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# RECORDS OF SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.

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## ETHIOPIA ORIENTAL.

POR

FR. JOÃO DOS SANTOS.

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[This book is one of the chief sources of information upon the Portuguese and the Bantu tribes in South-Eastern Africa during the last years of the sixteenth century. It is a quarto volume in two parts, together five hundred and forty-six pages in double columns, printed in the Dominican convent at Evora in 1609. In the sixteenth volume of Pinkerton's *General Collection of the best and most interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World*, London, 1808 to 1814, there is a translation of a short French abstract of Dos Santos' book, but it is so defective as to be of little value. I give here everything in the original volume except what relates to some shipwrecks and to matters not concerning South-Eastern Africa. The text has been copied from an edition published at Lisbon in 1891, in which the spelling has been modernised, but the translation has been made from the Evora edition of 1609.—G. M. T.]

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### LIVRO PRIMEIRO.—CAPITULO I.

Em que se dá uma breve relação das quatro partes do mundo, conforme a descripção de diversos authores.

EXTRACTOS:—

A Ethiopia Oriental começando do mesmo Cabo da Boa Esperança vem correndo toda a costa do mar oceano ethiopico, do Ponente para o Levante até o mar Vermelho, onde se fenece, ficando-lhe da banda da terra em longo a Ethiopia Occidental. Esta provincia em partes é fertilissima, e mui abundante de mantimentos, e creações de vaccas, cabras, ovelhas e muitas gallinhas. É povoada de muita diversidade de nações, não sómente nas linguas, mas tambem nos costumes, e feições do

rosto. Em partes é deserta, aspera, e infructifera onde se criam muitas feras, como são leões, tigres, onças, ursos, e muitos animaes silvestres e bravos como são : elefantes, badas, bufaros, vaccas bravas, que são mui semelhantes ás mansas, veados, empophos, que são semelhantes a cavallos, mas ainda muito maiores, nondos que são semelhantes a rocins castanhos pequenos, algum tanto derreados das cadeiras, mas correm como vento : merus, que são como asnos, os quaes todos tem cornos e unha fendida : muitas zebras mui pintadas, e formosas, e muitos outros animaes e bichos infinitos. É terra calidissima, doentia, e prejudicial aos estrangeiros, e mais em particular aos portuguezes, porque n'ella adoecem ordinariamente e morrem de febres : mas nem isso é bastante para lhes reprimir a cobiça, e sede com que passam a ella em busca de suas minas e riquezas, offerecendo-se a trabalhos, perigos e mortes, pelas alcançar. Isto que tenho dito summariamente da Ethiopia, baste por agora, porque as demais particularidades suas direi pelo discurso da historia que se segue.

E por que para o bom entendimento e credito de qualquer historia, é necessario saber-se o fundamento d'ella, e a razão em que se funda o autor que a conta para que assim mais facilmente se venha em conhecimento de sua verdade (sendo a historia que pretendo tratar da Ethiopia Oriental de que tive larga noticia em onze annos que n'ella residi) pareceu-me que ficava obrigado antes que d'ella fallasse, dizer a causa que tive para ir a estas partes, e como andei por ellas, e para que effeito, por que vendose as cousas que adiante contar como testemunho de vista, se lhe dê o credito devido.

No anno do Senhor de mil e quinhentos e oitenta e cinco, sabendo o bispo de Malaca, que então era D. João Gayo Ribeiro, o grande numero de christãos que os religiosos da ordem dos Pregadores tinham feito, e faziam cada dia nas ilhas de Solor e Timor (como pastor que era d'aquellas partes, desejando que fosse de bem em melhor, o augmento e conservação de sua christandade) escreveu algumas cartas ao archiduque de Austria, Alberto, que n'esse tempo era cardeal, e governava este reino de Portugal, e outras ao nosso padre provincial, que então era o padre mestre frei Jeronymo Corrêa, nas quaes pedia com muita instancia lhe mandassem padres d'esta sagrada religião, para cultivarem e sustentarem aquella christandade, que lá tinhamos á nossa conta. Lidas estas cartas foram logo manifestadas aos

religiosos d'esta nossa provincia, e muitos d'elles se offereceram logo para ir a esta nova empreza, entre os quaes eu tambem me offereci para os ajudar na conversão das almas, por que assim podesse merecer e alcançar a salvação da minha.

Tanto que as náos de viagem estiveram aviadas, nos embarcamos todos, e partimos da barra de Lisboa aos treze dias do mez de abril do anno do Senhor de mil e quinhentos e oitenta e seis. Dobramos o Cabo da Boa Esperança a 2 de julho, e chegamos a Moçambique a 13 de agosto, onde a obediencia me deixou, para d'ali passar a Sofala, e residir na sua christandade, da qual tratarei na segunda parte, dando agora o primeiro logar á descripção d'estas terras, e gentes da Ethiopia. E por quanto a fortaleza de Sofala é a mais antiga e a primeira que os portuguezes n'ella edificaram, d'aqui me pareceu devia começar a historia seguinte.

## CAPITULO II.

### Da fortaleza de Sofala e suas povoações.

A fortaleza de Sofala está em vinte grãos e meio da banda do Sul, situada na costa da Ethiopia Oriental, perto do mar, e junto a um rio, que tem de boca uma legoa, pouco mais ou menos, e nasce pela terra dentro obra de cem legoas, nas terras a que chamam Mocarangua, e passa por uma cidade que chamam Zimbaoé, onde vive sempre o Quiteve, que é rei de muita parte d'estas terras, e de todo o rio de Sofala. Por este rio acima navegam os moradores da fortaleza de Sofala, e levam suas mercadorias até Manica, que é terra de muito ouro, situada pelo sertão dentro mais de sessenta legoas, onde vendem suas fazendas, e trazem muito ouro em pastas, lascas e em pó.

É a fortaleza de Sofala quadrada e cercada de muro de vinte e cinco palmos de altura. Tem quatro baluartes redondos nos quatro cantos, guarnecidos de artilheria grossa e miuda. Em uma quadra da banda do mar, tem uma larga e formosa torre de dois sobrados, e ao pé d'ella uma sala formosissima, as quaes casas são aposentos do capitão da fortaleza. Nos baixos d'esta sala tem o capitão suas despensas, e no vão da torre do chão até o primeiro sobrado, uma mui formosa e boa cisterna de agua da chuva, de que bebe ordinariamente a mais da gente de Sofala, por ser muito melhor que a dos poços, e não bebem do rio, porque

ali é toda sua agua muito salgada. Dentro d'esta fortaleza está a igreja matriz, que é a freguezia de toda a gente da terra. Na quadra do muro que vae para a banda da povoação, está uma formosa casa, que serve de feitoria, onde se recolhem todas as fazendas, assim roupas e contas, que vem de Moçambique, como marfim, que se compra e junta por todas estas terras.

Junto a esta fortaleza de Sofala está a povoação dos moradores christãos, na qual havia no tempo que eu lá estava mais de 600 almas de confissão, em que entravam portuguezes, mestiços e gente da terra. N'esta povoação está uma ermida da invocação do Espirito Santo. Nós fizemos outra da invocação de Nossa Senhora do Rosario nas casas em que moravamos, e fóra da povoação fizemos outra da invocação da Madre de Deus em um palmar nosso, que é o melhor posto e sahida que tem Sofala, a qual é de muita romagem e devoção da gente da terra. E ambas estas ermidas deixámos bem ornadas de peças e ornamentos, quando nos fomos de Sofala.

Os moradores d'esta fortaleza ordinariamente são mercadores, uns se occupam em ir a Manica ao resgate do ouro, com roupas e contas, assim do capitão, como suas, e outros ao rio da Sabia, e ás ilhas das Bocicas, e a outros rios que estão perto de Sofala, ao resgate do marfim, ambar, gergelim e outros legumes, e muitos escravos. As mulheres d'esta terra todas se occupam em semear arroz, em o que andam a maior parte do anno, ora cavando a terra, ora semeando, despondo e mondando; o que tudo fazem a poder da enxada, e nada se semea com arado.

Outra povoação ha em Sofala de mouros, afastada da fortaleza obra de dois tiros de espingarda, na qual haveria no tempo que eu lá estava cem vizinhos, os quaes são vassallos da nossa fortaleza, e muito sujeitos ao capitão, e aos mais christãos. Todos são pobres e miseraveis, e ordinariamente vivem de servir aos portuguezes em seus caminhos e mercancias, e de marinheiros. As mouras tambem se occupam nas sementeiras, como fazem as christãs, e de tudo o que colhem pagam o dizimo á nossa igreja.

## CAPITULO III.

Da fundação da fortaleza de Sofala, e da traição e guerra que os mouros lhe fizeram, em que foi morto o rei da terra, e os portuguezes senhores d'ella.

O capitão que reside na fortaleza de Sofala, é posto pelo capitão de Moçambique, e n'ella residiam antigamente os capitães de Sofala e Moçambique, e na ilha de Moçambique não havia mais que uma feitoria, onde estava um feitor do capitão de Sofala, até que em tempo que governava a rainha D. Catharina por El-Rei D. Sebastião, se mandou fazer a fortaleza de Moçambique, com receio dos turcos do Estreito de Meca, que foi no anno do Senhor de 1558, sendo vice-rei da India D. Constantino, e depois de feita a fortaleza, residiam os capitães seis mezes em Moçambique, e outros seis em Sofala; mas já agora sempre os capitães estão na fortaleza de Moçambique, e n'esta de Sofala põem outro de sua mão, com particular provisão que para isso tem dos vicereis da India.

Esta fortaleza foi feita por Pedro da Nhaya no anno do Senhor de 1505, o qual foi a esta costa por mandado d'El-Rei D. Manuel, de gloriosa memoria, com uma armada de seis náos: e depois de passar na viagem muitos trabalhos, chegou ao rio de Sofala, onde entrou com quatro náos mais pequenas, deixando as duas grandes no mar, por não poderem entrar a barra, que é muito baixa. E depois que desembarcou foi fazendo esta fortaleza por consentimento do rei da terra, que era mouro, chamado Zufe, o qual era cego de ambos os olhos, de uma doença que teve. Mas depois que Pero da Nhaya teve a fortaleza quasi feita, o rei Zufe se arrependeu de ter dado consentimento para se fazer a tal fortaleza nas suas terras, e por conselho dos principaes mouros seus vassallos, determinou matar aos portuguezes, e tomar-lhes a fortaleza. Esta traição foi logo descoberta por um mouro abexim, que morava na mesma terra, chamado Açotes, grande amigo de Pero da Nhaya: e com este aviso se fizeram logo prestes todos os portuguezes dentro na fortaleza, para resistir aos mouros, os quaes vieram no mesmo dia que para isso tinham determinado, cuidando que não sabiam os portuguezes de sua traição, nem estavam apercebidos: no que se acharam muito enganados, por que começando de abalroar a fortaleza com muita furia, acharam tanta resistencia, e exorço nos portuguezes, que não podendo

esperar seu impeto, voltaram as costas, fugindo para os aposentos onde estava o rei fortalecido, e os portuguezes lhe foram dando nas costas, até entrarem as casas do proprio rei: o qual, ainda que cego, pretendeu vender sua vida a troco de tirar a dos inimigos: pelo que fez alguns tiros com azagaias, que tinha junto de si, e feriu alguns portuguezes, entre os quaes um foi Pero da Nhaya: mas durou-lhe pouco esta resistencia, por que logo foi morto pelos portuguezes, com muitos de seus vassallos, e os demais vencidos e desbaratados.

No principio d'esta briga acudiu Açotes, com cem homens da sua obrigação e familia e se poz logo da parte de Pero da Nhaya seu amigo, e pelejou com toda sua gente em defensão dos portuguezes, como leal e fiel amigo. Pelo qual respeito, Pero da Nhaya o fez rei dos mouros de Sofala, e reinou n'ella toda a sua vida pacificamente, assim com os mouros como com os portuguezes. E Pero da Nhaya acabou a dita fortaleza em paz, e falleceu n'ella depois de a ter feita, ficando em seu lugar por capitão Manuel Fernandes, que n'esta costa andava por feitor d'El-Rei. No anno de 1586, em que eu fui a esta fortaleza, achei ainda n'ella alguns mouros velhos, e algumas mulheres christãs, que haviam sido mouras, naturaes da mesma terra, que se lembravam mui bem d'esta guerra, e de quando se fez a fortaleza, que n'este tempo havia mais de oitenta annos que era feita.

Já que fallei n'este reino de Sofala, é de saber que antigamente em muitas fraldas do mar d'esta costa, e particularmente nas bocas dos rios, e nas ilhas, havia povoações mui grandes, habitadas de mouros, com seus termos cheios de muitos palmares, e fazendas, e cada uma d'estas cidades tinha seu rei, como era este Zufe de Sofala; os quaes tinham paz e commercio com os reis cafres senhores do sertão: mas já hoje ha muito poucos reis d'estes mouros, por que os mais d'elles se acabaram com a entrada dos portuguezes n'estas terras, como foram os de Sofala, onde já não ha reis mouros, nem casta d'elles; e no lugar d'estes reis ficaram os capitães de Sofala, que tem agora o mesmo commercio, e amizade, que elles tinham com o Quiteve rei de todas estas terras do sertão.



## CAPITULO IV.

Das creações, arvores e fructos, que ha em Sofala, e suas terras.

Nas terras de Sofala ha muitas hortas que tem hortaliça como a de Portugal, e muitas arvores de fructo, como são romeiras, que todo o anno tem romãs umas verdes, outras maduras, e outras em flôr: muitas figueiras de Portugal, que todo o anno dão figos pretos, excellentissimos, mui semelhantes aos figos rebaldios. Muitas parreiras, que dão uvas duas vezes no anno, umas em janeiro, e outras em julho. Larangeiras e limeiras de muitas e boas limas. Pelos campos e matos ha infinidade de manjaricões e jasmins, com suas flôres brancas mui cheirosas. Ha muitos ananazes como os do Brazil, excellentissimos. Muitas figueiras da India, que dão mui grandes ramos de figos, os quaes são do tamanho de pepinos, e quando são maduros fazem-se amarellos, e cheiram, e sabem muito bem. Alguns ramos de figos vi n'esta terra que tinha cada um d'elles setenta figos, e mais, todos juntos em uma pinha, como um cacho de uvas, e escassamente o podia um homem levantar do chão. Ha muitos e grandes palmares, que dão infinitos cocos, e vinho de que tratarei mais largamente adiante. Ha mui grandes canaviaes de canas de assucar ao longo do rio que os cafres semeiam e cultivam cada anno, não para fazer assucar (como se podera fazer se n'esta terra houvera engenhos) senão sómente para comer: as quaes canas são muita parte do mantimento com que se sustentam. Ha muito milho e arroz, muitos inhames, batatas, feijões, e outra muita variedade de legumes, e tudo isto mui barato.

Em todas estas terras ha muito gergelim, muito alvo e bom de que se faz azeite, e d'elle comem ordinariamente todos, como em Portugal se come o da oliveira. Para se fazer d'elle azeite piza-se muito bem em uns vasos de pau, feitos ao modo de um gral, mas tão grandes que dão pela cinta de uma pessoa. Os cafres lhe chamam chuni, e os portuguezes pilão. Depois que o gergelim está bem pizado, e feito em massa, espreme-se muito bem com os mesmos paus com que o pizam, e lança um oleo mui claro e formoso, a que chamam azeite de gergelim; e o bagaço que fica espremido, comem os cafres com o milho cozido em lugar de manteiga ou de conduto. Da mesma maneira se faz o azeite

de coco depois de secco e avellado, o qual azeite arde melhor, e dá mais claro lume que o de oliveira; além d'isso é mui excellente para as feridas, e chagas, e sómente com elle se curam os cafres, lavando e untando suas feridas.

No reino de Manica se criam umas arvores pequenas em cima de serras e rochas, as quaes a mór parte do anno estão secas, sem folha nem verdura; mas tem tal propriedade, que se lhe cortam algum ramo e o deitam na agua, em espaço de doze horas rebenta e floresce com folhas verdes, mas se o tiram da agua, tanto que se enxuga, torna a ficar tão seco como d'antes. Dizem os cafres, que ainda que este pau esteja colhido dez annos, se no cabo d'elles o meterem dentro na agua, que logo florescerá, e ficará verde. Este pau moido e dado a beber em agua, é bom para estancar camaras de sangue; chamam-lhe os cafres mungodao; parece-se muito com carrasco, mas não tem as folhas tão asperas.

Outro pau ha, que os cafres chamam matuvi, nome que significa o esterco do homem, e a causa de lhe porem este nome é por que tem o mesmo ruim cheiro, tão nojentos que não ha pessoa que o possa soffrer. Na India tambem ha d'este pau, sua arvore é como espinheiro, dizem os cafres e a gente da India, que tem grande virtude contra o ar, e por esse respeito o trazem muitas pessoas enfiado como contas e atado no braço, junto da carne e particularmente os meninos de tenra idade.

Ao longo do rio de Sofala, em duas partes estão dois matos devolutos, sem dono proprio, cheios de lorangeiras e limoeiros, e quanto querem colher d'elles o fazem livremente: e são tantos os limões, que os cafres carregam embarcações d'elles e vem pelo rio abaixo até Sofala, onde os vendem quasi de graça, e os moradores da fortaleza enchem barris e panellas do sumo e dos mesmos limões salgados, que mandam para a India, onde são mui estimados e comem-se com o arroz.

O pão ordinario que se come em Sofala é de milho e arroz misturado, de que fazem uns bolos, a que chamam mocates. Emquanto estão quentes são soffríveis, mas depois de frios, não ha quem os possa comer. Os portuguezes bebem de ordinario vinho de palmeiras e os cafres vinho de milho que fazem mui forte que embebeda, como adiante direi. A carne que se come commummente são gallinhas, das quaes ha infinitas, que os cafres criam para vender aos portuguezes, e dentro em Sofala dão doze por um bertangé preto, que ali vale o mais dois tostões: e se as

vão comprar a suas casas onde moram, pelo rio acima, dão dezeseis e dezoito pelo mesmo panno, que sahe cada gallinha a onze réis pouco mais ou menos: as quaes são muito boas e quasi tamanhas como as de Portugal. Tambem ha muitos porcos manços que se criam pelas casas, muitas cabras e vaccas, muita carne de veados, porcos do mato e outros animaes silvestres de que tratarei mais largamente em outro lugar.

## CAPITULO V.

Dos costumes do Quiteve, rei das terras e rio de Sofala e de quem succede no reino por sua morte.

É o rei de todas estas terras do sertão e rio de Sofala, cafre de cabello revoltado, gentio, não adora cousa alguma, nem tem conhecimento de Deus, antes diz que elle o é de suas terras e por tal é tido e reverenciado de seus vassallos, como adiante direi. A este rei chamam Quiteve, nome commum a todos os reis d'este reino e assim perdem o nome proprio que tinham antes que fossem reis, nem são mais nomeados por elle.

Este Quiteve tem mais de cem mulheres, todas de portas a dentro, entre as quaes ha uma ou duas, que são suas mulheres grandes, como rainhas; e as mais são suas mancebas e muitas d'estas são suas proprias irmãs e filhas, das quaes todas usa, dizendo que os filhos que d'estas lhe nascem são os verdadeiros herdeiros do reino, que não tem mistura de sangue alheio e que estes defendem e sustentam sempre o reino, muito melhor que os que descendem de gente e reino estrangeiro.

Quando morre o Quiteve, tambem suas mulheres grandes tem obrigação de morrer com elle para o servirem e viverem com elle no outro mundo (que é outra brutalidade sua) e para cumprimento d'esta lei tão deshumana, no mesmo ponto em que o rei morre tomam peçonha, que tem prestes para isso, a que chamam lucasse, com que morrem. O rei que succede no reino, tambem succede por marido a todas as mulheres que ficaram do rei passado, das quaes algumas são suas irmãs, tias e sobrinhas e de todas usa por mulheres, tirando sua propria mãe, se tambem era mulher do rei seu antecessor. D'esta lei não uzam mais que os reis, por que os mais cafres ainda que sejam grandes senhores, não podem casar com suas irmãs nem filhas sob pena de morte.

