques, attacked them, and with a lance killed two in sight of all who were on the wall, and the other who climbed the intrenchment he also treated very badly. Those who were engaged in the sortie seeing that the enemy was receiving succour, drew back, leaving thirty dead, and taking with them two flags, two boxes (of ammunition), fifteen muskets, breastplates, and pikes, all of which the enemy had left behind through sudden fear: the disorder and haste in which they left their posts was such that if our people had carried the necessary tools they might have spiked the artillery.

The next day a soldier of the enemy came running to our people, and on arriving at the foot of the wall shouted, saying he was a Catholic, they threw ropes to him with which they pulled him up, he said he was a Frenchman, and with much truthfulness, informed Dom Estevão of what was going on in the fleet, of their design, and how more than two hundred men had been killed; and that when they arrived they thought the fortress had been taken by the first fleet, as its General had promised in Holland, whose ill success they regretted very much, and that they were confident of being able to enter it: he also informed him of other matters which were convenient to know.

The same day the Dutch General sent to the Portuguese a trumpet with a letter, in which he said that by the beginning of that war it could be judged what the end of it would be: that he advised him to send in time some trustworthy persons who should treat for a favourable capitulation and agreement before they were all exposed to the fury of his soldiers. Dom Estevão replied that he had nothing to do with any arrangement except that which should be determined by arms; that he had already with them compelled Van Caerden to leave that island, and hoped to do the same with him.

A short time afterwards four soldiers of the enemy passed over to our people, saying they were Catholics: General Dom Estevão received them under the belief that they were so: but the Dutch (commander) was so much annoyed that soon with great diligence he sent to demand them, threatening that if they were not surrendered he would kill the Portuguese prisoners that he had taken in the ship before our people had set fire to her. Dom Estevão replied that he would not deliver the soldiers to him, as they had claimed his protection as being Catholics. But the impious Dutchman ordered six Portuguese to be separated from those he had with him, and their hands being tied, he ordered them to be shot in sight of the fortress.

The next day, which was the 17th of August of the year already mentioned, there appeared a galleon from Portugal which was on her way to India, and trying to cross the bar, the enemy captured her after much resistance, the number of her crew was one hundred and sixty persons, most of them ill, whom the Dutch General distributed among his ships, and told them to write to Captain Dom Estevão to give up the four who had gone over to

him, and if that were not done he would put them all to death. They did so, writing a letter in which they represented that they were in the last extremity, having been condemned to die. Dom Estevão, after he had read the letter, felt great compassion for the prisoners: but seeing that surrendering the Dutch would be contrary to his fidelity, if he decided to give up those who said they were Catholics: he came to the conclusion to risk the lives of so many Portuguese in order to preserve the four Dutchmen who might deceive him in what they said. With this answer the distressed prisoners were much alarmed, thinking that the rage of the Dutch General might fall on them: but taking no action to carry out the threatened vengeance, and satisfying himself with the menaces made, he raised the siege on the 19th of August, having first ordered the town and whatever there was on the island to be set on fire. And in the silence and darkness of the night he crossed the bar with the whole fleet. He left all the Portuguese that he had taken in the galleon and in the ship that our people had burned on the island Saint George in front: and directed his course to India.

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The Dutch account of these transactions is to be found in the work entitled *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie, vervatende de voornaemste Reyzen by de Inwoonderen derselver Provinciën derwaerts gedaen*. Two thick volumes printed in 1646.

## EXTRACTOS

DO LIVRO CHAMADO

## DO ESTADO DA INDIA.

*Segunda Parte deste Livro do Estado da India a qual Contem as plantas de todas as fortallezas q̃ ha desde o Cabo de Boa Esperanza athe Chaul Descripção de todas Ellas e de toda a Costa, Reis com quem confinaõ e tudo o mais que se pode Alcansar Rendimento e despeza de cada huma m<sup>to</sup> Pello Meudo.*

FEITA PELLO CAPITAÕ P<sup>o</sup> BARRETTO DE REZENDE.

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[From a Manuscript Volume in the Library of the British Museum. The author, Pedro Barreto de Rezende, was secretary to the viceroy, the count de Linhares, by whose instructions he performed the work. It was then submitted to Antonio Bocarro, chronicler and keeper of the archives of India, who revised it before it was sent to the king, Philip III of Portugal, in 1635. The book is illustrated with numerous plans, of which one is here given, reduced by photography.]

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Ho Estado da India Oriental comessa No Cabo de Boa Esperansa q̃ dista Pera a parte do Sul Em Altura de Trinta e quatro graos e Meo e fenesse na ponta da Enseada Do Nanquim Alem da China que dista pera a parte do Norte Em Altura de Trinta e quatro graos E nisto se Comprehende toda a Costa da Asia descuberta q̃ contem Incluziuam<sup>te</sup> conforme as Cartas de Marear mais sertas Tres mil Nouec<sup>tas</sup> e desaseis Legoas por Costa nam fazendo a medida Pellas Enseadas nem pellos Estreytos do Mar Roxo, e de Ormus; Nem pellos Rios que por toda esta Costa Vam entrar no mar: O qual em toda a dita Costa desde o Cabo de Boa Esperansa athe A Ponta do Nanquim fas Tres Entradas pella Terra dentro A modo de Arcos chamadas Enseadas. A primeyra Tem principio no Cabo de Boa Esperansa e fenesse no Cabo de Comorim Abaixo de Cochim. Esta Enseada com-

prehende Toda a Costa da Etiopia, Arabia, Persia, e A India. Porque a Costa de Etiopia comessa no Cabo de Boa Esperansa E Vay fenesser No Estreyto do Mar Roxo dentro Em Sues: Donde Volta a Costa da Arabia E Vay fenesser pello Estreyto de Ormus dentro Em Bassorá. Aonde tem prinsipio A Costa da Persia que vay fenesser No Rio Indo que passa pello Sinde e se Vay meter no Mar Na Enseada de Cambaya. Na boca Deste Rio comessa a Costa da India q̄ fenesse No Cabo de Comorin. A segunda enseada comessa No Cabo de Comorin E acaba no Rio fermoço Alem de Malaca. Nesta grande Enseada se Comprehede a Prouinsia de Charamandel q̄ Chamã Sam Thome, A prouincia de Bengalla, o Reyno de Tanasarij, o de Beguũ E outros, E o de Mallaqua. A Treseira Enseada se prinsipia no Rio fermoço E Vay acabar Na ponta do Nanquim da China, Na qual se Comprehede por Costa o Reyno de Siam, de Pam, de Bugor, Cochim China, Champa, Camboja, E o da China, e pellas Ilhos os Reynos da Java Mayor e Menor, o de Maluco, Macasar, E outros Muitos. A primeira Enseada do Cabo de Boa Esperansa athe o Cabo de Comorim Tem de Costa duas mil setenta E sinquo Legoa. A segunda do Cabo de Comorin athe o Rio fermoço Tem Noue centas quarenta e huma Legoa, a Treseira do Rio fermoço ate a ponta do Nanquim: Tem por Costa Noue c<sup>tas</sup> Legoa q̄ por todos saõ As sobreditos Tres mil noue c<sup>tas</sup> e desaseis Legoa E fazendo a Medida Entrando pella Costa dos Estreitos de Meca E Ormus Vê a ser toda a Costa da India Oriental de sinquo mil Cento Trinta e seis Legoa por q̄ ho Mar Roxo por ambas as costas de Etiopia e Arabia conforme as Cartas de Marear mais Verdadeiras Tem sete Centos Vinte e seis Legoa E o Estreito de Ormus ou Seno Persiaõ por ambas as costas da Arabia e Persia Tem quinhentos Legoa. Em Todas estas Costas da India do Cabo de Boa Esperansa athe a ponta do Nanquim Tem sua Mag<sup>de</sup> quarenta e oito fortallezas e sidades de q̄ he sör: e o grande imperio de Manamotapa e outras muitas Terras e ilhas de que tudo vam plantas neste Liuro estampadas ao Natural com descrições de tudo o que ha em todas e em cada huma dellas. E Muito pello Meudo a Reseita e despeza de cada huma das ditas fortallezas em q̄ se vee Claramente o que Rende e gasta Todo o dito Estado.

E Tambem vam estampadas algumas Ilhas e fortallezas q̄ Nam sam do estado: Mas Como Estam nas ditas Costas da India Me

pareseo pellos aqui som<sup>te</sup> por curiosidade posto q̄ Como nam pretendem ao Estado naõ lhe fis descripção nem ho Tempo me deu Lugar em quanto Estiue naquellas partes pera lhe procurar cõ outras occupasõis do seruisso de sua Mag<sup>de</sup>.

*Descripsam da fortalleza de Sofalla.*

A Primeira fortalleza que sua Mag<sup>de</sup> Tem No Estado da India Oriental Comesãdo do Cabo de Boa Esperansa E a fortalleza de Sofalla sita em Altura de Vinte e hũ graos escasos da Banda do Sul por hum Rio dentro de agoa salgada distansia de Mea Legoa piquena da boca do dito Rio pera a qual se entra por sima do Parsel tam Nomeado de Sofalla q̄ lansa Vinte legoas ao Mar de Largura: e de comprido se Estende ao longo da Costa Çem legoas: porq̄ toma desde as ilhas de Angoxa Athe o cabo da Bina; porem Junto a este Rio de Sofalla fas dous Canais da forma q̄ se pode ver da planta E cõ as brasas de fundo q̄ Nella estam apontadas E assi tambem continua pello Rio dentro de duas brassas sem nenhũs baixos depois de Entrar a Barra posto q̄ sempre os pillotos portugueses quanto la uã leuaõ Malemos q̄ sam pillotos da Terra e assi nam podem entrar nesse Rio naos grandes q̄ demandem mais fundo do q̄ Esta apontado. A costa dessa fortalleza de Sofalla das ilhas de Angoxa athe a do fogo corre a hoes sudueste e toma alguna couza para a quarta de hoeste os Ventos q̄ Cursam na dita Costa sam de abril por diante athe Outubro ouis e suestes; e de outubro athe Abril Leuantes q̄ Alli vem a ser nordestes: Entre estes ha outros particullarm<sup>te</sup> Entre Monsã E Monsã q̄ he em fim de Março e de Outubro porem nã sam ventos fertos nem gerais. As correntes das Agoas nesta Costa sam a maior parte do anno pera o Sul grandissimas e has vezes Tambem Correm pera o Norte cõ a mesma forsa principalm<sup>te</sup> Com hos Leuantes e assi de ordinario Vam cõtra o Vento q̄ E m<sup>to</sup> pera Notar. A fortalleza de Sofalla Em si E Couza piquena feita em quadro como se vee da planta com quatro Balluartes nos Cantos Toda E de pedra, e Cal. Cada Lanso de Muro Tem des Brassos de Comprido e sinquo de Altura, e sinquo palmos de grossó: nã tem parapeitos por q̄ lhe seruiam delles as Casas dos soldados q̄ estauã pella banda de dentro pegadas ao Muro q̄ de presente nã hã: como tambem nã ha soldados nem presidio Algum mais q̄ o Capitam em humas Casas de sobrado



piquenas junto ao Muro em Cusas Logess se podem agazalhar monisões e mantimentos, q̄ destes não hã nenhũs e monisões mui poucas porq̄ A Artilharia nã he mais q̄ Oito falcões Entre grandes e piquenos e hum Camollete de Metal q̄ Estam Repartidos pellos Balloartes. Os casados branquos q̄ Viuem em huma pouoasaõ Junto a fortaleza nam sam mais de tres, E dous outros mais q̄ Nam sam casados os quais tem algũs Cafres Catiuos gente de Armas q̄ Podeçam em alguma Ocasiaõ meterse na fortalleza a qual cõ A dita pouoassã como se vee da planta fica em huma jlheta de obra de quatro Çentas brassas em Roda, e de Mare chea a serca hum braso do Rio mas sempre cõ mui pouca Agoa e fundo e de Mare Vazia em seco: sô cõ huma Lamaseira da Agoa, o gasto q̄ esta fortaleza faz ha fazenda de Sua Mag<sup>de</sup> nã he oie nenhũ porq̄ posto q̄ Antigamente se pagauã na feitoria de Mosãbique ao Capitaõ desta fortalleza quatro c<sup>tos</sup> e des Cruzados de Ordenado o Conde de Linhares Vizo rei do Estado sabendo q̄ o dito Ordenado se pagaua quando os Rios Corriam por contrato ordenou q̄ o Capitam de Mosambique q̄ hos traia Arrendados paga se de sua faz<sup>da</sup> ho dito ordenado pois punha na dita fortaleza Capitã de sua Mã e lhe Vendia os prois e precalços della por q<sup>tro</sup> c<sup>tos</sup> Cruzados dandolhe porem doze bares de Liberdade: hum Cayxa de hum Bar e muita CogomCada e Embarcasã pera chegar isto la Christandade nenhuma tem os nas terras de Sofalla: ou ao menos de pouca cõsiderassã porq̄ os mais dos Cafres sam gente barbaro Natural m<sup>to</sup> cruel e pouco dados ao Culto diuino: e so os q̄ sam Nossos Catiuos se fasem Christaõs por esse Resp<sup>to</sup> durando lhe a Christandade em quanto lhe dura o Catiueiro, sendo q̄ nã Repugnam muito a Nossa sancta fee Catolica, Nem ho Rei da terra Tolhe que se bautise quem quiser, E assis auendo Cultivadores desta Vinha nã deixara de ir Cresendo m<sup>to</sup> Se forê desinteressados, os frades de sam d<sup>os</sup> sam os q̄ Asistem por Esta Costa e hum he Vig<sup>ro</sup> da igreja q̄ esta dentro na fortaleza de Sofalla o qual nam deixa de procurar a Conuersã dos Naturais cõ segindo a de algũs mas p<sup>o</sup> Tem largas Terras justo e q̄ Ouuera m<sup>tos</sup> pregadores. O trato da terra he setenta legoas da fortalleza e as fasendas q̄ ha nella nã sã outras mais que marfim q̄ Ordinariam<sup>to</sup> se Resgataõ por panos pretos e branquos, Canequĩs, e Teados como se fas por Toda esta Costa dos Cafres que por panos se Compra Tudo: como tambem ho mantimento; e em Tempo de Pas nã deixa de ser em muita abundancia e barato q̄ he Arros, Milho e

Carnes de toda sorte. O Rei do Conca de Sofalla se chama o Qui Teue Cafre q̄ nem he mouro nem Christam e pera o nomear por gentio nã se pode disêr q̄ lei professa porq̄ nã se sabe de nenhuma foi sogeito ao Emperador de manamotapa mas como esteue a Nossa sombra lhe veo quasi a negar a obediensia hoje he sobre si amigo dos portuguezes e quando nam anda a terra desenquieta cõ algumas gerras andamos pellas suas cõ toda segurinsa porq̄ com nosquo Raram<sup>te</sup> tẽ nem quer ter gerra o poder q̄ tẽ he de des athe doze mil Cafres q̄ nã sã tã nomeados por Valentes como algũs otros daquellas partes: As Armas de q̄ uzã sã Arcos e frechos e Azagaias e tem notauel medo has Espingardas nã tẽ este Rei comoniçã cõ outra nasa mais q̄ a hos Portuguezes nem ategora se sabe q̄ outra de Europa toma se falla em suas terras Resgatas por estas costas m<sup>to</sup> ambar por mui baixo preso da mãõ dos Cafres mas nã em parage sertã, o yntêto cõ que se fes e sustêta esta fortaleza he pera sustêtar o Comersio de toda esta Costa e Rios de Cuama q̄ como seia de ouro, marfim e Ambar e esperãsas de minas de prata pede a importãsia destas Costas e das largas terras de q̄ hos portuguezes por estas Costas senhoreã o trato q̄ he athe ho Cabo de boa Esperansa q̄ se procure euitar nã entre nasõis estrãg<sup>os</sup> nelle prouêdose esta fortaleza como cõue porq̄ as terras della p<sup>o</sup> o Cabo sã tã Estendidas e Ricas de ouro e Marfim q̄ A todos os Portugueses da India e do Reino e de outras nasõis da ao Comersio as grandes ganhos porem como o Capitã de Mocãbique Tẽ estanque o trato pella pensã q̄ paga a sua Mag<sup>de</sup> o fas elle soo cõ hum pataxo deixando de Conseguirẽ m<sup>tos</sup> os intereses q̄ tambem puderã ter delle. E he nesario cõsiderarse m<sup>to</sup> bem isto es<sup>que</sup> se nam podem sustentar os Rios cõ m<sup>tos</sup> Mercadores porq̄ Val a Roupa m<sup>to</sup> barata.

#### *Rios de Cuama.*

O Porto de quellimane he o primeiro por onde se entra pera hos Rios de Cuama. A Barra do qual esta de Mossambique pella Costa abaixo distansia de Cem legoas q̄ he hum brasso por onde desemboca e sae ao Mar o Rio Zembeze ho mais piqueno de dous com q̄ entra nelle porq̄ o maior Brasso q̄ he a Madre do dito Rio sae desoyto legoas abaixo desta Barra pera o sul e lhe Chamão A Barra de Luabo pella ilha deste nome q̄ lhe fica no meyo, por huma e houtra se entra pera hos Rios de Cuama pera onde se parte de Mosambique em duas Monsões huma em oũbro

e a outra Em Março. Tem a Barra de Quillimane a entrada por meyo de hum Banco q̃ A atravessa E Vay correndo a Costa como Parsel: Cuia boca sera de seis brassas de largura: ho menor fundo q̃ tem de Baixa mar he de Catorse palmos pera sima e em mare cheia he de tres brassas e hainda mais: nam tem outra balleza q̃ se va de mandar mais q̃ ir por donde arrebenta Menos o mar. E assi entrando por aqui os nossos Nauios de athe mil Candis de Cargoa que sam os Em que se fasem Estas Viageis, Vam sobindo pello Rio asima que sera de hum tiro De pessa Caminho de quatro legoas athe hum forte q̃ em lingoa da terra se chama chuambo q̃ Temos feito nas terras da Banda da mã direita q̃ são as do Baroro cõ des ou doze casas de palha ao longo do Rio onde Vivem Entre outros Christaõs quatro portugueses E o Capitam q̃ he posto pello Capitam de Mosambique. He ho dito forte feito de Estacada de paos grossos e fortes cõ huma Caua por fora foi feito so pera se poder brigar de dentro Cubertos E assi tem seus balluartes do mesmo q̃ tinda q̃ Athe gora nam tinhão Artilharia comtudo com hos mosquetes se defendiam bastantemente, e no auno de seis Centos trinta e tres entrando nos ditos Rios Joam da Costa cõ huma Carauella em q̃ veio do Reyno a traser hũs mineitos E a outros particulares deixai no forte de Quillimane seis pessas de Artilharia de sinquo athe seis libros de Callibre de ferro. Tem este forte em circuito sesenta brassos, nam esta nelle presidio nenhum de paga se nam soo quando ha Nouas de gerra, se meten dentro hos Cazados com os Cafres q̃ tem Catiuos E os mais q̃ se lhe podem ajuntar dos Vassallos de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> das Terras Vesinhas e se defendem athe auisarem ao Capitam de Mosambique. As gerras q̃ Oje se tem he so cõ ho Mozura e sua gente serue este forte de senho-rear As terras vesinhas q̃ sam de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> pella fralda do Mar vinte legoas de Costa pera o Norte athe licungo e Casungo q̃ he ho Rio dos boñs sinais Em q̃ Vasco da Gama entrou com a sua Armada, e des legoas pella Terra dentro e pello Rio asima sinquo athe Mocabone Onde esta hum xeque Mouro Em Terras de Muito arros: de que não deixa de Pesar ao Mozura disendo q̃ como Estas Terras Estam do banda do Bororo, sam suas e lhe pertensem As mais dellas Comem os mesmos Cafres q̃ nellas Moram tirandos as Vesinhas ao forte q̃ estam dadas aos portugueses de Quillimane: Tambem outros q̃ lhe obedessem e pagam lo q̃ Pagauã a seus Sõres q̃ na lengoa da Terra chamã fumos, do

Restante das ditas terras nos Contentamos so Com a obediensia que dam ao dito forte, E de Virem quando os chamaõ pera qualquer oCasiam e termos o trato e comersio dellas.

A ilha de Luabo em que atras fallamos e fas ilha ho mesmo Rio Zembeze deuedendo se em doas distansia de trinta legoas do Mar Onde se vem desembarcar, Vindo ho braso menor pella Banda de Quillimane que fas a barra q̄ temos dito; E o outro maior pera a outra banda q̄ fas a Barra de Luabo deixando a ilha no meio: E de huma barra a outra ha distansia de desoito legoas que sam as q̄ tem de Costa de mar a ditta ilha ficando em hum Triangullo: porq̄ donde o Rio se comessa a partar e faser a dita ilha athe a barra, Assi pella banda do Baroro, como da Outra banda q̄ chama da Botonga, ha distansia de trinta legoas de Cada parte; e desoito legoas de Costa com que fica ho dito Triangullo Tendo setenta hoito de circuito: Esta ilha he sogeita A sua Mag<sup>de</sup>: he por Estam fertil de todo ho mantimento e com m<sup>ta</sup> Madeira de que se podem faser Embarcações piquenas como sam Almadias e pangaaios. Esta Abitada q̄ Alem de algũs mouros mercadores Tem muitos Cafres de pelleia sogeitos a sua Mg<sup>de</sup> q̄ Cada ves q̄ são Chamados dandose alguma Roupa so Aos Cabessas q̄ baste para se Vestirem E aos Capitais e a algũs filhos seus Vam a gerra O ua faser o q̄ lhes mandão Todo ho tempo de huma gerra que ordinariamente nam passa de seis meses porq̄ em chegando ho Tempo de Colher em suas sementeiras se lhe não derem lisensa se haõ de ir sem ella: E nam se lhes da Outro mantim<sup>to</sup>, Vestido, nem arma, ou cousa alguma, e he m<sup>to</sup> pera notar o pouco q̄ Cada hum destes soldados Cafres leua Comsigo nem avya Mister porq̄ ho Vestido nã he nenhum: E quando leua m<sup>to</sup> nam Passa de hum pano com que se singe: E quando não hum encacho de pelles de animais q̄ lhe cobre somente o mesmo. As Armas cada hum leua as suas q̄ sam Arcos, fchas, e Azagaias e nunqua as largam: E algũs tambem com Rodellas com que fasem Trincheiros muitas vezes que defendem ho Arraial: porq̄ As nam passa Azagaia, nem frecha: O comer não he mais q̄ tudo o q̄ Matam; desde ho mais piqueno animal athe o maior. Ou seiam Tambem homẽs molheres ou meninos de sorte q̄ de qualquer genero destes que primeiro Matam fasem matallotagem athe chegar a matar Outro: Estes q̄ Comem gente Vmana sam só os Baroros q̄ he a mayor parte dos Com que nos seruimos e grandes homẽs de gerra por Cuio Respeito he a nossa gente mui temida

dos Botongas ; E Mocrangas porq̃ Como estes nam comem gente nem Carne Vmana, Temem muito os outros particularmente Vendo lhe trazer has Costas, ou do modo q̃ melhor se acomodam os Mortos pera sua Matallotagem : sem se lhe dar que apõdressam porq̃ Assi os Comem melhor sem lhe fazer em mais q̃ Assallos mal ; que parese q̃ impremio o Crueldade e Barbaridade nestes Negros, Toda a desvmanidade e bruteza : sendo q̃ Poco ate a parte Dam Razam como quem Tem conhessimento do bem e do mal. Está Esta ilha de Luabo Repartida Por fumos que assi se chamão os senhores na sua lingoa A quem os Capitães de Mosambique Entregam As terras pera as Cultiuarem, e gouernarem a gente mas como Ella he Tam pouco dada ao grangeamento o nam fasem mais que pera seu sustento por onde o Rendimento he Mui pouquo ; E nam deixara de ser m<sup>to</sup> se ouuera quem as Cultiuara como ja Rendem Aos padres da Companhia hũas terras q̃ tem nesta ilha. Esta pegada cõ Esta ilha de Luabo, Outra q̃ chamã Maindo de quinze legoas deuedida só por hum Rio que as aparta q̃ Como fas Corpo da mesma de Luabo nam se pode particularisar descriptsam Por q̃ he abitada da mesma gente e cõ as mesmas condisões q̃ A outra e se ouuera portugueses q̃ Abitaram Esta ilha por si e com a gente della ser de Muita Considerassã nesta paragem Pera seguransa dos Rios de Cuama porq̃ Manda sua Mag<sup>de</sup> se fassa hum forte nella parese que para Este intento : Viuem nesta ilha de Luabo Muitos Mouros os quais se tem Mostrado grandemente fieis aos Portugueses pella ajuda que deram ao gouernador fran<sup>co</sup> Barretto e sam oje os que fasem mais Cultiuassaõ e Trato nella leuando a Senna Mantimento, Cocos, Vinagre e Cairo das terras q̃ lhe forã dados pella dita Aiuda e ate gora Nunca Desmeresseraõ : Os pataxos q̃ Vam pella Barra de quillimane p<sup>a</sup> os Rios de Cuama, ficam No dito forte E Ali desembarcam As fazendas todas, E as leuaõ Em Embarcasõis piquenas q̃ chamão Almadias ate Senna q̃ esta sesenta legoas da barra pello Rio Asima da Banda de Botonga q̃ he da mã Esquerda quando Vam pera sima Cuias Terras Todas sam Nossas da dita banda nam só pella fralda do Rio ; mas trinta e quarêta legoas pella Terra dentro ; E mais da Cento e Vinte legoas de Comprimento desde a boca da Barra de Quillimane pello Rio Asima, As quais Terras sam dadas Todas a Portugueses, e huas sogeitas ao Capitam de Sena E outras Ao Capitam de Tete e posto q̃ seiam Tam largas e estendidas com todo ho

Rendimento he pouco Assy pellas Rezoês apontadas, como porq̃ nos não sam de todo obediente.