O príncipe que succede no reino, de ordinario é um dos filhos mais velhos do rei defunto e de suas mulheres grandes, que são as legitimas e quando estes não tem prudencia para governar, succedem os segundos ou terceiros filhos e se tambem não são sufficientes, succede algum irmão inteiro do rei defunto, se é exforçado e de bom governo. E a causa d'esta desigualdade n'esta successão é por dizerem os cafres que qualquer filho legitimo dos reis passados d'aquella terra pode ser herdeiro do reino de que seu pae foi rei e aquelle tem mais direito na herança, que tem mais partes para governar, pelo que não escolhem para rei o príncipe mais velho nem mais chegado, senão o mais prudente e exforçado. Esta escolha ordinariamente está na vontade do rei vivo o qual em sua vida vae logo pondo os olhos em quem tem partes para poder reinar e a esse favorece mais, tratando com elle as cousas do governo e mostrando que este lhe ha de succeder no reino, pelo que é de todos venerado e temido. No tempo que eu estava em Sofala, o rei que então vivia tinha mais de trinta filhos, entre legitimos e bastardos e a nenhum d'elles nomeava por príncipe herdeiro, senão a um seu irmão que muito amava por ser homem prudente, e de grande governo: pelas quaes partes, e pela fama que já corria de succeder no reino a seu irmão, era de todos tão amado, como se já fôra rei, pelo que em morrendo seu irmão, pouca duvida haveria em lhe succeder.

O modo que tem em succeder é o seguinte. O dia que morre o rei não se faz mais que negociar o enterramento, que é leval-o a uma serra, onde se enterram todos os reis, e o dia seguinte de madrugada vae-se o príncipe nomeado pelo rei defunto ás casas reaes, onde estão as mulheres do rei já esperando por elle, e de seu consentimento entra em casa, e assenta-se com as principaes d'ellas em uma sala publica, no lugar onde se os reis assentam a ouvir as partes, o qual está cuberto com um panno, ou corrediças por diante, que ninguem póde vêr o rei, nem as mulheres que estão detraz; e d'ali mandam logo aos principaes ministros e officiaes que vão por toda a cidade, dando vozes ao povo, que façam festas ao novo rei, que já está de posse da casa real pacificamente, com as mulheres dos reis passados, e que todos o vão reconhecer por seu rei: o que logo fazem todos os grandes que se acham na côrte, e os nobres da cidade indo ás casas reaes, que já estão bem acompanhadas com as guardas, e officiaes costum-

ados, e com licença d'estes entram poucos e poucos na sala onde está o rei novo com as mulheres, indo arrastando-se pelo chão, até ao meio da sala, e d'ali fallam ao novo rei dando-lhe a obediencia devida, sem verem o rei nem as mulheres, que estão detraz, e o rei responde de dentro, e agradece a boa vontade que lhe mostram como leaes vassallos. Isto concluido com breves palavras, manda o rei levantar as corredeças, e mostra-se aos que estão na sala, no qual passo todos lhe batem as palmas (que é o seu modo de cortezia) e logo se tornam a abaixar as corredeças, e os da sala se vão para fora arrastando pelo chão como entraram, e estes sahidos entram outros, e d'este modo vão dar obediencia ao novo rei todos os que se acham na côrte, e a mór parte d'este dia se gasta n'esta cerimonia, havendo grandissimas festas, tangeres, e bailes em toda a cidade. No dia seguinte manda o rei seus embaixadores por todo o reino denunciar a morte do rei passado, e sua successão pacifica, e que todos vão a côrtes ver-lhe quebrar o arco, de que tratarei abaixo no capitulo setimo.

## CAPITULO VI.

Do segundo modo que os principes tem em succeder na herança do reino por eleição das mulheres do rei.

Na differenças algumas vezes na eleição d'estes principes, por que como as mulheres grandes dos reis passados sejam muitas, e cada uma tenha filhos d'elles, são muitos os pretendentes ao reino, e cada qual deseja ser rei, e os que tem posse fazem muito por adquirir a gente da sua banda, para que favoreçam sua causa, ordenando algumas vezes alterações e levantamentos do povo, outras peitando as mulheres dos reis, para que os admittam e lhes deem posse pacifica do reino, consentindo que entrem nas casas reaes: porque é lei que nenhum principe entre nas taes casas em que ellas estão, sem licença, nem tome posse do reino sem sua vontade, e o que por força entrar, e tomar posse, perca o direito que tem na successão do reino, e ninguem poderá contradizer, ao que as mulheres n'esta eleição fizerem, como se verá no caso seguinte.

Junto do reino do Quiteve, está outro de que é rei o Sedanda, cujas leis e costumes são mui semelhantes aos do Quiteve, por serem todos estes cafres da mesma nação, e antigamente serem

estes dois reinos de um só rei como adiante direi. No tempo que eu estava em Sofala, succedeu que o rei Sedanda enfermou de uma grave doença contagiosa de lepra, e vendo que seu mal era incuravel declarou principe que lhe succedesse no reino, e tomou peçonha com que morreu, como é costume fazerem os reis que tem alguma deformidade em sua pessoa como adiante direi. De maneira que morrendo este Sedanda com a peçonha que bebeu, logo o principe que elle tinha nomeado em sua vida pretendeu entrar nas casas reaes, e assentar-se com as mulheres dos reis passados no logar costumado, onde lhe haviam de fazer as ceremonias da posse, que tenho dito: mas succedeu-lhe o negocio mui differente do que esperava, por que as mulheres do rei tinham grandissimo desgosto d'elle, por sua ruim condição, e outras imperfeições que lhe acharam, pelo que mandaram secretamente de noite chamar outro principe, em que tinham postos os olhos, por ser mais exforçado e mais bemquisto, e assentaram-se com elle no logar publico dos reis, e mandaram aos officiaes que fossem pela cidade dizer ao povo, que já tinham rei, e que todos lhe fossem dar a obediencia devida; de modo que quando o principe nomeado pelo rei morto se viu frustrado de sua pretensão, fugiu por que o não matassem, e o rei que as mulheres elegeram ficou reinando, mas não pacificamente, por que o principe que fugiu como era poderoso, e já tido por successor do rei que se matou, juntou muita gente, e veiu com guerra para tomar posse do reino, e entrou nas casas reaes com mão armada, e affronta das mulheres do rei que dentro estavam, o que lhe foi mui estranhado de todos, por que n'aquella casa ninguem entra por força, e esta que fez este principe foi bastante para todos o deixarem, e se lançarem da parte das mulheres e do rei que ellas tinham eleito, e o levantado fugiu sem mais erguer cabeça.

## CAPITULO VII.

De como o Quiteve quebra o arco, e se mata por defeitos de sua pessoa, e como lhe fallam.

Antes que comece de governar o rei novo que succede no reino, manda recado por todo elle que venham a côrtes todos os senhores e grandes, para verem quebrar o arco a el-rei, que é o mesmo que tomar posse do reino e governo, e n'estas côrtes é costume mandar

matar alguns d'aquelles senhores que se ali ajuntam, dizendo que são necessarios para irem servir ao rei defunto no outro mundo, pelo que manda então matar alguns de quem se teme, ou a quem não tem boa vontade, com esta capa de virtude fingida, e mau costume recebido entre elles. E depois de matar estes, faz outros senhores novos de sua mão em lugar dos que matou. E por esta razão muitos senhores, e particularmente alguns se temem, e se sentem desafeiçoados ao novo rei não querem ir a côrtes temendo a morte, e fogem do rei para outros estrangeiros, por que antes querem perder o estado que possuíam, que arriscar suas vidas á vontade do rei novamente eleito.

Antigamente costumavam os reis d'esta terra beber peçonha com que se matavam quando lhe succedia algum desastre, ou defeito natural em sua pessoa, como era serem impotentes, ou doentes de alguma enfermidade contagiosa, ou quando lhe cahiam os dentes dianteiros com que ficassem feios, ou qualquer outra deformidade, ou aleijão. E por não terem estas faltas se matavam, dizendo que o rei não havia ter defeito algum, e quando o tivesse, era mais honra sua que morresse logo, e fosse á outra vida melhorar-se do que lhe faltava, pois lá tudo era perfeito. Mas o Quiteve, que reinava no tempo que eu estive n'estas terras, não quiz imitar n'isto a seus antepassados, como discreto e terrivel que era, porque caindo-lhe um dente dianteiro, mandou logo apregoar por todo o reino, e notificar que soubessem todos como lhe caíra o dente, e que quando o vissem com elle menos, o não desconhecêssem, e se seus antepassados se matavam por semelhantes cousas, que foram muito nescios, e elle o não havia de fazer, antes quando a morte natural lhe viesse, que lhe pesaria muito com ella, por que tinha necessidade da vida, para sustentar o seu reino e defendel-o de seus inimigos, e que o mesmo encommendava a seus successores que fizessem.

Se querem os cafres fallar a este rei, logo á entrada da porta se deitam no chão, e deitados entram para dentro da casa arrastando-se até onde o rei está, e d'ali deitados de ilharga lhe fallam sem olharem para elle, e emquanto lhe vão fallando, juntamente vão batendo as palmas (que é a principal cortezia de que uzam os cafres) e depois de concluido seu negocio a que foram, do mesmo logar se tornam para fóra do modo que entraram, de maneira que nenhum cafre pôde entrar em pé a fallar ao rei, nem menos olhar para elle quando lhe falla, salvo se são familiares e particulares

amigos d'el-rei, ou quando está em conversação com elles. Os portuguezes quando lhe vão fallar não entram arrastando-se pelo chão, como fazem os cafres, senão em pé, mas entram descalços, e chegando junto do rei deitam-se no chão, recostados sobre um lado, quasi assentados, e d'esta maneira fallam ao rei sem olharem para elle, batendo-lhe tambem as palmas, de quatro em quatro palavras, como é costume.

Dos chinas se conta que usam quasi da mesma reverencia quando fallam aos presidentes ou juizes, porque tanto que entram na sala onde elles estão logo á entrada se põem de joelhos e assim vão entrando até o meio da sala, com a cabeça baixa e os olhos postos no chão, e d'alli fallam o que quizerem com voz baixa e humilde, e recebendo a resposta, d'alli mesmo se tornam, vindo recuando para traz sem levantarem os olhos, nem virarem as costas ao juizes com que fallaram.

Este Quiteve costuma ter a uma ilharga da casa em que falla com as partes, algumas panellas grandes cheias de vinho, que os cafres fazem de milho, ao qual vinho chamam pombe: e com este costuma convidar os que o vão visitar, assim cafres como portuguezes, e ainda que os portuguezes não possam beber o tal vinho, forçadamente o hão de beber e festejar, mostrando que o rei lhe faz grande mimo e mercê, porque se fizer algum o contrario, se diser que não é costumado a beber aquella casta de vinho, logo o rei lhe arma uma querella, ou trapaça, a que os cafres chamam empofia, dizendo que deixa de beber por lhe desprezar o seu vinho, ou por cuidar que lhe dá n'elle peçonha, fazendo d'elle mau rei, e assim o manda sair fóra da sua casa ficando muito agravado, ou fingindo que o fica do portuguez. E logo lhe manda recado que se não saia fóra da cidade sem sua licença, e primeiro que o pobre do homem haja licença do rei para se tornar para sua terra, gasta quanto tem, com dadas e peitas que lhe dá assim a elle como a seus vassallos. D'estas empofias costuma o Quiteve fazer muitas, sobre quaesquer cousas, ainda que muito leves, quando vê que lh'as podem pagar os culpados n'ellas.



## CAPITULO VIII.

Das exequias que o Quiteve faz em cada um anno aos reis defuntos, onde ordinariamente lhe falla o diabo.

Este Quiteve todos os annos em o mez de setembro, quando apparece a lua nova, sobe a uma serra muito alta situada perto da cidade em que mora, chamada Zimbaohe, e em cima d'ella faz grandes exequias pelos reis seus antepassados, que todos ali estão sepultados: e para este effeito leva muita gente comsigo, assim da sua cidade, como d'outras muitas partes do seu reino, que manda chamar. E a primeira cousa que fazem, tanto que chegam acima da serra, é comer e beber do seu pombe até que se embebedam todos, e o rei é o primeiro que isto faz (cousa muito costumada, e não estranhada entre os cafres) e n'estes comer e beberes continuam oito dias com muitas festas: uma das quaes, e a principal de que el-rei usa, é pemberar, como elles lhe chamam, correndo de uma parte para outra, do modo que em Portugal usam o jogo das canas. Para estas festas se veste o rei, e mais grandes do seu reino dos melhores pannos de seda que tem, ou de algodão, e atam pela testa uma fita larga com muitos cadilhos tecidos n'ella, como franja de alcatifas, os quaes lhe ficam pendurados sobre os olhos e rosto, como topete de cavallo, e divididos tantos de uma parte como da outra, e todos a pé, remetem uns contra os outros, com arcos e frechas nas mãos fazendo que atiram, e pelejam, despedindo todas as frechas por alto, de modo que se não firam, e d'esta maneira dão mil carreiras e voltas com muitos momos, até que cansam e se não podem bulir e aquelles que mais aturam no campo esses são os mais exforçados e valentes e ganham o premio, que está posto no jogo. Garcia de Mello que estava por capitão de Sofala no tempo que eu lá residia, mandou fazer uma fita larga com grandes franjas de seda e ouro, e a mandou com outras peças de preço ao Quiteve, e o que mais estimou foi a fita para quando pemberasse, por que é jogo de que usa muitas vezes.

Depois que o rei tem festejado oito dias, então se põe em feição de chorar os defuntos, que ali estão enterrados, no qual pranto juntamente quantos ali estão continuam dois dias ou tres, até que se mete o diabo em um cafre d'aquelle ajuntamento, dizendo que é a alma do rei defunto, pae do rei vivo que ali está fazendo

aquellas exequias, e que vem fallar a seu filho. O cafre endemoninhado fica logo tal como quem tem o diabo no corpo, estirado no chão, feio, mal assombrado, e fóra de seu juizo, e d'esta maneira falla o diabo pela sua boca todas as linguas estrangeiras d'outras nações de cafres, que muitos dos que estão presentes entendem. E além d'isso começa logo de escarrar, e fallar como fallava o rei defunto que representa, de modo que parece ser o proprio, assim na voz como nos meneios, pelos quaes signaes conhecem os cafres que já é vinda a alma do rei defunto como elles cuidam. Sabido isto pelo rei que ali está fazendo as exequias, vem logo acompanhado de todos os grandes ao logar onde está o endemoninhado, e prostram-se todos diante d'elle, fazendo-lhe grandes cortezias, e logo se apartam todos para uma banda, e fica o rei só com o endemoninhado, fallando amigavelmente como quem falla com seu pae, que é defunto, e ali lhe pergunta se ha de ter guerras, e se vencerá n'ellas seus inimigos, se haverá fomes, ou trabalhos no seu reino, e o mais que d'elle quer saber, e o diabo lhe responde a todas estas perguntas, e lhe aconselha o que ha de fazer mintindo-lhe ordinariamente, no mais do que lhe diz, como falso, e inimigo que é do genero humano, e nem isto basta para estes cegos deixarem de lhe dar credito, vindo cada anno a consultal-o da maneira que tenho dito. Depois d'esta pratica, sae-se o diabo d'aquelle corpo deixando o negro endemoninhado muito cansado, moido, e sempre mal assombrado. Isto concluido vae-se o rei para sua casa com toda a mais gente que ali veiu ás exequias, e os cafres louvam grandemente ao seu rei, por ser tão bemaventurado, que lhe vem fallar os reis defuntos, que elles tem por bem aventurados, e poderosos no outro mundo, e que podem conceder ao rei vivo quantas cousas lhe pedir. Alguns portuguezes, se acharam já n'este ajuntamento acaso, e viram todas estas cousas que tenho dito.

D'este modo que o diabo tem em fallar a estes barbaros, usa com os mais dos gentios, como eu soube de algumas partes onde se fazia o mesmo n'esta costa, e ainda na India. O P. Mendonça no livro que fez da China, refere, que navegando uns frades descalços da China para as Philippinas em um navio de chinas gentios, tiveram tão grande tormenta, que os chinas com medo da morte começaram de chamar o diabo, que lhe succorresse, e os religiosos por outra parte se pozeram a esconjurar, e a amaldiçoar

os demonios, de modo que não acudiram aos brádos dos gentios, como costumam em taes apertos, antes se ouviu claramente a voz de um demonio, que dizia: Não acudimos nem respondemos a vossas petições, por que no-lo estorvam esses frades que levaes comvosco. Mas indo a tormenta por diante, tornaram os chinas a consultar os demonios por escripto, do qual modo nunca deixa de lhe responder, como logo fez (não obstante quantos esconjuros os padres faziam) e respondeu aos chinas, que não temessem, porque antes de tres dias chegariam a porto seguro, no que lhes mentiu como faz ordinariamente, porque não chegaram a terra senão depois de muitos dias.

Junto das ilhas Philippinas estão outras ilhas povoadas de gentios chamados illocos, os quaes adoram o diabo, fazendo-lhe muitos sacrificios, nem tem outro deos a quem adorem: de modo que os mais dos gentios tem trato e commercio com o diabo, uns embocadamente, como fazem os cafres nas suas exequias, cuidando que são almas dos defuntos; outros clara e descobertamente, sabendo que são demonios como fazem os chinas, e illocos, e outros muitos, que aqui não refiro por abreviar.

## CAPITULO IX.

De como estes cafres não adoram cousa alguma, e de alguns dias que teem de guarda, em que não trabalham, e dos paraísos que cuidam haver.

Cuido certamente que a nação dos cafres é a mais barbara, e bruta que ha no mundo, porque nem adoram a Deus, nem tem idolos, a que adorem, nem imagens, nem templos, nem usam de sacrificios, nem menos tem ministros dedicados ao culto divino, cousa que toda a nação de gente tem, pelo instincto natural, que os move á religião, e culto sagrado, principalmente tendo noticia da outra vida como estes cafres tem, e assim difficultosamente se convertem, nem aceitam a lei de Christo, que muitas vezes lhes ensinamos, e pregamos, nem menos a dos mouros, que de continuo andam misturados com elles, e vivem nas suas terras, e são quasi como cafres, assim na côr negra, como nos costumes, e conversação; sómente sabem confuzamente que ha Deus grande, a que chamam Molungo, mas não lhe rezam, nem se encommendam a elle. Quando padecem algumas necessidades ou esterilidades, ao rei se soccorrem, cuidando firmemente que elle é poderoso para

lhe dar todas as cousas que desejarem, e houverem mister, e que tudo póde alcançar dos defuntos seus antepassados, com os quaes lhes parece que falla. Pela qual razão, ao rei pedem a chuva, quando lhe falta, e todas as mais bonanças de tempos para suas novidades, e quando lhe vão pedir qualquer cousa d'estas levam-lhe grande presente, o qual o rei acceita, e responde que se tornem embora para suas casas, que elle terá cuidado de satisfazer a sua petição; e tão barbaros são, que vendo quantas vezes o rei lhe não dá o que lhe pedem, não se desenganam, antes de novo lhe levam móres offeras, e n'estas idas e vindas gastam muitos dias, até que vem alguma conjunção de chuva, com que ficam os cafres satisfeitos, tendo para si que o rei lhe não concede o que lhe pedem, senão depois de o terem bem peitado, e importunado: e o mesmo rei assim o diz, para os sustentar em seu erro.

Estes cafres tem muitos dias de guarda, em que não trabalham, dados pelo rei, sem elles saberem a que hora, nem por que causa lh'os mandam guardar, sómente sabem quando vem os taes dias, em que fazem grandes festas e bailes. Chamam a estes dias musimos, que quer dizer almas de santos já defuntos, e tenho para mim que á honra d'estes seus negros santos guardam estes dias. Um portuguez morador em Sofala foi com suas mercadorias ao Zimbaohe, onde mora o Quiteve, para d'ahi passar as Manicas, onde ha muitas minas de ouro, e estando n'esta cidade do Quiteve mandou matar uma vacca em sua casa, para dar de comer a seus escravos, e a outra gente que levava comsigo para lhe ajudar a vender suas mercadorias, e n'este dia que se matou a vacca, se celebrava uma festa d'estes musimos que tenho dito. Esta nova foi logo levada ao Quiteve por via de seus malsins, que tem infinitos para lhe mexericarem quanto se faz na cidade, e ainda em todo o reino, o qual Quiteve mandou logo dizer ao portuguez, que fizera muito mal de quebrantar o seu dia santo, matando n'elle a vacca, e já que tal fizera, deixasse estar a vacca sem lhe pôr mais mão, por que o musimo d'aquelle dia havia de comer a propria vacca, e que a cobrissem com rama. D'esta maneira esteve a vacca morta em casa do portuguez, sem consentir o rei que se tirasse nada d'ella, e ali apodreceu, e cheirava tão mal, que o portuguez se quiz sair da casa por esse respeito, e tomar outra, mas o Quiteve o não quiz consentir, senão que em pena da morte da vacca no dia do seu musimo lhe soffresse o ruim cheiro, ou que pagasse a empofia que tinha feito, pela qual razão vendo-

se o portuguez forçado, e obrigado da pena em que vivia, veiu a concerto com o rei, e pagou-lhe cincoenta pannos da empofia que fizera, e não comeu a vacca, antes lhe soffreu o ruim cheiro muitos dias. Esta observancia tão rigorosa d'este dia santo, mostrou o ladrão do Quiteve, mais para roubar o portuguez, que por querer que lhe guardasse o tal dia.

Não tem estes cafres noticia da creação do mundo, nem que Deus fez o homem, nem que ha inferno para os maus, e gloria para os bons, mas com tudo sabem que a alma do homem é immortal e que vive eternamente no outro mundo, e cuidam que lá vivem com suas mulheres, muito á sua vontade, e levam lá melhor vida que n'este mundo, mas não sabem em que parte está este logar da sua habitação. Perguntando eu algumas vezes a cafres honrados e bem entendidos, em que logar estavam seus reis defuntos, e os mais a quem tinham por santos, se lhe parecia que estavam no ceo, me responderam que no ceo não estavam mais que Deus, a quem chamam Mulungo, e que os seus defuntos estavam em umas terras, e logares muí fartos, alegres e frescos, mas não sabiam em que parte, aos quaes logares chamam paraizos de contentamentos, festas e alegrias.

Este mesmo erro tão barbaro tem os gentios de Camboja, affirmando que ha vinte e sete paraizos, uns mais nobres e melhores que os outros, onde se recolhem as almas dos justos que passam d'esta vida, segundo seus merecimentos, e tambem as almas dos brutos animaes: e pela mesma ordem dizem que ha treze infernos, onde vão os peccadores, uns mais abaixo, outros menos, segundo suas culpas; de modo que todas, ou as mais das nações, ainda que barbaras, entendem que depois da morte ha outra vida, na qual se dá premio aos bons, e castigo aos maus. Estes cafres tambem sabem que ha diabo, a quem chamam musuca, e que é mau, e faz muitos males aos homens. Fazem muita festa o dia que vem a lua nova o qual costume cuido tomaram dos mouros que andam por estas terras espalhados, e fazem o mesmo. Dizem que o sol quando se põe vae dormir. Não lêem nem escrevem, nem tem livros, e todas as cousas e historias antigas, de que tem noticia, sabem sómente por tradição de seus antepassados. Tem para si que os bogios foram antigamente homens e mulheres, e assim lhe chamam na sua lingua gente de primeiro.

## CAPITULO X.

De tres generos de ministros de que se serve o Quiteve.

Tem o Quiteve duzentos ou trezentos homens de guarda, a que chamam inficis, que é o mesmo que algozes carneiros. Estes andam cingidos com uma corda grossa pelo pescoço e pela cintura, e trazem nas mãos uma machadinha de ferro mui luzente, e uma maça de pau de comprimento de um covado, que são os instrumentos com que matam a quem el-rei manda matar, dando-lhe primeiro com a maça na cabeça como a porco, com a qual pancada derrubam logo no chão a quem quer que dão, e com a machadinha lhe cortam logo a cabeça. Estes ordinariamente andam gritando ao redor das casas e cercas d'el-rei, dizendo, inhama, inhama, que quer dizer, carne, carne, significando n'isto, que lhe mande o rei matar alguém e que lhe dê que fazer no seu officio de algozes.

Tem este rei outro genero de cafres, a que chamam marombes, que é o mesmo que chocarreiros, os quaes tambem andam gritando ao redor das casas reaes, com vozes mui desabridas, dizendo muitas cantigas e prozas, em louvor do rei, entre os quaes lhe chamam senhor do sol e da lua, rei da terra e dos rios, vencedor de seus inimigos, em tudo grande, ladrão grande, feiticeiro grande, leão grande e todos os mais nomes de grandeza, que elles podem inventar, ou sejam bons, ou maus todos lhe attribuem. E quando este rei sae fóra de casa, vae rodeado e cercado d'estes marombes, que lhe vão dizendo estes mesmos louvores com grandissimos gritos, ao som de alguns tambores pequenos, e de ferros e chocalhos, que lhe ajudam a fazer maior estrondo e grita.

Serve-se mais o Quiteve do outro genero de cafres, grandes musicos, e tangedores que não tem outro officio mais que estarem assentados na primeira sala do rei e á porta da rua e ao redor das suas casas, tangendo muita differença de instrumentos musicos e cantando a elles muita variedade de cantigas e prosas, em louvor do rei, com vozes mui altas e sonoras. O melhor instrumento, e mais musico de todos em que estes tangem, chama-se ambira, o qual arremeda muito aos nossos orgãos. Este instrumento é composto de cabaços de aboboras compridas, uns muito grossos, e outros muito delgados, armados de tal feição que

ficam todos juntos, postos por ordem, os mais pequenos e mais delgados, que são os tiples primeiro, postos da mão esquerda em revez dos nossos órgãos e logo após os tiples, se vão seguindo os mais cabaços, com suas vozes diferentes, de contraltos, tenores e baixos, que por todos são dezoito. Cada um d'estes cabaços tem uma boca pequena feita na ilharga, junto ao pé e em cada fundo tem um buraco do tamanho de um patacão e n'elle posto um espelho, feito de umas certas teas de aranha, muito delgadas, tapadas e fortes, que não quebram. E sobre todas as bocas d'estes cabaços, que estão eguaes, e postos em carreira, tem armada uma ordem de teclas de pau delgadas e sustentadas no ar com umas cordas, de modo que cada tecla fica posta sobre a boca de seu cabaço, em vão, que não chegue á mesma boca. Depois d'isto assim armado, tangem os cafres por cima d'estas teclas com uns paus, ao modo de paus de tambor, nas pontas dos quaes estão pegados uns botões de nervo, feitos em peloiros, muito leves, do tamanho de uma noz, de maneira que tangendo com estes dois paus por cima das teclas, retumbam as pancadas dentro nas bocas dos cabaços, e fazem uma harmonia de vozes mui consoantes e suaves, que se ouvem tão longe como as de um bom cravo. D'estes instrumentos ha muitos, e muitos tangedores, que os tocam muito bem.

Outro instrumento musico tem estes cafres, quasi como este que tenho dito, mas é todo de ferro, a que tambem chamam ambira, o qual em logar dos cabaços tem umas vergas de ferro, espalmadas, e delgadas, de comprimento de um palmo, temperadas no fogo de tal maneira, que cada uma tem sua voz diferente. Estas vergas são nove sómente, e todas estão postas em carreira, e chegadas umas ás outras, pregadas com as pontas em um pau, como em cavalete de viola, e d'ali se vão dobrando sobre um vão que tem o mesmo pau ao modo de uma escudella, sobre o qual ficam as outras pontas no ar. Este, tangem os cafres, tocando-lhe n'estas pontas que tem no ar, com as unhas dos dedos pollegares, que para isso trazem crescidas e compridas; e tão ligeiramente as tocam, como faz um bom tangedor de tecla em um cravo. De modo que sacudindo-se os ferros e dando as pancadas em vão sobre a boca da escudella ao modo de berimbau, fazem todos juntos uma harmonia de branda e suave musica de todas as vozes mui concertadas. Este instrumento é muito mais musico que o outro dos cabaços, mas não soa tanto e tange-se

ordinariamente na casa onde está o rei, porque é mais brando e faz mui pouco estrondo.

Outros muitos instrumentos tem estes cafres, a que elles chamam musicos, de que usam, mas eu chamo-lhe atoadores de ouvidos, como são umas cornetas grandes de uns animaes bravos que chamam paraparas e por razão d'este nome chamam ás cornetas parapandas, as quaes tem uma voz mui terrivel e espantosa que soa tanto como uma trombeta bastarda. Tem muitos tambores de que usam, ao modo de atabales, uns grandes e outros pequenos, que temperam e ordenam de maneira, que uns lhe respondem em tiple e outros nas demais vozes, ao som dos quaes cantam os mesmos tangedores, com vozes tão altas e desabridas, que atroam toda a terra onde cantam e tangem. Quando o Quiteve manda embaixadores para alguma parte, sempre manda em sua companhia estes tres generos de gente, os quaes sempre vão exercitando seu officio, uns tangendo, outros gritando e bailando e gabando ao seu rei da maneira que fica dito. D'estes tres generos de cafres se serve o Quiteve sempre em sua casa, como de moços da camara para mandados, e muitas vezes lhe servem de correios para algumas partes do seu reino : os quaes indo com este titulo, por todas as terras por onde passam são venerados e bem recebidos de todos e sustentados de todo o mantimento que lhe é necessario, de graça, e se lh'o não dão de boa vontade, elles o tomam por força, sem haver quem l'ho contradiga e mais em particular os inficis carnicheiros, porque estes como taes tem menos temor e respeito aos outros cafres e fazem absolutamente tudo o que querem, e todos lhes tem grandissimo medo por serem carnicheiros e andarem costumados a matar gente, e trazendo sempre consigo por sua divisa os instrumentos de morte, convem a saber : cutello e corda, que a todos atemorisa e assombra.

## CAPITULO XI.

De tres generos de juramentos espantosos de que usam estes cafres.

Tres generos de juramentos tem estes cafres, de que usam em juizo, terribilissimos e espantosissimos, dos quaes usam quando algum cafre tem commettido alguma culpa grave, de que não ha prova bastante ou quando nega alguma divida ou quaesquer



outras cousas semelhantes, pelas quaes seja necessario deixar a certeza d'ellas no juramento dos culpados e elles querem jurar para prova de sua innocencia. O primeiro juramento e mais perigoso chama-se juramento de lucasse, que é um vaso cheio de peçonha o qual dão a beber ao que jura, dizendo-lhe que se elle não tem a culpa que lhe põe, ficará são e salvo da peçonha, mas se a tem, logo morrerá com a beberagem, pela qual razão os que se acham culpados, quando os chegam e obrigam a juramento, ordinariamente confessam sua culpa, por não beberem a peçonha, mas se elles são innocentes e não tem a culpa que lhe dão, bebem mui confiadamente a peçonha sem lhe fazer algum mal e com esta prova ficam absolutos d'aquella culpa que lhe punham e o accusador em pena do falso testemunho que deu contra o que accusou, fica captivo do mesmo accusado innocentemente, e perde todos os seus bens, mulher e filhos; metade para el-rei e a outra metade para o accusado.

Ao segundo juramento chamam os cafres juramento de xoca, que é o ferro de uma enxó mettido no fogo e depois de estar mui vermelho e abrazado o tiram do fogo com uma tenaz e o chegam á boca do que ha de jurar, dizendo-lhe que lamba com a lingua o ferro vermelho, porque se não tem a culpa que lhe attribuem, ficará são e salvo do fogor sem lhe queimar a lingua, nem os beiços, mas que se tem culpa logo lhe pegará o fogo na lingua, beiços e rosto e lh'o queimará. Este juramento é mais ordinario e usam muitas vezes d'elle não sómente os cafres, mas tambem os mouros, que n'estas partes habitam, e o que peor é, que tambem alguns christãos deram já este juramento a seus escravos sobre furtos que suspeitavam terem-lhe feito. De um certo morador de Sofala me affirmaram algumas pessoas que dera este juramento a um seu escravo para que jurasse como lhe não furtara uma pouca de roupa, o qual cafre innocente da tal culpa lambeu tres vezes o ferro abrazado em fogo sem lhe fazer mal algum.

O terceiro juramento é de menos perigo, mas não de menos admiração: chamam-lhe os cafres juramento de calão, que é uma panella mui grande cheia de agua quente, que leva um almude e esta é amargosa de certas hervas que lhe deitam. Esta agua morna dão a beber ao que jura, dizendo-lhe que se é innocente da culpa que lhe põe, beberá toda aquella agua de um golpe sem descançar e toda lhe caberá na barriga e depois a lançará outra vez pela boca fóra, sem lhe fazer algum mal: mas se elle fôr

culpado, não poderá beber, nem levar para baixo uma só gota, por que se lhe atravessará na garganta e o affogará.

Estes tres modos de juramento se viram já experimentar algumas vezes entre estes cafres, com os quaes muitos que juravam falso morriam da peçonha que bebiam, a outros se lhe pegava o fogo na lingua e nos beiços e a outros finalmente se lhe atravessava na garganta a beberagem sem poderem d'ella engolir cousa alguma; e pelo contrario se viu tambem aos innocentes que juravam verdade, não lhe fazerem mal os taes juramentos. Causa que muito me espantou sempre, nem eu o crera se m'õ não contaram pessoas de credito, que se acharam algumas vezes onde fizeram semelhantes experiencias, nem sei a que attribua uma tão grande maravilha, salvo a Deus querer mostrar a innocencia d'aquelles que eram accusados falsamente, sem terem culpa ou tambem como dizem mui doutos theologos, poderem estas cousas deixar de fazer damno ao corpo por artificios do demonio, para assim os assegurar mais nos erros em que vivem, trazendo-os cegos toda a vida.

Lucio Siculo, Isidoro e Solino fazem menção de uma fonte que está em Sardanha, na qual se faz uma manifesta e espantosa prova dos ladrões de que se tem suspeita que furtaram alguma cousa, por que estes se é verdade que furtaram, e juram mentira, lavando-se na fonte ficam logo cegos, e os que juram verdade, lavando-se na mesma fonte ficam-lhe os olhos mais claros e com melhor vista do que tinham d'antes.

Na sagrada Escripura temos outro semelhante exemplo no livro dos Numeros, onde se conta como Deus manifestava o peccado ou a innocencia da mulher de quem havia suspeita ser adúltera, sem haver d'isso prova bastante, por que o marido que tinha semelhantes suspeitas de sua mulher, a levava ao sacerdote, o qual lhe dava umas certas aguas amargosas a beber, e se ella era comprehendida no tal adulterio, as aguas lhe trespassavam e corrompiam as entranhas, de modo que lhe apodrecia o ventre, e d'esta maneira ficava ella infame, e manifesta sua culpa; mas se a mulher era innocente da culpa que lhe punha o marido, ficava salva, e fóra de todo o perigo das aguas, e com esta prova se descobria sua innocencia, e ficava honrada. As quaes cousas todas succediam d'este modo por divina providencia, como mais copiosamente se póde vêr no dito livro. Da mesma maneira se póde presumir que Deus permite que se manifeste a culpa dos

maus e a innocencia dos bons, por meio d'estes juramentos que tomam, para justificarem suas causas, acudindo, como justo que é, pela justiça dos innocentes. Outro juramento semelhante a estes refere João Perez no livro da sua *Astronomia*. Finalmente estes juramentos que tenho dito de que usam os cafres, foram muitas vezes experimentados, e vista sua experiencia por pessoas de credito, e tudo isto são cousas mui notorias e sabidas em Sofala, como fica dito.

## CAPITULO XII.

Das feições, trajos, vestidos e officios d'estes cafres, e da caçada real que fazem.

Os mais d'estes cafres são pretos como azeviche, de cabello crespo, e gentis homens e mais particularmente o são os macarangas, que vivem nas terras do Quiteve. Todos trazem a cabeça cheia de cornos por galanteria, os quaes fazem do mesmo cabello, torcidos, e direitos para cima como um fuzo, e dentro n'elles metem uns paus delgados, para que andem direitos, sem se poderem dobrar, e por fóra os trazem enrolados com uma fita de certa casca de herva como casca de trovisco, a qual em quanto está fresca pega como grude, e depois de seca fica pegada e dura como pau. Com estas fitas cingem os cabellos em molhos da raiz até á ponta, fazendo de cada molho um corno muito bem feito, e n'isso tem toda sua bizzarria e galanteria, concertando-se uns aos outros. Zombam muito dos homens que não trazem cornos, dizendo que andam como mulheres, porque o homem como macho ha de ter cornos, comparando-se n'isso com os silvestres animaes, entre os quaes as femeas não teem cornos, como são os veados, merús, zebras, paraparas e nondos. Nenhum cafre pode trazer os cornos da feição e modo que os traz o Quiteve, o qual traz quatro cornos, um de palmo sobre a moleira, como unicornes, e tres de meio palmo, um d'elles sobre o toutiço e dois sobre as orelhas, cada um de sua parte mui direitos para cima, e por respeito d'estes cornos andam todos com a cabeça descoberta, e não usam de chapéus.

O vestido do rei, e dos mais senhores, é um panno fino de algodão ou de seda, cingido da cinta para baixo até os artelhos, e outro muito maior do mesmo algodão que os cafres tecem, a que chamam machiras, ou de seda, lançado pelos hombros ao

modo de capa, com que se cobrem e embuçam, deixando sempre a ponta do panno da mão esquerda tão comprida, que lhe vá arrojando pelo chão, e quanto mais lhe arrasta, mais magestade e gravidade é para elles, e todo o mais corpo trazem nú. Andam todos descalços, até o mesmo rei. Os demais cafres pobres, que são quasi todos, andam nús, assim homens como mulheres, sem se extranhar, nem terem d'isso pejo, e os que mais bem vestidos andam, trazem uma pelle de bogio pendurada da cinta para baixo, por diante, como avental de ferreiro, e as mulheres o mesmo, e todo o mais corpo anda nú, por causa de serem mui pobres, e não terem posse para comprar um panno com que se cubram, pelo menos da cinta até o joelho. Este é o vestido e traje da mór parte de toda esta cafraria, salvo d'aquelles cafres que tem commercio com os portuguezes, ou vivem entre elles, porque os mais d'estes andam cingidos com um panno da cinta até o joelho, e os que mais pôdem trazem outro panno maior pelos hombros a modo de capa, com que se cobrem, e o de mais corpo todo nú.

Entre todos estes cafres não ha officiaes, salvo ferreiros que fazem frechas, azagaias, enxadas, machados, e umas meias espadas, a que chamam lupangas, e tecelões, que fazem alguns pannos grossos de algodão, do tamanho de um lençol meão a que chamam machiras; este algodão fiam as mulheres, o que fazem quasi imprópriamente, por que o seu officio mais ordinario é cavar, roçar e fazer sementeiras, e tão propria é a enxada na mão das cafras, como a roca na cinta das mulheres de Entre Douro e Minho, pelo que os cafres que acertam de ter mulheres trabalhadeiras, são mais ricos e tem melhor comer. Alguns cafres tambem roçam e cavam, e ajudam suas mulheres, mas são mui poucos os que isto fazem, por que todos são preguiçosos e amigos do ocio, e dados a folgar, cantar e bailar; e por este respeito são pobres, e no que mais se exercitam, é em caçar silvestres animaes, bogios e feras para comerem.

O Quiteve costuma fazer algumas caçadas reaes, a que leva todos os cafres da cidade em que mora, que são tres ou quatro mil homens, pouco mais ou menos, e com toda esta gente se vae aos matos, que estão perto da cidade, e cerca muita parte d'elles em roda, e d'esta maneira vem todos em ala batendo o mato, e enxotando quantos animaes n'elle estão, com grande grita e alaridos, até os virem cercar em algum campo descoberto, onde

se juntam tigres, onças, leões, elephantes, bufaros, veados, porcos, javalis e outros muitos animaes bravos de que os matos são bem povoados, e depois que tem este gado cercado, e encerrado entre si, então lhe lançam os cães, e lhe atiram com flexas e azagaias e matam muita parte d'elle, de que fazem muita chacina e tassalhos, assim para o rei, como cada um para si. N'esta caçada que o Quiteve faz muitas vezes, é licito aos cafres poderem matar leão, e não em outro tempo, ou logar fóra d'aqui, por que ha em todo este reino uma lei, que o Quiteve tem posta, em que manda sob pena de morte, que nenhuma pessoa mate leão, por que elle chama-se leão grande, e como tal diz que é obrigado a conservar a vida dos mais leões, e sómente em sua presença permite que os possam matar por recreação sua. D'esta carniça comem todos n'aquelle proprio logar com muita festa e regosijo, e a mais carne trazem para suas casas.

### CAPITULO XIII.

Das vivendas e logares dos cafres, e dos mantimentos que comem, e modo que tem em julgar suas empofias e causas.

Posto que muitos cafres d'esta Ethiopia vivem pelos matos, embrenhados em suas choupanas, com suas mulheres e filhos, como silvestres animaes, com tudo os mais d'elles habitam em povoações pequenas, e outras mui grandes de dois e tres mil visinhos. Em cada povoação d'estas mora um governador, ou capitão posto pela mão do rei, o qual tem jurisdicção para julgar as empofias e demandas dos cafres da sua povoação em cousas leves, mas não em casos graves, por que de todos esses toma conhecimento o rei, e diante d'elle se tratam, e elle os julga verbalmente como lhe parece. As penas de dinheiro ou de bens alguns, em que os réos são condemnados por el-rei ou por algum capitão, a metade d'elles são para o julgador e a outra metade para o auctor: e o reu paga tudo á risca.

As casas em que vivem estes cafres são redondas, de madeira tosca, cobertas de palha do modo de um palheiro do campo. Esta casa mudam de uma parte para outra cada vez que elles querem. O movel que tem dentro é uma panella em que cosem o milho que comem, e duas enxadas para cavarem, um arco e flechas com que caçam, uma esteira de junco que elles mesmos

tecem, em que dormem, e mais ordinario n'elles é dormirem no chão, e quando tem frio fazem fogo no meio da casa, e dormem ao redor d'elle, marido e mulher e filhos, mettidos no borralho como gatos. Esta pobreza e vida miseravel, é ordinaria de toda a cafraria, no que sentem pouca pena, por nascerem e se criarem d'este modo: e tão costumados andam já com estes trabalhos, que os tem por vida e natureza, como brutos animaes, a que são semelhantes em muitas cousas.