*Descripçam de Senna.*

He Senna huma Pouoassão de Portugueses sitta ao longo do Rio Zembeze sesenta legoas do Mar pella Terra dentro: A qual tera Trinta Cazados Branquos q̃ todos tem suas Espingardas ha mayor parte delles m<sup>tos</sup> Cafres Catiuos, hūs a quarenta, outros a sinq<sup>ta</sup> houtros A Cento e todas sam mui boa gente de Armas. As Cazas desta pouoassam todos sam de paredesde Taipas Cubertos de palha: e só duas sam Cubertas de Telha: nam ha nella nemhum forte porq̃ hum q̃ Antigamente Aúia se desfes e Nunqua mais se tornou A Ereguer ho qual tinha oito falcõis q̃ Pera a gente da Terra era conta m<sup>to</sup> bastante: os falcõis estam na feitoria do Capitam de Mosambique botados no cham A qual feytoria he a prinsipal Casa desta pouoassã Cuberta de Telha; os falcõis nam tem Repoias nem os aparelhos nessessarios pera se poderem valler delles. O Capitam desta pouoassão de Senna he elleito pello Capitam de Mosambique, nã tem oje nenhūs ordenados da fasenda Real porq̃ ho Conde de Linhares Vizorrei mandou se não pagassem mais os q̃ athe o tempo de seu governo se pagarão por cõta da fazenda de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> disendo que pois os Rios não Corriam por conta do dito Sõr se não por Conta do Capitam de Mosambique q̃ hos trazia Arrendados q̃ elle deuia pagar os ordenados Ao Capitam de Senna; Como tambem os de Sofalla e mais fortes dos Rios. Este Capitam de Senna serue Tambem de juis e as sentensas q̃ Da Vam por Apellassã Ao Ouuidor de Mossambique como Tambem Vam as do Capitã de Sofalla q̃ juntam<sup>te</sup> serue de juis. Esta nesta pouoassã de Sena hua igreja chamada a fee da inuocassam de Nossa Snõra da Asumpsã, E Outra igreja chamada Sam paulo dos padres da Companhia, e outra de sam domingos com frades desta Ordem, E outra chamada a Misericordia onde assiste hum Clerigo. Nesta pouoassam de Senna Tem ho Capitam de Mosambique A feitoria com todas suas Roupas q̃ Vende aos Vassallos de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> E mais Cristaõs q̃ as Vam levar pella Terra dentro a Vender Aos Cafres A Troquo de Marfim E ouro q̃ sam as fazendas q̃ hã por todos os Rios. A jurisdissam desta Capitania de Senna, he desde a barra de Luabo athe hum Rio q̃ esta de Sena pera sima sinquoenta legoas chamado o Rio de

Aroinha, Onde Comessa a jurisdissam de Tete. Auera Em Toda esta de Sena Trinta mil Cafres de Armas, Vassallos de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> obrigados a acodirem ho Capitam os Chamando; E assi ficam sendo Cento e des legoas a jurisdissã de Senna E em partes tem quarenta de largo Tudo Terras de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> dadas a Portugueses como Temos dito pera Terem ho Rendimento dellas: e Com serem fertillissimas de Tudo Rendem mui ponco pella Rezam Referida e juntam<sup>te</sup> por Nos serem Estes Negros tirados os da fralda do Mar, Aleuantados os mais delles pella Terra dentro, porq̃ como os temos muitas vezes Castigados na gerra Nos Estam sempre com Odio: Mas As terras por onde he Costume passar indo Conformam has pazes E Consertos q̃ temos feitos com elles sam mui seguras porem quando queremos ir por partes nouas ou fazer ho q̃ nam Esta nos Consertos defendem no athe morrer: Nem se tem athe guora Achado nas terras de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> nenhuma mina de ouro, nem de Prata, E soo no presente Anno de 634, des que se achou q̃ As Terras de Maccarana: q̃ Estam Distansia de hum Tiro de Pessa de Senna, sam Minas de prata de q̃ foram pedras A sua Mag<sup>de</sup> que se tirarã dellas E a experiencia Mostrara a Verdade. Confinã Estas Terras de Senna q̃ chamã de Botonga com hum Rei Cafre chamado Machone e o seu Reino Baro O qual Esta Em pas cõ hos portugueses E por consertos q̃ se tem feito com elle lhe pagamos dos Motoros, q̃ sam os fardos de Roupa q̃ leuamos por suas terras, sertos panos q̃ elle Tambem por Cortesia paga em Vacas E oje pellas Vitorias q̃ temos Alcansado do Chicanga seu Vesinho Rei de Manica lhe damos muito menos do q̃ Antigamente lhe dauamos e elle se contenta sã cõ ho q̃ lhe queremos dar e sempre nos paga como fica dito o q̃ Ressebe por Nos ter os Caminhos franquos e seguros como em effeito Tem. No Seu Reino nã ha mais q̃ As Ditas Vacas, e Algumas Machilas q̃ sam hũs panos de Algodam de q̃ tratamos adiante e Muito ferro de q̃ fazem Enxadas q̃ he a moeda mais piquena: Por esta Reino do Baro passamos para ho de Manica q̃ esta de Senna Sesenta legoas pella Terra dentro Cuio Rei q̃ chamã ho Chicanga matarã hos Portugueses por se levantar cõtra elles e quebrar as pases q̃ tinha feito: E assi leuantara Outro seu irmã q̃ se fes Christã, e Vassallo de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> cõ obrigassã de pagar Tres pastos De Botonga Ao forte de Sena Cada anno: E cõ obrigassam de lhe pagarem de Cada Mоторo hũ pano, Alem de ser Sogeito ao Monamotapa q̃ tambem ho he de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> ficando mais acresen-

tado Este Reino o sua Real Coroa no principio do governo do Conde De Linhares Visorrei deste Estado pella gerra q̄ lhe Mandou faser Dom Nuno Alvares pireira Capitam de Mosambique: Neste Reino de Manica Tem hos portugueses hum forte de Taipa chamado Chipangura de duas brasas de Altura com suas feteiras feito Em forma Redonda com obra de Cem brasas de circuito Onde se Recolhem couza de Vinte e sinquo Cazados Entre portugueses e Algũs pretos q̄ nelle Moram Christaõs; e a q̄ tambem se Recolhem os portugueses e Mais Cristaõs Vasalos de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> que pello Reino andam fazendo tratos pella grande Copia de Ouro q̄ hã nelle. E junto deste forte de Chipangura ha mina Onde se caua e Tira Ouro. Tem Alem deste Outra forte ou Chuambo Neste Reino da Manica em hum lugar chamado Mutuca Onde Tambem ha mina de Ouro, por Cuia Cauza se fes ali este forte q̄ he de Taipa Como ho de Chipangura e so nam Tem tantos Cazados q̄ nelle Asistam: porem Nunqua Esta sem portugueses Dos que passam e Vam Ali Contratar. Este forte fes hum joão da Costa Cazado; por onde Asiste nelle Como Cousa sua: E assi ho Capitam de Mosambique não lhe poem ainda outro Capitam, fasse Outra feira Neste Reino da Manica particullarmente aos portugueses, e Christaõs de Sofalla Em Outra paragem q̄ chamão Bumba onde Tambem ha Mina de Ouro porem sem forte nenhum Como nas duas Referidas ho que se pode Afirmar Com Verdade deste Reino da Manica he ser fertellissimo de todo o genero de Mantimentos, e nam menos de Ares mui sallutiferos, Tanto para Estimar Tendo Tantas Minas de Ouro de sorte que a quantos portugueses Vierem nelle Morar podera faser Ricos, sustentar e Conseruar com mais saude q̄ As Nossas Terras de Sena, q̄ Alem de nam terem Em si ouro, sam mui doentias, E inda mais q̄ Mosambique E assi Morrem por ellas Muitos portuguezes.

A Christandade q̄ temos neste Reino de Manica he mui larga Assi de Cafres Nossos Catiuos q̄ sam os que logo se fasem Christaõs como dos mais ainda q̄ seia Senhores: porq̄ hos Cafres não tem ley nenhuma e quando Muito nomea a Deos com A boca porem nas obras nenhum sinal da de saber q̄ Couza he Deos Antes o seu ordenariõ falar he dizer q̄ A sua barriga he seu Deos. E assi depois de Christaõs ha mister Muito pera os Meter a Caminho de ho serem Como Conuem no q̄ trabalham hos frades de Sam Domingos que sam hos q̄ tem a Cargo a Conuersão deste gentelldade dos Rios De Cuama pera o q̄ tem huma igreja no dito forte



de Chipangura E duas mais no Reino da Manica: q̄ ho Rei nam tolhe nem se lhe da que se fossa Christão quem quiser por Onde quanto mais obriros Andarem nesta Vinha mais Cultiuasã farã nella.

*Descripçam de Tete.*

De Senna a Tete sam sesenta legoas Caminhando pello Rio Zembeze asima Tudo por Terras sugeitas a sua Mag<sup>de</sup> Tete he huã pouoassaõ de Portugueses sitta nas Terras do Reino do Mocranga Ao longo do dito Rio Zambeze: q̄ tera ate Vinte Cazados Branquos e Com hos pretos mestissos sera athe trinta Espingardas afora hos Cafres Catiuos q̄ temos Casados que sam m<sup>tos</sup> e todos mui boa gente de Armas: Esta pouoasã Esta cercada toda ha Roda com hum Muro de huã brassa e hũ quarto de Altura Aonde Estam seis Balluartes com Algũs falcõis E meois falcõis q̄ nenhum pessa de Oito lybres mas ho prinsipal fundamento q̄ Aqui se fas he nas Espingardas q̄ cada hum Tem mui prestes, porq̄ Como de ordinario assi hos Moradores desta pouoasã Como Todos os portugueses q̄ Andam por Estes Rios andam pellas Terras dos Cafres fazendo seus tratos, e nellas susede muitas Vezes auera leuantam<sup>tos</sup> nã tem Cada hũ Milhor acolheita q̄ A sua Espingarda com que se fasem fortes em algum lugar; onde Ouue ja de defenderense muito poucos portuguezes de grandes Exersitos de Cafres Athe poderem ser socorridos. Tem esta pouoassã de Thete Capitam q̄ ho de Mosambique ellege: o qual nam tem nenhũs Ordenados da fazenda de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> Mais q̄ Algumas liberdades q̄ lhe da o Capitam de Mosambique: como tambem dã Ao Capitam de sena, e ao de Sofalla, Em quanto Tras hos Rios Arrendados, como Atras dizemos, serue juntamente o Capitam de Tete de juis: ho distrito de sua jurisdissam he desde ho Rio de Aroenha de q̄ atras fallamos, Onde se acaba o jurisdessam do Sena, athe o fim das Nossas Terras q̄ he des legoas adiante de Tete pello Rio Asima: Auera nella oito mil Cafres Vassallos de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> que sam obrigados a acodir aonde e quando o Capitam os chamar Todos gente de Armas frechas e Azagaias. E a Capitania desta pouoassã de Tete he Tam Cobisada dos Cazados della q̄ sam os de q̄ Ordinariamente se ellege: que fazem por ella seus Emprastimos ao Capitã De Mossambique. Estas Terras de Thete Tambem estã Repartidas como as de Sena. Por portuguezes huãs por datados Capitãis de Mosambique: E

outras por Merce De sua Mag<sup>de</sup> Mas todas de muito pouco Rendi-  
m<sup>to</sup> segundo sua grandeza, os fortes que Temos pellas terras dentro  
o primeiro he ho de Maiouao Nas terras de Botonga Des legoas  
de Terra a borda do Rio do mesmo nome aonde se acabam as  
Nossas Terras e dizem os praticos dellas q̄ se este forte, ou  
chuambo se puzer em Inhamigare meio dia de Caminho da outra  
banda do Maiouao; se nã fechara por mais gerra q̄ Aia o Caminho  
deste forte pera ho de Luanze q̄ he outro forte q̄ temos mais  
adiante quarenta legoas de Tete, porem Antes Rezam dos fortes  
q̄ temos pellas terras do Manamotapa sera justo q̄ A demos da  
firma da pas e da gerra q̄ temos Com Elle e algũa couza de seu  
Reino.

O imperio de Manamotapa se chamã A Mocranga, afora os  
Rios q̄ lhe Eram e sam sogeitos; he mui Estendido porq̄ comessa  
pella banda de leste oitenta legoas da Costa e Vai correndo em  
cõprimimento desde o Rio Zembeze pera ho sul athe o Reino de  
Butua, e pera a banda de oeste nam temos ainda alcansado Cuejos  
sam hos Reinos Com quem Confina, sendo pera Esta banda mui  
estendido E Com Terras de grandes minas e dizem algũs q̄ estã  
aqui as de prata. Os Reinos q̄ serã sogeitos A Este imperio sam  
ho Quiteve q̄ confina Com Sofalla de q̄ ja tratamos, ho de Manica:  
o do Baro; E o de botonga q̄ he todo de fumos q̄ sam senhores,  
O Reino de Maungo: ho de Bire, E o de Boaca. A firma da Pas  
q̄ tinhamos cõ ho Imperador de Manamotapa Era q̄ por huã  
Curua q̄ he ho mesmo que presente: a que tambem por outro  
Nome chamã Boca q̄ lhe daua Todos os annos o Capitam de  
Mosambique q̄ sempre importaria quinze Ou desaseis Mil  
cruzados Tinha ho Dito Imperador franquas Todas suas Terras  
pera tratarem nellas os portugueses, e Venderem e Comprarem  
todo ho ouro e Marfim q̄ nellas Ouuesse: E costumaram hos  
Capitãis de Mosambique A mandar lhe logo em chegando ho  
primeiro presente a que chamã Bocã: cõ ho q̄ ho Imperador  
mandaua seus Embaixadores ao Capitam e lhe mandaua a Curua  
fazendo m<sup>tos</sup> gastos com elles, sendo Todos Estes presentes de  
Muitas pessas Ricas sedas e panos de toda sorte q̄ importauã a  
dita cõtia: Na Era de mil seis centos Vente E sete jndo Dom  
Nuno Alures pireira per Capitã de Mosambique lhe mandou Esta  
Curua por jeronimo de Barros portugues Cazado Em Tete fazendo  
o off<sup>o</sup> de Embaixador: porem ho Imperador chamado inhambo  
Prim<sup>o</sup> q em lingoa da Terra quer diser ninguem pergunte quem

mandou fazer isto: E depois lhe puzera hos Cafres outro Nome chamado Caprasine que quer diser Rei q̄ foge sem Cauza alguma mais q̄ de sua Maldade; Mandou matar ao dito jeronimo de Barros E a todos hos q̄ hiã com elle E dar Empata q̄ he Como pregam q̄ matassem Todos os portuguezes q̄ andassem por suas Terras e lhe Tomassem quanto Tinhã. Estaua neste Tempo na Corte deste Emperador hum Andre ferreira Capitam de hum forte chamado Massapa E tambem se nomeaua Capitam Das portas porq̄ tenha obrigassam de ir tratar a ho Emperador Todas as Couzas q̄ Ouuesse entre elle e os portuguezes: o qual sabindo a Morte do Embayxador se fechou cõ hos seus negros nas Cazas onde pouzaua; E Mandando o Chamar ho Emperador nam quis jr e se defendeo ate noyte: na q̄ual quasi por Millagre sobreueio huma tromenta de Chuua mui grande Com que se pode sair sem ser sentido e se pos a Caminho Com Toda a pressa amanhesendo No seu forte donde mandou Recado a todos os portuguezes q̄ Andauã deuedidos pella Mocronga q̄ se Recolhessem Aos fortes das feiras q̄ Nella Tinhamos e se fortificassem E aparelhassem pera se defender como Em effeito fizerã, e depois nem com ho Emperador Vir sobre Massapa Aonde Andre ferreira Estaua com sete portuguezes ho pode auer, nem a nenhum Dos Outros fortes athe lhe foi socorro de gente Nossa e lhe derã muitas batalhas com q̄ ho desbarataraõ E Venseram em todos: Leuando os Nossos por Emperador de Manamotapa A hum irmã do dito Caprasine Christaõ q̄ hos frades de sam domingos Conuerterã E bautizarã Chamando lhe dom phellippe Mauura q̄ diante se chamaua assi como ainda nomeã Algũs dos seus: o qual se sogeitou e fes Vassallo de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> com todo seu imperio prometendo de lhe pagar todos os annos de Vassallagem Tres pastas de Botonga, pellos quais lhe mandaria o Capitam de Mossambique hum presente: O Emperador despoiado nam deixou de fazer seus mouimentos de guerra Em q̄ tiuemos a Elle varios susessos hũs de perda E outros de ganho: porem ho jrmã Esta quasi obedessido: E este grande imperio com todos os Reinos q̄ lhe sam sogeitos Acquerido Com justissimo Titollo ha Coroa de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> No governo e Tempo do Conde de Linhares Vizorrei: E assi conforme A importancia de Tam Largas terras e Cheas de tantas Minas de Ouro E outros metais he nessessario Extinguir dellas este enemigo Caprasine; q̄ inda q̄ todos dizem q̄ he ja morto: com tudo o seu Exersito nam deixa de Andar Em pee cõ

elle ou com hum seu irmã Chamado Dom Domingos q̄ hos frades desta Ordem Bautizarã o qual em huma Rota q̄ tiuemos se passou pera seu irmã Caprasine Porem sam estes Cafres Mocrangas tam amigos de seus Ritos nã de Relligiã que nenhuma Tem, se nam do governo seuil q̄ sobre isso perderam Muitas Vidas quando os nam puderem defender: sendo juntam<sup>to</sup> hos mais obedientes a seus Reis e senhores q̄ se sabe de Nassam Outra alguma de Maneira q̄ ho segredo q̄ lhe mandã guardar: ainda q̄ seia Couza muy publica nenhum ha q̄ ho diga: Como bem se ve nas minas de prata q̄ Auendo as neste imperio Nam Ouue Cafre q̄ athe guora nos descobrisse aonde Estam, andando nos Tam metidos Com elles: E finalmente de Toda esta Costa da Cafraria athe Cabo de Boa Esperansa he este Emperador de Manamotapa o senhor: E tam Reuerensiado de todos os Cafres q̄ Cuidam q̄ Elle lhes da o sol: Costuma Este Emperador a por hum Capitam gêral q̄ he a segunda pessoa abaixo delle a que chamã Macomoana nas terras de Botonga Em hũ lugar chamado Condessacã Onde he mui nessesario Termos hum forte: porq̄ Como os negros das ditas Terras, Como atras Referimos, Estam Mui Ressentidos dos Castigos q̄ lhe Temos dado com q̄ Andaram ja publicamente Aiudando ao Caprasine Em suas gerras seruira ho dito forte De termos sempre por nos a o dito Macomoana porq̄ abaixo da pessoa do Emperador a este Obedessem Todos, e seguem seus mandados o qual he ordinariamente Botonga de Nassaõ: o forte de Luanze em q̄ atras tocamos Onde os portuguezes fasem feira Esta Nas terras de Mocranga quarenta legoas de Tete, nã he mais q̄ huma Tranq<sup>ra</sup> De paos Entulhada por dentro Com Terra com q̄ ficam os de dentro podendo brigar Cubertos; E os paos sam de Callidade q̄ depois de metidos na Terra a dous E tres meses prendem e ficam sendo Aruore do q̄ dura muitos annos: O tamanho deste forte per dentro e como De hum grande Terresa de Cem brassas de Roda Onde assiste o Capitam q̄ he elleito pello de Mosambique; e com elle os portuguezes e Christaõs q̄ se acham cõ tratando naquellas partes, nam Tem nenhum Ordenado o Capitam do forte, nem percalso mais que poder vender sua fazenda primeiro; E Como he mercador sempre lhe importa m<sup>to</sup>: As armas com q̄ se defendem sam Espingardas dos mesmos Christaõs mercadores, ho mesmo Capitã De Mosambique lhe da poluora e pillouros pera ellas: Tem este forte hua igreja em q̄ Asiste hum frade de sam domingos q̄ serue de admenistrar os sacramentos Aos Christaõs que passã E

estã nelle : e de Conuerter os Cafres que quizerem porq̃ nam hã impedimento Algum para lhe pregarem, e pouquo da sua parte para Ouuiem e Reseberem ho q̃ lhe pregam : porem he sempre Com m<sup>ta</sup> Repunansia ao Respeito de nam auer De ter mais q̃ hua so molher : porq̃ sam Costumados a terem Muitas e leuam Mui mal os Rigores com q̃ defendemos isto. Esta logo pella Mocranga adiante o forte de Ambarare aonde se fas feira : E Nesta parte Cauã E hã minas de Ouro : O qual forte E na forma do de Luanze : e se defende cõ ho mesmo ; e se fes e sustenta pera ho proprio effeito, Tem Alem destes Referidos outra forte Nas terras da Mocranga chamado o forte de Massapa ; Onde Rezediã como atras fica dito, o Capitam das portas Oje esta feito de Taipa Com suas seteiras na forma q̃ Cada qual dos outros : E se conserua e sustenta com hos portuguezes e mercadores q̃ Andam pellas Terras fazendo seus Tratos. Tem mais os portuguezes nesta Mocranga outro forte chamado Matafana, Onde tambem ha minas de Ouro ho qual he feito como os mais Com paos : e Tem dentro huma igreja a q̃ admenistrã hos frades de sam Domingos. Tem Alem destes nestas Terras Outro forte, e feira chamado Chipiriuri Onde tambẽ se Caua ouro, he feito Na forma dos mais : nam Esta nelle mais q̃ hum portugues, ou dous com Algũs filhos da Terra, Cuio Capitam como o de todos os Outros Ellege o de Mosambique sem por esso lhe dar algum Ordenado nem percalso mais q̃ os Referidos e nã sã se defendem Assi : mas tambem se ajudam e socorrem hũs aos Outros Em Todas suas Nessessidades e gerras : O Ultimo e mais importante forte q̃ tinhamos Nesta Mocranga Era hum q̃ Mandou faser Dom Nuno Aluares pireira Na Mesma Corte do Emperador Dom phellippe Mavura quando logo cõ leuantarã por Emperador pondo lhe trinta soldados portuguezes Todos Muito bons Espingardeiros com seu Capitam q̃ como depois ho largarã largando tambem ho Emperador sua Corte pondo primeiro o fogo a todas as Couzas della : porque assi foi nessessario ; naõ ha Oje paragem certa aonde Esteia se nam Andarem os trinta soldados acompanhando o Emperador em Todas suas gerras aonde as temos e sustentamos Nestas terras com poder tam avengeiado aos poucos Portuguezes q̃ nellas hã : hoje mui diferente do q̃ Antigamente porq̃ hos gerreamos a hos mesmos Cafres com q̃ elles nos gerreauã : E he muito pera notar q̃ estes nossos Catiuos Ou vassallos q̃ brigam por nos Nunqua athe oje se achou nelles traisam senam brigarem Contra os Cafres Como elles

com todo Esforso e fidelidade: Nem he menos pera estimar q̄ Todo ho trato E Mercansia que fazem os portuguezes por aquellas Terras Tam estendidas, seiam por maos de Cafres, ou Catiuos Ou conhessidos Entregando lhe grande Quantidade De Roupas q̄ he ho q̄ Mais se Estima e Val entre elles, As quais leuam Muitas legoas pella Terra dentro, E as trocam por ouro, ou Marfim, E tornam. A traser pontualmente O Retorno com tanta Verdade e fidelidade, q̄ Em Considerassam de Vir hum Cafre q̄ Nam Tem nada de seu Cubertas sô as partes Vergonhozas Cem legoas, e Mais de Terra onde elle he Natural, e sabe athe os mais Escondidos Cantos dos Matos de sorte que querendo ir se se nam pode saber pera onde: deue com Rezem fazer Vergonha has mais Estimadas Nasõis do Mundo Nos Asaltos, Roubos e Crueldades que hũs aos Outros pera Este effeito se fazem: E se alguma ora Estes Cafres afastam Alguma Couza do q se lhes entrega he Morrendo seu amo No Mato disendo q se outrem se hã de Vir logtar delle ho quer elle faser ho pranto que fas por sua Morte he se acham Algum gado Matallo e Comello.

As Minas de prata q̄ ho pai deste Emperador chamado guaseluzere prometeo a sua Mag<sup>de</sup> posto q̄ Mostrou as pedras de prata Enterradas Na chicoua Terras da Mocranga com tudo bem se tem examinado nã ser a Terra disposta pera minas De prata; Mas tambem pellas pedras se Vee q̄ has hã neste imperio de Manamotapa: e como Estiuer de todo quieto se podem buscar e descobrir. Sam estas Terras de Manamotapa de Ares mui sallutiferos, E assi os portuguezes, E mais Cristaõs q̄ Andam por ellas nam padessem as Enfermidades cõ que outras partes destes Rios de Cuama os traser Ordinariam<sup>te</sup> Mui Enfermos Exsepto ho Reino de Manica q̄ Como Tambem fica dito he de Exsellente Clima, E sam os Mocrangas os Cafres de mais opiniã q̄ Outros Nenhũs. Moram por Este imperio de Manamotapa muitos mouros Arabios dos q̄ Viuem por esta Costa q̄ nam deixam Em Toda parte de Nos ser Contrarios: E assi pondo nos por cõdessã ao Mauura quando o Ellegemos por Emperador que os Auia de lansar fora E querendo o faser fiserãõ hos Mouros cõ hos Naturais que fossem buscar ho Caprasine q̄ ja Estaua Acolhido E Escondido sem Esperansa De ser Rei ho fiseram Mouer nos gerra Em que oje Andamos cõ Elle. Porem a Causa prinsipal de Estes Cafres nam faserem Em suas gerras ho Muito que puderam conforme a Multidam E Esforso com q̄ Acometem: A primeira he nã

Escallarem ; nem Leuantarem Trincheiros : porq̃ Em Vendo que os matam sem Verem quem logo largam o acometimento, e a segunda nam ser gente q̃ sofra nesesidades de Cousa nenhuma : porq̃ Ematendo Vam buscar ho Remedio della seia por onde ser : Elargem ho que largarem : E a Treseira q̃ Nam presseueram Em serco nem Em gerra que logo nam Vensam. Antes sem Auer quem os tenha se Espalham, E Vam buscar sua Vida, E ainda Vensendo hua Batalha por aos faserem dar Outra ha mister muito : porq̃ disem q̃ ja fizerã a gerra pera q̃ Vinhaõ, e se neste comenos Vim ho Tempo de suas sementeiras, onde as colherẽ A Nada Tem Respeito mais q̃ A irem Tratar dellas.

*Descripsam dos Animais q̃ ha por estes Rios de Cuama.*

Entrando pello Rio Zembeze Em quillimane athe a boca do Rio aonde se deuide o Outro brasso pera Luabo que sam distansia de Trinta legoas como fica dito : ha largura de huma e outra parte ao longo do Rio couza de duas legoas decado cheio de Muitos Alagoas de Agoa dosse que ficam cheas da Agoa do Monte q̃ sae da Mai do Rio nas inuernados por sima de Cuios Campos andã Embarcasais quando Tudo Esta Alagado e depois de a agoa se Recolher ao Rio ficando os Campos descubertos se vem cheos de Tantos animais Terrestes q̃ ha Rancho em que andã sinquo e seis mil juntos Entre os quais se Vem ellefantes de Extraordinaria grandesa ha Abados A q̃ chamã Vnicornios do Tamanho de Ellefantes piquenos q̃ nas Vnhas Tambem lhe sam semelhantes : Tem o seu Corno Mil virtudes e juntam<sup>te</sup> ho sangue ; Tem duas pontas : a grande q̃ tras Caido sobre a testa e so a leuanta quando se apaixonona e quer brigar q̃ he a q̃ se tras pera Estas partes e lhe chamaõ Vnicornio : E a ponta De baixo a q̃ Chamã nharga : he hum Callo de Muito maiores Virtudes.

Hã Muitos Bufaros q̃ Na arreigada do Corno Tem dous palmos de largura e fecha hum Com ho outro na mesma Arreigada a Modo de Molhelha cõ que ficã tam fortes que A toda a Cousa onde puserem a Cabessa leuaram posto que seiã huma parede mui forte : E sam estes animais hos mais Temidos q̃ ha dos Cassadores ainda sobre os tigres, e leõis de q̃ tambem ha muita copia Nestes Campos e pellas Matos dentro : porq̃ nenhum segue, nem presegue a hum homen na forma q̃ ho fas hum Bufaro destes sendo Muito mais fortes e maiores q̃ nenhum dos touros de

Europa. Ha Porquos que Tem dous Cornos da mesma Carne na Cabessa a Modo de Mamillos, os olhos muito Piquenos, e Tem duas Barbatanos da mesma Carne por baixo Dos queixos que botam de si grandes Cabellos com  $\tilde{q}$  ficam Mais feios sam por Estremo feroses e grandes: E ha Algũs que tem Tambem dentes Tamanhos  $\tilde{q}$  Pesam Ambos quatro e sinquo Arrateis: Estes se chegam a qualquer Aruore Cauando lhe cõ ho fosinho a Terra lhe Vam Cortando As Raises cõ hos dentes athe a chegarem a derrubar por lhe comerẽ o fruito. Ha Nhumbos  $\tilde{q}$  Arremedam a bois de Cor parda derreados das Cadeiras, E Altos das mãos Vnhas fendidas e pontas como boi mas leuantadas pera sima: porem Tem Cabo como Caualo e Comma, Tem huma Bofettada sobre ho naris com huma lista branca  $\tilde{q}$  lhe singe Em Roda a Modo de Cabrestilho, andam Em bandos, sam grandes Corredores, Remetem com muita furia Mas Nunqua chegam. A Carne delles he a melhor  $\tilde{q}$  ha No Mato. Ha Pacallas  $\tilde{q}$  sam hũs animais a modo de Bois de huãs pontas mui Altas de quasi Tres quartos de Brassa, Estas tem huma Corcoua sobre as mãos mui grande: sã Vermelhos os peis altos e Compridos: Vnhas fendidas: olhos E Beisos como de boi.