O mantimento ordinario dos cafres, é milho, legumes, fructas do mato e pescado, que tomam nos rios em covões, e caniços, e todo genero de animaes que matam pelos matos, e brenhas, como são bogios, cães, gatos, ratos, cobras e lagartos, assim da terra como dos rios, a que elles chamam gonas, e nós crocodilos, de modo que a nenhuma carne perdoam.

Em algumas partes d'esta cafraria, e mais em particular na terra firme, que está defronte das ilhas do Cabo Delgado, ha muitas canas, como as de Portugal bravas, que nascem pelos valados, os quaes de tres em tres annos, e muitas vezes de dois em dois, dão e criam umas espigas mui grandes, cheias de grão quasi do modo e feição de centeio, de que os cafres colhem uma grande novidade de que se sustentam e fazem d'elle tanto caso quasi como do milho. Eu comi algumas vezes pão que se fez d'esta semente e achei que era muito bastante mantimento. Tambem ha muito arroz por estas terras, mas os cafres não lhe são tão affeiçoados como ao milho, que é mais substancial, e põe mais força que o arroz mas ordinariamente o semeam para vender aos portuguezes, e mais em particular na costa de Melinde e do Cabo Delgado, onde ha infinito arroz que é veniaga de muitos mercadores.

O vinho ordinario que bebem estes cafres, é feito de milho, a que chamam pombe. Este fazem da maneira seguinte. Primeiramente deitam de molho em agua um alqueire de milho, pouco mais ou menos, onde o deixão estar dois dias, nos quaes rebenta e nasce, e depois d'isso lhe escorrem aquella agua, e o enxugam duas ou tres horas, e elle bem enxuto o pizam muito bem até que fica como massa, o que fazem em um gral mui grande que dá pela cinta a uma pessoa, ao qual os cafres chamam cuni e os portuguezes pilão, como fica dito. Feita esta massa põe ao fogo um grande azado meio d'agua e depois que ferve lhe vão botando obra de meio alqueire de farinha de milho, pouca e pouca, indo

mexendo como quando se faz um caldo ; e como ferve um pouco tiram o azado do forno e deitam-lhe dentro a massa que tem feita de milho pisado, mexendo-a sempre até que se desfaz em polme e d'esta maneira fica este azado dois dias, nos quaes está o cozimento fervendo e cozendo sem ter fogo como faz o mosto das uvas, e a cabo de dois dias o bebem, e d'esta maneira fazem cada dia. Este pombe embebeda como vinho, se bebem muito d'elle sustenta tanto que muitos cafres não comem nem bebem outra cousa mais que este pombe e sómente com elle vivem. Se o deixam estar no azado quatro ou cinco dias faz-se muito azedo e quanto mais azedo é mais embebeda, e com esse folgam os cafres porque dizem que lhe põe mais força.

Em toda esta cafraria se cria uma certa herva que os cafres semeiam, a que chamam bangué, a qual é da propria feição do coentro espigado e parece-se muito com elle na semente e na palha, mas não na folha por que esta a tem ao modo de goivos. Esta palha e folhas seccam os cafres, e depois de bem seccas as pizam e fazem em pó, e d'este comem uma mão cheia, e bebem-lhe agua em cima, e assim ficam mui satisfeitos, e com o estomago confortado, e muitos cafres ha que com este bangué se sustentam muitos dias sem comer outra cousa, mas se comem muito junto, embebedam-se com elle de tal modo como se bebessem muito vinho. Todos estes cafres são mui amigos d'esta herva, e ordinariamente a comem e com ella andam meios bebados, e os que são costumados a ella escusam o pombe porque só com ella se satisfazem.

#### CAPITULO XIV.

De algumas leis que os cafres tem, e das sortes de que usam e lançam em todos seus tratos.

Todos estes cafres primeiro que façam alguma cousa, ou seja caminho, ou mercancia, ou sementeira, lançam sortes para saberem se lhe succederá bem ou mal, e se a sorte lhe sae differente do que elles querem, não fazem aquelle dia o que determinavam fazer. Por estas sortes adivinham tambem muitas cousas perdidas, ou furtadas, e estes cuidio eu que são feiticeiros, posto que elles se não manifestam por taes. As sortes de que todos usam, são uns pequenos pedaços de pau redondos, espalmados e furados pelo meio e mais pequenos que taboas de jogar :

a estes paus ou sortes chamam os cafres chacatas, e todo o cafre traz estas chacatas consigo enfiadas em uma linha, para usar d'ellas quando lhe succede alguma cousa duvidosa; nos quaes casos lançam estas sortes do modo que cá fazem com dados, umas tantas vezes, e n'ellas dizem elles que se lhe mostra o que querem saber ou de bem ou de mal e tanto credito lhe dão como nós ao Evangelho. Os cafres que se acham sem estas chacatas, quando lhe succede alguma cousa duvidosa que hajam de consultar pela sorte, então fazem outro modo de sortes no chão, com certos riscos a que tambem dão muito credito.

Dos chinas se conta que tambem lançam estas sortes diante dos idolos e se ellas não lhe acodem á sua vontade, dão muita pancada nos idolos e queimam-lhe os pés ou mãos e quando menos mal lhe fazem é metel-os na agua, ou dar com elles em terra tantas vezes até que lhe sae boa sorte: e posto que depois ao experimentar o negocio sobre que lançaram a sorte lhe succeda ao contrario do que esperavam, com tudo nunca se acabam de desenganar e ter as taes sortes por falsas e incertas.

Alguns cafres ha que são grandes feiticeiros e fallam com o diabo a quem chamam mestre das feitiçarias. E porque os mais d'elles são inclinados a este vicio, por tanto é prohibido pelo rei da terra que ninguem seja feiticeiro sem sua licença, porque sómente elle e seus amigos quer que usem d'esta sciencia. E todo o cafre que fôr feiticeiro sem licença de el-rei, tem pena de morte e perda de seus bens, mulher e filhos, metade para el-rei e metade para quem o accusar. E com ser esta pena tão rigorosa não faltam muitos feiticeiros secretos, e todos o foram se puderam, segundo são inclinados a este vicio, e com ser isto assim affrontam-se muito de lhe chamarem moroy, que quer dizer feiticeiro. Esta mesma pena do feiticeiro tem o ladrão, a que chamam bava, e a mesma tem o adultero, e qualquer pessoa pode matar estes tres generos de gente em flagrante delicto sem por isso ter pena alguma. Se comtudo a parte agravada não quer que morra o adultero que lhe fez o adulterio ou o ladrão que o roubou, ou o feiticeiro que lhe fez feitiços, então ficam os taes malfeitores captivos das mesmas partes a que agravaram e elles os podem vender e fazer d'elles o que quizerem como de cousa sua, e assim lhe chamam depois de captivos o seu ladrão o seu adultero o seu feiticeiro. Esta pena de perder os bens para el-rei é mui commum entre estes cafres por quaesquer delictos,



pelo que os mais d'elles juntam (como elles mesmos dizem) fazenda para el-rei, porque ou tarde ou cedo, elles fazem, ou lhe erguem cousas por onde a percam.

## CAPITULO XV.

Dos casamentos, partos e mortalhas d'estes cafres.

Os cafres d'estas terras compram as mulheres com que casam a seus paes ou mães, e por ellas lhe dão vaccas, pannos, contas, ou enxadas, cada hum segundo sua possibilidade e segundo a mulher é. Pela qual razão os cafres que tem muitas filhas para casar, são ricos e vivem muito contentes com ellas porque tem muito que vender. Se algum cafre vive descontente de sua mulher, pode-a tornar a quem lh'a vendeu, mas fica perdendo todo o preço que deu por ella quando a comprou, e o pae ou mãe é obrigado a tomar a filha engeitada, e depois de a ter em seu poder fica descasada do marido que a repudiou e o pae a póde tornar a vender e casar com outro marido. A mulher não se póde apartar do marido, nem deixal-o, nem engeital-o, porque em certo modo fica como sua captiva, que lhe custou seu dinheiro. Quando estes cafres casam não tem mais cerimonias que concertarem-se as partes e o dia do casamento fazerem grandes bailes, festas e jogos em que se acham presentes quantos moradores ha n'aquelle lugar, onde se faz o casamento, e cada um dos convidados traz sua offerta de milho ou farinha, inhames, grãos, feijões e o mais que cada um póde ou quer trazer e tudo isto dão aos noivos para ajuda dos gastos d'aquelle dia, e a mór parte d'estas ofertas se gasta n'estas bodas em comer e beber. Todo o cafre que quizer ter duas mulheres, o póde fazer se tem posse para isso, mas são poucos os que podem e assim não tem mais de uma, salvo os grandes e senhores do reino porque esses tem muitas, entre as quaes uma só é mulher grande, principal e mais estimada, ficando as outras como mancebas.

Algumas cafras ha n'estas terras, tão agrestes como as feras e silvestres animaes, o que mostram claramente em seus partos, porque muitas d'ellas quando lhe dão dôres de parir vão aos matos, e n'elles andam passeando de uma parte para outra, recebendo o cheiro do mato silvestre com que parem mais

depressa, como se foram cabras; e depois que parem, vão ás lagoas ou rio e n'elle se lavam e os filhos que pariram e d'ali se tornam para suas casas com elles nos braços sem se apertarem porque não tem com que o possam fazer nem o costumam, nem mesmo se deitam na cama porque a não tem para si, nem para os tenros filhos mais que uma esteira ou uma pouca de palha, onde quando muito se deitam o dia que pariram, salvo se ficam doentes como muitas vezes lhe acontece.

Quando algum cafre morre, não sómente o choram seus parentes e amigos, mas tambem os moradores do logar, ou aldeia em que morava, e o pranto dura todo aquelle dia em que morreu, e o mesmo dia o levam a enterrar em cima da esteira ou catre em que morreu: e se o defunto tinha algum panno para sua mortalha, vae amortalhado n'elle, e senão vae nú como andava sendo vivo. Fazem lhe a cova dentro no mato, onde o metem quasi assentado e junto d'elle põem uma panella de agua e um pouco de milho, o qual dizem que é para o defunto comer e beber n'aquelle caminho que faz para a outra vida, e sem mais ceremonias o cobrem de terra e sobre a cova lhe põem, a esteira ou o catre em que o levaram a enterrar onde se gastam e consomem com o tempo, sem mais se servirem d'elles, ainda que sejam novos, porque teem grande agouro em tocar na esteira ou catre em que alguém morre, tendo para si que d'aquelle tacto se lhe póde pegar a morte ou algum mal.

Os parentes e amigos choram o defunto oito dias, pela manhã, ao meio dia e ao sol posto; uma hora de cada vez pouco mais ou menos, o qual pranto fazem bailando e cantando em voz alta muitas lamentações e prosas lastimosas feitas ao seu modo, todos juntos em pé, postos em roda, e de quando em quando entra um dos circumstantes no meio da roda, e dá uma volta ou duas e logo se torna a seu logar; e depois que acabam este pranto assentam-se todos em roda e comem e bebem pela alma do defunto que choravam. Isto concluido vae-se cada um para sua casa. Para este convite contribuem os parentes mais chegados do defunto.

Todos estes cafres são deshumanos e crueis uns para os outros. Se algum d'elles adocece e não tem mulher ou parentes e amigos que lhe queiram muito e curem d'elle, ordinariamente morre ao desamparo, porque nenhum outro cafre ha que se dôa d'elle nem lhe dê cousa alguma de comer, ainda que o veja estar perecendo

e morrendo com fome e necessidade, da qual doença communmente morrem todos, por serem mui pobres e miseraveis, e avaros de qualquer cousa de comer ou beber que tenham: e quando muito o que fazem a estes desamparados, é leval-os algum seu amigo ao mato e deital-os ao pé de uma arvore ou mouta, pondo junto d'elles uma panella de agua e um pouco de milho, para que comam e bebam se poderem, e ali os deixam até que acabam de morrer, sem mais terem cuidado d'elles; e ainda que algum cafre passe por junto d'elles e os veja lamentar ou gemer, não se doc d'elles, para os remediar. Alguns cafres ha que tem esta deshumanidade tanto por natureza, que em si mesmos executam sua crueldade, porque em se sentindo mal, e parecendo-lhe que já estão no ultimo da vida, mandam-se levar ao mato e postos ao pé de uma mouta se deixam morrer como brutos animaes.

## CAPITULO XVI.

De cafres alvos e homens que criaram filhos a seus peitos, e de outras monstruosidades.

Algumas cafras houve nos reinos de Mocaranga que pariram filhos muito alvos e louros como flamengos, sendo seus paes negros como pez. No tempo que eu andava n'estes reinos do Quiteve, estava uma creança d'estas branca na sua côrte, que o rei ali tinha e sustentava por cousa mui estranha e prodigiosa. O Manamotapa tinha em sua casa outros dois cafres alvos, com a mesma admiração. Dizem os cafres que estas creanças que nascem brancas de mulheres pretas são filhos do diabo, porque elle os gera n'estas cafras, estando ellas dormindo. D. Jeronymo Coutinho, vindo da India por capitão mór das naus, no anno do Senhor de 1600, trazia na sua nau uma cafrinha muito alva, que lhe deu na India o visor-rei D. Francisco da Gama, conde da Vidigueira, a qual eu vi em Gôa em sua casa e depois na ilha de Santa Elena, onde estivemos todos, vindo eu na mesma armada. Esta cafrinha, filha de dois cafres pretos, era tão alva, que até as pestanas dos olhos tinha brancas: falleceu no mar vindo da ilha de Santa Elena para Portugal.

Em um rio chamado Inhaguea, que está entre Sofala e o rio Luabo, vi uma negra velha de mais de sessenta annos, parida de poucos mezes, estar dando de mamar ao filho que pariu sendo

d'aquella idade. Muitas cafras parem dois e tres filhos de um parto: eu vi uma em Sofala, que pariu trez, morreu-lhe um e criou dois até serem de perfeita idade.

Um cafre christão vi em Sofala, chamado Pedro, o qual morrendo-lhe a mulher depois de parir uma filha d'ahi a um mez, elle mesmo tomou a menina, e lhe deu de mamar, a seus peitos, com leite que n'elles teve e a criou perto de um anno até que lhe morreu de lombrigas e não por falta de leite, e depois da menina fallecer se lhe seccaram os peitos, e nunca mais teve n'elles leite. Um dia me mostraram este cafre em Sofala, e contando-me d'elle o caso extraordinario que tenho dito, o mandei chamar e perguntei-lhe o modo que tivera para lhe vir leite aos peitos. Elle me respondeu que a muita pobreza e necessidade em que se vira posto nos matos onde morava com uma criança sem mãe, chorando, sem ter quem lhe desse de mamar, essa o ensinara e movera a meter-lhe o seu peito esquerdo na boca, para d'esta maneira a fazer calar, chupando n'elle em secco e depois lhe dava papa muito rala a beber; e continuando isto dois ou tres dias no cabo d'elles lhe acudiu leite ao mesmo peito em que a menina mamava, e pouco e pouco lhe veiu crescendo o leite em tanta quantidade, que foi bastante para crear sua filha perto de um anno, até que morreu, como fica dito.

Contando eu na India este cãso, me disseram pessoas de credito, que na fortaleza de Ormuz houve um judeu de signal (dos quaes vivem muitos na India) o qual tambem criou um filho a seus peitos por falta da mãe e mulher sua, que lhe falleceu na dita fortaleza, deixando a criança de pouca idade, e por ser pobre não quiz buscar ama para o filho, porque tinha leite nos peitos mui bastante para o criar, como criou.

Um cafre vi no rio dos Bons Signaes, a que os cafres chamam Quelimane, o qual tinha peitos mui grandes sahidos para fóra, como peitos de uma mulher que cria, mas este nunca teve leite n'elles, porque lhe perguntei, e me informei d'isso, dizendo-me que de sua propria natureza tinha os taes peitos, e que já seu avô da parte da mãe tivera os mesmos peitos grandes.

Gabriel Rebello, feitor e alcaide-mor que foi da fortaleza de Maluco, no livro que fez das cousas notaveis d'aquellas ilhas Malucas, dirigido a D. Constantino, vice-rei que foi da India, diz que um seu compadre e amigo morador na mesma fortaleza de Maluco, chamado Francisco Pallã tinha um grande bode em

sua casa, juntamente com outras cabras, o qual tinha uma grande teta cheia de leite, em que lhe mamavam os cabritos, e elle os consentia e agasalhava, como se fôra sua propria mãe.

Depois que vim da India para Portugal, soube como em Moura, villa nobre do Alemtejo, vivia um homem pobre, que ordinariamente ganhava de comer por seu suor, ao qual commummente chamavam pae velho, e por este nome era mui conhecido n'aquella terra. D'este homem me affirmaram, que havia muitos annos que tinha leite nos peitos, e ainda hoje sendo de idade de mais de sessenta annos, o tinha em tanta abundancia, como póde ter uma mulher que cria, o que elle tambem dizem que fez, dando de mamar a duas crianças, filhas de uma sua sobrinha, ou parenta, em cuja casa elle estava. Este homem ainda hoje vive, e perguntando eu por elle a pessoas de Moura, para me inteirar na verdade d'este prodigio, me disseram que algumas vezes viram este homem sobre apostas e porfias que outros faziam, se tinha leite ou não, apertar o peito com a mão, e lançar leite d'elle que lhe esguichava fóra em muita quantidade, e tão grosso, que o provava na unha onde se tinham algumas gotas pegadas e penduradas na mesma unha sem cahirem. A hum religioso da ordem de S. Domingos, indo ter a esta villa, mostraram este homem, e lhe contaram como elle dera de mamar a duas crianças, e as ajudara a criar, da maneira que fica dito.

## CAPITULO XVII.

Das guerras que teve o governador Francisco Barreto com os cafres do Quiteve.

Poucos annos havia que el-rei D. Sebastião tinha tomado o governo de Portugal, quando mandou Francisco Barreto com titulo de governador e capitão geral de uma grossa armada, para ir a Sofala conquistar as minas de ouro, que havia no reino de Mocaranga, e particularmente as minas da Manica: em cuja conquista o dito goverdador teve grandes e crueis guerras com o Quiteve, rei das terras que estão entre Sofala e a Manica, por que sempre este lhe quiz tolher e defender a passagem para as ditas minas, situadas no reino d'outro seu visinho, chamado Chicanga, e não podia o governador passar a estas minas, sem atravessar todo o reino d'este Quiteve, o qual não queria consen-

tir, assim por não terem os portuguezes commercio, nem trato com o Chicanga seu inimigo, levando-lhe a suas terras muitas roupas e contas, para resgatarem com ellas ouro das suas minas, com que podia ficar muito rico e poderoso, cousa que elle não queria vêr em seu inimigo, como tambem por lhe não devassarem suas terras atravessando-lhe todo seu reino: pelo que sempre defendeu esta entrada aos portuguezes, e muitas vezes sahiu ao encontro a Francisco Barreto, que ora caminhava por terra, ora navegava pelo rio de Sofala acima, seguindo sempre sua conquista com sua gente, e soldadesca ordenada; nos quaes caminhos o Quiteve lhe representava muitas batalhas, e pelejava com os portuguezes mui esforçadamente, dando-lhe muito trabalho e matando alguns: o que tambem fazia com muito risco de seus cafres, porque os portuguezes sempre iam matando n'elles e desbaratando-lhe seus exercitos e ciladas, que os mais dos dias lhe armavam emboscados pelos caminhos. E o Quiteve não tratava de outra cousa mais, que de juntar gente de refresco e mandal-a cada dia pelejar com Francisco Barreto, para que lhe tolhesse o caminho, mas nada bastava para desfazer o esforço e animo constante dos portuguezes, que sempre foram rompendo e desfazendo os recontros dos inimigos padecendo juntamente grandes fomes, por falta dos mantimentos que os cafres lhe esconderam e tiraram de todas as povoações e terras por onde os portuguezes passavam, e d'esta maneira com fomes e guerra continua, e com suas armas ás costas, foram caminhando até á cidade de Zimbaohe, onde estava o Quiteve, o qual sabendo de sua chegada, fugiu da cidade, e recolheu-se em umas grandes serras que perto estavam, com suas mulheres, e muita parte da gente da cidade, que levou para sua guarda, de maneira que chegando Francisco Barreto á cidade, achou n'ella pouca resistencia, e logo lhe poz fogo, queimando muita parte da povoação: e depois d'isso foi continuando seu caminho para o reino de Manica, onde chegou d'ahi a dois dias, sem haver quem lhe tolhesse a passagem, antes o Chicanga sabendo de sua chegada o mandou visitar ao caminho com muitos mantimentos, e vaccas, notificando-lhe como estava mui alvoraçado para o vêr em seu reino. Francisco Barreto lhe mandou agradecer esta boa vontade e gasalhado que lhe fazia, e juntamente lhe mandou um bom presente de roupas e contas, com que o cafre ficou mui satisfeito e contente: e tanto que Francisco Barreto chegou á

sua cidade, o sahii a receber com muita festa, e todos os dias que alli esteve o tratou com muito amor, cortezia e gasalhado, dando-lhe todos os mantimentos necessarios para seu exercito mui abundantemente. N'este tempo assentou Francisco Barreto pazes com o Chicanga, para que d'ali por diante podessem os portuguezes entrar livremente pelo seu reino com suas mercadorias, e resgatar o ouro de suas minas, sem haver quem lh'o estorvasse. As quaes pazes e amizade o Chicanga acceitou com muito gosto, promettendo de as guardar e sustentar com muita fidelidade para todo sempre.