Ha chefos que tambem sam quasi como as mesmas pacallas porem mais sinsentos algũa Cousa com a mesma Vnha fendida singe os por Cada banda do lombo para a barriga q<sup>tro</sup> listras brancas apartadas humas das outras Em igual Compasso. Estes tem as pontas direitas asima e dos mesmos tres quartos de Brassa com pouca Volta E no Redor destas pontas Vai Em Caracol como Era  $\tilde{q}$  singe Algũa Aruore hum debrum ate põta. Ha Angamos  $\tilde{q}$  sam Como Merũs mas maiores cõ que ficam do Tamanho de hũ Cauallo pardos: E Tambem Tem as pontas feitas Em Caracol cõ debrũ ate põta. Ha outros animais Vermelhos a  $\tilde{q}$  hos Cafres chamão Ballas  $\tilde{q}$  sam Como Nouillos de hum Anno Tem sobre as Cadeiras hua Malha mais Clara As pontas fecham sobre a Cabesa huma com a outra Com grande igualdade. Ha Merus em grande copia  $\tilde{q}$  Tambem Tem huma listra branca sobre a Arreigada do Rabo  $\tilde{q}$  lhe singe a Anca A modo de lua de largura de quatro ou sinquo dedos Estes sam mui grandes, Tem as pontas todas feitas Em nos sem botarem de si Esgalho nenhum. Os Veados sam Tantos  $\tilde{q}$  andam Em bandas como de Carneiros sam Vermelhos, e com as pontas na forma  $\tilde{q}$  hos Merus sem botarem de si Esgalho nenhum. Ha gamos que sam Mais pardos



e tem as mesmas pontas, E outros mais piquenos q̄ chamã emparas sã picados de branco q̄ se pareassem com corsas: E outros mais piquenos q̄ chamã guasellas: E Algumas Cabras porem Mui piquenas: os quais animais se cassam Todos com muita fassellidade, e se comem suas Carnes Tirado a dos tigres. E he muito para notar que quando as Vezes se seriã cõ gente muitos Animais, nenhũ delles foge nem grita, Em quanto Tem algum leam comsigo: Ao qual logo os Casadores dam modo para se ir, q̄ como ho fas Tambem Cada hum dos outros animais Procura fogir Com gritos E Allaridos muito grandes.

Sam Mui sellebrados os Cauillos Marinhos q̄ ha neste Rio Zembeze porq̄ sam em grande cantidade, Os quais Vam pastar Muito pella Terra dentro a Estes Campos. E se hã nam Acham Alagoas em que se Recolham se Vem Recolher Ao Rio: E Tem Tal Qualidade Comsigo que se nam Afastã de nenhum Animal por m<sup>to</sup> feros que seia e quando se Recolhem ao Rio a qualquer paragem aonde chegam ainda que seia Ribanseira Tam alta Como huã torre como as Veses he se lansã dello abaixo sem ir buscar Outro Caminho: Sam do Comprim<sup>to</sup> de hum Cauillo: e mais alguma Couza e Tam grossos q̄ hos nã abareiarã Tres homẽs E no feitio como hum odre: os peis Mui grossos q̄ Abrim cõ tres Vnhas Redondas e grossas a Modo de pato E huma grossa E Curta para detras: A barriga lhe chega ao Chã: E no Rancho aonde andam duz<sup>tos</sup> Animais destes nã ha de auer mais q̄ hum Macho porq̄ se matam Como suines: ha femea q̄ ha de parir o Vai fazer escondida so per lhe nã materẽ o macho, quando o Pare: E depois de ser grande o tras ha manada Tem a boca disforme de grande Estam metidos na agoa Com a cabeça de fora, E as orelhas em q̄ pareassem Cauillos mais q̄ Em outra Couza, Tem huma Estrilla na Testa, E embollirem sempre cõ as sobraselhos e Rincharẽ se pareassem quasi cõ hos Cauillos as orelhas sam piquenas.

Tem estes Rios de Cuama hum peixe q̄ chamã Tremedor q̄ tem Tal proprieda de q̄ ho pescador q̄ esta pescando Em lhe este peixe dando no Anzol larga a Cana Da mã pella nã poder Ter porq̄ emprouiso perde a forsa de Todos os membros do Corpo E lhe estrallã como cousa q̄ quebra, ou arrebenta E estando em terra nam hã quem lhe possa pegar Em quanto Estiuer Viuo, nem aleuantallo pella Virtude q̄ tem: a pelle he muito grossa serue para faserem Colleiros e Tem grandes Virtudes pera muitos

malles: Ha nestes Rios hũns patos a que chamã Romanos q̃ estam postos pellas Areas os quais andã Em bandos de mais de tres e de quatro mil juntos sam do Tamanho de Carneiros grandes, Tem Duas brassas e mea de ponta a ponta das Azas, os peis de pato Curtos E o biquo de Comprimento de dous para tres palmos Mui largo; nam Tem lingua E nos dous queinos do bico de baixo tem huma pelle q̃ lhe serue de Rede pera pescar q̃ lhe Cabe nella hum Almude de agoa. Estes passaros quem os Toma, Ou Matta Em hos de pescando da primeira pesca acha huma penugem pegada na pelle Tam basta, Alua, E Massia q̃ nenhum Arminho he mais brando ao Tacto. Ha Outros patos a q̃ chamã gregos q̃ sam Como os Nossos de Europa: Mas pretos E Muito maiores os peis de patos Vermelhos mas mais Altos o biquo de pato Tambem Vermelho, a Carne he muito boa Estes Criam na ponta da Aza hum Espora q̃ he quasi como hum dedo meminho cõ que brigam cõ toda a Couza q̃ Arremete com elles ha outros patos mais somenos a q̃ Chamã patos branquos As Azas da Cor de perdiz: E as Sobranselhas Roxas, ha lauancos: muitas Marrecas que sam mais piquenas q̃ Adais; E outras pardas mais piquenas ha outros maiores q̃ hum Capam e Tem Crista, Com peis e biquo como pato: Tam gordos q̃ se os peis os nam deferensearã nã se soabera qual Era a barriga ou as Costas he a melhor carne de todas aquellas Aues: ha outros passaros q̃ tem os peis cõ predissimos E Esta sempre ao longo dos Rios: sam branquos E Vermelhos E o biquo amarello e grãde poen se na borda da Agoa: E Abrindo ho Bico ho mete dentro nella a Modo de Laso e cõ ho pee q̃ Tem Em Terra bate as Eruas E Em lhe passando o peixe por de baixo do Bico ho Espetam E Assi se sustentam: ha Outros Aues m<sup>to</sup> grandes A q̃ chamã Capellinhos criam grandes plumas nos Rabos E Tem hum Capello no pescoso pera de tras E outra pera baixo do garganta ambos Vermelhos e por dentro Vaõs ha m<sup>ta</sup> soma de Adeis e de garsos Reais, E outras a q̃ chamã Batardos E outras de m<sup>tos</sup> cores: m<sup>tos</sup> picapeixes hũs Azuis e Vermelhos, E Outros branquos e pretos peis m<sup>to</sup> Curtos e bicos arresoados: ha muita soma de ginchos, Aguias Reais, ha hũs passaros a modo de garsos com hũ Tufo sobre o biquo que paresse velludo E orelhas pretas q̃ As singe a Roda Outro Velludo Tambem preto: E na Cabessa huma Coroa, m<sup>to</sup> loura com fios Compridoes q̃ Arremedam A huma flor de Asafram E aindo mais fermoza Chamã lle Coroanes. Alem destes ha tantos outros nestes Campos e pellos mattos,

Assi da ferma dos q̄ ha Em portugual como em outras partes que fra infenitto Referellos. O peixe q̄ ha nestes Rios a q̄ hos Cafres Chamã Mune Mune he em tanta copia q̄ em Tempo de Chuua se sae has alagoas e fica nellas de Veraõ; sam Como Cabassos mui grandes, Estes se asertã a ficarem alagoa q̄ se seca se emborulhã na lama e faltando lhe Ella se Reuolue de Man<sup>ra</sup> que se come Cada hum Asi proprio da barriga Pera ho Rabo deixando so a Espinha pera Viuer athe uir Agoa noua Com q̄ tornam A Criar na mesma Espinha Nouo peixe em menos de des ou doze dias. E ha peixes destes de mais de mea brasa Nos quais fasem grande Estrego as Aues de Rapina quando lhe Vai faltando a agoa, ha mais nos ditos Rios em Terra hũs Rattos maiores q̄ grandes Coelhos a q̄ Chamã sangues, destes fasem hos Cafres grandes Cassados pera Comerem por serem m<sup>to</sup> gordos e nã se sustentarem de mais q̄ das Raizes dos Eruassais grosos e dos mantim<sup>tos</sup> q̄ hos Mesmos Cafres semeã. Ha huma Aruore nestes Rios de Cuama chamada Made cõ que hos Cafres dam seus juram<sup>tos</sup> hã qual Esfolla a Casca e dam a beber ha pesoa que querem q̄ jure: E se tem Estamogo pera Vomitar aquillo Viue e se nã morre por ser Refinada pessonha: Entam disem q̄ ho q̄ Morreo jurou mentira e ho q̄ viue o jurou Verdade: e tem esta aruore tal propriedade: q̄ nenhum pasaro se poem nella, ou pesoa por baixo q̄ Nam Morra: e se he animal de Mais sustansia e se deita debaixo della, ou Esta Tempo a sua sombra Tambem Morre E ordinariamente se Vem por Baixo della muitos osados: e pera lhe tirarẽ A Casca Vam hos Cafres pella menhã ao Nasser do sol pella banda do mesmo Nagente pera lhe ficar a sombra da outra parte e da mesma man<sup>ra</sup> ha tarde ao por do sol por q̄ acha q̄ na sombra Tem grande parte da pessonha.

#### *Descripçam das ilhas de Angoxa.*

As ilhas de Angoxa he huma Corda dellas q̄ Comessa Trinta legoas de Mosambique pera ho sul das quais huma so he Abitada Esta sera de sinquo legoas de Comprido: A qual Esta metida na terra e fica ilha por hum Rio que aserca Em Roda em que fas muitas ilhas; E nam tem passo seco pera Terra firme, he Esta ilha Abitada de Mouros com hum Rei tambem mouro sogeito a sua Mag<sup>de</sup> E sendo Antiguamente dos feitores de Mossambique o Capitam daquella fortallesa por Dizer que por aquella parte lhe

Entrauã Roupas nos Rios q̄ trasia arrendados comprou a sua Mag<sup>de</sup>: O trato della por dous mil e quinhentos x<sup>os</sup> cada anno e assi tem ho seu feitor que nam arrecada outra Cousa mais q̄ Comprar E Vender com a gente Da Terra. Os Mouros sam Mãos e cõ hos Cafres q̄ tem Catiuos Vem a faser mil E quinhentos pouquo mais ou menos. Avia ali antigamente Padre som<sup>te</sup> pera Dizer Missa os Mouros o Mataram Na Era de seis c<sup>tos</sup> Vinte e sete E de Entam athe guera ho Nam Ouue mais. As ilhas de Angoxa q̄ Estam ao Mar sam sette desabitadas passe por Entre Ellas ha Terra distansia de huma legoa, Em Oito athe Noue brassas: E Antes da barra de Angoxa esta huma Coroa de area a quatro legoas descuberta, E Tres legoas ao mar a q̄ chamã Sancto An<sup>to</sup> sercada Toda de Arresife pella banda do Mar, bem pera temer: E Mais adiante quatro legoas grandes Esta a ilha de Mafamede q̄ he a primeira ilha de Angoxa Desabitada.

Na mesma Corda, mas menor distansia da Terra mais Adiante duas legoas Esta outra ilha q̄ he a segunda chamase inhatimbe De fronte della Na terra firme Esta huma Barra pera hum pataxo piqueno, Adiante desta ilha Esta huma Coroa de Area que quasi se cobre de Agoas Viuas, e adiante Duas legoas Esta a ilha de Macute. Auante desta duas legoas piquenas Esta a ilha da Caldeira q̄ Algũs Chamã da Aruore. Desta ilha q̄ he a quarto de Angoxa mais ao largo ao mar hum pouco cousa de sinquo legoas por Costa Esta huma Coroa q̄ chamã de Moma. E dali a sete legoas por Costa mais perto Da Terra Estam duas ilhas perto huma da Outra Abaixo da Barra de Mocolongo, a primeira se chama de Mocolongo, e a outra das Aruores porque As tem muitas e grandes, desta ilha Cousa de huma legoa Esta huma Coroa de Area que tambem de Agoas viuas quasi se Cobre, Desta Coroa Couza De tres legoas avante boas, e Cousa de Outras tres legoas mais afastada da Costa q̄ nenhuma das apontadas Esta ailha do fogo maior em Roda q̄ nenhuã Das Outras, e de Aruoredo mais fechado e baixo. Avante desta ilha ao sudueste fica hum baixo de Area como os atras e mais pera temer por quanto se cobre de prea mar: quer cõ agoas viuas quer mortas: de dia sempre se Ve bem Arrebentar ho mar sobre elle: e de noite ha mister grande resguardo: Todas Estas Coroas e ilhas se ham de Temer de noite pellos grandes arresifes q̄ botam pella banda do mar: E como he mui Alcantillado ho Tom he de pouco proueito por quanto quando se acham em Vinte brasas e querem Tornar

a Lansar prumo Estam ja sobre hos baixos que Tudo he Rocha Viua : Nenhuma destas ilhas Tem Agoa : mas no seu tempo muitos, E as milhores jangomas q̃ se sabe por Aquella Costa Com serem Todas boas, Entre as ilhas e Coroas de Angoxa Athe Moma ; ha Vista da primeira ilha de Mocolongo cousa de duas legoas grandes ao Nordeste quem quiser Entrar pera dentro Vindo do Mar Em fora Nam tem mais q̃ guardarse do q̃ Vir Arrebentar : Tem fundo de dentro das ilhas de des athe seis brassas, perto da Terra muito limpo e seguro Pera surgir : os q̃ Costumã ir pera os Rios de Cuama, de Mosambique Nauegam Com Muita seguransa por Entre Ellas desde dentro de Quellimane Athe perto de inhatimbe cõ ho prumo por muito Escuro q̃ fassa porq̃ Tudo he limpo e nã ha mais q̃ nam passar de noue brassas pera ho mar nem de seis pera Terra, Aqui fas mais mal ho medo e a pouca experiensia q̃ hos portugueses q̃ nauegam de portugal Tem destas ilhas q̃ ho perigo q̃ na Verdade aia.

[*Translation of the foregoing.*]

## EXTRACTS

FROM THE BOOK ENTITLED

### OF THE STATE OF INDIA.

*The second part of this book on the State of India, which contains the plans of all the fortresses between the Cape of Good Hope and Chaul, with a description of them all and of the whole coast, the kingdoms upon which they border, and all other information which can be procured. With the revenue and the expenses of each shown in detail.*

BY CAPTAIN PEDRO BARRETO DE REZENDE.

THIS State of Eastern India commences at the Cape of Good Hope, which lies in south latitude  $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and ends at the point of the bay of Nankin at the farthest extremity of China, in latitude  $34^{\circ}$  N. It comprises all the known coast of Asia, and measures according to the most reliable charts three thousand nine hundred and sixteen leagues of shore, not including the bays or straits of the Red sea and Ormus, nor the rivers which flow into the sea

along it. In the whole expanse of coast from the Cape of Good Hope to the point of Nankin the sea forms indents in the land in three places, in the shape of bows, which are called gulfs. The first of these commences at the Cape of Good Hope and ends at Cape Comorin below Cochin. This gulf includes all the coast of Ethiopia, Arabia, and Persia to India, as the coast of Ethiopia commences at the Cape of Good Hope and terminates at the straits of the Red sea at Suez, where the coast of Arabia circles round and runs to the straits of Ormus at Bassorah. Here commences the coast of Persia, which ends at the river Indus, a stream that flows through Scinde and falls into the sea in the gulf of Cambaya. At the mouth of this river the coast of India commences, and it terminates at Cape Comorin. The second gulf commences at Cape Comorin and ends at the river Feroso at the farther extremity of Malacca. On this great gulf are the provinces of Choromandel, called St. Thomas, and of Bengal, the kingdom of Tanasary, that of Pegu and others, and that of Malacca. The third gulf begins at the river Formoso, and ends at the point of Nankin in China, and has on the coast the kingdoms of Siam, Pam, Bugor, Cochin China, Champa, and Cambay, and that of China, also in islands the kingdoms of Java the Greater, Java the Less, the Maluccas, Macassar, and many others. The first bay from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Comorin comprises two thousand and seventy-five leagues of coast, the second from Cape Comorin to the river Feroso comprises nine hundred and forty-one leagues, the third from the river Feroso to the point of Nankin comprises nine hundred leagues of coast, which in all make the three thousand nine hundred and sixteen leagues aforesaid. And measuring the coast of the straits of Mecca and Ormus, the length of the whole seaboard of Eastern India extends to five thousand one hundred and thirty-six leagues, for the Red sea along the coasts both of Ethiopia and Arabia, according to the most reliable charts, measures seven hundred and twenty-six leagues, and the straits of Ormus or Persian Gulf, along the coasts of Arabia and Persia, measures five hundred leagues. On the whole of these coasts of India from the Cape of Good Hope to the point of Nankin his Majesty has forty-eight fortresses and cities, of which he is lord, and the great kingdom of Monomotapa and many other lands and islands, of which plans are annexed to this book, drawn exactly from nature, with a

description of what pertains to all and each of them, and with a detailed account of the receipts and expenses of each of the said fortresses, clearly showing the condition of the whole of the State.

Some drawings of islands and fortresses which do not belong to this kingdom are included, but being on the said coasts of India I thought proper to furnish them simply for curiosity, though as they do not belong to the State I have given no description of them, for time did not allow me to procure it while I was in those parts, as I was occupied in other matters of his Majesty's service.

#### *Description of the Fortress of Sofala.*

The first fortress which his Majesty possesses in Eastern India, commencing from the Cape of Good Hope, is Sofala, situated nearly in latitude  $21^{\circ}$  S., upon a river of salt water, at a distance of hardly half a league from its mouth. To reach it one must pass over the celebrated shoal of Sofala, which extends to sea twenty leagues in width and in length along the coast a hundred leagues, from the islands of Angoxa to Cape Bina; nevertheless near the river of Sofala it has two channels, as may be seen from the plan, with as many fathoms of water as are therein set down. The river is without shoals, after passing the bar at the entrance, though the Portuguese pilots when they go there take with them *Malemos*, who are the pilots of this country, and large ships cannot enter the river, as they require more water than the depth stated. The coast at this fortress of Sofala, from the islands of Angoxa to that of Fogo, runs south-west and in places inclines to the quarter of west. The winds from April to October are west and south-west, and from October to April easterly, which there become north-east. There are other winds besides these, especially at the changes of the monsoons, which are at the end of March and October, but they are neither strong nor general winds. The currents on this coast flow strongly to the south for the greater part of the year, but sometimes to the north with equal strength, especially during the east winds, and thus they generally flow against the wind, which is a point to be noted.

The fortress of Sofala is a small thing in itself, built in the form of a square, as may be seen from the plan, with a bastion

in each corner. It is built entirely of stone and lime. The wall on every side is ten fathoms long, five high, and five palms in thickness. It has no parapets, the soldiers' quarters formerly serving the purpose, being joined to the wall on the inside; but at present there are none, neither are there any soldiers or garrison except the captain; in a few lofts of small buildings near the walls provisions and ammunition might be stored, but there are none of the former and very little of the latter, for the artillery consists of only eight falcons large and small and a metal camelete, which are distributed among the bastions.

The married whites, who live in a village near the fortress, are only three in number, and two unmarried, who have some Kaffir slaves that could serve as soldiers in the fortress on occasion. The fortress and village, as may be seen from the plan, are on a small island about four hundred fathoms in circumference, surrounded at high tide by an arm of the river; but the water is never deep, and at low tide it is dry, only the ooze remaining.

The expense of this fortress to his Majesty's revenue is at present nothing, for though the captain formerly received from the factory of Mozambique a salary of four hundred and ten cruzados, the count de Linhares, viceroy of India, knowing that the said salary was being paid when the trade of the rivers was leased by contract, ordered the captain of Mozambique, who held the lease, to pay the salary, and he placed in the fortress a captain of his Majesty's and sold him the rights and profits thereof for four hundred cruzados, giving him however certain merchandise and craft to take it there.

There are no Christians in the territory of Sofala, or at least they are very few, for most of the Kaffirs are a barbarous people, of a cruel disposition, and but little inclined to divine worship. And if those who are our captives become Christians for that reason, their Christianity only lasts as long as their captivity. But as they show no great repugnance to our holy Catholic faith, and the king of the country does not hinder those who choose from being baptized, if there were disinterested labourers in this vineyard it would not fail to increase greatly. The friars of St. Dominic are those who labour on this coast, and one is vicar of the church within the fortress of Sofala, who does not cease to exert himself for the conversion of the natives, and succeeds in







PHOTOGRAPH OF PLAN OF SOFALA

reclaiming some, though few. This territory being extensive, it is proper there should be many preachers.

The market of the country is seventy leagues from the fortress, the only merchandise being ivory, which is usually bartered for black and white cloths, thin calicos, and other woven goods, as is usual on all the Kaffir coast, where everything is bought for cloth, including provisions, which in time of peace are always abundant and cheap, and consist of rice, maize, and all sorts of meat.

The king of the coast of Sofala is called the Quiteve. He is a Kaffir, who is neither Moor nor Christian, and though supposed to be a heathen it is impossible to say what religion he professes, for none is known of. He was subject to the emperor of Monomotapa, but being under our protection he has almost come to refuse him any obedience. At present he is friendly to the Portuguese, and when he is not making war in the territory of the Enquitas, we can traverse his country in security, for he is rarely disposed to be hostile. His force consists of from ten to twelve thousand Kaffirs, who are not so renowned for valour as some others in those parts. The arms they use are bows and arrows, and assagais, and they have a great fear of guns. This king has no communication with any nation but the Portuguese, nor is it known up to the present that any other Europeans have entered his country.

There is a large trade in ambergris on this coast: it can be obtained from the Kaffirs at a low price, but not in the interior.

The purpose for which this fortress was built and maintained is the preservation of the commerce of this coast and the rivers of Cuama, which consists in gold, ivory, and ambergris, with hopes of silver-mines. The importance of these articles, the extensive territory over which the Portuguese have dominion on these coasts, and the trade which they carry on as far as the Cape of Good Hope, demand that care should be taken to prevent the entrance of foreign nations by providing properly for this fortress. For the lands towards the Cape are so extensive and rich in gold and ivory that the trade is coveted by all the Portuguese in India and Portugal, as well as by other nations; but as the captain of Mozambique holds a monopoly of the commerce in virtue of the tribute he pays to his Majesty, he carries it on alone, with only one small vessel, others thus losing the profit

which they might also derive therefrom. And it is necessary to consider well this monopoly and whether the rivers cannot maintain many merchants, cloth being worth very little.

### *The Rivers of Cuama.*

The port of Quilimane is the first entrance to the rivers of Cuama, the bar of which is at a distance of a hundred leagues from Mozambique down the coast. It is an arm of the river Zambesi, and is the smaller of the two by which that stream discharges. The larger arm, which is the main body of the said river, discharges eighteen leagues below this bar to the southward, and is called the bar of Luabo from the island of that name that lies between them.

The rivers of Cuama may be entered by both arms, to reach which Mozambique is left during the two monsoons, the one in October and the other in March. The entrance to the arm of Quilimane is through a bank which traverses it and is part of the shoal that runs along the coast. It is about six fathoms in width; its least depth at low water is fourteen palms and upwards, and at high tide three fathoms and sometimes more. There is no mark to steer by, except to make for the part where the breakers are the least violent, and entering thus, our ships of a size as large as a thousand candins burden, in which this voyage is commonly made, go up the river, that is about a gun-shot in width, four leagues to a fort called in the language of the country Chuambo, that we have built on the lands on the right bank, which are those of Baroro.

Here are ten or twelve straw houses along the river, in which among other Christians live four Portuguese and the captain placed there by the captain of Mozambique. The said fort is formed of a wooden palisade of thick strong stakes, with a trench outside, made so that the defenders may be able to fight under cover. The bastions are constructed in the same way, and though until the present time they have no artillery, they defend themselves sufficiently well with muskets.

In the year 1633 Joam da Costa entered the said rivers in a caravel in which he came from Portugal to bring some miners and other individuals, and left in the fort of Quilimane six iron pieces of artillery of from five to six pounds caliber.

The fort is about sixty fathoms in circumference. It has no garrison or paid troops, but upon any intelligence of war the married Portuguese go into it with their Kaffir slaves and as many of his Majesty's subjects from the surrounding territory as can be assembled, and defend themselves until they can communicate with the captain of Mozambique. The wars at present are only with Mozura and his people. This fort serves to dominate the neighbouring lands which belong to his Majesty: along the sea twenty leagues of coast, to the north as far as Licungo and Casungo, which is the river of Good Signs that Vasco da Gama entered with his fleet, ten leagues towards the interior, and five leagues up the river, as far as Mocabone, where is a Moorish chief in some lands very fruitful in rice, which is a constant annoyance to Mozura, who says that these lands being on the side of Baroro belong to him.

Most of his people prey upon the Kaffirs who inhabit these lands, except those in the neighbourhood of the fort, who belong to the Portuguese of Quilimane. There are also others who obey him, and give him what they formerly paid to their chiefs, who in the language of the country are called fumos. As to the rest of the inhabitants of these lands, we content ourselves with the obedience which they render to the said fort, their coming when they are summoned upon any occasion, and with our having their commerce.

Luabo, of which we have spoken already, is made an island by the river Zambesi, which divides into two at a distance of thirty leagues from the place of disembarkation at the sea, the smaller arm flowing by Quilimane and forming the bar aforesaid, and the larger arm flowing on the other side, forming the bar of Luabo, leaving the island in the middle. From one bar to the other the distance is eighteen leagues, which is all there is of sea-coast, leaving the island in a triangle; for from the place where the river separates and forms the said island to the bar, both on the side of Baroro and on the other side, which is called Botonga, there is a distance of thirty leagues, and eighteen leagues of coast, which forms the said triangle with a circuit of seventy-eight leagues.

This island is subject to his Majesty. It is well provided with all kinds of provisions, and there is an abundance of wood of which to make small craft, such as canoes and pangaïos. It is

inhabited; and besides several Moorish merchants there are many Kaffir warriors, subjects of his Majesty. Every time they are summoned, by giving a little cloth to the chiefs only, which is sufficient for their dress, and also to the captains and some of their sons, they will go to war, or be ready to do whatever they are told, as long as the war lasts, which is usually not more than six months, for when the time of their harvest comes if leave to depart is not given to them they go without it.

Nothing further is given to them, either provisions, arms, or anything whatever. It is very extraordinary what a little each of these Kaffir soldiers carries with him, and more is not necessary, for his clothing is nothing, and when he wears a great deal it is never more than a piece of cloth which he girds around him, or a strip of some animal's skin, which covers no more. Each one carries his own arms, which are bows, arrows, and assagais, which he never lays aside. Some carry shields, with which they often make a barrier when they defend a camp to prevent arrows and assagais from passing.

Their food is anything which they kill, from the smallest animal to the largest, and even men, women, and children; thus whatever their spoil may be, they keep it as provisions until they kill something else. These eaters of human flesh are only the Baroros, and such are the greater number of those we employ. They are great warriors, for which reason our people are much feared by the Botongas and Mocarangas, as these, not being cannibals, have a great dread of the others, especially when they see them carrying the dead on their backs, or as best they can, to serve as provisions, not caring if the bodies are decomposed, for they prefer them so, and eat them without doing more than roast them imperfectly. It would seem that cruelty and barbarity have impressed upon these negroes every sort of inhumanity and brutality, since but few up to the present show any sign of distinguishing right from wrong.

This island of Luabo is divided among fumos, for so they call the chiefs in their language, to whom the captains of Mozambique entrust the cultivation of the land and the government of the people, but as they are little given to husbandry, they do not raise more than is necessary for their subsistence, so that the harvests are small, but would not fail to be very large if there

were cultivators of the soil, as they are in the lands which the Company of Jesus owns in the island.

Close to this island of Luabo, there is another called Maindo, of fifteen leagues extent, only separated by a river, and as it is really a part of the said Luabo, it does not require a separate description, being inhabited by the same people and under the same conditions as the other. If there were any Portuguese inhabiting this island with the people thereof, it would be of great importance for the security of the rivers of Cuama, which would seem to be the purpose for which his Majesty has commanded a fort to be built there.

Many Moors live in this island of Luabo, who have shown great fidelity to the Portuguese in the assistance they gave to the governor Francisco Barreto, and they carry on most of the cultivation and commerce, taking to Sena provisions, cocoa-nuts, vinegar, and cocoa-nut fibre from the lands which were given them for the aforesaid service, and up to the present they have always behaved well.

The vessels which are bound for the bar of Quilimane and the rivers of Cuama, remain at this fort and discharge all their merchandise, and then it is conveyed to Sena in small vessels which they call *Almadias* (canoes made of one log), a distance of sixty leagues from the bar up the river on the side of Botonga, which is on the left hand as they go upwards.

These lands are all ours on the said side, not only along the river, but thirty and forty leagues back from it, and extending more than a hundred and twenty leagues in length from the mouth at the bar of Quilimane up the stream. All these lands are given to Portuguese, some are subject to the captain of Sena, and some to the captain of Tete. And though they are so extensive they yield but little, both for the reasons aforesaid, and because they do not render us obedience in all things.

#### *Description of Sena.*

Sena is a Portuguese settlement situated upon the river Zambesi sixty leagues distant from the sea. It contains thirty married whites, who all have their guns, and most of them many Kaffir slaves, some forty, some fifty, and others as many as a hundred, all capable soldiers. The houses in this settlement are

built with mud walls and thatched with straw, only two having tile roofs.

There is no fort, that which formerly stood there having been destroyed and never rebuilt. It had eight faucons, which were considered quite sufficient to overawe the natives. These are at present in the factory of the captain of Mozambique, thrown upon the ground. This factory is the principal building in the settlement, and is tiled. The faucons have no carriages or other necessary apparatus to make them serviceable.

The captain of this settlement of Sena is chosen by the captain of Mozambique. He has no salary from the king's revenue at present, because the count de Linhares, when viceroy, ordered that it should no longer be paid from the king's revenue as it was till the time of his government, saying that since the rivers were not for the profit of his Majesty, but for that of the captain of Mozambique, who held the lease thereof, he ought to pay the salaries to the captain of Sena, as also of Sofala and the other forts of the rivers.

The captain of Sena also acts as judge, and the sentences pronounced by him are referred on appeal to the judge at Mozambique, as are also those of the captain of Sofala, who likewise acts as judge. In this settlement of Sena there is a church, which is called Faith in the invocation of our Lady of the Assumption, another church called St. Paul, belonging to the fathers of the Company of Jesus, another called St. Dominic, with friars of that order, and another called the Misericordia, served by a priest.

In this settlement of Sena the captain of Mozambique has the factory with all the goods which he sells to His Majesty's vassals and other Christians, who carry them into the interior to barter to the Kaffirs in exchange for ivory and gold, which is the merchandise of all these rivers.

The jurisdiction of the captain of Sena extends from the bar of Luabo to a river fifty leagues above Sena, which is called the Aroinha, where the jurisdiction of Tete begins.

In the whole of Sena there are about thirty thousand Kaffir warriors, subject to his Majesty, and obliged to obey the summons of the captain. Thus the jurisdiction of Sena extends for a hundred and ten leagues, and is in parts forty leagues wide, all land belonging to his Majesty and given to Portuguese, as we



have said, who have the profits thereof. Though the lands are very fertile they yield but little, for the reasons aforesaid, and also because all the negroes except those on the sea shore, that is most of those in the interior, are in revolt against us, and as we have often chastised them in war, they cherish a hatred of us.

The lands through which we are accustomed to pass, according to our treaties and agreements with them, are very secure, but if we attempt to traverse new parts, or to do anything which is not in the treaties, they oppose it to the death.

Up to the present no gold or silver mines have been found in his Majesty's territory. And only in the present year 1634, since it was discovered that there are silver mines in the lands of Makarana, which are within gun-shot of Sena, have specimens taken from them been sent to his Majesty. Experience will show the truth of this matter.

This territory of Sena, which is called the lands of Botonga, borders on that of a Kaffir king called Matshone, whose kingdom is called Baro. He is at peace with the Portuguese, and by a treaty we have made with him, we pay him two motoros, or bales of cloth, which we take to his country, and certain cloths which he in courtesy pays for with cows. But at present, because of our victories over Chicanga, his neighbour, the king of Manica, we pay him much less than before, and he contents himself with whatever we choose to give, and always pays us for what he receives as aforesaid to allow us free and safe passage, as in fact he does. There is nothing in his kingdom but the said cows, certain machilas, which are the cotton cloths of which we have spoken before, and a quantity of iron of which they make hoes, which are used in exchange like small money.

Through the kingdom of Baro we pass to that of Manica, which is sixty leagues inland from Sena, the king of which, called Chicanga, was killed by the Portuguese because he rebelled against them and broke the peace that had been made. Therefore they raised his brother to the throne, who became a Christian and a subject of his Majesty, with an obligation that he shall pay yearly three pastas of Botonga to the fort of Sena, and that a cloth out of every bale be paid to him. Besides this he became subject to Monomotapa, who is subject to his Majesty, this kingdom having been added to the royal crown at the beginning of the government of the count de Linhares, viceroy of India, by

the war which he sent Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, captain of Mozambique, to carry on.

In the kingdom of Manica the Portuguese have a mud fort called Chipangura, two fathoms high, its works built in a circular form about a hundred fathoms in circuit, into which there may retire about twenty-five married men, between Portuguese and Christian blacks who dwell there, as also the Portuguese and other Christians, vassals of his Majesty who trade throughout this kingdom on account of the gold with which it abounds. Near this fort of Chipangura there is a mine from which gold is extracted.

Besides this they have another fort or chuambo in the kingdom of Manica, in a place called Mutuca, where there is also a gold mine, for which reason the fort was built. It is of mud, like that of Chipangura, but there are not so many married men in it as in the latter, though it is never without Portuguese who pass through to trade there. This fort was built by João da Costa, a married man, who lives in it as being his own property, and therefore the captain of Mozambique does not place any other captain there.

There is another market in the kingdom of Manica, specially for the Portuguese and Christians of Sofala, in a locality called Bumba, where there is also a gold mine, but no fort, as in the two places before mentioned.

It may certainly be said of the kingdom of Manica that it is very productive in all kinds of provisions, and the air is very salubrious, which is a matter of great consideration, it having so many gold mines that any Portuguese who settled in it could not only grow rich and subsist, but preserve better health than in our lands of Sena, which besides containing no gold, are very unhealthy, even more so than Mozambique, so that many Portuguese die there.

The Christians in the kingdom of Manica are very numerous, consisting of our Kaffir slaves who become Christians at once, as well as others even though they are chiefs; for the Kaffirs have no religion, and though they speak much of God with their lips, in their deeds they show no sign that they recognise Him, rather their ordinary speech is that their god is their belly. And thus after they have become Christians, a great deal is required to make them what they should be, to which end the Dominican friars labour, being those who have the charge of converting these

heathens of the rivers of Cuama. For this purpose they have a church in the said fort of Chipangura, and two others in the kingdom of Manica. The king is not vexed, and does not hinder any who choose from becoming Christians, so that the more labourers there are in the vineyard, the greater will the harvest be.

*Description of Tete.*

From Sena to Tete the distance is sixty leagues up the river Zambesi, through lands subject to his Majesty. Tete is a Portuguese settlement situated in the territory of the kingdom of Mocaranga, on the bank of the river Zambesi. It contains about twenty married whites, and with the half-breeds there are about thirty firelocks, without counting the married Kaffir slaves, who are very numerous and very good soldiers.

This settlement is completely surrounded by a wall, one fathom and a quarter high, with six bastions containing some faucons and demi-faucons, of which not one weighs eight pounds. They chiefly depend here upon their firelocks, which each person keeps ready, because generally both the inhabitants of this settlement and all the Portuguese who travel along these rivers traverse the Kaffir territory trading, in which it often happens that rebellions break out, and then each one's best defence is his gun. With these weapons they fortify themselves in some place, in which a very few Portuguese have been obliged to defend themselves against large armies of Kaffirs, until they could be succoured.

This settlement of Tete has a captain who is appointed by the captain of Mozambique, and has no salary from his Majesty's revenue and only a few privileges given him by the captain of Mozambique, such as he also gives to the captains of Sena and Sofala while he holds the lease of the rivers as aforesaid. The captain of Tete also serves as judge, his jurisdiction extends from the river of Aroinha of which we spoke before, where the jurisdiction of Sena ends, to the boundary of our lands, which is ten leagues beyond Tete up the river. It contains about eight thousand Kaffirs, his Majesty's subjects, who are obliged to obey the summons of the captain when and where they are called upon. They are all warriors, armed with arrows and assagais.

The captaincy of the settlement of Tete is much coveted by the married men therein, from among whom the captain is

usually selected, and who recompenses the captain of Mozambique for it.

The lands of Tete are divided among the Portuguese like those of Sena, some by gift of the captains of Mozambique, others by grant from his Majesty, but they all yield very little, considering their extent.

The forts which we have in the interior are first that of Majova in the territory of Botonga, ten leagues journey by land, on the banks of the river of the same name, where our territory ends. Those who are acquainted with the country say that if the fort or chuambo was placed at Inhamigare, half a day's journey on the other side of Majova, the road from this fort to that of Luanze, which is another of our forts farther on, forty leagues from Tete, would never be closed, whatever wars there might be.

Before speaking of our forts in the lands of the Monomotapa it is fit that we should speak of our treaties of peace and of our wars with him, and say something of his kingdom.

The empire of Monomotapa is called Mocaranga. Besides the rivers, which were and are subject to it, it is very extensive, commencing on the eastern side eighty leagues from the coast, extending in length from the river Zambesi to the kingdom of Butua on the south, and on the western side we have not yet ascertained to whom the neighbouring kingdoms belong, it being very extensive on this side, with lands very rich in mines, and some say that here are those of silver.

The kingdoms subject to this empire are that of Quiteve, bordering on Sofala, of which we have spoken, that of Manica, that of Baro, and that of Botonga, which belong to fumos, who are the lords, the kingdom of Maungo, that of Bire, and that of Boaca.

The treaty of peace which we had with the emperor of Monomotapa was that in return for a curua, or present, which they call a mouth by another name, that was to be given to him every year by the captain of Mozambique, to the value of fifteen or sixteen thousand cruzados, he was to give the Portuguese a free passage to trade in his lands and buy and sell all the gold and ivory to be found therein. It was the custom of the captains of Mozambique, as soon as they arrived, to forward to him the first present which they call the mouth, upon which the emperor sent his ambassadors to the captain to demand the curua. A great deal

was spent upon them, all these presents consisting of many rich pieces, silks, and cloths of all kinds, to the said value.

In the year 1627 Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, coming as captain to Mozambique, sent him the curua by Jeronimo de Barros, a married Portuguese of Tete, who filled the office of ambassador ; but the emperor, who was called at first Inhambo, which in the language of that country signifies no man, asked by whose orders this was done, and afterwards the Kaffirs gave him the name of Caprasine, which signifies the king who flees. For no other reason than his wickedness, he commanded the said Jeronimo de Barros to be killed with all those of his company, and issued an empata, which is a sort of proclamation, that all the Portuguese found in his territory were to be killed, and their property was to be seized.

At that time there was in the court of the emperor one André Ferreira, captain of a fort named Masapa, who was also called the captain of the doors, because it was his duty to treat with the emperor concerning all matters between him and the Portuguese. He, upon hearing of the death of the ambassador, shut himself up with his negroes in the houses where they were lodging, and when the emperor sent to call him he refused to go, but defended himself until night. Then almost by a miracle he was able to escape unperceived, owing to a heavy storm of rain, and fleeing with all possible haste, he reached his fort in the morning, whence he sent word to all the Portuguese dispersed through the land of Mocaranga to retire into the forts in the markets which we had there, and to fortify themselves and prepare for their defence, which they did. And though the emperor came against Masapa, where André Ferreira was with seven Portuguese, he could never succeed in taking it, or any of the other forts, until our people went to their assistance and fought many battles with him, defeating and routing him every time.

Our people then proclaimed as emperor a brother of the said Caprasine, a Christian whom the friars of St. Dominic had converted and baptized, calling him Dom Philip Marcura, by which name he was afterwards known, even by some of his own people. He submitted himself and became a vassal of his Majesty, with all his empire, promising to pay every year as tribute three pastos of Botonga, for which the captain of Mozambique would send him a present.

The deposed emperor did not cease to make war, in which he met sometimes with gain and sometimes with loss; but he is said to be now almost reduced to obedience. This great empire with all the kingdoms dependent upon it were thus rightfully acquired and added to the crown of his Majesty in the time of the government of the viceroy Count de Linhares.

In conformity with the importance of these extensive lands, so rich in mines of gold and other metals, it is necessary to expel from them the enemy Caprasine, for though all say that he is already dead, he is nevertheless on foot with his army, or else his brother Dom Domingos, who was baptized by the friars of that order, and in a defeat which we sustained went over to his brother Caprasine.

These Kaffir Mocarangas are so attached to their rites, not of religion, for they have none, but of civil government, that they would lose many lives in their defence, being at the same time more obedient to their kings and lords than any other nation whatever, so that any secret which they are commanded to keep, although it be a public matter, not one will be found to reveal, as well appears in the case of the silver mines, for if there are any in this kingdom no Kaffir has been found to reveal to us where they are to be found, though we have so many dealings with them.

Finally this emperor of Monomotapa is lord of all the coast of Kaffraria as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and is held in reverence by all the Kaffirs, who think that he gives them the sun.

This emperor is in the habit of appointing a captain-general, who is the second person, after himself, and is called Macomoana, to reside in the lands of Botonga, at a place called Condessacã, where it is very necessary that we should have a fort, because the negroes of these parts, as we have said, resent the punishments we have inflicted on them, and therefore publicly assisted Caprasine in his wars, and the fort would serve to keep the said Macomoana always on our side. Next to the person of the emperor he is respected by all, and they follow his orders. He is generally of the Botonga nation.

The fort of Luanze before mentioned, where the Portuguese hold a market, is in the lands of Mocaranga, forty leagues from Tete. It is only a palisade of stakes, filled up inside with earth, allowing those within to fight under cover. The stakes are of such

a nature that when they have been two or three months in the ground they take root and become trees which last many years.

The size of this fort inside is like a large terrace, being a hundred fathoms in circumference, where the captain resides, who is selected by the captain of Mozambique, and with him the Portuguese and Christians who may be trading in those parts.

The captain of the fort has no salary or privilege, except that of selling his merchandise first, and being a merchant this is always of great advantage to him.

Their weapons of defence are guns which belong to the said Christian merchants, the captain of Mozambique supplying them with powder and balls.

This fort has a church, served by a Dominican friar who administers the sacraments to the Christians who dwell there or pass through, and converts such Kaffirs as are willing, for there is no obstacle to his preaching to them, and but little on their part in hearing and accepting what he teaches; but they always show great repugnance to the obligation of not having more than one wife, as they are used to have many, and bear very badly the severity with which this is forbidden.

Farther in the lands of Mocaranga is the fort of Ambarare, where there is a market. In this part they dig for gold, and there are gold mines. The fort is in the same form as that of Luanze, is defended in the same way, and was built and maintained for the same purpose.

Besides these aforesaid, we have another fort in the lands of Mocaranga, called the fort of Masapa, wherein the captain of the doors resided, as related. At present it is built of mud, with loopholes, in the same form as the others. It is preserved and maintained by the Portuguese and merchants who trade through the country.

The Portuguese have likewise another fort in Mocaranga, called Matafana, where there are also gold mines. It is built of stakes like the rest, and has within it a church served by friars of St. Dominic.

Besides these they have another fort and market in these lands, called Chipiriviri, where gold is also found. It is built like the rest. There are only one or two Portuguese in it and a few people of the country. The captain is selected, like all the others, by

the captain of Mozambique, who gives him no other salary or privilege than those aforesaid. Not only do they defend themselves in the manner described, but they help and succour each other in all their necessities and wars.

The last and most important fort which we have in Mocaranga is one which Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira commanded to be built in the court of the emperor Dom Philip Mavura, when they raised him to the throne, placing in it thirty Portuguese soldiers, all very good shots, with their captain. It was afterwards abandoned when the emperor changed his residence, after everything was first set on fire, as was necessary, and there is now no fixed spot where the thirty soldiers remain, but they accompany the emperor in all his wars wherever they may be carried on in these lands.

The power of the natives is vastly greater than that of the few Portuguese who are found in the country, but the conditions are now very different from what they were in former times, for we fight them with the same Kaffirs with whom they formerly fought us, and it is noteworthy that among these our slaves or vassals who fight for us, till the present there has been found no treason, but they fight against those who are Kaffirs like themselves, with all their might and fidelity.

Nor is it less worthy of observation that all the trade and merchandise of the Portuguese in these extensive territories passes through the hands of Kaffirs, either their captives or individuals known to them, to whom they entrust large quantities of the goods most esteemed and valuable among them, which they carry for many leagues into the interior and barter for gold and ivory, returning punctually with all the gain with so much truth and loyalty that to consider this in a Kaffir, naked but for his privy parts, who has travelled a hundred leagues and more from his native land and knows the most secret recesses of the thickets, so that if he wished to desert it would be impossible to ascertain where he had gone, may with reason put to shame the more esteemed nations of the earth, seeing the violence, theft, and cruelty they practise towards each other for these ends. And if at any time a Kaffir takes away anything entrusted to him, it is when his master dies in the wilderness, when they say they might as well enjoy it as leave it for another, and their lament for his death is to kill and eat any cattle they may find.



As to the silver mines which the father of this emperor, called Guaseluzere, promised to his Majesty, though he showed lumps of silver ore buried in Chicova in the territory of Mocaranga, it has nevertheless been ascertained that these lands are not of a nature to contain silver mines, though the specimens prove that such mines must exist in this empire of Monomotapa, and if everything was quiet they might be sought for and discovered.

The air of the country of Monomotapa is very salubrious, and thus the Portuguese and other Christians who traverse it do not suffer from the sickness which they usually have in other parts of the rivers of Cuama, which are very unhealthy, except the kingdom of Manica, which, as has been said, has an excellent climate. And the Mocarangas are more opinionated than any other Kaffirs whatever.

Many Moors of Arabia dwell in the empire of Monomotapa, of the same class as those who live along the coast. They are opposed to us always and everywhere, and therefore when we raised Mavura to be emperor we made it a condition that he should expel them, which when he endeavoured to do, they stirred up the natives to seek Caprasine, who was in hiding without any hope of again being king, and moved him to make war upon us, in which we are at present engaged against him.

The principal causes why these Kaffirs cannot effect so much in their wars as they ought to do, considering the numbers and strength with which they undertake them are:—

First: They neither storm nor make trenches, and when they find that they are being killed and cannot see by whom, they abandon the attack.

Secondly: They are a people who will not endure the want of anything, but go in search of the remedy wherever it may be and whatever they abandon by so doing.

Thirdly: They will not persevere in a siege or war unless they are victorious at once, but, rather, no one can restrain them from dispersing and going in search of a living. And even if they are victorious in a battle, it needs much to induce them to fight another, for they say they have finished the war for which they came, and if in the meanwhile the time for their harvests arrives, they care for nothing but to go and attend to them.

*Description of the Animals to be found along the Rivers of Cuama.*

Entering the river Zambesi at Quilimane, as far as the fork where the other arm branches off towards Luabo, which is a distance of thirty leagues, as before observed, the banks on both sides of the stream to a width of about two leagues contain many pools of fresh water, which are filled from the overflow of the channel of the river in the winter seasons. Boats can go over these plains when they are under water during the floods, and when the water returns to the river channel they are found stocked with so many land animals that there are pastures in which five or six thousand are to be seen together.

Among these are elephants of extraordinary size.

There are rhinoceroses, which are called unicorns, of the size of small elephants, which they also resemble in their feet. Their horns and blood have many virtues. They have two horns, a large one which lies flat on the head and is only raised when they are angry and prepared to fight—this giving rise to their being called unicorns in these parts—and the lower horn which is called nharga is a callosity of much greater virtues.

There are many buffaloes, whose horns are two palms in width at the base, where they are joined together like a porter's pad. This makes them so strong that by butting at anything with their heads they can throw it down directly, even though it be a strong wall, and these animals are the most feared by the hunters, even more than lions and tigers, of which there are many in these plains and in the thickets of the interior. No other animal pursues and persecutes a man as these buffaloes do, and they are larger and stronger than any European bull.

There are pigs with two protuberances of flesh like warts on their heads, very small eyes, and two fin-like pieces of flesh beneath their jaws from which long hairs grow, rendering them still more hideous. They are extremely big and ferocious. Some of them have large tusks weighing four and five pounds. These, when they come to any tree, dig away the earth with their snouts and cut through the roots with their tusks, until they have succeeded in throwing it down, to eat the fruit.

There are gnus, resembling oxen of a grey colour, with sharp hips, long fore legs, cloven hoofs, and horns like oxen, but higher, though they have tails and manes like horses.

They have a white stripe round the nose, like a halter. They herd together and are swift runners, they rush to attack with fury, but stop short. Their flesh is better than that of any other animal in the wilderness.

There are pacallos, which are animals of the ox tribe, with very long horns, almost three-quarters of a fathom in length. These have very large humps above their forelegs. They are red, with long legs, cloven hoofs, and eyes and hips like oxen.

There are chefos, which are very like the said pacallos, but rather more of an ash colour, with cloven hoofs, and marked on each side from the shoulder towards the belly with four white stripes at equal distances. These have straight horns also of three-quarters of a fathom in length, with a very slight curve, and they twist round and round like ivy round a tree, from the base to the point.

There are angamos, which are like stags but larger, being about the size of a horse. They are grey, and have the same twisted horns from base to point.

There are other red animals, which the Kaffirs call ballas, which are like calves of a year old. They have a mark of a lighter colour on their hind quarters, and their horns curve towards each other on their heads very equally.

There are stags in large number which have a white stripe four or five fingers wide at the base of the tail girdling the buttock in the shape of a moon. They are very large. Their horns have no branches.

The deer are so numerous that they go about in flocks like sheep, they are red, and have horns like the aforesaid stags with no branches. There are fallow deer, which are greyer, with the same kind of horns, and others smaller, which are called emporas, and are spotted with white resembling the wild buck. There are others still smaller, which are called gazelles, and some goats, but they are very small.

All these animals are easily hunted, and their flesh may be eaten, except that of the tigers. It is to be noted that when many of them are sometimes surrounded by men, they neither flee nor make any sound if there is a lion among them, which the hunters allow to escape, and this is no sooner done than all the rest take to flight with a great outcry.

The hippopotami of this river are very celebrated, for they are

exceedingly numerous. They go a great distance inland on the plains for pasture, and if they find no pools of water into which they can retreat they return to the river. Their nature is such that they will not draw back before any animal however fierce, and when they retreat to the river, in whatever part they reach it, they cast themselves down, though the bank be as high as a tower, as it sometimes is, without seeking another road. They are the same length as a horse, or a little longer, and so fat that three men could not span them. They are shaped like a wine skin. Their legs are thick, and divide into three large round hoofs, and one thick short one at the back. Their bellies touch the ground. In a district where there are two hundred of these animals there may not be more than one male, for they are killed as among swine. The female when bringing forth her young does so in secret, to prevent the male being killed as soon as it is born, and when it is grown brings it to the herd. Their mouths are so large as to be a deformity. They remain under water with only their heads exposed and their ears, in which they most resemble a horse. They have a star on their foreheads. In their eyebrows and their neighing they are almost like horses. The ears are small.

There is a fish in these rivers of Cuama called the torpedo, which has the property that when the fisherman has it on the hook he drops the rod from his hand, being unable to hold it, for he suddenly loses the power of his members and they give way like a thing which is broken. When it is on the ground, no one can touch or lift it because of this property, as long as it is alive. The skin is very thick, and serves to make collars: it has many virtues against different evils.

There are birds in these rivers, called *romanos*, which live on the sand, and go about in flocks of more than three and four thousand together. They are as big as large sheep, and measure two fathoms and a half across the wings from tip to tip. They have short feet like geese, and the beak is very wide and about two or three palms in length. Under the beak they have a skin bag which serves them as a fishing-net, and can hold an almude of water. Whoever catches and kills one of these birds will find a down so extensive, white, and thick, that no ermine could be softer to the touch.

There are geese, called *gregos*, which are like ours in Europe,

but black and much larger. They have feet like geese, red but much longer, and similar beaks. Their flesh is very good. These have a spur at the tips of their wings like a little finger, with which they fight anything that attacks them.

There are other geese, not so valuable, which are called white geese. Their wings are the colour of a partridge, and they are red above the eyes.

There are wild ducks, and many marrecas, which are smaller than a duck, other grey ones which are still smaller, and others larger than a capon. These have combs, with the feet and beak of a goose. They are so fat that were it not for the feet it would be impossible to tell their breasts from their backs. Their flesh is the best of all these birds.

There are other birds with very long legs, which are always on the banks of the rivers. They are white and red, and their beaks are yellow and large. They place themselves at the edge of the water, and opening their beaks dip them in the water as a snare, and with one leg on the ground they beat the reeds, and as the fish pass under their beaks they pierce them through. This is their mode of subsistence.

There are other very large birds called capellinos, they have large feathers in their tails, a hood at the back of their necks, and another under the throat, both red and shallow inside.

There are many ducks and royal herons, others which are called bustards, and others of many colours, many picapeixes, some blue and red, and some white and black, with very short feet and moderately-sized beaks. There are many ginchos and royal eagles.

There is a sort of bird like a heron, with a tuft on its beak like velvet, and black ears surrounded by another band like velvet, also black, and a bright yellow crown on its head with long threads resembling the saffron flower, but more beautiful. They are called coroanes.

There are so many others in these plains and woods, besides those mentioned, resembling both those of Portugal and of other parts, that it would be endless to enumerate them.

The fish in these rivers, of the kind which the Kaffirs call mune-mune, are so numerous that in the rainy season they come out of the river and are left in the pools during summer. They are like very large cabassos. If these fish come inland and are

left in a pool which dries up, they bury themselves in the mud, and if that is wanting they renew themselves in such a way that each fish consumes itself from the belly to the tail, and leaves only the backbone by which to live until it gets water, when a new fish is formed from the said backbone in less than ten or twelve days. Some of these fish are more than half a fathom long, and the birds of prey make great havoc of them when they are left without water.

In the territory bordering on these rivers there are land rats larger than a rabbit, which they call sangres. The Kaffirs catch them in great numbers to eat, because they are very fat and live only on the roots of large herbs and the plants cultivated in gardens.

There is a tree in this country called made, on which the Kaffirs take their oaths. They strip off the bark and give an infusion of it to the person who is to swear, and if he vomits he lives, but if not he dies, for it is deadly poison. Then they say that he who died swore falsely, and he who lives truly. It is the property of this tree that no bird perches on it, or any person rests beneath it without dying, and if any large animal lies down under it or remains in its shadow for any length of time it also dies. Many skeletons are generally found beneath it. In order to strip the bark, the Kaffirs go there at sunrise and approach from the east, that the shadow may fall on the other side, and in the same way at sunset, for much of the poison is found to lie in the shadow.

#### *Description of the Islands of Angoxa.*

The northernmost of the islands of Angoxa is thirty leagues south of Mozambique. Only one of them is inhabited. This is about five leagues in length, and is near the mainland. It is made an island by a river, in which many islands are formed, and there is no dry ford to the mainland. This island is inhabited by Moors, with a Moorish king subject to his Majesty. It formerly belonged to the factors of Mozambique, but the captain of that fortress declaring that cloths were imported into the rivers of Cuama of which he held the lease, bought the trade from his Majesty for two thousand five hundred cruzados a year, and now it has its factor who attends to no other business than buying and selling with the people of the country. The Moors are evil-

doers, and with their Kaffir slaves number about one thousand five hundred, more or less. A priest was formerly stationed there, solely to say mass, but he was killed by the Moors in the year 1627, and since that time there has been none.