Tanto que os portuguezes se viram na terra do ouro, cuidaram que logo podessem encher saccos d'elle e trazer quanto quizessem; mas depois que estiveram alguns dias em cima das minas, e viram a grande difficuldade e trabalho que os cafres tinham, e o grande risco e perigo de suas vidas, a que se punham para o tirar das entranhas da terra e das pedras, ficaram frustrados de seus pensamentos.

Este ouro tiram os cafres da terra, e se apanha de tres maneiras. A primeira e mais ordinaria é, fazendo grandes covas e minas, por baixo das quaes andam cavando a terra pelas veias que já conhecem, e d'ali a tiram para fóra e a lavam com agua em gamellas, e assim lhe tiram todo o ouro que a terra tem. Isto fazem com muito perigo de suas vidas, por que muitas vezes se arruinam as minas, e os apanham debaixo, e assim morrem muitos n'este officio: mas é o interesse e cubiça tanta, que tem das roupas que os portuguezes lhe dão pelo ouro, que a todos os perigos se arriscam, pelo tirar das entranhas da terra. O segundo modo de apanhar o ouro é, quando chove, porque então andam os cafres todos pelas regueiras dos campos e das serras em busca do ouro, que então fica descoberto com as enxorradas e correntes das aguas, onde se acham muitas lascas e pedaços de ouro. Terceiramente se tira o ouro de certas pedras que se acham em minas particulares, dentro nas quaes pedras estão muitas veias de ouro, e para lh'o tirarem as quebram e fazem em pó, e depois lavam todo aquelle pó em gamellas, e o que não é ouro se desfaz com a agua e vae fóra, e o ouro fica pegado no fundo da gamella, d'onde o recolhem. A este ouro das pedras chamam os cafres matuca, e é ouro baixo e de poucos quilates, e a todo o outro ouro chamam dahabo, quer seja em pó, quer em lascas.

Depois que Francisco Barreto assentou pazes com o Chicanga,

despediu-se d'elle e tornou a voltar pelo mesmo caminho, com determinação de passar pela cidade do Quiteve, e fazer-lhe cruel guerra, quando elle não quizesse pazes com os portuguezes: mas o Quiteve sabendo de sua volta, tomou melhor conselho que d'antes, e o dia que Francisco Barreto começou de entrar pelo seu reino, lhe mandou commetter pazes; as quaes Francisco Barreto aceitou com muito gosto, por assegurar este caminho aos mercadores de Sofala. E visto o pouco proveito que o Quiteve tinha de lhe atravessarem suas terras, levando as mercadorias a outro reino, para de lá trazerem ouro, pareceu bem que lhe dessem alguma coisa para o contentar, e assentaram que o capitão de Sofala que então era, e o que fosse d'ali em diante, seria obrigado a dar ao Quiteve em cada um anno duzentos pannos de tributo: pelo qual respeito o Quiteve lhe faria todas suas terras francas e seguras, para que os portuguezes d'ali por diante as podessem livremente atravessar, e levar suas mercadorias ao reino de seu visinho Chicanga, e trazer de lá ouro, sem ninguem lh'o contradizer, nem fazer agravo algum: e assim mais faria todo o rio de Sofala franco, para que os moradores da fortaleza mandassem buscar a elle mantimentos livremente. Aceitadas estas pazes e concertos por ambas as partes, tornou-se Francisco Barreto para Sofala pacificamente, deixando todas as terras do Chicanga e Quiteve quietas e de paz com os portuguezes.

### CAPITULO XVIII.

Da curva, ou tributo, que os portuguezes e os cafres pagam ao Quiteve e de como se arrecada.

Já fica dito no capitulo atraz, que pagava o capitão de Sofala de tributo ao Quiteve rei d'aquellas terras, duzentos pannos em cada um anno por lhe franquear as terras. Estes duzentos pannos valem dentro em Sofala mais de cem cruzados, e isto entre os portuguezes, mas entre os cafres valem mais de cem mil réis. A este tributo chamam os cafres curva, a qual manda o Quiteve buscar e arrecadar em cada um anno dentro a Sofala da maneira seguinte:

Manda quatro embaixadores, que para isso elege, a quem os cafres chamam mutumes. Um d'estes representa n'esta jornada a pessoa do rei, a quem todos os cafres tem a mesma reverencia e



respeito n'este caminho sómente. Ao segundo mutumê chamam boca d'el-rei, o qual vem para fallar e dar a embaixada do rei. Ao terceiro chamam olho d'el-rei, porque este tem cuidado de vêr tudo quanto se faz n'esta jornada e embaixada, assim de mal como de bem, para depois que tornar á côrte relatar tudo ao seu rei, e juntamente para vêr quanta roupa e que tal é a que se lhe entrega. Ao quarto mutume chamam orelha d'el-rei; o qual vem para ouvir tudo o que se diz n'esta embaixada, assim da parte do rei, como da parte do capitão de Sofala, e se os embaixadores acrescentam ou diminuem alguma cousa das embaixadas. Todos estes quatro embaixadores ordinariamente são senhores e ás vezes filhos do mesmo rei, e mais em particular o que vem em seu nome, porque este sempre é maior senhor que os outros trez. A todos estes cafres dá o capitão muitos pannos e contas, com que ficam satisfeitos e contentes, além da curva que lhes entrega para o Quiteve, as quaes dadas são os interesses de sua embaixada: e o Quiteve despacha a estes com semelhantes officios, por lhe fazer muita mercê e honra e lhes dar esta occasião de grangear o interesse e dadas que o capitão lhes dá.

Estes embaixadores quando vem buscar esta curva, trazem comsigo mais de cem cafres, assim para os acompanharem, como para levarem as roupas e contas da curva ás costas, como é seu costume. E antes que cheguem á povoação de Sofala, obra de meia legua pouco mais ou menos, mandam recado ao capitão, de como já são chegados e logo o capitão os manda receber pelo Xequê de Sofala, que é mouro, com outros alguns mouros, para virem em companhia dos cafres até á fortaleza: os quaes entram na povoação todos juntos da maneira seguinte.

Primeiramente, vem na dianteira alguns tangedores de tambores, e outros instrumentos e alguns bailadores e todos vem cantando e tangendo e atroando a terra toda com suas desabridas e desentoadas vozes, com as cabeças ornadas de penachos de rabo de galo. Logo detraz d'estes se seguem os demais cafres, ordenados todos em uma fileira: no cabo dos quaes vem os quatro mutumes por sua ordem, e no ultimo logar vem o que representa a pessoa do Quiteve, e á sua ilhargá o Xequê dos mouros, e d'esta maneira mui bem ordenados, entram em Sofala. O capitão da fortaleza os aguarda e recebe com muita cortezia, em uma sala da fortaleza, onde está acompanhado de todos os portuguezes que ha na terra, e d'ali os manda apresentar no lugar dos mouros, onde os

sustenta de todo o necessario os dias que ali estão, que são sete, ou oito. N'este recebimento costumava o capitão mandar disparar a artilharia da fortaleza, para com isso festejar aos mutumes, mas elles se assombravam de tal maneira com o estrondo d'ella, que lhe pesava muito de a ouvir, e achavam que era uma festa muito pesada para elles: e assim pediram ao Quiteve mandasse dizer ao capitão, que quando a sua gente fosse buscar a curva, escondesse os inhafutes da fortaleza (que assim chamam ás peças de artilheria) porque gritavam muito, e eram mui agastados, e não havia quem lhe podesse soffrer os seus gritos: e além d'isso, que todos quantos ouviam aquelle estrondo tão espantoso, ficavam assombrados d'elle de tal modo, que se seccavam e mirravam e muitos morriam d'isso. Este recado mandou o Quiteve ao capitão e de então para cá não dispararam a artilharia, e tem os cafres tão grande medo d'ella, que nem a mão ousam de lhe pôr em cima quando vão á fortaleza, na porta da qual estão tres peças grossas. Da maneira sobredita manda o Quiteve todos os annos buscar esta curva, ou tributo, que Francisco Barreto lhe prometteu, quando fez pazes com elle, no tempo da conquista, como fica dito.

Os cafres vassallos d'este Quiteve tambem lhe pagam seus tributos, da maneira seguinte. Em todas as aldeas e povoações que ha no reino do Quiteve, se faz uma grande seára de milho para el-rei, e todos os moradores do lugar são obrigados a trabalhar n'ella certos dias no anno, que para isso estão já determinados; de modo que os cafres de cada povoação, roçam, cavam e semeiam e colhem esta seara, que n'aquelle lugar se faz para el-rei, a qual o mesmo rei manda arrecadar por seus feitores, que para esse effeito tem em cada lugar. Este é o tributo que todos pagam a este rei, sem outra cousa alguma mais, salvo os mercadores cafres, que tratam em roupas e contas, e em outras mercadorias com os portuguezes, porque esses pagam de cada vinte peças tres para el-rei.

Os portuguezes mercadores, que vão com suas fazendas a Manica, e passam pelas terras do Quiteve, pagam de tributo, ou direitos ao mesmo Quiteve, de vinte pannos um, e o mesmo pagam das contas, e d'esta maneira passam seguros por suas terras, até ao reino da Manica, onde estão as minas de ouro.

## CAPITULO XIX.

De alguns costumes, abusos e agouros, que teem os mouros de Sofala.

Em muitos lugares d'esta costa da Ethiopia Oriental, vivem alguns mouros baços, e nos costumes quasi semelhantes aos mesmos cafres e avantajados ainda em muitas superstições barbaras. Quando algum mouro d'estes casa, o dia de seu recebimento busca outro mouro valente e bem disposto, que o leve ás costas, de sua casa até á da noiva, sem descançar no caminho ainda que seja de meia legoa, como algumas vezes acontece, porque todos estes mouros de Sofala vivem espalhados pelos palmares circumstantes da fortaleza, que são como as quintas de Portugal, distantes uns dos outros algumas vezes quasi uma legua. E se acontece cansar no caminho o mouro que leva o noivo ás costas, e não poder chegar com elle até á casa da noiva, em tal caso se não faz o casamento n'aquelle dia, por que tem os mouros por grande agouro não poder o desposado chegar á casa da mulher que ha de ser sua, sem descançar no caminho quem o leva; e assim escolhem outro dia, e buscam outro mouro mais exforçado, que o possa levar de uma só vez, sem descançar no caminho, e é tão usada esta cerimonia entre elles, que nenhum mouro casa sem ella.

Todos os mouros d'esta costa, ainda que sejam muito pobres, e não tenham de comer em sua vida, com tudo fazem muito por ter guardado um panno fino ou canequim para se amortalharem quando morrem. Enterram-se tambem nos matos como os cafres, e dentro na cova lhe metem arroz, milho, manteiga e agua em algum vaso e depois cobrem tudo de terra.

Sobre a cova lhe põem duas pedras levantadas como marcos, uma á cabeceira e outra aos pés, as quaes untam de sandalo moido cheiroso, não sómente logo quando enterram o defunto, mas tambem pelo tempo em diante, vem alli seus parentes untar-lhe as pedras de sandalo, e lançar-lhe arroz sobre as covas, e alguns lhe põem um testo com brazas acesas sobre a cova, com incenso dentro, que esteja defumando aquelle lugar. Trazem estes mouros a enterrar seus defuntos em cima das esteiras, ou catres em que morrem, os quaes lhe deixam ficar sobre as mesmas covas e ninguem se serve mais d'elles, ainda que sejam novos, e

alli se gastam e consomem com o tempo, e este costume parece que tomaram dos cafres, que todos fazem o mesmo.

Os moradores de Sofala, christãos, tambem quando lhe morrem os escravos mandam que os levem a enterrar sobre os catres, ou esteiras em que morreram, e não consentem que lhe tornem a levar para casa as taes esteiras, ou catres, senão que fiquem sobre as covas dos defuntos, que ordinariamente se enterram no adro: mas eu sempre os mandava tirar e lançar no rio, ou levar para nossa casa para o fogo, assim por desoccupar o adro, como por lhe tirar estes agouros, o que soffriam mal alguns naturaes da terra, particularmente mulheres: e chegou a tanto sua paixão, que me mandaram avisar com titulo de caridade que não bolisse com as mortalhas e alfaias dos defuntos, porque não era cousa boa, antes me poderiam vir por isso muitos males, causados pelos mesmos defuntos: mas eu tomei seu conselho tanto ao contrario, que d'ali por diante, nem consenti que catre algum, ou esteira lhe ficasse sobre as covas, mas todas logo mandava lançar no rio: o que fazia (como tenho dito) por vêr se lhe podia tirar estas superstições e abusos, vendo elles que nenhum mal me vinha por isso, como diziam que me poderia vir.

Todos os naturaes d'esta terra, assim mouros e gentios como christãos, dão muito credito a sonhos, de modo que se sonham em cousas boas, andam mui alegres e contentes, esperando que lhe succeda alguma cousa boa, ou lhe venha alguma boa nova: e pelo contrario se sonham ruins sonhos, andam muito tristes e pensativos, cuidando no mal que lhes pode succeder. E posto que algumas vezes lhes succeda ao contrario de seus sonhos, nem por isso deixam de lhe dar credito. Se lhe bole o olho direito, dizem que lhes ha de vir alguma boa nova, ou que hão de vêr muito cedo alguma cousa que lhes dê grande contentamento, e pelo contrario, se lhe bole o olho esquerdo. Se ouvem gritar alguma coruja de noite junto de sua casa, ou lhe passa voando por cima d'ella ou pousa no seu telhado, acodem logo com muita pressa a tomar as crianças nos braços, e depois d'isto andam por toda a casa com um panno ou ramo na mão, sacudindo o ar para fóra da casa, como quem enxota moscas, porque teem para si que o brado e voz da coruja deixou o ar d'aquella casa inficcionado, de modo que lhes mata as creanças, como se fossem embruxadas.

Outro agouro teem os naturaes d'esta terra, e particularmente os cafres gentios, que é, se lhe dão alguma pancada com cousa vã

por dentro, como é canna ou palha, fogem e gritam como se os matassem e antes querem que lhe deem com um pau ou ferro, ainda que lhe dêa, que não com cousa vã por dentro, porque dizem que assim como a canna é vã, assim faz minar e seccar a quem leva suas pancadas, e pouco e pouco se vae consumindo, até que morre. Outros muitos agouros e superstições tem estas gentes mui arreigados no coração, que não ha poder-lh'os tirar, por mais razões que lhe dêem para isso e particularmente as mulheres de Sofala: o que lhe nasce da mistica conversação que teem com as cafras, que uzam d'estas cousas.

## CAPITULO XX.

Da ilha Maroupe, situada no meio do rio de Sofala e da caça que n'ella se cria.

No rio de Sofala, obra de quatro leguas da fortaleza pelo rio acima, começa uma ilha chamada Maroupe, que tem oito leguas de comprido, e no mais largo legua e meia, pouco mais ou menos. Um portuguez chamado Rodrigo Lobo, era senhor da mór parte d'esta ilha, da qual le fez mercê o Quiteve por ser mui seu amigo e juntamente lhe deu titulo de sua mulher, nome que o rei chama ao capitão de Moçambique e ao de Sofala e aos mais portuguezes que muito estima, significando com o tal nome, que os ama e quer que todos lhe façam cortezia, como a sua mulher, e realmente assim é, que todos os cafres veneram muito os portuguezes que teem titulo de mulheres d'el-rei. N'esta ilha tinha Rodrigo Lobo muitos cafres seus escravos e os mais que n'ella moravam, todos eram seus vassallos. Algumas vezes fomos a ella, eu e o padre meu companheiro, a cathechisar e baptisar alguns d'elles, que pela mór parte eram gentios, outras vezes a folgar, porque é a ilha de muita recreação, por haver n'ella grandes pescarias e caça de muitos e varios animaes, como são veados, merús, para-paras, nondos, gazellas, vaccas bravas, que teem pouca differença das mansas, muitos porcos do mato e javalis, e outras muitas castas de feras, que andam em bandos como vaccas ou cabras.

Os moradores d'esta ilha de tres maneiras caçam estes animaes. A primeira e mais ordinaria, é em covas que fazem pelos valles da ilha, onde se recolhem de noite a comer. Estas covas são de altura de um homem e de tres varas de comprido e vara e meio de largo na bocca da cova, e no fundo mui estreitas, de modo

que cahindo a caça dentro, trocam-se-lhe os pés em baixo, e não pode tornar a saltar fóra e alli fica entallada e presa, sem se poder mais bolir, onde os cafres a matam sem perigo, nem trabalho, ou a tiram viva. Estas covas armam com paus atravessados por cima e cobertos de palha ou de rama, de modo que não haja signal de cova.

A segunda maneira de caçar é fazendo-lhe cerco da banda da terra, com muita gente e cães que ladrem e façam fugir a caça para o rio, onde tem postas ao longo da terra muitas embarcações pequenas a que chamam almadias, com dois caçadores em cada uma, um assentado na pôpa, com um remo na mão prestes para remar, e outro na prôa com azagaias, para ferir e matar a caça. Isto preparado no rio e a gente das embarcações mui agachada e quieta, sem fallar, por não ser vista nem sentida da caça, faz a gente da terra uma meia lua e a vae cercando e açulando-lhe os cães, com grande estrondo e grita, e ella fugindo vae buscar o rio para o atravessar a nado á outra banda, como costuma, mas tanto que se lança na agua, acodem mui depressa as almadias remando, e tomam a caça no meio do rio, viva, e alli a prendem e levam á borda da agua, onde a matam sem trabalho algum, nem perigo, e com muita festa. E assim é esta caçada de mais gosto e regosijo que a primeira, porque n'ella se toma muitas vezes todo um bando d'estes animaes.

A terceira maneira com que se mata todo o genero de caça, é no tempo das cheias do rio, no qual os mais d'aquelles campos da ilha se alagam e a caça toda foge para os altos da ilha, onde fica cercada sem poder fugir para nenhuma parte. Alli ficam leões, tigres, onças, elephantes, veados, porcos e todo o mais genero de animaes silvestres e feras, juntos uns com os outros, sem se fazerem mal, como se estiveram em a arca de Noé; e esta conformidade lhe causa o temor das enchentes das aguas que alagam os campos e afogam muitos d'elles. N'este tempo se vão os cafres a estes altos, em almadias, e de dentro d'ellas ferem estes animaes com frechas e azagaias: os quaes vendo-se feridos e acossados, se lançam a nadar sobre as aguas e cuidando assim escapar das feridas se mettem na morte, porque os caçadores vão logo remando em suas almadias e seguindo toda a caça que foge, e no meio das aguas a prendem e matam sem resistencia nem perigo algum, e de suas carnes fazem muita chacina e tassalhos, que comem e vendem todo o anno. Estas

caçadas são mui estimadas e celebradas entre os cafres, assim por serem de muito gosto, como por serem de muito proveito.

Um anno succedeu que o dono d'esta ilha, Rodrigo Lobo, fez uma caçada, com muitos cafres seus escravos e vassallos, moradores na mesma ilha, e entre muito gado que mataram, juntamente foi morto um leão, (cousa mui defesa em todo o reino do Quiteve, senhor e rei d'estas terras, como atraz fica dito) vendose pois o senhor da ilha com o leão morto e que o rei o havia logo de saber, (porque os cafres nenhum segredo tem e são mui inclinados a dar uma ruim nova) mandou metter o leão em uma almadia e cobril-o de rama, e poz-lhe em cima vinte pannos e mandou tudo ao Quiteve, dizendo que elle Rodrigo Lobo, sendo mulher d'el-rei e andando fazendo a seara para seu marido, o viera acommetter aquelle leão, alevantado e descortez para a mulher de seu rei, pela qual razão lhe deu com o cabo da enxada na cabeça, por honra de seu marido, e que alli lh'o mandava morto, para que acabasse de tomar vingança d'elle e do agravo que fizera a sua mulher. O Quiteve recebeu o presente e mandou-lhe dizer que fizera muito bem de matar o leão, pois fôra descortez a sua mulher. E d'esta maneira se acabou esta empofia, que Rodrigo Lobo temia pagar pelo menos com perder a ilha, e se fôra cafre com perder a vida e todos seus bens para a corôa, conforme a lei do Quiteve. Mas como Rodrigo Lobo era grande amigo seu e sabia fallar ao modo dos cafres, por metáforas, buscou esta invenção para contentar ao Quiteve, como de feito contentou, e declarou que a lei que tinha posta não se entendesse em Rodrigo Lobo, sua mulher muito amada.