The islands of Angoxa which are in the sea are seven, and uninhabited. They are at a distance of a league from the land, the depth of water between being eight or nine fathoms. Before the bar of Angoxa there is a sand bank four leagues exposed and three under water, which is called St. Antonio. Along it on the side towards the sea is a very dangerous reef of rocks. Four full leagues farther is the island Mafamede, which is the first of the Angoxa group, and is uninhabited.

On the same side, two leagues farther and not so distant from the mainland, is another island, which is the second, and is called Inhatimbe. Opposite to it on the mainland is a bar which will admit a small vessel. Abreast of this island is a sand bank which is almost covered with water at spring tides.

Two leagues farther is the island of Macute. Scarcely two leagues from this is the island of Caldeira, which some call Arvore.

From this island, which is the fourth of the Angoxa group, but a little farther out to sea, five leagues along the coast stretches a sand bank called Moma.

And from it at seven leagues distance along the coast, but closer to the mainland, are two islands near each other below the bar of Mocolongo. The first is called Mocolongo, and the other Arvores, because the trees on it are numerous and large.

About a league from this island is a sand bank, which is also nearly covered at spring tides.

At about three leagues from this bank, and about three leagues farther from the coast than any of those before mentioned, is Fogo Island, which is greater in extent than any of the others, more thickly wooded, and lower.

Beyond this island to the southwest is a shoal of sand like those before mentioned, but more to be feared, for it is covered at high water both in spring and neap tides. In the day time the sea may always be seen breaking over it, but at night a good look out is necessary.

All these islands and banks are to be feared at night, because of the great reefs which lie along them on the side towards the sea ;

and as they are very steep the lead is not of much use, for when the navigators have just found twenty fathoms, and wish to take fresh soundings, they are already on the reefs, which are all solid rock.

None of these islands have any permanent water, though abundance in the rainy season. They have the best *jangomas* known upon that coast, where all are good.

Between the islands and banks of Angoxa as far as Moma a view is obtained of the first island of Mocolongo, about two full leagues to the northeast. Anyone wishing to enter from the sea need only beware of places where there are breakers. The depth of water within the islands is from ten to six fathoms, near the land there is a clean bottom and safe anchorage.

Those who go from Mozambique to the rivers of Cuama navigate with great security among them, from Quilimane until close to Inhatimbe, however dark it may be, by using the lead, for the passage is clear and the only precaution to be taken is not to pass nine fathoms towards the sea and six towards the land. Here more harm is done by fear and the want of experience of the Portuguese navigating from Portugal, than the real danger warrants.



## DOCUMENTS OBTAINED AT ROME.

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*Letter from Friar LOUIS, of the Order of Preachers, to his Provincial.\**

Feb. 3, 1630.

In the year 1628, on the 17th of November, the Emperor of Monomotapa was stirred up against the Christians and killed the ambassador whom the Captain of Mozambique had sent to his court, as well as all the other Christians who were in his country. All the men of that place took advantage of my being in Tete as vicar, and requested me to come to Sena as their representative, in order to bring them succour by which they might at least save life and goods. I accepted this labour for the love of our Lord and honour of religion. I came to Sena and obtained from the captain and inhabitants of the said place the required assistance, and started with them for Alvaure, which is the first station, and not finding the enemy there, we went to Mocapa, where we found the army of the Emperor, which consisted of a hundred thousand men, and ours not more than fifteen thousand.

With this inequality, invoking the help of God through the intercession of our Lady of the Rosary, our little army attacked this great one, and by the help of God put them to flight. Having obtained this victory we went with our army to Zimbabwe, the court of the King, and there I built a little church and put up a crucifix I had brought with me, and a statue of the Blessed Virgin of the Rosary, dedicating the Church to her and calling it "of the Rosary." I said a Mass *in gratiarum actionem* for the help bestowed. I put an uncle of the conquered king, called Manura, in possession of the kingdom, he being the eldest of the other brothers. I made him tributary to the Catholic King, with the conditions which your Reverence will find herewith. In this likewise I had much trouble, for the

\* Obtained by the Hon. A. Wilmot, M.L.C., in the archives of the Propaganda at Rome, and very kindly supplied by him for publication in this volume.

Portuguese wished to put another relative of the conquered king in possession who had brought them to Sena with great promises of gain. However, as God favours truth and justice, I obtained that which I claimed. The King being in authority, I sought to convert him to our Holy Faith. When I had spent eight months in this daily work, it pleased God to move the heart of the King so that he received the waters of Holy Baptism. I administered it to him, and as *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis*, the great people of the country began to be converted, and four or five of them were baptised with the King's wife, who is called Donna Giovanna in memory of the Mother of our father, so that he may bear in mind to pray to our Lord that He will preserve in this king the faith he has professed to the greater honour and glory of our Divine Master, and the salvation of so many souls.

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*Letter from the Rev. Fr. GERONIMO of the Passion, Deputy from the Holy Office, to the Provincial of Portugal.\**

Goa, February 20, 1630.

In this vessel there is going by order of the Vice-Regent of this state, one of our Catechumens. He is sent that he may be placed in a monastery of St. Dominic, either that of your Reverence, or in that of the Rev. Prior, in order that, according to the wish of his Majesty, he may be baptised with all pomp and state, either by the hand of your Reverence, or whose ever the King may command, because he is a prince and hereditary heir of him who was emperor of the great *Mancura* empire of Monomotapa. And he is nephew of him who is vassal of His Majesty, and who has been made Emperor, and whom we have baptised. Therefore it will be well that your Reverence shall cause our Catechumen to be placed by order of the King in some Dominican Convent, and be baptised with all pomp and ceremony. And he should be given such state and accommodation as is befitting a prince of so great an empire as *Mancura*, so that the kingdom and Court of Spain, and that of Rome, may

\* Obtained by the Hon. A. Wilmot, M.L.C., in the archives of the Propaganda.

know that the sons of St. Dominic have taken in hand, and baptised emperors, and sons and nephews of emperors.

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*Advices from Goa of 1630. Monomotapa.\**

The Emperor of Monomotapa having robbed the Portuguese residing in Sena and Tete, and killed the Ambassador whom the Captain at Mozambique had sent to him, we took the field with two hundred and fifty Portuguese and thirty thousand Kafirs, their vassals, at two different times—the first in December, 1628, and the second in May, 1629. Their two great armies were destroyed, and on the second day the greater part of the grandees of the empire were killed, and the remainder made Manura their emperor in place of the former one, who, according to the laws of the country, for certain excesses he had committed in the flight, could no longer reign. Manura at this time became a Christian, and was put in possession by the Portuguese, in the name of and as the vassal of their king, and received and guaranteed all the conditions which the Portuguese considered conformable to the honour of the Gospel, and of the Crown of Portugal.

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*Extract from an encyclical letter of the General of the Dominicans.†*

Et quia aliquis Orbis locus non reperitur in quem Sanctissimi Rosarii flores odorem suum non diffuderint, ad calcem huius epistolæ apponam quod, dum ea scribo, a Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide accepi, scilicet quod nuper apud Jappones novi aliis Fidei testes ex nostro Ordine eundem et totam Ecclesiam proprio sanguine illustraverint: et quod ex Congregatione nostra orientali quindecim Fratres missi fuerint ad insulas de Solor, quorum caput fuit Pater Michael Rangel, jam in

\* Obtained by the Hon. A. Wilmot, M.L.C., in the archives of the Propaganda.

† Ex epistola Encyclica Rñi P. Fr. Nicolai Rodolfi, Magistri Generalis Ordinis Prædicatorum sub die 2 februarii 1631 ad universum Ordinem directa. Obtained in the Dominican archives, Rome.

Episcopum Chochinensem (Cotschim), a Catholico Rege assumptus referuntque prædicti Fratres ibi appulsi, segetes ad messem satis amplas, messorum vero paucos reperire. Illud tamen nostrum magis roborat Institutum, quod eiusdem Sacræ Congregationis pro batissimo assertum testimonio Vestris Paternitatibus pro ultimo Sanctissimi Rosarii miraculum referendum duxi.

Monopotapæ Imperator militum centum millia comparaverat, ut paucos nostros Christianos prorsus deleret. Adest ibi Pater Fr. Ludovicus de Spiritu Sancto, quem omnes ut parentem venerantur, et qui in tanto suorum discrimine haudquaquam animo concidit; imo, cum ad ipsum velut ad commune asylum omnes confugerent, maiori qua potuit dexteritate quindecim Christianorum millia recensuit, quibus se ducem pariter exhibuit et pastorem, ipsos brevi oratione hortatus, ut pro Fide, pro vita, pro re familiari se præliaturos intelligerent, scirentque Reginam Sacratissimi Rosarii, cuius Mysteria et ipso numero præferebant, militibus suis nequaquam defuturam. Quid plura? Ventum est ad prælium et Beatissimæ Virginis auxilio Gloriosissimæ de tam ingenti exercitu parta victoria, cui ut Cœlesti Liberatrici non modicam Aedem Pater Ludovicus prædictus in tropheum erexit in ipsa Imperatoris regia (Sibate dicta) ex ipso Sanctissimi Rosarii nomine, et in ipsa Sacrum in ipsius Virginis honorem maiori qua potuit lætitia et grati animi significatione primus omnium celebravit. Suffectus deinde fuit in Imperium devicti Imperatoris avunculus, quem Pater Ludovicus, ut Fidei collum submitteret, et suam Cœlestem Vindicatricem recognosceret per octo continuos menses hortatus, tandem importunis ad Deiparam Virginem precibus emissis effecit, ut novus Imperator similiter cum Imperatrice, et quam plurimis Regni proceribus Salutari Fonte abluerentur, Imperatorque ex nomine Regis Catholici Philippus dictus est; Imperatrix vero ex nomine Matris Divi Dominici Johanna appellari voluit. Insuper Imperatoris eiusdem nepos Goam missus, ut in nostra Aede per manus Reverendi Patris Vicarii Generalis illius Congregationis baptismum recipiat, maiori quo possint apparatu Fratres nostri sedulo procurent.

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*Extractos d'uma Carta do Padre JORGE DE GOVEA.\**

Vs Illustrissimo me ordenou a emformarse do estado da christandade dos Reinos do Mono Motapa.

Sej aver la noua rezidência da Companhia em q̄ andão occupados doze quinze Relligiosos, e fazem muito fruito naquella gentildade q̄ he infinita.

A fora esta conta he hũ Collegio na Ilha de Mozãbique, q̄ he cabessa das ditas rezidências no qual collegio rezidem sempre dez doze pera dali acodirem quando adoece algũ nas ditas residencias ou morre.

O numero dos christaos he infinito, e fora muito major se ouuera obreiros mas são poucos por não aver sustentação, O estado esta necessitado e não pode el Rey acodir, na forma q̄ convem, por isto se não accressenta a Igreja, por não auer com q̄ se sustentem os obreiros.

Por q̄ se podera dar Remedio, pera q̄ ouvesse sustentação e fossem muitos obreiros os Reinos de mono Motapa são muitos e mui estendidos, mas el Rei não pode acodir a tudo E perdemse m<sup>tes</sup> contos de almas p não auer obreiros.

S. Roque 25 de majo 1631.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Extracts from a Letter from the Father JORGE DE GOVEA.*

Your Eminence has ordered me to give you information concerning the condition of Christianity in the kingdoms of Monomotapa.

A new establishment of the Society of Jesus has been formed there, in which twelve to fifteen religious are employed, and are gathering much fruit among those heathens, who are very numerous.

Besides these there is a college in the island of Mozambique, which is the head of the establishment, in which college ten or twelve always reside to assist from it when any one labouring falls ill or dies.

The number of Christians is great, and would be much greater

\* Copied from the original document (2681 No. 111) in the Library Casanatense in Rome.

if there were labourers, but these are few, owing to the want of subsistence. The condition is one of poverty, and if the king cannot assist in a suitable manner the church cannot grow, through not having the means of supporting labourers.

If a remedy could be provided by means of sustentation, and there were many labourers, the kingdoms of Monomotapa are numerous and of great extent, but the king cannot assist all, and many thousands of souls are being lost for want of labourers.

St. Roque, 25th May 1631.

### ETHIOPIA ORIENTAL.\*

Il Regno di Monomotapa è molto grande et pieno di gente, quasi tutti gentili, et senza culto di Religione.

È ricco di miniere di oro, d'ebano, et d'avorio, et è opinione di molti che sia l'antica Ofir, ove Salomone mandava le sue navi che dal mare rosso navigavano per la costa d'Affrica in queste parti, navigatione molto facile et piena di porti.

La sua grandezza non si sa dire, ma si crede, che da un lato confini con il Regno di Angola, et dall'altro con quello del Prete Ianni.

Tengono in questo Regno, et altri adherenti, i Portoghesi molti luoghi vicino al mare, et nelle parti mediterranee, delle quali si dirà brevemente quel poco, che hora se n'è inteso.

Et cominciando dalla città di Zofala, che passato il Capo di Buona Speranza, è la prima che si trova habitata da Christiani,

#### ZOFALA

Questa è fortezza del Re di Portogallo, governata da un Fidalgo Portoghese soggetto al Governatore di Mozambiche; fatta da cento fuochi tra Portoghesi, mulatti, et Negri christiani oltre alcuni altri de gentili.

\* Copied from a document (2681 No. 109) in the Library Casanatense in Rome. There is a duplicate in the archives of the Propaganda, forwarded from Lisbon on the 28th of June 1631. The paper was prepared by a Dominican friar in South Africa, whose name is not given. The English translation which follows is taken largely from the Hon. Mr. Wilmot's collection, with the very kind permission of that gentleman.

È in quella una sola chiesa di S. Domenico con uno, o due Religiosi Sacerdoti senza altri.

È terra di contratto, dove non si fa Christianità, da quelli in poi che nascono da Christiani.

Si battezzano molti negri naturali della Terra, ma non vivono poi christianamente per non essere chi tenga cura di loro.

#### CHILIMANI

Ha una fortezza di legname chiamata Chiumbo, dove stanno alcuni Portoghesi di Presidio, et una picciola Chiesa di legname con un Padre della Compagnia, et la gente della Terra sono Maumettani et gentili.

#### LUABO

Isola dove sta altra fortezza con alcuni christiani Portoghesi et naturali.

L' Isola gira circa tre leghe, habitano in lei anco Mori.

Ha una Chiesa di S. Domenico con un Padre.

Da Chilimani in su per il Rio sono molte popolazioni christiane delle quali niuno tien cura, ma vanno alcuni Visitatori da Sena a visitarli, che non cercano altro che oro.

#### SENA

È fortezza del Re sette giornate dentro della Terra ferma. Haverà più di 200 Case de Christiani.

Ha la Chiesa parrocchiale, dove stanno due Preti.

La Chiesa di S. Domenico con tre o quattro Religiosi

La Compagnia due o tre Religiosi.

Altra Chiesa di S. Antonio governata da un Sacerdote.

#### LARANTUCA

Fuora di Sena è una christianità chiamata Larantuca dove è una Chiesa detta N. S<sup>ra</sup> del Remedio tenuta dalli P<sup>ri</sup> di S. Domenico con un solo P<sup>re</sup> sotto del quale stanno altre Ville et in ciascuna delle quali sono christiani.

#### TETI 100 LEGHE LONTANA DAL MARE

è fortezza sopra Sena per il Rio, farà da cento Case di Christian fra Portoghesi et Naturali.

La Chiesa principale è de P̄ri di S. Domenico con due P̄ri et Altra Chiesa de P̄ri della Compagnia con due altri, sotto a questa stanno molte Ville con christiani soggetti a predetti.

Tutti questi luoghi sono del Re.

LUANZE 160 LEGHE LUNGI DAL MARE

farà da diece, o dodeci case di Christiani, gli altri sono gentili et qui comincia la terra dell' oro.

Ha una Chiesa de P̄ri di S. Dom<sup>o</sup> con un Sacerdote

DAMBARARE 220

Un popolo dove si fa una fiera, e vi concorrono molti mercanti per comprar oro.

Ha una Chiesa de P̄ri di S. Dom<sup>o</sup> con un Religioso

MAZAPA

Altra Villa simile alla sud<sup>a</sup> con un altra simile Chiesa.

ZIMBAOE

è la Città reale del Monomotapa molto vicina al sud<sup>o</sup> luogo di Mazapa. Dicono sia Città grande.

In quella non vi è Chiesa libera de Christiani; Ma vi sono però molti Christiani, che fuggono et s'riducono a vivere in quella.

Li Religiosi non ci vanno per non fare al Re le sommissioni, et adorationi, che vuole gli siano fatte da tutti gli altri.

MANICA

Tornando hora da Sena verso il mare, si truova un luogo d<sup>o</sup> del Re di Ocheteve, che è Re grande e potente, con molti Christiani Portoghesi et naturali.

Ha una Chiesa di S. Domenico con due Sacerdoti. Con molte altre Ville intorno, in ogni una delle quali sono christiani.

MATUCA

Con alcuni 40 overo 50 Christiani.

Ha una Chiesa di S. Domenico con un Sacerdote.



## MAUNGO

Villa soggetta alla pred<sup>a</sup>.

## ABUMBA

tiene dieci o dodici Portoghesi con altri naturali christiani.

Ha una Chiesa senza frate, si dovrebbe provvedere.

Molte Villette et luoghi con Christiani senza Pastori soggetti al Re d' Ocheteve, sono da sette giornate lontane dal mare.

In ciascuno de pred<sup>1</sup> luoghi sono Capitani della gente Christiana Deputati per li Ministri del Re di Portogallo.

Di qui si va per costa a Mozambiche, che è il principale luogo de Portoghesi in quelle parti con Porto grande, et capace delle Navi d' India.

## MOZAMBICHE

è fortezza nella quale sta per Capitano un Fidalgo Portoghese, che è anco Governatore di Zofala, et delli fiumi di Cuama.

Ha Chiesa Collegiata con otto, o nove chierici.

Un Convento di S. Domenico con sette frati.

Un altro de P<sup>r</sup>i della Compagnia con 10 overo 12 Religiosi.

Un Eremita di S<sup>o</sup> Antonio fuori del Popolato. La populatione è tutta di Portoghesi casati in numero di 150 oltre il presidio della fortezza, che passa di cento huomini, et molti altri christiani naturali della Terra, che habitano ivi, et dall'altra banda della barra, o sia bocca del Porto.

## CHIRIMBA

Isola sita verso Tramontana dalla parte di Mozambiche è di circuito di due leghe incirca.

Ha populatione di Portoghesi casati in nu<sup>m</sup>o di 30 overo 40 oltre i naturali della terra tutti christiani.

Ha una Chiesa di S. Do<sup>m</sup>o con due frati.

## IBO

altra Isola con chiesa simile, et un frate.

Intorno alla d<sup>a</sup> Isola di Chirimba sono altre Isolette senza Chiese ma sotto al governo de P<sup>r</sup>i di Chirimba sono m<sup>te</sup> altre residenze de Religiosi de S. Dom<sup>o</sup> e della Compagnia per le provincie di Mozambique sujet<sup>o</sup> alle d<sup>e</sup> di sopra.

## MOMBASSA

sotto a Mozambique per la parte del mare e altre Città chiamate Mombaco che è fortezza parim<sup>te</sup> del Re di Portogallo, habitata da Portoghesi e sotto a Mombassa verso il mare rosso resta la città de

## QUILOA, CHE.

Parimente è fortezza dello stesso Re et ne cantoni et luoghi mediterranei delle dette due predette città sono sparsi diversi christiani come nell'altre parti già dette.

Il Dominio Temporale è de varii regoli per lo spirituale de questi et altri predetti è tutto dell' Arcivescovo di Goa che in distantia de più de mille leghe verso il capo di Buena speranza è Prelato ordinario di tutti i Cristiani che vi si trovano.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

## EASTERN ETHIOPIA.

The kingdom of Monomotapa is very large and full of people, nearly all Pagans, and without knowledge of religion.

It is rich in gold mines, ebony, and ivory, and in the opinion of many it is the ancient Ophir, where Solomon sent his ships, which sailed through the Red Sea to the coast of Africa, a very easy navigation and full of ports.

The extent of the kingdom is not known, but it is believed to be bounded on one side by the kingdom of Angola, and on the other by that of Prester John.

In this kingdom and others adjoining the Portuguese hold possession of many places near the sea and inland; of these we shall tell briefly all that is known at present.

And commencing with the town of Sofala, which, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, is the first we find inhabited by Christians,

## SOFALA

is a fortress of the king of Portugal, governed by a Portuguese nobleman subject to the governor of Mozambique. There are

about a hundred Christian families, between Portuguese, mulattos, and negroes, as well as others Pagans.

There is only one Dominican church here with one or two priests, no other friars.

It is a trading station, where none are made Christians who are not born so.

We have baptized many of the natives, but they do not live as Christians, because there is no one to take care of them.

#### QUILIMANE

has a wooden fort called a stockade, which is the seat of a Portuguese Presidency. There is a small wooden church with one father of the Society of Jesus. The people of that territory are Mohamedans and Pagans.

#### LUABO

is an island where there is another fort and several Portuguese and native Christians.

The island is three leagues in circumference, and is inhabited partly by Mohamedans.

There is one church of Saint Dominic, with one father.

From Quilimane along the river there are many Christians, of whom no one takes charge, and when any visit them from Sena it is only to seek gold.

#### SENA

is a fortress of the king seven days' journey towards the interior.

It has more than two hundred houses of Christians.

There is a parochial church, with two priests.

The church of Saint Dominic has three or four friars, and the Society of Jesus two or three members.

Also the church of Saint Anthony in charge of a priest.

#### LARANTUCA.

Beyond Sena is a Christian settlement called Larantuea, where there is a church named "Our Lady of Remedy," belonging to the Dominicans. It has one priest, under whom there are other villages, in each of which there are Christians.

## TETE, 100 LEAGUES FROM THE SEA,

is a fortress above Sena on the river, and has about one hundred Christian families, Portuguese and native.

The principal church is of the fathers of Saint Dominic, with two priests, and there is another church of fathers of the Society of Jesus, with two priests. Under these are many country villages where there are Christians subject to the aforesaid.

All these places are under the king.

## LUANZE, 160 LEAGUES FROM THE SEA,

has ten or twelve Christian families, the others are Pagans, and here begins the land of gold.

It has a church of the fathers of Saint Dominic, with one priest.

## DAMBARARE, 220.

The people have made a fair here, and many traders come to buy gold.

It has a church of the fathers of Saint Dominic, with one friar.

## MAZAPA.

Another town similar to the above, with a similar church.

## ZIMBAOE

is the royal city of Monomotapa, very near the above named Mazapa. It is said to be a large city.

There is no church, but there are many Christians, who are refugees compelled to live here.

The monks cannot come here, as they are not able to pay the king the submission and adoration which he exacts from all.

## MANICA.

Turning now from Sena towards the sea we find a place belonging to the king of Quiteve, who is great and powerful. Here are many Christians, Portuguese and native.

It has a church of Saint Dominic with two priests. There are several villages round about, in which there are Christians.

MATUCA,

with about forty or fifty Christians.

It has a church of Saint Dominic, with one priest.

MAUNGO,

a village under the above named priest.

ABUMBA,

containing ten or twelve Portuguese and some native Christians.

There is a church, but no priest. One should be provided.

There are many little villages and places subject to the king of Quiteve, where there are Christians without pastors. They are about seven days' journey from the sea.

In each of these places there are captains of the people, Christians appointed by the ministers of the king of Portugal.

Hence we go along the coast to Mozambique, which is the principal station of the Portuguese in these parts, with a fine harbour used by the Indian trading ships.

MOZAMBIQUE

is a fortress, in which is stationed a Portuguese nobleman as captain, who is also governor of Sofala and of the rivers of Cuama.

It has a collegiate church, with eight or nine priests,

A Dominican monastery, with seven friars,

Another of the fathers of the Society of Jesus, with ten or twelve religious,

A hermitage of Saint Anthony outside the town.

The Portuguese population numbers about one hundred and fifty, besides the garrison of the fortress, which consists of more than one hundred men. There are also many native Christians living here and on the other side of the strait, beyond the harbour.

CHIRIMBA,

an island north of Mozambique, about two leagues in circumference.

It has a population of thirty or forty Portuguese besides the natives of the country, all Christians.

There is one Dominican church, with two friars.

#### IBO,

another island, with a similar church and one friar.

Round about the island of Chirimba are other islets without churches, but under the rule of the fathers of Chirimba. There are many other residences of the religious of Saint Dominic and of the Society of Jesus in the province of Mozambique, similar to those spoken of above.

#### MOMBASA.

Below Mozambique, on the sea coast, is another city called Mombasa, where there is a fortress likewise belonging to the king of Portugal, and inhabited by Portuguese; and below Mombasa, towards the Red Sea, is the city of

#### KILWA,

like the others, a fortress of the same king. And in the environs and inland districts of these two last named towns are spread many Christians, as in other parts already mentioned.

The temporal dominion belongs to various rulers. The spiritual dominion of this as well as of the other places spoken of belongs entirely to the archbishop of Goa, who is distant more than a thousand leagues from the Cape of Good Hope. This prelate is ordinary of all the Christians there.

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#### *Letter from the Bishop of Gerace to the Propaganda.\**

Lisbon, November 1, 1631.

I have urged the Archbishop of Goa, who is at the Court of Madrid, to do all he can to procure Missionaries, and he writes to me by last post that His Majesty has made a concession of

\* Obtained by the Hon. A. Wilmot, M.L.C., in the archives of the Propaganda.

eighteen for the parts of Monomotapa, when so many are found willing to go, they will be of great assistance in those parts.

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*Letter from the Bishop of Gerace.\**

Lisbon, May 1, 1632.

I cannot report to your Eminence that arrangements have been made for the four Franciscan Capuchins to go as Missionaries to Monomotapa because the Procurator is at present on visitation, and I am advised to wait for him to select them. It is best that he should choose them, and advise the time of their departure to your Eminence. So that the Mission cannot be ready until next year, it being too late for this.

I have endeavoured to procure a detailed map of the kingdom of Monomotapa, but have not yet found one. I have got in this place a book by a Dominican from which can be drawn much information about this and other kingdoms of Africa and Asia, in the matter of the Faith and its propagation. I have thought of sending it to your Eminence, which I do.

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*Autentica testimonianza del Battesimo dell' Imperatore e Re Manamotapa sottoscritta dal medesimo Imperatore e segnata con il suo sigillo Reale e firmata dal segretario suo interprete, inviata al P. Mtro. F. DIONYSIO de Lancastro della prov. di Portugallo dell' ordine de' Predicatori.†*

Don Domenico Manamotapa per gratia del Signor Iddio Re e Signore di Mocharanga, Boessa, Borongha, Quiteue, Monghos, Inhaxamo et facciamo intendere a tutti che vedranno questa nostra, qualm<sup>co</sup> vivendo il Re Felippo nostro Padre e Signore, essendo noi Prïpe di questi Regni, siamo stati allevati con li Padri Religiosi di S. Domenico a' quali il detto Re nostro Padre fin da' primi anni della nostra fanciullezza ci consegnò, e da essi

\* Obtained by the Hon. A. Wilmot, M.L.C., in the archives of the Propaganda.

† Ex Archivio Generali Ord. Prædicatorum, codice xiii, 467.—Romæ.

siamo stati instructi, addottrinati e molte volte persuasi, acciò volessimo abbracciare la Fede Santa di Giesù Christo e ricevessimo l'acqua del Santo Battesimo, e benchè noi habbiamo desiderato ferventemente l'esecuzione di questo nostro desiderio, conoscendo fermamente esser quello il vero sentiero per il quale i Padri ci conducevano, nondimeno andavamo trattenendo l'effetti di questi nostri desiderij per il tempo et occasione che Dio nostro Signore ci avesse fatto gratia di darci il possesso attuale di questi nostri Regni, volendo immitare in questo particolare tutto quello che fece il re nostro Padre, quale essendo allevato e catechizzato nelle cose della Santa Fede dal P. Fr. Emanuele Sardinia del medesimo ordine di S. Domenico non volse ricevere il santo Battesimo se non doppo che fu in possesso de' suoi Regni, essendosi dunque compiaciuta la Divina Maestà di chiamare il detto Re nostro Padre alla sua Santa gloria alli 25 di Maggio dell' anno 1652, subito i Padri di S. Domenico, i grandi del Regno che in questa corte assistevano ci fecero consapevole di detta morte ed alcuni d' essi religiosi anche di persona assistevano con il Vicario di questa corte, Fra Ignatio di S. Tomasso et altri in loro compagnia ci vennero a trovare ne' luoghi dove noi residevamo molte leghe distanti dalla Corte essendo tale il costume et usanza di quei Regni e giunti che furono ci disposero alla partenza affrettandoci al possibile, temendosi negli stati alcune inquietudini le quali venivano suscitate per la nra successione dal Caparasine re Tiranno quale per le sue oppressioni fu scacciato dal Regno, da cui suscitate turbolenze venivano partoriti molti danni a questi Regni et in particolare la morte di molti nostri Vassalli Portughesi et<sup>ad</sup> alcuni religiosi per lo spazio di tre anni che durarono le turbolenze suddette. Per il che prima che uscissimo dalle nostre serre dove resiedevamo facemmo far avvisato il Capitano di Dambarare acciò facesse allestire e star in ordine i Portughesi per ogni occorrenza fusse accaduta. Venuto Poi il P. F. Giovanni de Melo alquale il Re nostro Padre aveva dato in cura la nostra persona per istruirci et addottrinarci nelle lettere, conforme esso Padre havea sempre fatto con grandissima diligenza e zelo che però facciamo di lui grandissimo conto, e stima tenendolo appresso la nostra persona in luogo di Padre, confidando che in questo nostro governo ci assista con i suoi boni consigli e ci aiuti a governare con la pace e quiete medesima che sempre governò il Re Nostro Padre



mediante l'assistenza del P. F. Emanuele Sardigna e trattando noi con detto Padre F. Giovanni de Melo, negotii gravissimi, esso non tralasciò mai raccordarci ch' era già tempo di ricevere il S. Battesimo, acciò pavessimo l'assistenza di Dio Nostro Signore nel nostro governo, e questo era quello che premetta sopra a tutto al detto Padre; stimavamo molto i suoi ricordi, rassigliandoci in tutto nel suo volere per ricevere il S. Battesimo, che perciò desiderammo assai condurlo in nostra compagnia sino alla Corte, ma non fu possibile effettuare tal desiderio essendo necessaria la persona di detto Padre si trasferisse a Dambarare per trattare negotii gravissimi per la nostra persona, per dove preso il cammino e giunto in pochi giorni trattò e consegnò tutto quello gli havevamo imposto, et ivi anco superò quelle difficoltà che travrebbero potuto trattenere il desiderio che havevamo di ricevere il S. Battesimo; tornossene subito a questa Corte in compagnia del P. Presentado F. Salvatore del Rosaria e giunsero alla corte il primo di Luglio dell' anno suddetto; ci rallegrò sommamente la sua venuta dando anche segni manifesti di giubilo tutti i grandi della nostra Corte, quali erano già mediante il zelo di detti Padri, disposti a ricevere l'acqua del S. Battesimo; Noi non tralasciammo otiosa occasione alcuna per accalorare le opere Sante di detti Padri e sapendo che alcuni de' nostri Grandi mostravano qualche renicenza in ricevere l'acqua del S. Battesimo li facemmo chiamare avanti la nostra persona e servendoci della dottrina imparata da detti Padri gli facemmo un' esortatione per mezzo della quale restarono pienamente soddisfatti e risoluti di farsi Christiani; non tralasciarono i Padri per molti giorni seguenti di catechizzare i detti Grandi quali durarono fino al giorno di S. Domenico, nel qual giorno uscimmo pomposamente dal nostro palazzo accompagnati da tutti i Grandi, dalla Soldatesca del nostro presidio e da suddetti Religiosi che venivano ai lati della nostra persona e arrivati che fummo alla loro Chiesa riccamente ornata e apparata con grandissima magnificenza et ivi prescrivemmo l'ordine che si doveva tenere nel dar l'acqua del S. Battesimo che fu in questo modo cioè facemmo che il P. F. Giovanni de Melo battezzasse noi, e la Regina nostra consorte e fusse il Padrino il P. Presentado Fr. Salvatore del Rosario, imponendo a noi il nome di Don Domenico per esser quel giorno consacrato a quel Santo, ed alla Regina il nome di Donna Luigia; appresso ordinammo battezzassero i due maggiori de' nostri

Regni Inigomaxa imponendoli il nome di Don Giovanni et Inevinga con il nome di Don Sebastiano e dopo cotesti due ordinammo si battezzassero Inhamapa con il nome di Don Ferdinando et Inhamafunhe nostro Privato con il nome di Don Pietro, il quale aveva cinque o sei mesi prima sognato che un religioso di S. Domenico lo battezzava e lo faceva Christiano, come lui medesimo ci aveva raccontato, alla presenza dei detti Padri. Tutti i sopradetti sono Grandi del nostro Regno, signori di molte terre e parenti a noi assai congiunti; fu il suddetto battesimo festeggiato da tutti e specialmente da quelli della nostra Corte che con istrumenti musicali e balli festosi diedero segni d' allegrezza incredibile. Vanno i detti Padri continuando i loro uffici religiosi e Christiani, dal che si tien per fermo che tra pochi giorni sia per farsi un' altro battesimo d' altri Grandi, i quali sono già disposti a ricevere il Santo Battesimo. Da quanto si è detto non può negarsi che non risulti gloria, e lode grandissima alla Religione di S. Domenico e alli suoi frati che sono ministri in questi nostri Regni. Habiamo pertanto comandato ad Antonio Suarez interprete e Segretario in questa nostra Corte che bene e fedelmente ne facesse autentica Fede con il sigillo Reale con il quale vien la pūte roborata accio che i Prelati di detta Religione possino certificare la Serenissima Maestà del Re di Portugallo nostro fratello, poiche questi Regni si conservano sotto la sua protezione e resti servita a comandare a' Prelati di detti Padri che riconoschino le loro fatighe e grandi servizi che a Dio, alla Maestà Sua, et a noi fanno in questi Regni. Data dalla nostra Corte di Zimbaoe, sottoscritta da noi, dal Secretario suddetto e sigillata con il sigillo Reale a 14 d' Agosto, 1652.

IL RÈ MANAMOTAPA.

ANTONIO SUAREZ,

*Secretario e interprete in Fede.*

[*English translation of the foregoing.\**]

*Authentic testimony of the baptism of the emperor and king Manamotapa, signed by the said emperor, sealed with the royal seal, and signed by his secretary and interpreter, sent to the Father Provincial Friar Dionysio de Lancastro, of the Portuguese province of the Order of Preachers.*

Dom Dominic Manamotapa, by the grace of God king and lord of Mocharanga, Boessa, Borongha, Quiteve, Monghos, Inhaxamo, &c., make known to all to whom these presents shall come, that during the life of our father and lord the king Philip, we, being prince of these kingdoms, were brought up by the Religious of St. Dominic, to whose care the said king, our father, consigned us in the days of our early youth, and by them we were instructed and catechised and many times persuaded, until we desired to embrace the holy faith of Jesus Christ, and to receive the waters of holy baptism, and though we fervently desired the fulfilment of this our longing, being firmly convinced that this was the true path, in which the fathers walked; nevertheless we deferred the effect of our desire until such time and season as God our Lord should have done us the grace of bringing us to the actual possession of this our kingdom, wishing to imitate in this particular all that was done by the king our father, who being instructed and catechised in the doctrines of the holy faith, by Friar Emanuel Sardigna, of the said order of St. Dominic, would not receive holy baptism until he was in possession of his kingdoms, the Divine Majesty being afterwards pleased to call the said king our father to his holy glory on the 25th of May 1652, immediately the fathers of St. Dominic and the nobles of the kingdom, who were present at court, informed us of his death, and several of these religious, although they were assisting the vicar of the court in person, Friar Ignatius of St. Thomas and others in his company came to us in the place where we resided, many leagues distant from the court, such being the custom and usage of these kingdoms, and after they had arrived we immediately prepared to depart with all possible haste, fearing some disturbance upon our succession on the part of Caprasine the tyrant king, who for his oppressions was expelled from the king-

\* Made by Miss A. de Alberti.

dom, and whose turbulent risings have brought forth many evils to these realms, in particular the death of many of our Portuguese vassals and of several religious, during the space of three years that the rising lasted. Therefore, before setting forth from the retreat where we resided, we caused the captain of Dambarare to see that the Portuguese were in order and readiness for any event which might occur. Afterwards there came Friar Giovanni de Melo, to whom our father gave our person in charge to instruct and make learned in letters, which charge the said Father ever fulfilled with the utmost diligence and zeal, and therefore we hold him in great consideration and esteem, keeping him next our person in the place of a father, being confident that if in this our government he assists us with his good counsel and aid we shall govern it with the same peace and tranquillity with which it was ever governed by the king our father with the assistance of Friar Emanuel Sardigna. And treating with the said Friar Giovanni de Melo of grave matters, he did not fail to remind us that the time was now come to receive holy baptism, in order to procure the assistance of God our Lord in our government, which is what the said father places above everything. We were well pleased with his reminder, agreeing in every way with his wish that we should receive holy baptism, to which end we greatly desired to keep him in our company as far as the court, but it was not possible to gratify this wish, it being necessary that the said father should go to Dambarare in person to treat of different matters of great importance to our person. He therefore hastened his journey thither, and on arriving, in a few days he successfully dispatched the business with which we had charged him, and there also overcame the difficulties which might have deferred the fulfilment of our desire of receiving holy baptism, and returned directly to this court, in company with the Presentado Friar Salvador of the Rosary, and arrived at court on the 1st of July of the year aforesaid. We rejoiced greatly at his coming, great signs of joy being also shown by all the nobles of our court, who were all ready, owing to the zeal of the said fathers, to receive the waters of holy baptism. We omitted no occasion of encouraging the holy work of the said fathers, and hearing that some of our nobles showed some reluctance to receive the waters of holy baptism, we ordered them to be summoned to our presence, and making use of the doctrine learned from the said

fathers, we made them an exhortation by means of which they were fully convinced and resolved to become Christians. The fathers did not fail, for many days following, in catechising the said nobles, and their instructions came to an end on the feast of St. Dominic. On this day we issued from our palace with great pomp, accompanied by all the nobles, the soldiers of the garrison, and by the aforesaid religious who walked on each side of our person. On arriving at their church, richly decorated and prepared with great magnificence, we prescribed the order in which the waters of baptism were to be administered, which was in this manner following: we caused Friar Giovanni de Melo to baptize us and the queen our consort, Friar Salvador of the Rosary being godfather and bestowing upon us the name of Dom Dominic, the day being consecrated to that saint, and upon the queen the name of Dona Louisa. Then we ordered the two chief nobles of our kingdom to be baptized, Ingomaxa receiving the name of Dom John, and Inevinga that of Dom Sebastian, and after these two Inhamapa was baptized by the name of Dom Ferdinand, and Inhamafunhe our friend by the name of Dom Peter, who five or six months before dreamed that a religious of St. Dominic was baptizing him and making him a Christian, as he himself related to us in the presence of the said fathers. All the above named are nobles of our kingdom, lords of many lands, and nearly related to ourself. This baptism was celebrated with great rejoicing, especially by those of our court, who with musical instruments and festive dances gave incredible signs of joy. The said fathers are continuing their religious and Christian office, by which it is held as certain that in a few days there will be another baptism of other nobles, who are all ready and disposed to receive holy baptism. From all that has been said it cannot be denied that glory and the greatest praise are due to the Order of St. Dominic and the friars thereof, who are ministers in these our realms. We have therefore commanded Antonio Suarez, interpreter and secretary in this our court, faithfully and well to draw up an authentic document with the royal seal, confirmed by which these presents may come to the Superiors of the said Order, that they may certify the same to the Most Serene Majesty of Portugal, our brother, that this kingdom may remain under his protection, and that he may be pleased to command the Superiors of the said fathers to recognise their labours and

the great services they have rendered to God, his Majesty, and ourself, in these realms.

Given at our court of Zimbaoe, signed by us and the aforesaid secretary, and sealed with the royal seal, the 14th of August 1652.

MANAMOTAPA, THE KING.

ANTONIO SUAREZ,

*Secretary and interpreter in the faith.*

*Extract from a Document in the Archives of the Dominicans.\**

Quum anno 1733 Missionarius Congregationis nomine Fr. Antonius dos Praseres Romæ existeret, ad petitionem A. R. P. Antonini Bremond, tunc Socii Magistri Generalis, scriptam missionum Congregationis relationem exaravit, in qua legitur: “. . . In Africa in Etyopia inferiori in qua est Imperium Monomotapæ habet Congregatio Vastam Missionem et multas Ecclesias Parochiales: in ipsa que est Conventus Dominæ Nostræ de Rosario in insula de Mozambique; et Conventus Sancti Dominici in Civitate de Senna.”

\* Ex Archivo Ord. Prædicatorum, Romæ.

## EXTRACTOS

DO

### LIVRO DOS PESOS, MEDIDAS E MOEDAS.

Por ANTONIO NUNES.

[This work was prepared in 1554 by Antonio Nunes, and was published in 1868 by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon.]

#### ÇOFALA.

O baar tem 20 faraçolas; cada faraçola tem 15 mãos, que pesão 27 arrateis; pesa este baar 4 quimtaes, 28 arrateis, per omde se pesão as comtas e estanho; e o baar de marfim he de 4 quimtaes e  $10\frac{1}{2}$  arrateis, por rezão de ter de crecença, segundo custume, em cada 6 arrobas 4 arrateis, quando se resguata.

E  $47\frac{1}{2}$  maticaes de çofala pesa huum marco; e val ho matical destes 467 reis, que são 8 tamgas.

E o fardo do milho tem 10 alqueres, que fazem 25 pamjas, e cada pamja 8 comjas.

E quanto ás medidas husa-se na fortaleza das medidas de portugal.

E não ha moeda corremte, soamente pellas roupas se compra milho e outras cousas, e per medidas de milho, que se chamam comjas, se compram as cousas miudas na praça.

#### CUAMA.

O baar de cuama tem 20 faraçolas; pesão 5 quimtaes; e a faraçola tem 1 arroba.

E os maticaes deste porto se husa como em çofalla.

#### MOÇAMBIQUE.

O baar tem 20 faraçolas; e a faraçola tem 12 manes; e cada mane pesa 198 maticaes dos de çofala, que cada  $47\frac{1}{2}$  fazem huum marco; que pesa o dito mane 2 arrateis, 1 omça, 2 oitanas,

56 grãos; e a faraçola pesa a este respeito 25 arrateis, 1 omça, 24 grãos; e pesa o dito baar 3 quintaes, 3 arrobas, 20 arrateis e  $3\frac{1}{2}$  omças, 48 grãos: e os maticaes de moçambique cada 52 fazem 1 marco. E huum matical dos de çofala val 467 reis; e quando se falla por cruzados são de 400 reis, saluo se dixer que são cruzados d'ouro, que emtão tem 12 allqueres, que são 32 pamjas.

E as medidas, de que se husa na fortaleza, são pellas de portugaal.

E asy o azeite, que se faz na terra, de gergelim, que se falla por panellas, tem cada panella 6 canadas.

*Tabella da Correspondencia dos Pesos da India aos Antigos Pesos Portugueses e aos do Systema Metrico Decimal.*

[Prepared and published by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon in 1868.]

CUAMA.

|                       |           |            |                   |
|-----------------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|
| Baar tem 20 faraçolas | . . . . . | 20 arrobas | 293,76000 kilogr. |
| Faraçola              | . . . . . | 1 „        | 14,68800 „        |

MOÇAMBIQUE.

|                       | Arrob.    | Arrat. | Onc. | Oit. | Gr.             | Kilog.    |
|-----------------------|-----------|--------|------|------|-----------------|-----------|
| Baar tem 20 faraçolas | . . . 15  | 20     | 3    | 4    | 48              | 229,60279 |
| Achamos               | . . . 15  | 20     | 3    | 2    | $68\frac{2}{5}$ | 229,59663 |
| Differença            | . . . . . |        |      | 1    | $51\frac{2}{5}$ | 0,00616   |
| Faraçola tem 12 manes | . . . . . | 25     | 1    | 0    | 24              | 11,50488  |
| Achamos               | . . . . . | 25     | 0    | 1    | $25\frac{1}{5}$ | 11,47983  |
| Differença            | . . . . . |        |      | 6    | $70\frac{2}{5}$ | 0,02505   |

SOFALA.

|                                       | Arrob.    | Arrat. | Onc. | Oit. | Gr.             | Kilog.    |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|--------|------|------|-----------------|-----------|
| Baar tem 20 faraçolas                 | . . . 16  | 28     | 0    | 0    | 0               | 247,86000 |
| Faraçola tem 15 mãos                  | . . . . . | 27     | 0    | 0    | 0               | 12,39300  |
| Mão                                   | . . . . . | 1      | 12   | 6    | 28,8            | 0,82619   |
| Baar (pesa marfim)                    | . . . 16  | 10     | 8    | 0    | 0               | 239,82750 |
| Matical (ha $47\frac{1}{2}$ no marco) | . . . . . |        |      | 1    | $25\frac{1}{5}$ | 0,00483   |



*Tabella das Medidas de Capacidade que se usavam na India  
reduzidas á Medida Metrico-Decimal.*

## MOÇAMBIQUE.

|                                                 |   |   |   |              |
|-------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|--------------|
| Panella (para azeite de gergelim) tem 6 canadas | . | . | . | 8,400 litros |
| Panja (12 alqueires = 32 panjas)                | . | . | . | 5,175 „      |

## SOFALA.

|                                               |   |   |   |              |
|-----------------------------------------------|---|---|---|--------------|
| Panja tem 8 conjas (10 alqueires = 25 panjas) | . | . | . | 5,520 litros |
| Conja                                         | . | . | . | 0,690 „      |

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

## EXTRACTS

FROM THE

## BOOK OF WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND COINS.

BY ANTONIO NUNEZ.

## SOFALA.

The bar contains 20 farasolas; each farasola contains 15 manos, which weigh 27 pounds (arratels); the bar weighs 4 quintals 28 pounds, when dealing with articles in general, and a bar of ivory weighs 4 quintals 10½ pounds, on account of the customary overplus of 4 pounds in every 6 arrobas when bartering.

And 47½ maticals of Sofala are equal to one mark; and the value of the matical is 467 reis, which are 8 tangas.

The fardo of millet contains ten alquieres, which make 25 panjas, and each panja is equal to 8 conjas.

The measures used in the fortress are those of Portugal.

Money is not in use, but millet and other things are purchased with goods, and for measures of millet which are called conjas articles of trifling value are obtained in the fort.

## CUAMA.

The bar of Cuama contains 20 farasolas, equal to five quintals, and a farasola is equal to an arroba.

The maticals here are the same as in use at Sofala.

## MOZAMBIQUE.

The bar contains 20 farasolas, and the farasola contains 12 manes. Each mane weighs 198 maticals of Sofala,  $47\frac{1}{2}$  of which make a mark; the said mane weighs 2 pounds 1 ounce 2 drams 56 grains, the farasola weighs therefore 25 pounds 1 ounce 24 grains, the bar weighs 3 quintals 3 arrobas 20 pounds  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ounces 48 grains, and 52 maticals of Mozambique make 1 mark. A matical of Sofala is equal to 467 reis, and when cruzados are spoken of they are equal to 400 reis, unless cruzados of gold are mentioned, which are then equal to 12 alqueres or 32 panjas.

The measures used in the fortress are those of Portugal.

Oil of sesame, which is made in the country, is measured by panellas, each panella containing 6 canadas.

*Table of comparison of the weights of India with the ancient weights of Portugal and with the weights of the metric system.*

## CUAMA.

|                                     |            |                   |
|-------------------------------------|------------|-------------------|
| Bar contains 20 farasolas . . . . . | 20 arrobas | 293·76000 kilogr. |
| Farasola . . . . .                  | 1 „        | 14·68800 „        |

## MOZAMBIQUE.

|                                      | Arrobas. | Pounds. | Ounces. | Drams. | Grains.          | Kilogrammes. |
|--------------------------------------|----------|---------|---------|--------|------------------|--------------|
| Bar contains 20 farasolas . . . . .  | 15       | 20      | 3       | 2      | $68\frac{20}{8}$ | 229·59663    |
| Farasola contains 12 manes . . . . . |          | 25      | 0       | 1      | $25\frac{1}{8}$  | 11·47983     |

## SOFALA.

|                                                  | Arrobas. | Pounds. | Ounces. | Drams. | Grains.         | Kilogrammes. |
|--------------------------------------------------|----------|---------|---------|--------|-----------------|--------------|
| Bar contains 20 farasolas . . . . .              | 16       | 23      | 0       | 0      | 0               | 247·86000    |
| Farasola contains 15 manes . . . . .             |          | 27      | 0       | 0      | 0               | 12·39300     |
| Mane . . . . .                                   |          | 1       | 12      | 6      | 28·8            | 0·82619      |
| Bar of ivory . . . . .                           | 16       | 10      | 8       | 0      | 0               | 239·82750    |
| Matical ( $47\frac{1}{2}$ to the mark) . . . . . |          |         |         | 1      | $25\frac{1}{8}$ | 0·00483      |

*Table of measures of capacity used in India compared with those of the metric system.*

## MOZAMBIQUE.

|                                            |                 |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Panella of oil of sesame = 6 canadas . . . | = 8.400 litres. |
| Panja (12 alquieres = 32 panjas) . . .     | = 5.175 „       |

## SOFALA.

|                                              |                 |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Panja = 8 conjas 10 alquieres = 25 panjas) . | = 5.520 litres. |
| Conja . . . . .                              | = 0.690 „       |

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*Money of England reduced into Money of Portugal, and the Money of Portugal reduced into English Money, at the Exchange of Sixty seven Pence Halfpenny per Mill Rea, which is the Par of Exchange between these Kingdoms. Also the Coins, Measures, and Weights of both Kingdoms compared.\**

A moydor is equal to 27 shillings sterling, or 4800 Reas, or  $67\frac{1}{2}$  Pence per Mill Rea, which is the Par of Exchange, although 'tis sometimes so high as 69 Pence, and so low as 65 Pence, according to the plenty or scarcity of Bills or Money.

One shilling is equal to 178 Reas.

One Pound sterling is equal to 3556 Reas.

A Vinten is 20 Reas or  $1\frac{3}{8}$  Penny.

A Testoon is 100 Reas or  $6\frac{3}{4}$  Pence.

A Crusade is 400 Reas or 2 Shillings and 3 Pence.

## CLOTH MEASURE.

A Vara is  $43\frac{1}{3}$  inches, English.

A Covedo is  $26\frac{2}{3}$  inches, English.

\* Taken from a pamphlet in the Library of the British Museum, printed at Falmouth in 1766.

## WINE MEASURE.

1 Almude is 12 Canadas, or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  Gallons, English Wine Measure.

1 Canada is 4 Quarteels, or 3 Pints, English Wine Measure.

## WEIGHTS.

1 Arobe is 32 lbs., so that a Quintal is 128 lbs. Portugal Weight, which is equal to about 132 lbs. English Avoirdupois Weight.

An Arobe is about 33 lbs. English.

Four Arobes make 1 Quintal.

The Portuguese Pound (Arratel) is about  $16\frac{1}{2}$  Ounces English.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS  
CONCERNING DELAGOA BAY

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MR. PENWELL'S ACCOUNT OF DELAGOA GIVEN ME BY HIMSELF.\*

The Principal things you should write in your Book of Observations are

1. Whether these People have any shew of Religion, whether they acknowledge a God & that he Governs the World, whether they believe more Gods than one, whether they acknowledge a Devil & pray to him, whether they acknowledge the Souls Immortality & pray to their Dead men or only respect their Memorys & what are their Ceremonys on that occasion.

2. The Temper of the Inhabitants whether Cruel or kind, Sober or Drunken, Peaceable or Warlike, Mercifull or Revengefull, Laborious or Lazy, Ingenious or Dull, Just or Fraudulent &c. their Recreations & Occupations.

3. Their Government whether the King be absolute, his Age, Humour, & Stature, how respected by his Subjects How the Chief men Govern under him.

4. The Extent of the Kings Dominions, the number & Populousness of the Inhabitants, the Divisions of the Land, whether many Towns & a Guess of their bigness.

5. Their method of living, as how their Eatables & Drinkables are drest, & made, & of what, How they build their Houses, how they Cloath themselves, their Ceremonies of Marriage & Burial, how many Wives, how they use their Children.

6. Their Arms, the common occasion of Wars, and how they

\* This manuscript bears no date, but is believed to be of the latter part of the eighteenth century. The name of the person to whom it was given is unknown.

make them, the neighbouring kingdoms and their Alliances with them, Whether they make Slaves and how they use them, in what they Traffick, whether they have Weights Measures or Money.

7. The Diseases most common and how they cure them.

8. What sort of Weather, if the Land be fruitfull The Soil whether Stony, Sandy Chalky &c. The several sorts of Fishes, Fowls & Beasts Wild & Tame, how they catch their Game, Their Trees Plants Mines &c. & how managed their Agriculture & Mechanical Arts.

9. Their Navigation, their Boats how made, how Saile, how man'd.

10. Take a Mapp of the Country with you & write down in the Margent the names of Rivers Mountains Towns & Countrys as you learn them pronounced by the Inhabitants. Carry a Pocket Dial which will shew the E. W. N. & S. where Rivers run or Towns & Countrys lye from each other.

#### *First General Enquiry.*

1. Whether these People have any shew of Religion, whether they acknowledge a God, and that he Governs the World, whether they believe more Gods than one, whether they acknowledge a Devil & Pray to him, whether they acknowledge the Souls Immortality & pray to their Dead men, or only respect their Memorys & what are their Ceremonies on that Occasion.

#### *Particular Queries.*

1. Whether these People have any shew of Religion & if so what Ceremonys they use in the same & at what times.

*Answer.*—They have no shew of Religion.

2. Whether they acknowledge a God & if so what notions they have concerning him.

*Answer.*—They do not acknowledge a God neither have they any notions concerning him.

3. Whether they believe him to have made the World at all & now Governs it.

*Answer.*—This Question is answered in the former, for they have no notion who made or Governs the World.

4. Whether they have any Tradition of the Universal Deluge or of the Flood.

*Answer.*—They know nothing of the Universal Deluge.

5. Whether they believe more Gods than one.

*Answer.*—This Question is answered in the 2nd for they have no Gods at all.

6. Whether they acknowledge a Devil or Wicked Spirits, what notions they entertain concerning him, & whether they Worship him & how.

*Answer.*—They know nothing of a Devil or Spirits, neither do they worship any thing.

7. Whether they acknowledge the Immortality of the Soul.

*Answer.*—They do not know that they have a soul.

8. Whether they Pray to Dead men, or only respect their Memorys, and what are their ceremonies on that occasion.

*Answer.*—They have no notion of Prayer.

*Second General Enquiry concerning the Temper.*

2. The Temper of the Inhabitants whether Cruel or kind, Sober or Drunken, Peaceable or Warlike, Mercifull or Revengefull, Laborious or Lazy, Ingenious or Dull, Just or Fraudulent, &c. Their Recreations & Occupations.

1. Whether Sober or Drunken and what they drink.

*Answer.*—They are a Drunken People; they have two Sorts of Drink, one sort they make of Fruit like a Plum which they call Pumbomacouney, the other sort they make of Corn which they call Pumbomashwealy.

2. What is their ordinary Food & how they prepare it.

*Answer.*—Their ordinary Food is Maise Pounded & boyl'd they have a Fruit which they call Chave which they Boyle & Eat & also make Oyle of it. Maise is a sort of Corn as small as mustard Seed. Chave is a Fruit like the Seeds of an Aple in Shape but large & of a red Colour.

3. Whether Peaceable or Warlike.

*Answer.*—They are a Peaceable People.

4. Whether Mercifull or Revengefull.

*Answer.*—They are a Revengefull People.

5. Whether Laborious or Lazy.

*Answer.*—They are a very Lazy People.

6. Whether Ingenious or Dull.

*Answer.*—They are a Dull People.

## 7. Whether Just or Fraudulent.

*Answer.*—No greater Thieves in the Universe.