## CAPITULO XXI.

Dos leões, tigres e onças que ha n'esta ilha e de alguns casos que n'ella succederam.

No meio da ilha de Maroupe, de que atraz fallei, meia legoa das casas em que mora o senhor da ilha com toda sua gente, está um bosque muito formoso, mais de uma legoa em roda, de arvoredos silvestres, tão alto, que se vae ás nuvens e tão basto e copado por cima, que não dá logar ao sol para entrar n'elle, pelo que em algumas partes é escuro e medonho. Aqui dentro é casa e morada de leões, tigres, onças, elephantes e porcos mon-

tezes. Um dia fomos dentro a este bosque, eu e o padre meu companheiro, para vermos uma caçada de porcos, que o dono da ilha quiz fazer, por respeito de nos recrear e fazer mimo : para o que mandou ajuntar mais de cincoenta escravos e vassallos seus caçadores, assim para segurança de nossas pessoas, como para o effeito da caça, os quaes iam todos armados de arcos, frechas e azagaias e algumas espingardas, e d'esta maneira atravessámos o bosque, em que achámos muitos porcos, e d'elles foram mortos tres e tomados alguns leitões pequenos. Tambem encontrámos elephantes e tigres e alguns bufaros, que todos se desviaram de nós e fugiram, com que muito folgamos.

Em uma cova fomos dar com um cachorro, filho de tigre, de idade de um mez, pouco mais ou menos, o qual trouxemos conosco para casa, e logo na noite seguinte veiu o mãe pelo faro até ás portas da casa onde estava o filho, bramindo, tão raivosa, que parecia querer-nos comer e matar a todos, e d'esta maneira continuou quatro noites, até que, o filho morreu, por falta dos cafres que o não quizeram criar pelo odio que teem a estas feras, e depois de morto foi lançado no campo para aquella parte do bosque d'onde a mãe vinha em busca d'elle, e ao outro dia não foi achado, do que presumimos que a mãe o achou e o levou ou comeu, porque d'alli por diante não tornou mais a bramir nem rodear a casa de noite, como d'antes fazia com muita ferocidade.

Estando nós um dia á tarde assentados n'esta ilha, á porta da casa com o senhor d'ella, veiu a nós um cafre seu escravo e disse se queriamos vêr seis leões que tinham áquella hora passado o rio da terra firme para a ilha, que nos levantassemos, porque elles vinham atravessando o valle, que estava junto das casas. Eu e o padre meu companheiro quasi que estivemos em duvida de os ir vêr ao campo, mas o senhor da ilha e o caçador nos asseguraram, dizendo que os leões e os tigres d'aquella ilha não accommettiam gente alguma, nem lhe faziam mal, salvo se acaso se encontravam com ella ou se os assanhavam, e a causa d'isto era porque lhe sobejava a caça, de que andavam enfarados, por haver na ilha infinita. Então nos levantamos e os fomos vêr d'um alto que estava junto da casa, mas não lhe vimos mais que meios corpos, e as cabeças levantadas, por causa da muita herva que no valle havia, e assim foram passando para a parte do bosque, tão seguros e confiados como senhores do campo e das armas.

Aquella mesma noite, já pela madrugada, ouvimos grandes



latidos de tigre, e roncos de leão, mui perto das casas em que dormiamos ; e o caso foi, que um leão veio seguindo um merú, até que o apanhou junto das nossas casas, e estando comendo n'elle, acudiram trez ou quatro tigres, e rodearam o leão para lhe apanhar a presa, e isto dizem os cafres que fazem os tigres ordinariamente, andando pelo rasto do leão, quando mata a caça, para comerem os sobejos que lhe ficam depois que se farta : de maneira que assim o faziam estes aqui. Mas o leão como não estava ainda farto, roncava-lhe como cão que está comendo muito sofrego, tendo outros diante que lhe querem tomar a que come : e de quando em quando fazia que remettia aos tigres, de que elles fugiam algum tanto, mas logo tornavam a perseguir o leão com latidos, para que largasse a caça, mas comtudo nenhum d'elles ousava chegar a pegar n'ella. Estando elles n'esta contenda, chamou-nos o senhor da ilha, dizendo que fossemos vêr a briga das feras, que era muito para vêr : o que nós logo fizemos, e estando vendo, e esperando o fim d'ella, mandou o senhor da ilha a dois escravos seus caçadores, que presentes estavam, que fossem tomar a presa ao leão, os quaes foram dando grandes brados, e apupos, para que se fossem as feras e deixassem a caça : o que os tigres logo fizeram, tanto que viram a determinação dos caçadores, mas o leão nunca se quiz bolir, nem teve de vêr com os caçadores, antes se deixou estar bem de vagar comendo, e roncando aos caçadores, que se chegaram ; os quaes tornaram a voltar, e disseram ao senhor que o leão não estava ainda farto, porque emquanto o não está, tendo a caça morta diante de si, não a larga ainda que o matem, porque é mui sofrego, e carniceiro ; mas depois que se fartou elle mesmo se levantou, e se foi passando mui de vagar, e tão seguro, como quem não temia coisa viva, e depois que desapareceu, foram os cafres, e trouxeram o merú quasi todo, porque o leão lhe não tinha comido mais que o pescoço, e muita parte dos peitos, e alguns bocados das ancas ; e o leão não tornou ali mais, nem os tigres.

Estes tigres teem mui grande fardo de coisa morta, porque muitas vezes vinham ao adro da egreja do Espirito Santo de Sofala, a desenterrar os defuntos, que estavam enterrados de fresco, e os comiam, como eu vi por trez vezes, pela qual razão mandava sempre fazer as covas muito fundas. Uma manhã se achou n'este mesmo adro um tigre morto em cima de uma cova, com as unhas mettidas na terra, começando de cavar, e abrir a

cova. Este era tão velho que já tinha os dentes todos quebrados e podres, e estava tão magro, que não tinha mais que a pelle e o osso, e muita parte do corpo pellado, ou gasto: tinha mais de vinte signaes de feridas velhas, e algumas de palmo, que deviam ser d'outros tigres com quem tinha pelejado, o que elles ordinariamente fazem sobre o comer, de modo que este veyo aqui morrer, ou de velho, ou de fome, ou de tudo junto.

## CAPITULO XXII.

Da variedade de animaes que ha nos mattos de Sofala, e como se matam as onças, e do bicho inhazara.

Em todas as terras de Sofala se criam muitas e varias especies de animaes silvestres, e muitas feras, bichos e caça, como são porcos de duas ou trez castas, cuja carne é muito boa, lebres, veados, gazellas, vaccas bravas, que são quasi da feição das nossas mansas. Ha muitas zebras formosas, e pintadas, mui semelhantes a mulas na feição do corpo, e quasi da mesma natureza, porque quando correm mettem a cabeça entre as mãos, e vão correndo e respingando, com outros effeitos de mula: teem unha redonda nos pés e mãos, como mula. As pinturas que teem são umas cintas de cabello branco e preto, mui formosas, de largura de dois dedos, bem compassadas por todo o corpo, pés, e mãos e cabeça, uma branca e outra preta, de cabello mui brando e macio como seda. Ha muitos merús, que são como asnos, mas teem cornos, e unha fendida, como veados, cuja carne é muito boa para comer: teem uma cinta branca muito formosa, de meio palmo de largura, que lhe cinge as ancas, e desce pelas coxas abaixo até aos joelhos: teem o mais cabello de todo o corpo cinzento, e aspero. Ha muitos nondos, que são quasi como rocins gallegos, todos de uma côr castanha, escura, e cabello curto e macio, teem uma feição nas cadeiras, que parecem derreados, e a causa é porque teem os pés mais curtos que as mãos, e d'esta maneira correm muito mais que veados. Ha muitos bufaros mui bravos, em cujos cornos morrem ordinariamente os caçadores d'esta terra, porque são mui ciosos das femeas e dos filhos, e em vendo qual-quer pessoa, logo a vão buscar e accommetter com mais furia que um bravo touro.

Ha muitos gatos de algalea, muitos bogios e monos grandes.

Em casa de Garcia de Mello, que então era capitão de Sofala, estava um bugio que tinha ambos os sexos, de macho e femea. As bugias femeas dizem os cafres que teem seu costume de purgação cada lua, como se foram mulheres. Nos matos d'estas terras se cria uma certa casta de cachorros, que não são maiores que gozos, a que os cafres chamam impumpes, os quaes ordinariamente andam em alcatéas, e quando querem caçar alguma vez, todos juntamente a accommettem, e vão correndo apoz ella, e pegando-lhe nas pernas, e saltando-lhe nas ancas, e comendo n'ella, porque teem tanta força na bocca e dentes, que em pegando e levando o bocado fóra, tudo é um, e d'esta maneira vão seguindo um veado, ou qualquar outra caça, e comendo-lhe as pernas, até que de fraca e cançada cáe no chão, onde a acabam de comer. Correm muito, e são mui ligeiros; quando vão caçando não ladram. São todos ruivos pelas costas e brancos pela barriga, e fogem muito da gente.

Em toda esta Ethiopia se criam muitos e grandes elephantes, de cuja natureza e propriedades tratarei adiante. Ha muitos leões, quasi tamanhos como bezerros de seis mezes, mui carrancudos e medonhos, todos pardos sobre escuro. Ha muitos tigres pouco menores que os leões: não são pintados como os da India; mas todos são de uma côr cinzenta, fusca, e mal assombrada; quasi que arremedam os lobos d'este reino; são mais cobardes que todas as outras feras, porque não se sabe que accommettessem alguma gente. Ha muitas onças, mui pintadas, e de formosa côr; são muito maiores que um libreu, e muito mais compridas, em todas as feições do corpo, e cabeça mui semelhante aos nossos gatos. São tão carniceiras, que as mais das noites veem dentro á povoação de Sofala, fazer preza nos porcos e cabras que acham desgarradas dos curraes em que dormem fechadas, por este respeito: a sua principal relé é apanhar cães e gatos, para comerem, e mui poucas vezes accommettem gente. Uns cafres estavam uma noite comendo em uma casa de Sofala, todos em roda assentados no chão, como é seu costume, entre os quaes estava um gato. N'este tempo veiu uma onça do campo, e saltou dentro na cerca da casa, onde os negros estavam assentados, sem ser sentida de ninguem, e chegando-se a elles deu um salto e apanhou o gato do meio d'elles e acolheu-se com elle na bocca e tornou a saltar a cerca para fóra, e foi-se. Isto é mui ordinario n'ellas, porque

saltam estas cercas em claro, que são de madeira, de quinze palmos de altura, pouco mais ou menos.

Os moradores de Sofala armam a estas onças e tomam algumas da maneira seguinte: Fazem no campo, fóra da povoação, umas casinhas de madeira grossa e bem mettida pela terra, que se não possa arrancar, as quaes casinhas são de comprimento de duas varas de medir, e de quatro palmos de altura, e dois palmos de largo sómente, quanto a onça possa entrar; são cobertas de madeira mui bem atada. Em uma ponta teem uma porta de alçapão, como porta de ratoeira, e dentro na outra ponta tem um repartimento, como camarinha, onde mettem um cachorro, e junto d'elle armam a ponta d'uma corda, que sustenta a porta da casinha no ar, como ratoeira, e d'esta maneira deixam esta armadilha de noite, na qual o cachorro fica ganindo e gritando, a cujas vozes acode a onça e rodeando a casinha, entra pela porta dentro, para tomar a presa, e tanto que chega junto d'ella, toca com as mãos ou com o focinho na ponta da corda, que está subtilmente armada, e logo desarma, e cae a taboa por detraz, e fecha a porta, ficando a onça dentro entallada, que não se pode virar, por ser a casinha muito estreita, nem menos pode comer o cachorro, por causa do repartimento da madeira que tem no meio, que lh'o defende, de modo que alli fica presa, até que veem de madrugada os armadores e alli dentro as matam ás estocadas por entre os paus da casinha.

Nos matos de Sofala se criam uns bichos a que os naturaes chamam inhazaras, os quaes são tamanhos como grandes porcos e quasi da mesma feição; teem o cabello muito preto e ralo, cinco dedos em cada pé e quatro em cada mão, como dedos de homem, e n'elles unhas mui compridas e agudas. Vivem debaixo do chão em covas que elles mesmos fazem ao modo de covas de coelho, com duas ou tres bocas. O seu mantimento principal são formigas, cavando com as unhas os formigueiros, que n'estas terras ha muitos e mui grandes: e depois que teem as formigas assanhadas, mettem pelos buracos dos formigueiros a lingua, que teem de comprimento d'um covado, redonda e delgada, como uma vella de cera, na qual as formigas pegam, e depois de bem cheia, o bicho a recolhe para dentro da boca e engole as formigas, e tantas vezes faz isto, até que se farta. Tem o focinho muito comprido e delgado, e as ventas grandes e abertas, e as orelhas mui compridas e delgadas, da feição de orelhas de mula, peladas, sem

cabello algum. Não tem dentes em toda a bocca : tem um rabo de um palmo, muito grosso, direito e sahido na ponta como fuso. Um bicho d'estes mataram os nossos escravos, indo aos mattos buscar madeira, e o trouxeram para casa, onde o chamuscaram, abriram e tiraram todo o deventre : no qual não acharam esterco algum, mais que as tripas cheias de vento sómente, de que muito se espantaram todos os que isto viram, e disseram alguns naturaes da terra, que já tinham ouvido a seus antepassados, que estes bichos se sustentavam sómente do ar, e que muitas vezes o tinham visto estar com a boca aberta para o vento. Outros diziam e affirmavam, que tambem comiam formigas, porque todas as vezes que os encontravam no mato, os achavam em cima dos formigueiros, cavando a terra com as unhas e comendo as formigas, do modo que fica dito. A carne d'estes bichos é muito boa, e come-se ; e quasi como les ordinariamente fazem sobre o comer, de modo que este veiu aqui morrer, ou de velho, ou de fome, ou de tudo junto.

### CAPITULO XXIII.

Dos lagartos e cobras peçonhentos e de outra variedade de bichos que ha nos matos de Sofala.

Em todo este territorio de Sofala, e rios de Cuama, se criam nos matos grandissimos lagartos pintados, da mesmo feição dos que ha em Portugal : teem de comprimento vara e meia e mais, como tinha um que eu vi morto ; são tão grossos como uma perna d'um homem ; teem muito grandes e agudos dentes e a lingua farpada na ponta e muito negra. Não accomettem a gente, salvo se os assanham, porque então remettem sem medo algum e mordem cruelmente, e sua mordedura é peçonhenta, mas porém não tanto que mate.

Algumas pessoas querem affirmar, que estes lagartos da terra vão á borda dos rios, onde lhe sahem os lagartos da agua, e alli se ajuntam uns com outros e fazem geração, mas eu tenho isto por grande patranha, pois até agora não ha nenhum natural da terra que tal visse : pelo que alguns que isto escreveram, deviam fazel-o por falsas informações. Os caíres matam estes lagartos e comem-lhe a carne, e affirmam que é a mais saborosa de todas as carnes dos bichos do mato.

N'estas proprias terras se criam mui grandes e peçonhentas

cobras, particularmente umas a que os cafres chamam cangâres, que são tão grossas como uma grossa perna de um homem, e teem de comprimento dezoito e vinte palmos. Estas são mui damninhas, porque matam o gado meudo, como são porcos, cabras, ovelhas e gallinhas, para comerem, e são tão peçonhentas, que toda a cousa viva que mordem, logo morre, se lhe não acodem com alguma contra peçonha.

Nas terras de um rei cafre chamado Biri, que estão junto da Manica, de que já fallei atraz, se cria uma certa casta de cobras pequenas, do tamanho de um covado, a que os cafres chamam ruca inhanga, as quaes são tão peçonhentas, que seccam a herva ou pau em que mordem cada dia, quando não acham cousa viva em que possam morder, como é seu costume ou natureza, porque n'esta mordedura deixam grande parte da peçonha, com que parece ficam desalivados, e quando mordem em alguma cousa viva, logo o animal mordido incha como um odre, e dentro em vinte e quatro horas lhe cae o cabello, unhas, cornos e dentes e morre sem haver contra peçonha que lhe resista. D'estas cobras faz o rei Biri uma certa confeição de massa com que unta as frechas, a qual é tão fina e forte, que em tocando qualquer frecha d'estas untadas em qualquer cousa viva, como lhe tire sangue, logo lhe causa os mesmos effeitos, que faz a mordedura da mesma cobra. Ninguem pode uzar d'esta peçonha nas frechas, senão o proprio rei Biri, que o tem prohibido sob pena de morte e perda da fazenda.

Uma cobra d'estas mordeu a um cafre d'aquelle reino, e elle vendo-se mordido, e com grandes dôres, e sabendo que não havia de escapar da morte, foi no alcance da cobra para lhe fazer o mal que podesse, e voltando ella para o tornar a morder, como fez, elle lhe ferrou com as mãos ambas, e a levou á bocca, e lhe mordeu tambem com grande raiva, dizendo: tão peçonhento sou eu como tu és, e se eu morrer, tu não ficarás viva, e assim aconteceu, que largando elle a cobra, não poudo fugir, e ambos morreram no mesmo dia. Isto ainda que pareça ficção de cafres, comtudo algumas pessoas de credito d'esta terra me affirmaram que acontecera na verdade o que tenho dito.

Muitas vezes ouvi dizer na India, que houve um homem na ilha de Ormuz, ruivo e sardo, grande jogador de tavolas, o qual era tão peçonhento, que todas as moscas que pousavam na sua cabeça, ou mãos, ou rosto, logo morriam se lhe picavam, e se lhe

não picavam ficavam atordoadas sem poder voar. Pelo qual respeito elle as não enxotava de si, como faz a mais gente, antes dizia: deixae-as vós picar em mim, que ellas o pagarão; e assim quando se levantava d'um logar, o deixava cheio de moscas mortas, e atordoadas; d'onde se póde vêr que não sómente nas feras e bichos se gera a peçonha, mas tambem nas creaturas racionaes.

Em toda esta cafraria se criam muitos zangãos, da maneira seguinte. Fazem um pelouro de barro pegado nas paredes, ou telhados, com muitos buracos, ao modo de um favo de abelhas, ou vespas, e em cada buraco mettem um bixinho, como aquelles que se soem crear nas couves, uns verdes, outros pretos, outros brancos, e pardos, de maneira que não são todos de uma casta, senão quaesquer que acham, os quaes levam entre os pés, e voam até o seu favo, que tem feito de barro, e em cada buraco mettem seu bicho, e tapam-lhe a porta com barro fresco, ficando os bichos todos entaipados. E alli dentro se geram d'elles outros zangãos com pernas e azas, e tanto que são gerados, elles mesmos furam o barro, e saem para fóra, e voam. E estes depois de grandes fazem a mesma criação, de maneira que de filhos alheios de diversas castas, fazem filhos proprios, cousa que muito me espantou.

Ao longo do rio de Sofala, e de Cuama, se criam infinitos bixos como escaravelhos pequenos, cujo rabo lhe luz de noite como uma braza viva, dos quaes tambem ha n'este reino. Estes tanto que vem a noite, se levantam em bandos pelos ares, e são tantos, que alumiam quasi todo o ar, e fazem espanto a quem não tem noticia do que isto é, como eu sei que fizeram a certas pessoas estrangeiras n'estas terras, uma noite escura que dormiram ao longo d'este rio, os quaes fugiram com medo para a povoação dos cafres, cuidando que eram feiticeiras.

Criam-se n'estas terras muitos cameleões, os quaes se fazem cada hora de mil côres, e estas tomam da cousas em que pousam, porque se estão sobre a terra, tornam-se pardos como a mesma terra, se na herva verde, ficam logo da mesma côr das ervas, se em cousa vermelha, tornam-se vermelhos, e assim nas demais côres. São do tamanho, e quasi da mesma feição de um lagarto pequeno de um palmo: teem grande cabeça, e quasi vã, porque a enchem de vento, e logo a vazam; teem quatro pés altos, como pés de rã, andam devagar, e não correm: saltam como rãs, mas não com tanta ligeiresa; sustentam-se do ar.