8. What are their Occupations whether they have Houses & what sort, whether they have any thing of Agriculture.

*Answer.*—They have no Occupations, but Launce makers & Doctors & Collar makers; they have Houses in Shape like a Bee hive, covered with Reed, the Roof is supported by about 12 Bearers, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  foot high and 3 distant from each other & a Reed Matt round the inside, they make their Fire in the middle of their House they make no Chimneys. They make but very little Corn & their Pasturage is comon to all alike, none takes care to improve their Land.

## 9. Whether Cloath'd &amp; how.

*Answer.*—They wear no Cloaths.

## 10. What are their Recreations.

*Answer.*—They have no other Recreation but Singing & Dancing.

*Third General Enquiry concerning their Government.*

## 1. What Form of Government they have.

✓ *Answer.*—Their Chief Captain is Absolute & hath Captains in every Village, when any Person is agrieved he tells one of the Captains who carries him before the Chief Captain who determines the Cause.

2. Whether their King be absolute, also his Age, and how their Succession is.

*Answer.*—The first of this question is answered in the former. Capt. Maffooma is about thirty years of Age, their Succession is from Father to Son, the first Son he hath by his first Wife he declares his Successor.

## 3. Concerning the King's Age, Humour, &amp; Stature.

*Answer.*—The former part of this Question is answered in the second question. Capt. Maffooma is proud Cruel and deceitfull; he is a Strait well limb'd strong man, about five feet 9 inches high.

## 4. How regarded by his subjects.

*Answer.*—I did not see his Subjects pay him any respect any more than one of their ordinary Neighbours. They are all at his comand in time of War.



5. Whether he has Chief men & Officers under him & how they Govern.

*Answer.*—This Question is answered in the first Question of the third General Enquiry.

#### *Fourth General Enquiry.*

Concerning the Extent of the King of Delagoas Dominions.

1. How far his Dominions are extended E. W. N. & S.

*Answer.*—His Dominions are extended N. & S. about 15 miles East & West about 12.

2. What number of Inhabitants?

*Answer.*—About 500 Men besides Women & Children.

3. How his Country is divided & into what & how many Petty Provinces.

*Answer.*—His Country is not divided into Provinces.

4. Whether they have Towns or Villages and how many.

*Answer.*—They have no Towns nor Villages there is from 3 to 6 Houses together about 300 in all.

#### *Fifth General Enquiry.*

Their method of Living as how their Eatables & Drinkables are drest & made & of what, how they build their Houses, how they Cloath themselves their Ceremonys of Marriage & Burial. How many Wives, how they use their Children.

1. What method of Living they have whether fixed to certain Places, each Family enjoying propperty in certain Lands Butted & Bounded, or whether they live in a vagrant manner by Shifting their Selves & Living by Hunting & Fishing.

*Answer.*—They live in certain Places each family enjoying those Lands they Plant with Corn, no Butts nor Bounds, truly vagrant, when their Soil is worn out Shifting to another place, they use both Hunting & Fishing but they do not live by them.

2. Whether they live in Houses or Tents & if in Houses how & with what they are builded.

*Answer.*—This Question is answerd in the Eighth Question of the Second enquiry.

3. Whether Cloathd or naked & if Cloathd whether with Linnen or Woollen how they make either, or whether Cloathd with Skins, But if naked how far they cover their Privities.

*Answer.* They go naked the Men wearing only a Case made of Straw upon their Privities, the Women wear a small piece of Cloath before them which they call Routa of their own Weaving to which they hang what Beads they can get or other Ornaments, as Bones or Shells &c.

4. Whether they have Marriages and with what Ceremonies how many Wives they have one or more and the Marriage Bond continues for Life or they dismiss on either side at Pleasure, how they bring up their children.

*Answer.*—Marriages are by Contract or Bargain with the Father which terminates sometimes in the giving or Presenting the Maids Parent with 5, 10, or more Cows which concluded on the Parent sometimes gives the Daughter a Brass Collar & perhaps a Cow back again with a Wooden Ladle some Spoons & an earthen Pot all this towards Household Stuff, from this Moment the Father has no Authority over Son or Daughter & the Daughter becomes an entire Slave to her Husband Sowing Corn, Cutting Wood &c. or any other Drudgery the Husband shall think fitting to impose on them even to Prostitution of them or his Daughters, but the latter rather of the two & if the Agreement for their Prostitution is not justly performd they will Scold very heartily; they take as many Wives as they are able to Purchase; they have no method of bringing up their Children.

5. How and where they Bury their Dead & whether with or without Ceremonys.

*Answer.*—At the Burial of their Dead they generally kill some Beast in proportion to the Ability of the deceasd & Digging a round hole, they lay the deceasd at his full length when opening the Beast they take out the Paunch (yet reeking) and lay it upon the face of the deceasd and after dancing round the Corps tear this Paunch to pieces & tumultuously eat it this done they bend the Corps round while warm & lay him in the hole casting in some part of the Gutts & closeing the Hole up, ending this odd Funeral with Dancing; they bury their dead near one of their Houses.

#### *Sixth General Enquiry.*

Their Arms, the common occasion of Wars & how they make them, the Neighbouring Kingdoms and their Allyance with them,

whether they make Slaves and how they use them. In what they Traffick, whether they have Weights Measures or money.

1. Concerning their Wars and on what occasion whether Civil among themselves or Foreign with other Nations.

*Answer.*—What Wars they make is generally to extend their Limitts, their method of making War is not to be known nor even guess'd at their Country being such a confusd heap of Rubbish. Alliances they seek no farther than the agrandizing to themselves a multiplicity of Wives which make an improved Estate either from their Breeding or ceasing to like often Selling them for more Cattle than they gave. In Battle they give no Quarter. They are Civil among themselves. It is Death for them to be in each others Country in the night except leave from the Capt. of the Country, they supposing they come to steal their Cattle.

2. What Arms they use & how they make them.

*Answer.*—Their Arms are generally Launces & Darts, Some of them have Targets few Guns, they work their Iron cold with a Hammer upon a Stone.

3. How they manage their Wars & whether or what sort of Discipline they have in their Armies.

*Answer.*—How they manage their Wars is unknown; they have no Discipline in their Armys.

4. Whether they make Slaves of their Captives & how they use them, & whether they Sell them.

*Answer.*—In Battle they give no Quarter, consequently no Slaves; they eat their Enemys when they have kill'd them.

5. On what Kingdoms Delagoa Borders upon & of what extent & power.

*Answer.*—That part of Delagoa Maffooma lives in Borders upon Lebumbo to the E. who hath a large Country & well peopled, Matole to the W. whose Country is but small & of no great power, but his Country is larger than Maffoomas & of greater Power, Tembo comonly call'd the Great hath a large Country of what extent not known is the Powerfullest Captain of any about Delagoa; a Portuguese told us that he was able to bring three hundred thousand fighting men into the Field. Manice is the next to him in power.

6. Whether they make Treatys & Alliances with their neighbours how made & how observ'd.

*Answer.*—This Question is answered in the first Question of the 6th General Enquiry.

7. Whether they Traffick among themselves & with Foreign Nations & whether by way of Barter or Exchange or by the medium of any sort of money.

*Answer.*—They Traffick within Land for Teeth with what they get from the Europeans they have no sort of money.

8. Whether they have Weights & Measures.

*Answer.*—Weights or Measures they have none.

### *Seventh General Enquiry.*

Concerning their Diseases.

1. What Diseases among them & the method of Cure.

*Answer.*—What Diseases among them the method of Cure is what I could not learn.

2. Whether cured by Simples or Compound Medicines.

*Answer.*—Cured by Simples.

3. Whether by the advise of Pretended Physick or Conjurations among them.

*Answer.*—They have no Conjurors among them.

4. Whether any Doctors among them & whether they Bleed the Inhabitants.

*Answer.*—They have Men among them which they call Doctors which gathers Herbs & Roots & Sells them to the Inhabitants; but they do not bleed them.

5. How they Mark their Faces and for what.

*Answer.*—They take up the Flesh as little as an ordinary Wart & tye it with a thread then Cutt it, they say it makes their Faces handsomer.

### *Eighth General Enquiry.*

What sort of Weather if the Land be fruitfull, the soil whether Stony Sandy Chalky & the several sorts of Fishes Fowls & Beasts Wild & Tame, how they Catch their Game, their Trees Plants Mines &c. and how managed their Agriculture & Mechanical Arts.

1. What sort of Weather, whether their Rains fall in certain Seasons of the year & of how long continuance & whether they have Snow & Hail.

*Answer.*—The weather is very hot in Summer, they have Rain with Thunder & Lightning all the year, but their Winter or certain Season of Rain begins in May & ends in September during which time the Rivers overflow & the Country is full of Vermin, they have neither Snow nor Hail.

2. What Mountains there are in the Country & how high.

*Answer.*—There are no Mountains in nor near Delagoa.

3. What minerals there are in their Mountains whether they seek for them, how managed by them.

*Answer.*—They have no Minerals at Delagoa but what they purchase from a People that live at Eight days journey distance which is Copper & Iron, the Copper they make into Collars, the Iron they make Launces & Hoes of.

4. Whether their Soil be Stony Sandy or Chalky & how fruitfull.

*Answer.*—Their Soil is Sandy, the Dutch told us very fruitfull if the Inhabitants knew how to manage it.

5. Whether fittest for Agriculture or Pasturage.

*Answer.*—Whether it is fittest for is what I could not learn.

6. Whether any Agriculture among them, & whether Rice or Corn.

*Answer.*—They make both Rice & Corn of two sorts, Indian Corn & a small Corn which they call Maise, they hoe the Land into little Hills like Mole Hills & Plant both sorts of Corn in the Hills, they make but a very indifferent Fence to keep their Cattle from the Corn their Pasturage lyes common.

7. Whether the Soil be prepared & how.

*Answer.*—This Question in the former.

8. With what Instruments & how they make them either those of Brass or Iron.

*Answer.*—They have no Instruments made of Brass, their Launces & Hoes are made of Iron which is very good they work it with a Hammer upon a Stone.

9. Whether they have any Mechanical Arts.

*Answer.*—They have Launce Hoe & Collar Makers, the Collars are made of Copper which they wear about their Necks, the Collars are from 4lb. to 6 a piece.

10. What Trees & Plants for either building or Fruit & how good their Fruit.

*Answer.*—They have not much Timber in this part of the

Country, neither did I see any Oak Ash or any Tree that I knew the name of, but they have abundance of Fruit Trees & several sorts, but few that is good, they have two sorts much like our white & Black Plumb, but neither of them wholesome, another sort they have which is round as a Ball but very large with a hard Shell upon it, when Ripe is full of something like Honey but not wholesome the Natives calls it Imsola another sort much like the latter of a sower taste is wholesome, we used it in Punch like Tamarin, the Natives call it Mapungo.

11. What Beasts Wild or Tame, amongst the Wild whether Lyons Tygars Rhinoceros & Wolves & among the tame or tameable Horses Cows Bulls & Bufflers Sheep & Goats & what number of Elephants & how they use them.

*Answer.*—They have Rhinoceros Lyons Tygars & Wolves, tame Cows Bulls & Bufflers Sheep & Goats & a few Horses they have no Elephants, they Eat Horses as they catch them, they have Wild and tame Hoggs.

12. How they persue & Catch their Game.

*Answer.*—Is what I could not learn; but I believe they have little or no game.

13. Whether they have variety of Serpents of what sorts, how Poisonous each, & whether they have Poisonous Plants & Herbs.

*Answer.*—They say they have Serpents but I saw none neither did I hear of any Poison amongst them.

14. What Fowl & how they catch them.

*Answer.*—They have Wild Geese, Ducks, Land Larks Curlues & Doves, They have no Turkys but plenty of Cocks & Hens very large & good I do not know how they catch their Wild Fowl.

15. What Fish in their Lakes, Rivers, Seas, & how they catch them & Dress them.

*Answer.*—They have Bream, Eel, Shrimps, Herrings Oysters & Turtle which is all the sorts that I saw, they make Weares to catch Herrings at Low Water mark, they Broyle their Fish.

#### *Ninth General Enquiry.*

Their Navigation, their Boats, how made, how Sail'd how man'd.

1. Whether their Navigation is confin'd to their Rivers or how far at Sea.

*Answer.*—To the Rivers only.

2. What sort of Vessells in either.

*Answer.*—They have only Boats.

3. Made of what Timber & other Materials & how.

*Answer.*—They are made of Boards laced together Square Stern'd, & will carry about 12 people, one man rowing two Oars & another Heaving the Water out.

4. How Sail'd

*Answer.*—They very rarely make use of a Sail, but if they do it is a Matt.

5. How man'd

*Answer.*—Never less than two men, one to Row, the other to heave the Water out, but they can Row 6 Oars, one man Rowing two Oars.

## THE BAY OF DELAGOA.

BY CAPTAIN OWEN, OF H.M.S. *Leven*.\*

How the Bay of Delagoa obtained its name is uncertain; but certain it is that this name is common only to the English and Americans. By others it is called after its discoverer, Bay of Lourenço Marques, which latter name, however, is applied by the Portuguese to their Factory only, whilst the Anchorage in the Bay they call os Quatro Rios. There can, however, be no doubt that the name of Delagoa will be that by which in future times it will be generally known.

The Bay extends from 25° 20' S. at what is improperly called the River Lagoa to the River Mapoota in 26° 12' and from the Cape of Inyack which is in Latitude 25° 58' S. and Longitude 32° 55' E. to the entrance of English River in the same Latitude and in Longitude 32° 32' E.

Into this Bay three large Rivers empty themselves, viz. The Mapoota in its S.W. corner, English River and King George River in its Western side. A fourth river is marked in the charts by the name of Lagoa at the Northern extremity of the Bay, but although from seaward at five or six miles distance

\* Information is given in this paper that is not contained in the published journals of Captain Owen.—G. M. T.

there appears to be a large opening, yet on examining it within two miles we could find none, but observed there, as we had seen at this season in other parts of the coast, a considerable collection of water within the beach sands from whence it is not improbable it derived its name of Lagoa which appears also to have been the origin of that of the Bay. From Lagoa to Cape Inyack there extends a bar or bank of shallow soundings having from seven to two fathoms on it at low water. The shallowest parts or rather those parts which abound most in shallow knolls are from the Cape Inyack, about six miles to the northward of it. For six miles more to the northward the Bar may be crossed with no less than four and a half fathoms in any part at any time, but from fourteen to eighteen miles from the Cape there is a patch of shallow knolls with as little as two fathoms at low water springs. This patch extends very near the shore, leaving a clear channel of about a mile and a half wide, or perhaps more with no less than nine fathoms in it; which Soundings it appears may be carried in all the way if the land be made anywhere between  $25^{\circ} 38'$  and  $25^{\circ} 25'$ . Coasting Southwards close along shore, but to the Westward of Lagoa the shore runs off shallow, and in knolls to the distance of four or five miles off shore which appears to be the North end of the Bar, within these knolls however the *Barracouta* passed with more water than we had outside.

From the Sea the soundings decrease very gradually with fine sand until on the bar with ten and nine fathoms; it continues some breadth with no less than seven fathoms and then we come on the knolls with five fathoms or sometimes less, these are the Soundings between the Latitudes  $25^{\circ} 53'$  and  $25^{\circ} 44'$  but from  $25^{\circ} 48'$  to  $25^{\circ} 50'$  may be considered the best part of the Bar to cross into the Bay.

When over the Western side of the Bar and in the Bay the water deepens rapidly to nine, ten or more fathoms and there is then safe anchorage everywhere to the Northward of the Mouth of King George River whence the Bar and a reef extend to some distance in the Bay; and due North of Elephant Island there is another reef extending to some distance, the channel is contracted by these reefs to about six miles, opening into a fine open and clear Bay with excellent Anchorage everywhere as shewn in the plan.

On the Western side of Inyack and Elephant Island there is



an excellent Harbour which is called Port Melville; this is covered on the Bay side by Shoals and bounded to the Southward by the Mapoota flats, and on the Western point of Elephant Island, Docks might be made, there being ten or twelve fathoms water close to it and a rise of thirteen feet and a half in spring tides. The Harbour most frequented by Whalers is English River which itself is the estuary of three rivers—the Temby, the Mattoll and the Dundas. This Harbour is an excellent one and points are to be found within it where dry docks might be formed. It has an outer bar over which at low water springs there is but two fathoms and a quarter, making four and a half at high tide. Within the Harbour there is from 6 to 10 fathoms. From Port Melville to the Westward towards English River there are several Banks as far as the channel into the Mapoota River, which is near the eastern coast of Temby. Into the Mapoota River as much as five fathoms may be carried all the way, which also is a fine river and navigable to a considerable distance as well as the Temby, which is so for large vessels about Twenty Miles.

The principal River in the Bay however and indeed on this coast is that which has borne the Names of Manica, Magnice, Mamaloongo, Maghay, Cherinda, Mawbole, Rio Prata, Rio do Espirito Santo and many others, but which we named King George's River, because the people of this Bay always call themselves King George's men, many of them having picked up a little English from the Whalers, and having themselves no particular name for it.

The River King George has a shifting Bar, but we carried through its channel twenty-two feet at high water, within it is not so considerable as either the Mapoota or English River, except that it flows from an immense distance, and delivers to the Ocean such bodies of Water as frequently burst its banks to find other outlets into the great bay, which happened in February 1823. It takes a direction N.Ey. parallel to the coast or inclining but little inwards for many miles, and has its source in the mountains North Westward of Inhamban nearly North from its mouths. From the direction of the course of the King George having its source near that of the River of Inhamban, it is certain no river so considerable can exist on the coast between them. Its navigation in anything but light canoes would however be very difficult on account of the great body of water which is

brought down it. On the other hand it has the advantage of offering a free communication with an immense country of great fertility even to the Portuguese Post of Manica which is said by them to be not far from its source, but where it is situated cannot be made out further than that it is in the Captaincy of the Rivers de Senna.

*Of the Native Inhabitants.*

Inyack extends from the Cape and Island of that name sometimes improperly called Cape St. Mary, to the Southward on the Coast to the river. It is bounded on the West by the Port Melville and the territory of Mapoota, on the East by the Sea, on the South by the river, and on the North by the Bar of Delagoa Bay. The Natives are a naked timid race, being by their insular situation unexposed to wars and to the depredations of their neighbours. They are for the most part quite naked, enclosing the glans penis in a sheath of plaited straw only, like their neighbours; this sheath is about an inch or inch and half in diameter and of a length from one to two feet according to the caprice of the wearer. The women wear a small apron of dungaree or coarse cloth, drawn close between their thighs, and hung on a string kept tight by a string of leaden bullets hanging behind, which costume is common to the Natives all around the Bay, but they wear European clothes gladly whenever they can obtain them. The people of Inyack have abundance of Cattle and Poultry and of Fish; they collect on their shores also much ambergris. They have no Religion whatever, yet use circumcision and have faith in Witchcraft. They exchange their products for beads or cloth. They have no Elephants or other wild animals, and what their vegetable productions are we had no opportunity of knowing. The King of Inyack pays a tribute to the King of Mapoota in acknowledgment of his superiority. It may be reckoned to contain 10,000 Inhabitants.

Mapoota is bounded on the North by the Bay of Delagoa, on the North West by the Kingdom of Temby on the Westward, South by the Kingdom of the Vatwahs (Vatwah or Batwa or Butua) or Olontontes, a very warlike and admirable race of Kafirs. It appears that not long since Mapoota was overrun by the Vatwahs, who at length settled therein by agreement, they brought with them more industry than the Mapootans, and have

improved the country so much that it always enjoys abundance, and through them the Vatwahs of the interior barter their Ivory and horn for beads and coarse cottons obtained principally from the Portuguese Factory; their products are Cattle, Goats, Poultry, Rice, Indian Corn, Millet, Sweet Potatoes, Pine Apples, Plantains, and several other tropical Fruits, Onions, Cabbages, and Pumpkins in great abundance with many Fruits peculiar to the Country. In costume destitution of Religion and in Manners they resemble those of Inyack and Temby, they are much addicted to trade, and where they can be so with impunity are said to be very treacherous as indeed are all those round the Bay, and up all the rivers except the people of Inyack. Mapoota may contain near 20,000 Inhabitants.

Temby is bounded on the East by the Bay and river Mapoota, on the north by the English and Dundas Rivers, on the West by Mountains of the Olontontes or Vatwahs, on the S.W. by the little State of Panyelly and on the South-east by the River and Kingdom of Mapoota. The people of this Kingdom are timid, tractable, industrious, keen in traffick, and treacherous, it is said, where their Interest prompts or a temptation is in their way. With these people we had much more intercourse than any others and at length we yielded to their entreaties to be taken under British protection ceding the Sovereignty of their country to his Majesty. Their Country is fertile to a degree, and might produce much rice, but it has lately been devastated by the Vatwahs. They are precisely the same people as those of Mapoota and Inyack, and all round the bay, all speaking the same Language, I believe, as far as Inhamban.

Mafoomo or Ofoomo, as Diogo de Couto has it, is situated between the mouths of King George and English Rivers and is a very small state, in this the Portuguese Factory is situated.

Mattoll is on the Northern branch of the river of that name, which empties into English River, and has also been lately wasted by the Vatwahs.

Northward of Mattoll lies Moamba a very considerable state. Mawbote, Mamalong, Maghoy, Cherinda are small states at the mouth of King George; but at Manyess and Mamalong on the western bank, are now settled the Vatwahs who have lately overrun and destroyed many of the neighbouring Countries.

Of the Vatwahs all we learn is that they are from the interior

Countries at and beyond the source of the Mapoota in the S.W. and the Mountains West of English River. They are a martial people of free air and noble carriage, being marked by boring the lower pendant flaps of the ears with very large holes which is done by no other tribes round the Bay.

The present King Zeite of the Vatwahs was a minor at his father's death. His uncle Soongundáva took the Government until his nephew should come of age, but being then unwilling to resign a War ensued and Zeite turned his Uncle and all his adherents out of the country to find another for themselves; for two years these latter have been more destructive than a swarm of locusts to all the countries between their own and the sea, and being a more manly and bold race than the natives of these Countries, have entered every part as conquerors and at length have fixed themselves at Mamalong and Manyess about Thirty Miles from the Portuguese Factory.

The Vatwahs like all the tribes from the interior from 13° South latitude to Lattakoo are well acquainted with iron. These tribes of the interior manufacture all the implements of Agriculture and Husbandry used on the Coast even by the Portuguese and have ever so done.

The Natives of Delogoia Bay are armed with Hassagays, Spears, and sometimes with small shields, and have no clothes but the cottons they receive in barter from the Portuguese or Woolens they receive from whalers.

The Vatwahs clothe themselves elegantly in skins of animals, live much on animal food and cover their bodies in War with immense Shields of Bullocks hide, of an oval form much as the Kaffirs on the borders of the Colony, within the Shield they carry from three to six or more Hassagays and a spear ready to be taken thence as from a Quiver when required.

The natives of Delogoia are too timid to undertake anything by night. The Vatwahs always make their attacks by night, when they are sure to find no resistance. The latter have an openness of character which speaks much for them, it is said they never attack their enemies without first sending to inform them of their intention and the time, they however attacked our tents without such notice, and most treacherously, but excused themselves by saying they would not have done a thing so contrary to their usual practice, if they had not been overpersuaded by a

renegade Son of King Kapell, who persuaded them that immense treasures of Beads were contained in our Boats which might become an easy prey to their well known prowess. With all these Nations from the Equator Southwards, Beads are money, more civilized people have too often been beguiled by a smaller temptation; we should not therefore judge them too harshly.

The Huts of all the Natives of Delagoa are circular, well and neatly constructed, small and with a pallisade fence enclosing an area round one, two, or more of them.

Polygamy is universal. A man's wealth and consequence is known only by the number of his women, they are slaves to the men and the only cultivators of the ground. Yet the men are much disposed to be industrious, if they can get anything by it, and for beads to the amount in value of one penny, any man's labour may be had for one day. They are keen traders and covetous but honest. Death is the punishment awarded for theft among themselves, and they are extremely desirous of learning what they can from Europeans.

When the *Leven* first arrived in English River the Portuguese succeeded in impressing the Inhabitants with a great dread and fear of us, giving them to understand we were come to punish them for the murder of one Caldas, a Portuguese merchant from Rio, who established himself in Temby as a merchant and to fish the whale; having done this without consulting the King and people, they cut him off on some petty quarrel about a handkerchief; as this had happened but about two or three years and seeing us intimate with the Portuguese, they believed it might be true, therefore during our first visit of six weeks not one chief would venture on board us, they however employed a man as a sort of spy to examine us, his name was English Bill he said, but his country name Shamaguava. He was a man of no great note, having then alive only seven wives, but one of his Daughters was married to the King of Mapoota.

This English Bill spoke a very little bad English after the manner of the Seamen of the Whale Ships from whom he had learnt it; a little Hindostanee also he spoke which he picked up from a Vessel from Bombay about four years ago; a little Dutch also he had somehow or other learnt and Portuguese he spoke well, he also could converse with the Vatwahs in whose country he had travelled as a Merchant and could make himself under-

stood by our Kaffirs from the Keiskamma. By English Bill the Captain sent presents to King Kapell and his Chiefs inviting them to an unreserved intercourse, but the old King Kapell was lately dead, and the custom is that such an event is never to be published for one year, by which time the succession is easily and quietly settled, but our importunity to see the King, and our insisting on it that if we did not he must be dead, caused his successor to come forth openly, as a first act of his authority putting his Cousin, a Chief of note, to death, because he had been plotting in favour of the new King's uncle, who was a son of the late King, the present one's name was Mayett, a Grandson of old Kapell and a very fine young man not more than two or three and twenty.

These circumstances added to the attack of our crews by the Fever which proved so fatal, prevented us from seeing Mayett or any of his chiefs on board, but he permitted his people to serve us in quality of Boats' crews in which capacity they saved our own men from much exposure and were very useful to us, and one lad named Mungatani entered for us to go to sea. English Bill and a Boat's crew continued on board the *Cockburn* all the time we were absent or three months.

On our return to English River on the first of March, English Bill again joined us, the Captain visited the eastern Chief Slangelly and good understanding was established. By English Bill they had often asked us to take possession of the country, but now Slangelly came on board in form from Mayett with the offer to cede the Sovereignty of his Kingdom to the King George, stating his reasons for so doing as shewn in the deed of cession and desiring to do so by written deed. The Captain did not intend to accept it at that time, but to refer the affair to Commodore Nourse, in whose province it more particularly lay. But the Governor of the Portuguese Factory enraged at the intimacy of King Mayett and his Chiefs with the British was preparing a number of Portuguese Flags to possess the Country by force on our departure; he was simple enough to declare his intention so openly as to come to our Captain who therefore did not hesitate to accept the cession, to save the people from such a dreadful visitation, for assuredly Murder and Rapine would have followed him, although he could not have secured a foot of ground, and would have been obliged to shut himself up in his Fort again

very shortly. The British Flag was hoisted on the 8th March and saluted with 21 Guns, and notice officially given to the Governor of the Portuguese Factory that the Inhabitants of Temby were subjects to His Majesty.

Mayett King Kapell was so ill that he could not come to us himself, therefore the first Lieut. and Botanist went with the deed of cession to his place, sixteen Miles from the landing, when Mayett most joyfully lent his hand to sign it in the presence of all his Chiefs and an immense concourse of his people, as many as could on so short a notice get there. The next day Mayett came down to Slangelly's house, though sick, and ordered English Bill and as many men as we wanted to go with us to the Cape taking our acceptance of the cession of the country as a security for their return, as they were become as he said King George's own men.

Temby and Panyelly have 25,000 inhabitants at least. Mapoota is tributary to Temby and has as many. Inyack is tributary to Mapoota and may have ten or fifteen thousand; these are rough estimates, but Temby has thirty-two chiefs which at 500 Inhabitants each is 16,000 and this is under the truth. Panyelly is a small state quite dependent on Temby which I should take at 5000.