Ha n'estas terras uma casta de ratos mui pequenos, que cheiram a almiscar, não sómente tomados na mão, mas por onde quer que passam, deixam suavissimo cheiro; mordem muito, e sua mordedura é peçonhentissima.

N'estas terras ha muito grandes morcegos, os quaes se criam nos troncos das arvores, e entre os ramos das palmeiras: são tamanhos como grandes pombos: os cafres os matam, e lhe esfolam a pelle, e commumente os comem cosidos, e assados; e dizem que são mui gordos, e saborosos como galinhas.

Nos matos de toda esta cafraria se criam mui grandes kagados, os quaes são todos pretos, e melanconisados, e tamanhos como grandes rodellas. Teem muita carne, e mui gorda, e os cafres fazem muito caso d'elles, para os comerem assados, e cozidos. Alguns portuguezes comem d'elles cozidos, e temperados como galinha. Outra muita variedade de bichos se criam n'estas terras, que deixo por abreviar.

## CAPITULO XXIV.

Da variedade de passaros que ha nas terras e limites de Sofala.

Nas terras de Sofala, e ao longo do seu rio, ha muita diversidade de passaros de muitas castas, e de varias e formosas côres: e alguns d'elles que cantam mui suavemente, e se criam em gaiolas, particularmente uns, a que chamam inhapures, que se parecem muito com canarios na côr, e na musica. Ha tambem muitos passaros de Portugal, como são rôlas de tres ou quatro castas, umas das quaes são mui formosas, e teem as azas douradas, que parecem de fino ouro. Arveloas, que cantam excellentissimamente, o que de ordinario fazem pela manhã, pela sesta, e ao sol posto. Muitas andorinhas, pardaes, poupas, gaios, papagaios verdes pequenos. Ha muita caça, como são patos de tres castas, uns d'elles que são muito maiores que os de Portugal, pretos pelas costas, e brancos pela barriga: teem uma crista vermelha no meio da cabeça, muito dura, e aguda como corno: a estes chamam patos gregos. Muitas adens de quatro castas, e muitas marrecas tambem de diversas castas e feições, algumas muito pintadas e formosas. Muitas garças reaes, e ribeirinhas, como as de Portugal.

Ha muitos pelicanos, os quaes são tamanhos como um grande



gallo do Perú; são brancos, mas não muito claros, e teem os pés muito grossos e curtos, e ordinariamente andam dentro no rio caçando peixe para comer. Ha muitos guinchos, que tambem andam á caça de continuo; são tão grandes como milhanos, e teem a cabeça e as azas pretas como azeviche, e uma colleira branca pelo pescoço formosissima, e a barriga branca, bico revolto, olhos e unhas como aguia.

Ha muitos abutres do tamanho de um pavão femea, e quasi da mesma feição, mas não da mesma côr; teem as pernas muito compridas, e negras, e a côr de todo o corpo cinzenta escura, quasi preta, feia, e mal assombrada; e não teem penna em todo o pescoço, nem na cabeça, senão uma pelle branca, sarabulhenta, e cheia de carepa, que parece lepra; são muito nogentos, porque ordinariamente andam pelas praias e monturos buscando cousas mortas, e o esterco da gente, de que se sustentam. Teem mui grande fardo de cousas mortas, são domesticos, e não fogem muito da gente.

N'estas terras ha um genero de passaros, a que os naturaes chamam curûanes, os quaes são tão grandes como grou, mas muito mais formosos, porque são todos pretos pelas costas, de uma côr formosissima, que parece setim preto, e pela barriga e peito, são brancos, de côr alvissima. Teem o pescoço de um grande covado de comprido, coberto todo de pennas brancas finissimas, como seda, as quaes são excellentes para penachos. Tem esta ave sobre a cabeça um barrete de pena preta, mui formoso, do modo que o tem vermelho os nossos pintasilgos, e no meio d'este barrete tem um penacho de quasi um palmo de alto, de pennas brancas, finissimas, todas direitas e eguaes por cima, e no alto se espalham, e ficam redondas, como um cugumello alvissimo, com seu pé estreito, que lhe nasce do meio da cabeça, e parece um sombreiro de sol. Os cafres dizem que este é o rei dos passaros, assim por ser muito grande e formoso, como por ter sombreiro de sol sobre a cabeça, que é insignia e bandeira usada de alguns reis d'esta cafraria, como são o Quiteve, o Chicanga, o Sedanda, e outros.

Um portuguez me contou em Sofala, que andando elle fazendo resgate de marfim na terra firme de Mambone, defronte das ilhas das Bocicas (de que fallarei adiante) tinha um bogio com uma cadeia preso a um cepo, que pezaria dez ou doze arrateis, o qual, estando um dia fóra de casa, no campo, desceu uma ave de rapina,

de immensa grandeza, e ferrando n'elle o levou nas unhas pelos ares, juntamente com o cepo a que estava preso, indo o bogio dando mil gritos, e finalmente o levou a uns matos que perto estavam, onde o comeu, e depois foi achado o cepo com a cadeia no mesmo mato. Assim mais me affirmou que havia n'estas terras muitos passaros d'esta casta, que faziam muito damno, porque apanhavam os cabritos, e leitões e gallinhas, das quaes cousas ha n'estas terras grandes creações. Outros passaros ha n'estas partes, mui grandes, de que fallarei adiante, quando tratar do logar em que os achamos.

Marco Paulo Veneto no capitulo 4.º do 3.º livro aponta uma ilha, que jaz ao mar do meio dia da ilha de S. Lourenço, não muito longe d'esta costa de que vou fallando, onde diz que ha umas aves de rapina de tanta força e grandeza, que levantam pelos ares um elephante nas unhas, e o deixam cahir em terra, onde se faz pedaços, para que assim possam comer d'elle. Diz que estes passaros teem muita semelhança com aguias, e são tão grandes, que teem algumas pennas das azas de comprimento de dez passos cada uma. Eu nunca vi, nem ouvi fallar em taes aves n'esta costa, nem me parece verdadeira esta relação de Veneto, posto que seja verdade que n'esta Ethiopia se criam mui grandes aves de rapina, e particularmente ao longo do rio Nilo, de que adiante direi alguma cousa.

Nas terras de Sofala se cria um genero de passaros cujo mantimento é cera. Estes andam pelos matos em busca de enxames de abelhas, dos quaes ha muitos pelo chão em buracos, e pelos troncos das arvores, e como acham algum que tenha mel, veem-se aos caminhos em busca de gente para lh'o mostrar, o que fazem indo diante d'ella gritando, e batendo as azas de ramo em ramo, até chegarem ao enxame. E os naturaes da terra, que já conhecem os passaros, tanto que os veem, logo os vão seguindo para colherem o mel; e o interesse que d'aqui colhem os passaros, é comerem as migalhas, e rapaduras da cera, e dos favos, e das abelhas mortas, que ficam no mesmo logar da colmêa. A estes passaros chamam os cafres sazu; são do tamanho de verdilhões, e quasi da mesma côr, e teem um rabo comprido. Muitas vezes entravam pelàs frestas da nossa igreja de Sofala, e os achavamos comendo as migalhas da cêra, que ficavam nos castiçacs, e alli lhe armaram os moços da nossa casa, e tomaram alguns.

Outro genero de passaros ha n'estas terras, que se sustentam

do fructo de arvores que elles mesmos semeiam, da maneira seguinte. Vão-se a quaesquer arvores, e com o bico, que teem muito duro, lhe fazem um buraco no tronco, em cima, entre as pernadas, onde mettem o caroço da fructa que comem, o qual caroço rebenta alli dentro, e gruda-se com a arvore de tal feição, que faz uma enxertia nova, e cria um ramo da casta do mesmo caroço. De modo que ha muitas arvores d'estas que teem duas castas de folha e fructo, um da propria arvore, outro da que o passaro semeiou no seu tronco, de cujo fructo se sustenta depois. D'estas arvores vi muitas em Sofala, e nos rios de Cuama. Os passaros são do tamanho, e feição de estorninhos, mas são pardos como calhandros.

Uns passaros ha n'estas terras, verdes e amarellos, muito formosos, a que os naturaes chamam minga; são mui semelhantes a pombos, e nunca pousam no chão, porque teem os pés tão curtos, que quasi se lhe não enxergam; pousam sobre as arvores, de cujo fructo comem. Quando querem voar deixam-se cahir da arvore abaixo com as azas fechadas, e no ar as abrem e voam. Quando querem beber vão voando mui rasteiros por cima de agua, e vão bebendo dos rios, ou das lagoas. Se acertam de cahir no chão, não se podem mais levantar. São mui gordos e saborosos.

Outros passaros dizem que ha n'estas terras, semelhantes aos pessaros do Mexico, a que chamam cinçoes, os quaes não teem pés, e sustentam-se do orvalho do ceo, de cujas pennas formosissimas de diversas côres, fazem os indios do Mexico muitas imagens, assentadas e grudadas em retabulos, com tanto artificio e subtiliza, que não se podem melhor pintar com pincel e finas tintas.

## CAPITULO XXV.

Dos lagartos, ou crocodillos que se criam no rio de Sofala, a que os cafres chamam gona, outros engona.

No rio de Sofala se criam muitos lagartos, muito grandes, e mui carniceiros, porque apanham toda a cousa viva que se mette no rio, e ainda da borda do rio apanham o gado, que a elle vae beber, e as negras que vão buscar agua, ou lavar, e para fazerem estas presas, põem-se á borda do rio mui agachados, e cosidos com a areia, e tanto que chega o gado, ou qualquer pessoa descui-

dada, remetem a ella mui ligeiramente, e pondo as mãos e o peito, firmes em terra, levantam o rabo no ar, e com elle lhe dão tão grande pancada, que a deitam dentro no rio, onde lhe ferram logo com as unhas e dentes, e a levam ao fundo, e depois de morta, vão-se ás praias despovoadas, ou aos ilheus desertos, que estão pelo meio do rio, e alli põem a presa quasi descoberta em terra, onde a comem, e todos os bocados que levam para baixo engolem com agua; e a causa d'isto é porque não teem lingua com que possam engolir. Não comem cousa morta de muitos dias, nem sediça, o que se vê claramente nas que lançam ao rio, como são cães, e gatos, e alguma gente que se afoga em algumas ribeiras, que se veem metter n'este rio, o que acontece muitas vezes em tempo de cheias em que se afogam muitos cafres ao passar das ribeiras, cujos corpos mortos se acham pelas praias d'este rio, sem haver lagarto que lhe chegue, no qual logar se estivera qualquer cousa viva, logo fôra tomada do lagarto, morta, e comida.

Estes lagartos todas as manhãs e tardes ordinariamente se põem ao sol nas praias, deitados em cima das areias, os pequenos todos fóra da agua, e os grandes sómente com meio corpo, ficando-lhe o outro meio, e o rabo dentro no rio: e d'esta maneira estão com a boca aberta caçando moscas, e a causa d'isto é, porque lhe cheira muito mal o bafo, e a este ruim cheiro acodem as moscas, e pousam-lhe nos focinhos e picam-lhe nas ventas, e nos olhos, o que os lagartos soffrem mal, e perseguidos d'ellas lhe abrem a boca, onde as moscas entram a comer as immundicias que teem entre os dentes, e por este respeito de quando em quando fecham a boca, e matam os moscas que pôdem apanhar dentro, pela qual causa muitos cafres chamam aos lagartos papa moscas.

Os lagartos d'este rio assim como são carniceiros e crueis dentro na agua, assim fóra d'ella são muito covardes, e medrosos, porque quando estão em terra postos ao sol, se ouvem qualquer rumor, ou voz de gente, ou apparece alguma pessoa em terra, ou embarcação navegando pelo rio, logo fogem, e se lançam ao mesmo rio com muita legevessa, pelo grande medo que teem.

Estes lagartos são mui sugeitos a ventosidades, cujo ruim cheiro não ha cousa viva que o possa aguardar.

Vindo eu, e outras pessoas um dia da ilha de Maroupe para Sofala pelo rio abaixo, foi tão grande o máo cheiro que sentimos

em um remanso, onde os lagartos são mui certos, que não o podendo soffrer todos accudimos com as mãos aos narizes, e os cafres que vinham remando começaram de rir e festejar o caso dizendo que fôra ventosidade do lagarto, cujo pestifero cheiro passava pelas aguas até sahir fóra, e enjoava toda aquella parte do rio. Isto mesmo me contaram outras pessoas de credito, que lhe tinha succedido n'este rio.

Gabriel Rebello conta no livro que fez das cousas notaveis das ilhas de Maluco, que entre essas ilhas ha muitos lagartos maritimos, os quaes sahem em terra, e matam a gente que acham descuidada, e a comem: e muito mais damno fizeram, se não foram sentidos, e conhecidos pelo ruim cheiro que lhe sae da boca, o qual enjoa tanto, que de muito longe se sente. Tambem diz que são mui covardes, porque se remettem a elles quatro ou cinco homens, logo fogem, e se mettem na agua, mui cosidos com a terra, cuidando que alli estão escondidos: e tão medrosos estão n'este passo, que aguardam que ponham os pés em cima d'elles, e os prendam com cordas, sem ousarem de bolir comsigo. Estes lagartos diz que teem quatro olhos, dois na testa e dois na garganta, nas quaes causas differem muito dos lagartos d'esta costa.

Os lagartos d'esta Ethiopia são de mais de vinte e cinco palmos de comprido, e mais grossos que um grosso homem: são verdes, com algumas pintas de amarello escuro, e outras paidas, quasi pretas; são mui feios, medonhos e nojentos. Os velhos teem pelas costas, e sobre a cabeça musgo e ostras pegadas, como se fossem pedras ferranhas, e duras. Teem muitas ordens de dentes: não teem lingua; tudo o que comem engolem com agua, como fica dito. Estes são os crocodillos semelhantes em tudo aos que se criam no rio Nilo. Os cafres lhes chamam gonna, e outros engonna. Nascem em terra, e criam-se na agua. Quando é tempo de desovarem vão se a terra, e fazem uma cova na areia, junto do rio, com as unhas, que teem mui grandes e grossas, e n'esta cova desovam muitos ovos juntamente de uma postura, maiores que ovos de pato, quasi pardos, pintados de pintas quasi pretas; e cubertos de areia os deixam, e se mettem outra vez ao rio. Alli se chocam os ovos, e d'elles se geram lagartos com as influencias do sol; e depois de gerados elles mesmos sahem fóra da terra, e se recolhem ao rio, onde se criam. Os cafres lhe acham muitas vezes os ovos, da maneira que tenho dito; teem gemma vermelha, e a clara liquida como agua.

O Quiteve, rei do rio de Sofala, tem posto lei com pena de morte, e perda dos bens para sua corôa, que nenhum vassallo seu em todo seu reino, seja ousado a matar lagarto algum do rio, e a causa é, porque se sabe de certo, que os figados d'estes lagartos são peçonhentissimos, e portanto não quer que os matem, por não usarem de sua fina peçonha. Alguns cafres dizem que uma pena dos figados do lagarto é peçonhentissima, e a outra pena sua contra peçonha; no que ponho muita duvida, porque estão as penas do figado tão pegadas e juntas uma com a outra, que seria dar aqui dois contrarios em um sujeito, como é peçonha e contra peçonha no mesmo figado, cousa que em philosophia natural se tem por impossivel. Posto que tambem dizem que ha uma certa arvore nas terras de Malaca, cujas raizes teem differentes effeitos, porque as que estão para a parte do Oriente são contra peçonha mui aprovada, e medicinaes para febres, e as que estão da parte do Occidente são fina peçonha, como refere o padre Mendonça, no seu Itinerario do Novo Mundo.

## CAPITULO XXVI.

Do modo com que os cafres pescam os lagartos, e da variedade de peixe que se cria no rio de Sofala.

Os cafres do rio de Cuama, que não são vassallos do Quiteve, nem sugeitos á lei de que fallei no capitulo atraz, pescam, matam, e comem os lagartos, os quaes tomam da maneira seguinte. Fazem um pedaço de pau grosso, e direito, de dois palmos, com uma encarna no meio, onde lhe atam uma corda grossa, e n'este pau espetam um pedaço de carne fresca, como em anzol. Isto feito, lançam este anzol coberto de carne dentro no rio; em alguns remansos, onde os lagartos são mais certos, os quaes tanto que lhe dá o fardo da carne, logo remettem a ella, e a engolem juntamente com o pau: e os cafres pescadores como veem bolir a corda do anzol, e lhe parece que algum lagarto tem já engolido a isca, puxam pela corda, e trazem o lagarto preso até á borda do rio, com a boca aberta, sem poder morder na corda, por causa do pau que traz atravessado na garganta, que lhe não deixa fechar a boca, e por isso se lhe enche a barriga de agua, e com ella se affoga; e d'esta maneira meio affogado, o acabam de matar, á borda do rio, e depois de morto, o tiram em terra, e o

repartem para comerem. Dizem os cafres que quando o matam, geme, e deita lagrimas pelos olhos, como uma pessoa.

Nas terras que correm ao longo do rio de Sofala se cria uma herva, com que os cafres se untam quando se querem metter no rio a pescar, por virtude da qual os lagartos não podem pegar n'elles, nem fazer-lhe mal algum, porque se querem pegar com os dentes, botam-se-lhe de tal maneira, que ficam como dentes de cera, sem força alguma, e assim em pegando na gente untada e em a largando e fugindo, tudo é um. Quanto mais que raramente chegam a pegar nos que entram untados, porque indo para pegar n'elles, dá-lhe o fardo da herva, com que ficam enjoados, e fogem. Esta herva se chama miciriri, e quando os cafres querem uzar d'ella para effeito da pescaria, a provam primeiro em si mesmos, pondo-a sobre suas proprias cabeças, e mastigando alguma cousa, se os dentes se lhe botam, e ficam como de cera sem poderem mastigar, então sabem que é boa, e de vez, e uzam d'ella pisando-a, e untando-se com o seu summo, mas é o medo tanto que tem dos logartos, que nem untados da herva ousam entrar no rio a pescar.

N'este rio de Sofala, se cria muito peixe, gordo e saboroso, como são tainhas mui grandes, saltões, semelhantes a tainhas, mas muito melhores; muitos cações, melhores e mais sadios que os de Portugal; muito peixe pedra, que é como grandes choupas; cabozes, semelhantes a pescadinhas, tão excellentes e sadios que se dão aos doentes; tem a cabeça espalmada, e quasi redonda, como um bollo; muitos carangueijos, cheios de coral, e muito bons, infinitas ostras, e tudo isto muito barato.

Nos rios de agua doce d'esta costa, se cria uma certa casta de peixe, a que os portuguezes chamam peixe tremedor, e os cafres thinta, o qual tem tal propriedade, que nenhuma pessoa o pode tomar na mão enquanto está vivo, e se alguem o toma, causa-lhe tão grande dôr n'ella, e em todo o braço, que parece lh'o desfazem por quantas juntas tem, de maneira que logo larga o peixe, mas como morre fica como qualquer outro, e come-se e é muito saboroso e estimado. Dizem os naturaes que da pelle d'este peixe se fazem feitiços, e tambem que é mui medicinal contra a colica, torrada e moida, e bebida em um copo de vinho. O maior peixe que se acha d'esta casta é de um covado; tem pelle como de cação, quasi preta, muito aspera e grossa.

Outro peixe ha em Sofala, que se cria nas lagoas, a que os naturaes chamam macone, o qual tem buracos pelo pescoço como lampreia, e é do mesmo tamanho, e quasi da mesma feição, pintado pelas costas como cobra d'agua. Tem tal natureza, que depois que se seccam as lagoas no verão, se interra debaixo da lama mais de um palmo, ficando enroscado com o rabo na boca, e d'esta maneira está todo o verão chupando no seu proprio rabo, de que se sustenta todo este tempo até que torna a chover, que são mais de tres mezes. E d'este modo come muitas vezes quasi todo o rabo: mas depois que chove, e as lagoas tomam agua, torna-lhe o rabo a crescer como d'antes. Os cafres são mui pagados d'este peixe, e o vão buscar a estas lagoas, cavando a terra, onde o acham da maneira que tenho dito. É muito gordo, e soffrivel: eu comi d'elle muitas vezes.

No tempo do inverno, quando o rio de Sofala enche, muitas vezes sahe fóra da madre de tal maneira, que alaga os campos, e enche as lagoas que n'elles ha, e juntamente ficam cheias de peixe do mesmo rio, entre o qual fica uma casta de peixe semelhante a choupas, mui gordo e saboroso, a que os naturaes chamam enxavos. É tanta a quantidade d'este peixe, n'este tempo, que não ha quem o possa desinçar, nem acabar, e até os porcos andam enfarados d'elle.