Mafoomo, or as Diogo de Couto has it, Ofoomo, is situated on the North bank of English River and is a very small spot, the Portuguese Factory is situated within it; its extent is not more than five Miles from Reuben point to the Westward, and it is not broader, its number of Inhabitants is very small, and although the Portuguese exercise a vicious tyranny over the people, yet they assume neither jurisdiction nor rule, beyond a servile subjugation to their will, even these people they did not presume to consider as entitled to their protection from the Vatwahs, who drove away their Cattle from under the walls of the Fort, and wasted the grounds and plundered the Huts even within reach of its Guns; this is actually the same people as the others in Manners, Customs and Language.

It is perhaps not a little remarkable as shewing by the just order of God's providence, the reaction of crime brings its punishment. About 1580 a Portuguese Ship was wrecked a little to the Northward of the Kye with a Governor of India on board on his return to Europe; the Crew marched by the beach to Inyack

and crossed the Mapoota as now called, then the Beligane, and reached English River; the then King of Ofoomo dealt subtilly with them and persuaded them to give up their arms, when he stripped them naked and turned them out to the number of about a hundred, of these about ten reached India, to relate the loss of upwards of two hundred of their companions. The descendants of this very people now groan under a more vicious Yoke from the countrymen of the people they so treated.

V Mattol is a large state now in a dreadful disorder from the effects of the late Watwah invasion, it is bounded on the South by Dundas River, on the North by the petty states on the borders of the King George and by Moamba, on the east by Mafoomo, Mawbote, Mamaloong and Maghoy. This State was populous and rich, now in waste, poverty and famine. There cannot however in all these States, including those on the King George, be fewer than a hundred thousand Inhabitants.

The same people in origin inhabit the whole course of the King George and the Shores of the Bay as far as Cape Correntes and to Inhamban which may include a hundred thousand more.

The products of these Countries are as various as can well be imagined, the soil is rich and capable of any sort of culture, the Sugar Cane, Indigo, Pines, and Pumpkins with numerous other tropical plants are indigenous and it has many fruits peculiar to itself. Its rivers produce Hippopotami, Fish, and Alligators in great abundance, also valuable Stones and probably Gold.

The Bay has Fish of various kinds, the Whale and Seal and abundance of Turtle. Rice, Maize, Millet, and various other useful farinæ are in plenty, but frequently laid waste by Elephants, Elks and Hippopotami. The Portuguese shew not the shadow of pretension to interference with any of these people, and indeed have great dread of them. The Commerce of all these people is similar; that is beads, brass and Cottons for Elephants' Teeth, Ambergris, Rhinoceros Horn, and Hippopotamus Teeth, they also barter their Cattle, Poultry, Pigs, Goats, and Grain, as also the skins of wild animals.

Of Birds the most remarkable are several species of beautiful Pelicans and Storks; but the wild water fowl are in great plenty, for the whole country has large lakes of water, which never dry and cover much ground during some time after the rains.

The climate of the countries round Delagoa Bay is sometimes



represented as very unhealthy, and we have suffered very severely from a fever which would appear at first view as its plague, but judging it more fairly than by a first view, we have no idea that it is more unhealthy than other tropical countries which are uncleared and uncultivated.

The land is generally of a moderate elevation with a rich dry soil and by no means suggesting the idea of insalubrity. But all countries when the Sun is near their zenith are at these periods subjected to similar visitations when their deleterious effects are not avoided. Even in the Ganges the rainy season is more inimical to the health of Europeans than we found Delagoa Bay. Our people were particularly subjected to the noxious effects of the worst season, confined to the beds of the Rivers in or near their Estuary, the Miasma arising from vegetable matter in decomposition had full and unobstructed room to act on physical subjects unprepared by habits to resist its attacks. We could not but expect to suffer, and our losses were seriously heavy, two of seven fell in one season to its deleterious effects, but neither the Natives nor Portuguese Garrison suffered materially, the Season they remarked as unusually unhealthy, but very few died. The country is however full of Lakes of stagnant water, yet it is generally so elevated and so dry as to furnish numerous situations both airy and healthy. It is never extremely hot and the changes of temperature are never sudden, the highest range of the Thermometer was 86° or 88° and the lowest in the worst season about 70°. When the Sun is in the Northern Hemisphere, which is the Season for the Black Whale to Calve, this Bay is very much frequented by American and English Whalers, into which vessels many of the Natives engage themselves as Boats Crews for very trifling remuneration. That Season is found both healthy and extremely agreeable. The Banks of the Mapoota and of the Rivers which fall into English River are for the most part muddy and Mangrove, the Country behind being a rich champaign country studded with clumps of trees like park land of a moderate elevation (that is from twenty to fifty feet above the sea) with a very rich soil. But the King George River has a different character which marks most decidedly the distance of its sources. Like the Mississippi and other great Rivers, this River passes through a low country of alluvial soil being bounded by narrow elevated banks, these Banks are for the most part the

spots chosen by the Natives for their Huts and rude culture. At Chirinda and Manyess on the right bank there is some high land of which the Vatwahs have now possessed themselves; on the left bank the Country is an entire swamp or reed marsh except the bank which forms the Margin of the River which in some places is formed into sand hills of small elevation. It must be evident that the part of the river here described must be unhealthy to Europeans, but we understand the Kingdom of Moamba higher up to be an elevated dry country much resembling the land of Temby and therefore wholesome.

The seasons here are similar to those of other tropical countries and extremes of temperature are never known, the Barometer ranges generally from 29·5 to 30·3 inches, rising always with a Southerly wind and falling with a Northerly wind; it generally in October and November as also in March stood about 29·9 in settled weather when sea and land breezes were regular; the changes of the Barometer here as within the tropics seldom precede a change of weather but follow it rapidly. The changes of the Seasons or Monsoons here may be said to be in September and March. From September to March the weather is mostly fine, though then the rainy Season; the fine weather is always accompanied by strong sea breezes about E.N.E. by Compass or N.E. true; between noon and midnight they fail suddenly and are succeeded by light land winds, after some days continuance of fine weather the land breezes become stronger and the sea breezes fail a little for one or two days together often accompanied by rain. The rain always comes off the land with Southerly and S.W. winds as may be remarked on all this coast at this season and which is not difficult to account for.

It frequently happens that heavy storms are formed by the meeting of the sea and land winds, which come on in furious gusts from South lasting about an hour in their greatest rage, and then settling into a Gale of wind gradually subsiding in about thirty-six hours as the wind draws round to the Eastward, and when at S.E. it becomes moderate and fine again; the wind then gradually draws round by the Eastward to N.E. where it continues a few days and then undergoes a similar round of change. In the bay the S.E. and East winds are Sea breezes and with fine weather are mostly followed by land breezes, but frequently blow two or three days from the Eastward only

relaxing in Strength by night. The change of land and sea breezes is not felt at three Leagues from the Coast, at that distance and beyond it the wind undergoes the changes above described, bad weather always coming on with the winds from West to South and improving as it draws round by the East, and this character holds from the Kye River to the Bazaruto Islands, so that although this season is called that of the N.E. monsoon the strongest winds are from the Southward.

Delagoa Bay may be considered as a point of considerable political and commercial importance. It is the only port in Africa to the Southward of Mozambique, over which in a nautical view it has many very manifest advantages. The neighbouring Coasts are clear and safe, it is attainable and always easy of access from North to South at all seasons of the Year, it has good anchorage either outside the Bar or within or upon it, there are no Currents to sweep Ships past it, it has a convenient rise of tide and the surrounding country will always supply it to any extent of demand. Mozambique fails in all these particulars. From Delagoa the voyage to any part of India or to Europe is simple at all Seasons of the Year. But from Mozambique these voyages must always depend on the Monsoons. To Great Britain this Port offers an important point with relation to her Colony in South Africa, being the only one except Saldanha Bay on its whole Coast, it opens all the interior of Africa to her commerce where Millions of people are ready to receive Clothing (& blankets and Woollens are much more valued by them than Cottons) and civilization from her. By its products the more Southern Settlements would always be secured against famine or even scarcity, and in itself it offers a point of very considerable importance for Whale Fisheries. The Black Whale is abundant on all the Coast from May to August and September and between it and Madagascar the Sperm Whale is abundant in the latter months mentioned. The Bay and rivers produce Seals, Hippopotami, Turtle and Ambergris, and abundance of Fish, and by its situation it would command a free intercourse and commerce with any point on the entire Coasts of Madagascar at all Seasons of the Year. These are its positive advantages to Great Britain, to which may be added that her Sovereignty might extend thence Southwards until it embrace the whole of the Coast of Natal, apparently the richest and best endowed land in all Africa. But

should this Bay fall into the possession of either the French, American, or the Russian it would be most ruinous not only to our Colony, but our East India possessions and Commerce either in peace or war. In peace by becoming a mart for all East India productions and in war as being one of the finest Ports in the World whence inimical enterprizes might issue at pleasure.

Like all other African Nations all the countries around the Bay make Slaves of their enemies, but of the enemies only. The proximity of this point and the Bazaruto Isles to the Cape and to the French Islands offered to the Cupidity of some Europeans too strong a temptation to resist. English, French, and Dutch vessels have been known to visit these places to entice the people on board and then steal many of them, so that even now the Inhabitants have no confidence in Europeans, but watch the slightest symptoms of movement to make their escape, until they have acquired some knowledge of the parties. The Portuguese merely buy such as are caught from the Vatwahs of the interior, or some of the native women to make a market of their prostitution, thus feeding the worst passions of our nature. War among the surrounding tribes furnishes them Slaves and famine Women at a low price to let out to such Ships as may visit the Bay.

There are however very few Slaves exported from this place, and the natives have a decided aversion to the trade.

Of their morals we could observe but little, they are honest and it is said punish Adultery and Theft among themselves with Death, if the aggrieved party be a man of consequence, but their definition of Adultery is purely scriptural, not that introduced into our Ecclesiastical law by the Roman heresy. They however let out their Daughters to the Europeans without scruple, and indeed both Sexes during Youth appear to be without restraint, commencing their intercourse before their tenth year. These lamentable habits appear to be common to all the Natives on this Coast and of Madagascar, none of them attaching any moral principle to the intercourse of the Sexes, until the women become the property of some particular person by purchase, being then the Slaves of their Husbands or purchasers they lose all right over their persons and then only can be guilty of Adultery.

The people of Temby are so peaceable and tractable that it must be viewed as a point eminently calculated for an establish-

ment whence civilization of the Native Africans might flow thro' all the neighbouring Countries and from whence a fatal blow might be given to the last Efforts of Slave dealing in these Seas. This is not a place to shew how this might be effected, but that it be so must be evident by the slightest reflection on its locality.

(Signed) W. F. W. OWEN.

1 May 1823.

Besides the articles above enumerated as the products of the countries round Delagoa bay may be added Honey and bees wax in great abundance as well as dye woods and amber, and tortoise shell might be collected in very considerable quantities. The present price of a fowl is about a farthing's worth of beads, of a man's labour per day about one pennyworth of the same, of a bullock one blanket, and of other articles of food a relative value. Wives are bought from the first families at prices varying from twenty Bullocks to a piece of blue dungaree.

The soil of the whole country is light & sandy but for the most part extremely fertile.

(Initialed) W. F. W. O.

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## DELAGOA BAY.

BY MR. FYNN.

Delagoa Bay extends from the point of Inyac round to the Manice River. The distance between these extreme points being about 150 Miles round by the line of the Coast and about right across. It is bounded on the East by Inyac, on the West by Mapoota and Temby, and on the North by Point Rheuben. The Land is low for a considerable distance inland, but a line of mountains may be seen on a clear day at a distance on the Temby. The Land is tolerably well watered by springs which supply the Inhabitants near the Bay; but further inland they are generally supplied by the Rivers. Very little Wood is to be seen near the Bay, although the land is fertile and bears very good grass with a profusion of small shrubs. Three Rivers fall into the Bay, called Mapoota, English and Manice Rivers.

Their banks are all low and are covered with considerable Forests in which there is abundance of fine straight Timber. They abound also with wild animals of the same description as are found in this Colony. The soil near the Bay and in different parts of the Country is Sandy, being in other parts a stiff red clay. The Country produces good Rice, Sweet Potatoes in abundance, Indian Corn and Tobacco: the latter does not grow to any great perfection from the Inhabitants not understanding the proper mode of culture, Onions, Saffron, Chillies, Calabashes, Sugar Cane and Pine Apples are also cultivated, but the latter is not plentiful. They also raise a sort of grain called by them Mahabar which bears some resemblance in growth to Caffre Corn and from which they make a very pleasant and wholesome beverage (which they call Beyarlar). The Cotton Tree also grows wild, but of its utility they have no idea and appear much surprised when shewn to what perfection our manufactures of it are brought. The Cattle are not numerous in this part of the Country and the principal part of them belong to the Chiefs. The Oxen are small and in good condition, but the people have no idea of using them for draught. Pork is preferred by them to any other Meat, but they have very few pigs and set a great value on those they possess. Goats and fowls are plentiful, but belong also principally to the Chiefs. The people are an active, sprightly and well made race. Their usual height is from 5 foot 4 inches to 5 foot 8 inches, some have been seen above 6 foot but not well proportioned. They are of a dark brown colour. Their hair is woolly which they keep continually clean shaved, leaving only a tuft of hair at the top which is combed up (with an iron or wood scure every day) into a sort of oblong crest. They pluck the hair out by the roots from every other part of their body. The Women's hair is shaved into other fanciful forms. The Nose is rather inclining to flatness. Of the four Tribes inhabiting the borders of Delagoa Bay, Mapoota is the largest. Each has a King or ruling Chief, whose authority appears to be paramount both in war and peace. The population of each tribe is divided into Villages, each governed by a chief who is generally a relative of the King's; and by this means these Chiefs have it in their power to exact from their subjects whatever part of their property they think proper. The Villages generally consist of from 15 to 30 Huts which are placed in a Circular form, each Village having

in its centre a large Tree on the branches and round the Trunk of which they hang the heads of all wild beasts killed by the Inhabitants near the Village. The Huts are of a round or beehive construction with upright walls about 4 feet high. The roof which rises into a narrow point at the top projects over the Walls 2 or 3 feet. The whole is constructed with rushes stitched to a wooden frame work and neatly plastered with clay, and is kept very clean. Cultivation is performed entirely by the Women. They use only one implement resembling an American Hoe with the addition of a pick at the back of the handle. It is about 3 foot long. They dig the soil to the depth of 5 inches and keep the Earth always loose round their sweet Potatoes.

*Dress.*—Their hair is dressed carefully as before described in which the Chiefs place a bunch of red feathers and two or three Gall bladders blown. Round their Necks they wear Necklaces of beads, round pieces of Wood with the thorns that grow on them, and frequently the back bones of a Snake, each of which they place in a number of fancyful forms. From their wrists to above their elbows they wear brass rings which fit their arms so excessively close as to cause the flesh frequently to grow up between. To hide their nakedness they wear a mat of neatly plaited grass around their middle from four inches to sometimes 2 feet in length. On their ancles they tie pieces of hide and bones. The King wears only a piece of Green Baize trimmed with yellow, and the Chiefs either a Blanket or a piece of Gurrahs thrown loosely round the body. The Women wear beads round their wrists and waists and a piece of Gurrahs about 6 inches square. Another ornament indispensable to the Women is I think worthy of observance, it is a string of Iron beads of their own manufacture in the form of a necklace, the two ends of which being suspended from a leather thong hangs behind like a tail, weighing from 3 to 4 pounds each. This strange appendage being continually in movement as they walk or dance chafes them so much that a Woman is seldom seen without her hips much lacerated.

*Food.*—It is only the King and Chiefs that have any regularity in their way of living, and eating animal food. The common people living only on Rice, Vegetables and Beyarlar excepting the small quantity of offal they obtain from their Chiefs and what they obtain by hunting and which is dealt out at the

discretion of the Chiefs. The Women eat separately from the Men and have inferior food.

They make pots of different shapes with clay and Baskets very neatly worked both of which they freely offer for Sale to Europeans and exchange for food. The Women are constantly employed, as most of the laborious work is done by them alone. They chop the Wood both for building and fuel with an axe seldom broader than 2 inches and till the ground, leaving the men to attend only to war and hunting.

*Marriage.*—Polygamy is common amongst them, many of them having 4 or 5 houses and some of them 10. When a man is inclined to take another wife, he makes his application to the father of the female and to the King, or Chief of the Village, to both of whom he must make a present such as a bullock or 4 or 5 Goats. The Women are treated and considered as Slaves and not as Companions.

The Kings Daughters are much valued and are sold to the Kings of other Tribes. It is only lately that one of the name of She Shaqua was offered to Chaqua King of the Orentonts for 55 Bullocks. He refused to give that price and sent a small band of Orentonts to take her by force which however they did not accomplish.

*Burial.*—This ceremony is not known, but the Chiefs are placed in a grave which is dug in the middle of his hut, the entrance of which is fastened up with wicker work, the village is deserted and they immediately build another. The ordinary class of people are buried near the Village, and on the grave is placed several pots filled with beyarlar. It may be mentioned that several dead bodies have been found at different times laying across the Cables and round the Vessels which have been up the Rivers.

*Superstitions.*—They have no idea of Religion, but think it is in the power of man to bring down Rain which they consider as their Deity. The only particular instances of superstition is with their medical men. In their attendance on the sick they kill a Goat holding the head at the place where the individual was taken sick, then turning it the contrary way stab the Goat several times in the breast with an Assagay. When the Goat is thus killed they cut a piece of meat from the Lungs which they roll in hot ashes and compel the patient to eat it. They then



mark the face in different parts with a black Ointment giving the Patient a medicinal draught (much like chillies being equally hot and of the same flavour) of which they give about a pint at a time, throwing over the naked body a solution of boiled herbs. This is repeated frequently at the same time pressing on all parts of the body with a hot stone. Should this remedy not succeed no other means are tried for recovery.

*Amusements.*—Their amusement is principally dancing (but I once saw some young boys playing at the Game of Hockey) which is attended generally with their wild musick and singing. The parties while dancing are surrounded by the old people, who sing and clap their hands. The dancer most admired is the one who shakes and rattles her iron tail in the most graceful manner. Their musical Instruments are the Gongom and another Instrument like a Bow with a Calabash fastened near the end which is placed on the breast and beat with a thin reed; another is a hollow reed slanted at the end placed to the side teeth and blown into like a flageolet, drawing the finger backwards and forwards at the further end & thus producing some indifferent melody. Another instrument difficult to describe is beaten with two sticks on 11 small planks about 1 foot long and 2 inches broad, these are supported by a piece of hide twisted round them at each end, a Calabash being under each fastened to a frame. Their singing is very simple and their Songs consist of few words continually repeated. The following is a specimen :

Esar comè ta  
Comè palatin Fagua.

*War Dance.*—These four Tribes all follow the same mode of fighting and hunting, but seldom have occasion for the former, unless to defend themselves from a powerful nation of Olentonts who dwell farther in the interior. Of this nation they are always in great dread. In their hunting the Inhabitants of 2 or 3 Villages meet together with the Chief of each at their head. These parties when on the road to the appointed place of hunting form a very pleasing sight. On such occasions they adorn themselves with trappings of Skins and handsome feathers which set off their wild figures to great advantage. They trot the whole road whirling their sticks and assagays, and at the entrance of a village stop to dance the war dance by forming a half circle

each being armed with an oval shield of bullocks hide 4 or 5 foot in length, a bundle of assagays and a knobbed stick (some of the Chiefs carry war axes highly ornamented). One of them then runs about a hundred yards from the rest and throwing himself into all the attitudes that a Savage can be supposed to make while being attacked. Another then pretends to make the attack by leaping and thrusting his Assagay round him, making a number of gestures apparently as if he had slain his Enemy. All this is done with wonderful dexterity, the parties the whole time being encouraged by the plaudits of the Spectators. The victor then joins the rest, at which they raise their sticks all exclaiming "zarr" and replacing them to the ground "zēē." Several more having performed the same feat, they proceed on their journey. On their arrival at the Forest (the place of hunting) they enter in different parts, driving the beasts before them, and in their meeting form a circle in which they have the beasts encompassed, the number in the hunt generally consisting of from 1500 to 2000 and according to the number of animals encompassed a corresponding number of people enter the circle, make their attack, and are assisted and relieved as occasion requires by those forming the circle.

The King of Mapoota (like all the other Kings) are disposed to treat Europeans well or ill just as the obligations at the moment while receiving presents from either may induce them, taking care to flatter those who are present, and speaking in bitter reproaches of those who are absent, whether English or Portuguese. Mapoota is the largest River and divides the Country also known by that name from the Kingdom of Temby. Its breadth at the Mouth is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Miles, narrowing and widening again irregularly as you advance inward. Its depth varies from only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  fathom to 6 or 7. In most parts the edge of the River has a more regular depth, and is consequently the best course for Vessels. The extent of the course of none of these rivers has yet been ascertained by Europeans, but a boat has been sixty miles up the Mapoota. There are immense forests on its borders. This River abounds with Hippopotamus, which may be seen always at low water in great numbers on the Banks, all the way up the River. The skins of these animals are so thick that Musket Balls unless they strike the more tender parts have no effect. Their flesh is considered as a delicacy by the natives.

They are caught by means of pits being dug on the banks in the path from the River to the fields where they graze at night; in each pit is a pointed stake, covered slightly with Reeds and loose earth which readily gives way under the weight of the animal and he remains impaled upon the stake from whence the people cut him up.

About 40 miles up the River Mapoota is the principal ferry where they have several Boats of their own building. They are about 4 feet in depth, 15 to 20 in length and 4 in breadth and will carry about 20 people. They are built of planks which are made by placing a Tree of the requisite breadth on the fire, letting it burn regularly a certain depth on each side, by which means they are able to chop the burnt part off with great ease. The Planks thus formed are sewed together with plaited rushes and fastened by the same materials to a Keel, on the head of which is rudely carved a man's face. These boats generally admit a great deal of water. They are navigated by paddles which are long poles with a round piece of wood fastened at the end. These boats are constantly employed in taking the Women across the water, fetching timber and fuel from Temby and conveying the huntsmen backwards and forwards on hunting days. Every individual either pays a few beads or a pod of Indian Corn for his passage.

The King of Mapoota's Residence is about 20 miles beyond this ferry. The road is bordered by many villages, the inhabitants of which flock forth and follow a European with admiration mixed with fear. Nearly all the Land in this part of the Country has been tilled, and there is considerable appearance of industry at least among the Women. The King's Residence is not superior to other habitations. His hut is placed in the Centre of the Village and the only difference consists in his having a sort of couch or seat composed of 17 mats. He is always attended by two Physicians, who have stuck up in their hair a large pair of tweezers the two handles of which are also made to serve the purpose of a lancet and a pricker. The Physicians are known by the names of Mamachinga and Mandglarler. The King goes every morning at 8 o'clock about a mile from home and seats himself on a mat near the Village Tree, surrounded by a numerous attendance, for all the Tribes Delagonians and Olontonts near his dwelling attend to discuss such suits or other matters as are

necessary to be settled. Each armed man is compelled to lay down his weapons at the foot of the Village Tree, and as they pass the King each Delagonian cries out "Shewarni ouse Shewarne," and each Orentont "Byet Byet Away Oafe," the interpretation of both "Good Morning, Chief." The King has always attending on him a Fool or Harlequin who dresses and talks in a most ridiculous manner, and telling the King that he does not kill enough Bullocks; why not give his people plenty to eat and Beyarlar to drink, &c. This he keeps repeating, intermixing it with whistling and singing. The parties in the meantime are set in small divisions, the 2 Nations separate, about 10 o'clock the King's Steward brings a piece of Meat cooked on a Scure and a Jar of Beyarlar which he gives to His Majesty. A party of Women then come from the next village bringing a number of large pots filled with Indian Corn, Beans, Sweet Potatoes, Beyarlar and Tobacco. These provisions being placed before the King is delivered by the Steward to the several parties one pot to each.

At 12 o'clock the King removes to the other side of the Village; and about 4 the feast is renewed. This is repeated every day when the King is at home and the expense supported by the King having so many wives that the produce of their labours in Agriculture is sufficient to supply the general feast. At 5 o'clock the men venture home, the women in the meanwhile having been employed the whole time in Agricultural labours.

### *Temby.*

The kingdom of Temby is bounded on the one side by the River Mapoota and on the other by English River.

This Nation was formerly an independent people who came from the Northward of Manica & were governed by a Chief named Capell, who took possession of the Land they now inhabit. This chieftain who was the father of the present King, was killed by one of his subjects named Bongnoi who immediately after the deed deserted to the Kingdom of Mapoota to evade the punishment due for his crime from his own Countrymen. Previous to the Death of Capell he had sold the whole of the Land now inhabited by his Tribe to the Portuguese who have a Fort on the opposite side of the River; but still the people were allowed to

remain there as the Portuguese appear only to have purchased it for the purpose of building a Fort if required at any future period. Not long after this bargain the Nation of Orontontes which lie behind them invaded and overrun the Kingdom. It was retaken by the Portuguese who therefore consider that it belongs to them both by the rights of purchase and conquest. The Country is still governed by old Capell's son who is called Mayyet. He has a Chief or Captain under him to defend the nations from the Orontontes who are in the practice of frequently invading the whole of the Tribes near them except the Mapootas from whose King they receive frequent presents by way of black mail to purchase their favour and forbearance, a policy that the other Tribes are unable to imitate being so poor that they are generally in a starving state. The Chief who is the champion of Temby is named Mohambie; he is tall, well-made, and of a mild disposition, his appearance in the war ornaments is very striking. After any battle wherein he has killed any of the Enemy he shuts himself up for several weeks never entering into any amusements and appears to be much in thought. For every enemy he kills in battle he is marked in the forehead with a small gash. He is the only Chief at Delagoa who takes prisoners, which are conveyed across English River to the Portuguese to whom they are sold as Slaves for trinkets and cloth which he shares with his King. These Slaves are kept in the Fort till the annual vessel comes to carry them off. This Nation although defended by an able Warrior is too inconsiderable to be able to defend without danger & difficulty from the Orentonts. The uncertainty of their situation renders them averse to Agriculture and they are therefore almost entirely dependent upon Mapoota for their subsistence, which they obtain by one or two females of each family residing in Mapoota during the Agricultural Season and returning with their produce as soon as it is reaped. Their Country is equally good as that of Mapoota and has much finer forests; but the only produce raised by the Tribe of Temby is Onions which they have in abundance.

The Portuguese who now have a Fort opposite Temby are expecting out a reinforcement of 300 or 400 Soldiers on whose arrival they will leave their present post and build another on Point Mahone. This position is bounded by a precipice about 600 feet high & commands the Mouth of the River, so as to

prevent any Shipping entering it without permission. The present Fort is commanded by a Governor and 3 Subaltern Officers who have about 200 Black Soldiers. These 4 Europeans avail themselves fully of every advantage in trading with the Natives of Mapoota and Temby and are able to put up with the dilatory ways of these people (which Vessels that put in solely for the purpose of Trading are not) for a small trifle of little or no value will frequently delay the conclusion of a bargain for 2 or 3 days and sometimes much longer. The Portuguese consequently have every advantage as their time is of little consequence their keeping this Fort in Delagoa being a point of ulterior Interest.

The Kingdom of Matole lies beyond the Portuguese up the English River and the Kingdom of Manise at the back of them both. These Tribes are frequently invaded by the Orontonts and are in a state of great poverty and almost of Starvation. Their manners customs and dress &c. are the same as those of Mapoota and their land is equally fertile in natural productions. Inyack is the Southernmost of Delagoa Bay, is divided from Mapoota by a small creek or arm of the Sea the depth of which is not sufficient to admit a boat. The Inhabitants are called Inyackies, they are of the same tribe as those of Mapoota, pursue the same system of Agriculture and though inferior in numbers enjoy the same blessings of peace and plenty. They are excellent carvers in wood and display their ingenuity by making various sorts of Bowls, Dishes and Jugs. They have a great deal of Honey and supply a small quantity of excellent White Wax.

#### Royal Family.

King of Mapoota : Oase-Macasarne Mutgemien.

Principal Queen : Misheracco.

Favourite Daughter : She Shaqua.

Heir to the Throne : Gelooma.

King's Brothers : Masarley, Mardinga, Camanney, Maturane, Mahondaley.

King's Sons : Mahoy, Mumfovo, Martesale, Marpoash, Magarley, Quoshealy, Margurally.

Doctors : Mamachinga, Mandglarler.



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