Outro peixe se cria n'este rio, a que os cafres chamam mune-mune, o qual é quasi da feição de safios, e do mesmo tamanho; tem um cheiro tão fortum, que não ha quem lh'o possa aguardar, salvo os cafres, que o comem. É gordissimo, e languinhoso, e não se come em fresco, senão escalado e secco ao fumo. D'este pescam os cafres muita quantidade no tempo das cheias d'este rio, e fazem d'elle grandes fumeiros, e provisão para todo o anno. Estando eu na fortaleza de Sofala, houve um anno tão grandes tormentas n'aquelle mar, que muito peixe d'elle deu á costa, e se achou em cardumes morto pelas praias, entre o qual se acharam alguns solhos mui semelhantes aos de Portugal, na grandeza, parecer, e sabor. E posto que alguns disseram serem toninhas, comtudo os que mais sabiam d'esta materia, affirmaram que eram solhos. Junto da barra do rio de Sofala, ao longo da ilha de Inhansato, de que abaixo fallarei, se tomam lingoados, e azevias, e muitas mais se tomariam, se houvera pescadores que lhe soubessem armar, e pescal-as, como fazem n'este reino, o que os cafres e mouros d'aquella terra não sabem fazer, porque não teem



redes e aparelho, nem habilidade para isso. Outro muito peixe ha n'estes rios de varias castas, que deixo por abreviar.

## CAPITULO XXVII.

Do peixe mulher, e aljofar que se cria nas ilhas das Bocicas.

Quinze legoas de Sofala estão as ilhas das Bocicas ao longo da costa, para a parte do sul, no mar das quaes ha muito peixe mulher, que os naturaes das mesmas ilhas pescam, e tomam com linhas grossas, e grandes anzoës, com cadeias de ferro, feitas sómente para isso, e de sua carne fazem tassalhos, curados ao fumo, que parecem tassalhos de porco. Esta carne é muito boa, e mui gorda, e d'ella comiamos em Sofala muitas vezes cozida com couves, e temperada com seu molho. Este peixe tem muita similhaça com os homens e mulheres da barriga até o pescoço, onde tem todas as feições e partes que teem as mulheres e homens. A femea cria seus filhos a seus peitos, que tem propriamente como uma mulher. Da barriga para baixo tem rabo muito grosso, e comprido, com barbatanas como cação. Tem pelle branda, e alva pela barriga, e pelas costas aspera mais que a de cação. Tem braços, mas não tem mãos, nem dedos, senão umas barbatanas, que lhe começam dos cotovelos, até á ponta dos braços. Tem um disforme rosto espalmado, redondo, e muito maior que de um homem, mas não tem n'elle similhaça alguma de homem, porque tem a boca mui grande, similhante á boca de uma arraya, e os beiços mui grossos, e derrubados, como beiços de libreu. Tem a boca cheia de dentes, como dentes de cão, quatro dos quaes, que são as presas, lhe sahem fôra da boca quasi um palmo, como dentes de porco javali os quaes são mui estimados, e d'elles fazem as contas a que chamam de peixe mulher, e dizem que tem muita virtude contra as almorreimas, e contra o fluxo de sangue, e trazem-se para isso junto da carne. Tem as ventas do nariz como as de um bezerro, mui grandes. Chamam-lhe peixe mulher, e não homem, porque nas feições do corpo tem mais similhaça de mulher que de homem.

Este peixe não falla, nem canta, como alguns querem dizer, sómente quando o matam dizem que geme como uma pessoa; não tem cabellos no corpo nem na cabeça. Tirado fôra da agua morre como qualquer outro peixe, mas põem muito tempo em

morrer se o não matam. Eu cuido que estas devem ser as Serêas e Tritões, que os antigos fingiam, dizendo que Tritão era homem marinho, filho da Nympha Salacia, tambem mulher marinha, os quaes habitavam no mar; e por esse respeito fingiam que Tritão era deus do mar, e trombeta de Neptuno. Outros poetas fingiram que as Serêas foram trez irmãs chamadas Parthenope, Lygia, Leuconia, filhas de Acheloo e de Calliope, as quaes habitavam nas praias do mar de Sicilia, onde estão os baixos de Scylla e de Carybde. Estas irmãs dizem que cantavam ao longo d'estas praias tão suavemente, que atrahiam a si todos os navegantes d'aquelle mar; de tal maneira, que enlevados com sua musica, se descuidavam das embarcações, e da navegação que faziam, e davam á costa, e se perdiam, de cuja perdição as Serêas tinham muito interesse. Pela qual razão querendo Ulysses navegar por este mar, tapou as orelhas a seus marinheiros com cera, e mandou-se atar a si mesmo ao pé do mastro, para que não se pudesse bolir, nem mover com a musica das Serêas; e d'esta maneira foi navegando por este passo perigoso, sem as Serêas poderem conseguir seu intento. Pelo que vendo-se desprezadas de Ulysses, tomaram tanta paixão, que se lançaram no mar, onde foram convertidas em peixes da cintura para baixo, por mercê dos deuses, que não permittiram que ellas se afogassem.

Ovidio finge que estas tres irmãs Serêas eram companheiras de Proserpina, a qual Plutão, deus do inferno furtou, e levou para lá e a teve por sua mulher, de que as Serêas ficaram tão magoadas e sentidas, que se lançaram no mar para se matarem, mas por mercê dos deuses foram convertidas em peixes da cintura para baixo. Tudo isto são fingimentos de poetas: mas a verdade é, que o peixe mulher de sua natureza é gerado e creado no mar, como o demais peixe, e tem mais propriedades de peixe que os cavallos marinhos e lobos marinhos, e que os lagartos do rio, porque todos estes vivem fóra da agua, e andam muitas vezes em terra: o que não faz o peixe mulher, antes se está fóra da agua logo morre como fica dito.

Alexandre Magno em uma carta que escreveu a seu mestre Aristoteles, ácerca das cousas notaveis e prodigiosas que viu nas partes do Oriente, quando as conquistava, conta que indo marchando com seu exercito pelos desertos da India, viu andar em um campo razo mulheres e homens, nús, cobertos de cabello, como feras bravas, os quaes vendo a gente do arraial, fugiram para um

grande rio que perto estava, e n'elle se mergulharam, mas antes que se recolhessem, foram tomadas duas mulheres d'aquellas. A estes chamavam os indios ichthyophagos. D'estas diz Q. Curtio que viviam dentro n'este rio, e se sustentavam do peixe crú, e que tinham nove pés de comprido, o corpo muito alvo, e os rostos como de Nymphas mui formosas, e grandes cabellos na cabeça, lançados para traz, e que faziam muito mal aos indios ignorantes que se mettiam no rio, porque a uns affogavam, a outros espedaçavam entre os canaviaes, e a outros vencidos de sua formosura, matavam com seu desordenado, e sensual appetite. Nas quaes cousas todas differem muito do peixe mulher, que se cria e vive no mar das Bocicas, como tenho dito.

No mar d'estas ilhas ha muito aljofar e perolas, as quaes se criam dentro em umas ostras mui grandes, a que chamam madreperola, que andam no fundo do mar em terra de areia. Os naturaes as pescam de mergulho, e antes de ir abaixo, lançam no mar um cesto preso da embarcação, com uma pedra dentro, para que vá ao fundo. Isto feito, lançam-se de mergulho, atados pela cinta com uma corda, ficando presa na embarcação, porque se não desviem d'ella; e para irem mais depressa ao fundo, levam nos braços uma pedra, que largam tanto que lá chegam; e assim andam pelo fundo do mar buscando as ostras e mettendo-as no cesto, e depois de cheio, pucham debaixo pela corda com que estão presos na embarcação, e os pescadores que n'ella estão os sóbem acima e o vasam, e tornam a lançar abaixo. E quando os pescadores que andam no fundo do mar se agastam, e não pódem mais reter o folego, vem-se para cima guiados pelas cordas, com que vão atados, e mettem-se na embarcação, mas como descansam, tornam a mergulhar e continuar sua pescaria, e d'esta maneira vão abaixo muitas vezes e pescam muitas ostras; e andam tão costumados a mergulhar, que muitas vezes estão meio quatro de hora debaixo da agua, e fazem muitas apostas sobre quem ha de estar mais tempo. O fundo em que pescam será de dez, doze, até quinze braças.

O aljofar e as perolas se acham dentro n'estas ostras, pegados na carne da ostra. Muitas ha que tem dois, tres e quatro grãos, e outras nenhum. E a principal causa porque estes cafres e mouros pescam as ostras, é para lhe comerem a carne, porque não fazem tanto caso do aljofar, e por essa razão o vendem mui barato. Este aljofar se gera do rocio e orvalho do ceu, que cáe em março,

e abril e em setembro e outubro, nos quaes ordinariamente andam as ostras por cima da agua com as boccas abertas em tempo de bonança, recebendo o orvalho que cáe do ceu, o que fazem depois que se põe o sol á prima noite, e na madrugada, antes de sahir o sol. E dizem os naturaes que o aljofar e perolas mais finas são as que se geram do orvalho que as ostras recebem na madrugada. Deus sabe a verdade d'este segredo.

## CAPITULO XXVIII.

Do nascimento do ambar, e da muita quantidade que ha d'elle n'esta costa da Ethiopia.

Em toda esta costa do Cabo de Boa Esperança até o Mar Rôxo, se acha muito ambar, que o mar lança nas praias. Este ambar nasce e cria-se no fundo do mar, d'onde se arranca com o abalo e movimento das aguas, particularmente em tempo de grandes tormentas, e nas partes onde o mar tem pouco fundo, e batem as ondas com maior furia, porque então com estes abalos se quebram alguns pedaços de ambar, e se arrancam do fundo, onde estão pégados, e veem acima da agua, e as ondas e vento dão com elles na praia; pela qual razão todas as vezes que ha grandes ventos e tormentas no mar, logo os cafres andam pelas praias em busca do ambar, e acham muitos pedaços que vendem aos mouros, e aos portuguezes.

Tres sortes de ambar ha n'esta costa: um muito alvo, a que chamam ambar gris; outro pardo, a que chamam mexoeira, outro negro como pez, a que chamam ambar preto, o qual muitas vezes se acha tão mole, como massa, e de ruim cheiro, e a causa d'isso é, segundo dizem os naturaes d'esta terra, que este arrevesam as balêas, e é certo que o comem, porque já foi achado no bucho d'algumas, que por esta costa morreram. E não sómente as baleias o comem, mas tambem o mais peixe do mar, porque muitas vezes foram vistos pedaços de ambar em cima das aguas, e os peixes andarem comendo n'elles. O mesmo fazem os passaros da praia, se o acham n'ella, de modo que os peixes, e os passaros o comem, ou porque lhe acham alguma virtude, ou porque lhe sabe bem. O ambar gris é muito estimado dos mouros, e o compram para comer, porque dizem que exforça muito a natureza, e é proveitoso aos velhos para os exforçar e aviventar.

É cousa muito averiguada, que este ambar nasce no fundo do mar, onde está pegado em grande quantidade. Um navio foi de Moçambique á ilha de S. Lourenço, e lançou uma noite fateixa ao longo da dita ilha, onde esteve surto aquella noite, e ao outro dia pela manhã levantaram os marinheiros a fateixa para sahirem d'alli e continuarem sua viagem, como fizeram, mas depois que a metteram dentro no navio, viram que trazia as unhas cheias de ambar branco excellentissimo, sobre o qual esteve o navio ancorado aquella noite em vinte e tantos braços. O mesmo succedeu a outro navio, perto do Cabo das Correntes.

Roque de Brito Falcão que captivaram os turcos, indo da costa de Melinde para a India, estando na sua capitania da mesma costa, teve um pedaço de ambar, que sahiu n'aquella paragem, o qual era do tamanho e quasi da feição de um chapeo cuscuzeiro mui grande.

Entre os rios de Linde e Quilimane foi achado um pedaço de ambar mexoeira, que tinha mais de vinte arrateis, e os cafres o foram vender a um portuguez, chamado Francisco Brochado, que residia n'estes rios, cuidando que era pão de breu. No tempo que eu estive na ilha de Quirimba, deu á costa outro pedaço de ambar branco, tamanho como este que fica dito, o qual apanharam os mouros da Xanga, e o repartiram entre si, e depois o venderam em pedaços de arratel cada um, pouco mais ou menos.

No anno do Senhor de 1596 deu á costa uma serra de ambar branco mui excellente, junto da cidade de Brava, e perto da costa de Melinde, o qual ambar, segundo disseram os mouros que o acharam, era tão grosso e alto que se não viam uns aos outros, ficando o ambar no meio d'elles, e foi tanta sua quantidade, que vieram os mouros de Brava e muitos da cidade de Magadaxo, e levaram muita copia d'elle, e valia muito barato. Veiu esta nova ter a Moçambique, e D. Pedro de Souza, que então era capitão da fortaleza, aviou uma fusta, e mandou que fosse a Brava, e comprasse o ambar que podesse, e com ir d'ahi a um anno ainda achou tanto, que trouxe em caixão cheio d'elle a Moçambique, muito barato.

Outro pedaço de ambar similhante ao que fica dito foi achado antigamente na costa do Malabar, entre Chale e Panani, terra povoada de pescadores mui barbaros, os quaes cuidaram que era breu, e como tal o cozeram e briaram com elle suas embarcações. N'este tempo succedeu que veiu alli ter um portuguez de Cochim,

e na mesma praia, onde as embarcações foram briadas, achou muitas migalhas de ambar, e perguntando aos moradores da terra quem lhe dera breu tão cheiroso para briarem suas embarcações, elles lhe contaram o caso, pelo que soube que fôra ambar que dera n'aquella costa. Esta historia é mui sabida em toda a India.

Quando se perdeu a nau S. Thomé vindo da India para Portugal, a gente que se salvou no esquife tanto que chegou á vista da primeira terra, que foi a dos Fumos, perto da terra do Natal, chegou-se á praia para melhor a conhecer, e sahiram dois homens para descobrirem a terra, e trazerem novas do que n'ella achavam. Um dos quaes foi Antonio Gomes Cacho, que sabia alguma cousa da lingua dos cafres. Estes caminhando pela praia uma tarde toda, foram achando muitos pedaços de ambar de que se carregaram. Vendo isto alguns cafres da terra, que vieram alli ter com elles, fizeram grandes espantos porque lhe viram ambar na mão; e disseram-lhe que lançassem aquella peçonha no chão, e que nem para elle olhassem, porque toda a pessoa que a levantava da praia logo se mirrava e seccava, até que morria, e que até o gado, e tudo quanto tinha vivo em sua casa morria com seu dono. E com isto se despediram os cafres e foram fugindo d'elles como se ficaram feridos de peste. E os portuguezes se tornaram ao esquife, que acharam ao longo da praia, onde se embarcaram; e o mais que lhe succedeu n'este caminho contarei adiante. Esta historia me contou muitas vezes Antonio Gomes Cacho, estando eu em Sofala, quando esta gente da perdição veio alli ter. De modo que por toda esta costa se acham muitos e mui grandes pedaços de ambar. D'onde se collige claramente o engano d'aquelles que disseram que o ambar se gera e cria no ventre das baleias, e que ellas o vomitam; o que é falso, porque nenhuma baleia, por grande que seja, pôde vomitar tão grandes pedaços e serras de ambar, como estes que referi n'este capitulo. Além d'isto a experiencia nos tem mostrado o contrario.

## LIVRO SEGUNDO.—CAPITULO I.

Dos cafres, e cousas notaveis, que ha nas terras que correm de Sofala até o rio de Luabo.

Quatro annos estivemos na fortaleza de Sofala, o padre frei João Madeira e eu, occupados no serviço d'aquella christandade; e d'aqui nos sahimos por mandado do nosso padre vigario geral da India, e nos passámos aos rios de Cuama, que são trinta leguas de caminhos asperos e trabalhosos, onde ha grandes mattos e desertos povoados de muitas feras e bichos, como são leões, tigres, onças, elephantes, bufaros; muitos monos e bogios, e outros muitos animaes silvestres. Todas estas terras são do Quiteve, rei do rio de Sofala. Nos logares povoados que tem, ha muitas creações de cabras e gallinhas pequenas, mas mui gordas e saborosas. Ha muitos mantimentos de milho, arroz e painço; grandes inhames e outros legumes de differentes castas.

Os moradores d'estas terras são gentios cafres, não muito pretos; os mais d'elles teem os dentes pôdres e quebrados, e dizem que lhes vem isto da terra em que moram ser muito humida e apaúlada, e tambem de comerem inhames assados, quentes, que é o seu comer ordinario, pela muita quantidade d'este legume que ha n'estas terras. Os mais d'estes cafres são quebrados, e alguns d'elles ha tão aleijados d'esta enfermidade, que não pôdem andar. N'este caminho vimos um cafre, que vivia em uma aldeia chamada Inhaguêa, que nasceu aleijado sem o braço esquerdo: mas a natureza que lhe negou este membro tão necessario, lhe deu tal habilidade, que logo de pequeno se costumou a trabalhar com a mão direita, e com o pé esquerdo em lugar da mão esquerda, de tal maneira, que fazia com estes dois membros tão disparatos tudo aquillo que podia fazer qualquer pessoa com duas mãos, porque fazia escudellas e gamellas de pau, e tecia esteiras de palha, com que ganhava a vida; onde se pôde vêr a providencia da natureza, que, como diz Aristoteles, não falta nas cousas necessarias para a vida humana. Não espantarâ isto aos que tiveram noticia de um aleijado que houve na villa de Montemór-o-Novo, em nossos tempos, chamado Francisco Dias, o qual nasceu sem braços, e d'esta maneira se costumou logo de sua tenra idade a servir e usar dos pés em lugar das mãos que não tinha, e com elles comia, bebia, jogava cartas, enfiava uma agulha,

e fazia tão boa letra, que tinha escola em que ensinava muitos moços a lêr e escrever, com que ganhava sua vida, e com os pés aparava as pennas, açoutava os moços, e lhe dava palmatoadas, servindo-se em todas estas cousas com os dedos pollegar e index do pé direito, de maneira que todas as cousas que se pódem fazer com as mãos fazia elle com os pés mui perfeitamente, os quaes trazia mettidos em umas chinellas, aparelhados para lhe servirem de mãos.

Os cafres d'estas terras são de boa natureza e bem inclinados, porque tendo pouca noticia de nós, se houveram connosco mui amigavelmente, recebendo-nos em suas casas e dando-nos do que havia na terra para comer, muito barato. Além d'estes cafres seis ou sete leguas para o norte, está um rio pequeno chamado Tebe, o qual corre por meio de um formoso bosque de arvoredos silvestre, de mais de uma legua de largura, que foi a paragem por onde o nós atravessámos. Muitas arvores d'este bosque são tão altas e grossas como grandes mastros de nau, direitas e limpas, sem esgalhos, ou de sua natureza, ou porque os cafres lh'os cortam; e assim se criam sem terem nós até serem arvores mui grandes. N'este bosque achámos muitos cafres cortando alguns paus grossos para fazerem d'elles embarcações, como fazem ordinariamente, inteiras, de um só pau cavado por dentro; e algumas são tão grandes, que teem vinte braças e mais de comprimento, e carregam vinte toneladas, das quaes eu vi algumas que andavam em os rios de Cuama, colhidas e feitas n'este bosque; chamam-se estas embarcações almadias. Estas arvores são tão bastas n'este logar, e teem a rama no alto tão copada, que parecem de longe um formoso pinhal, tão cerrado por cima, que em poucas partes dá o sol em baixo na terra, e por esse respeito não cria herva, mas tem folhada das mesmas arvores quasi de um palmo de altura.

Adeante d'este rio está outro chamado Tendancúlo, onde acaba o reino do Quiteve, e começa o grande imperio do Manamotapa. N'este rio achamos um animal do mar, morto, de uma figura espantosa, e umas aves nocturnas que nos pozeram em grande admiração, do que tudo tratarei adiante, em seu lugar. D'este rio até ao de Luabo, que é o principal dos rios de Cuama, são terras do Manamotapa, povoadas de cafres gentios e de mouros, uns pretos e outros brancos, e alguns d'elles ricos; e com serem vassallos do Manamotapa, vivem aqui quasi como ixemptos, por



estarem mui distantes da côrte d'este rei, de cujas terras, vassallos e costumes, pretendo tratar n'este segundo livro. E porquanto os rios de Cuama, oude agora chegamos, são as portas por onde os portuguezes entram n'este grande reino, d'elles me pareceu que devia tratar primeiro, como farei no capitulo seguinte.

## CAPITULO II.

Dos rios de Cuama, e das ilhas principaes que n'elles ha.

A este rio de Cuama, tão celebre e conhecido por suas riquezas, chamam os cafres Zambeze; nasce pela terra dentro tão longe que não ha quem tenha noticia do seu principio. Dizem os cafres que teem por tradição de seus antepassados, que o rio nasce d'uma grande lagoa que está no meio d'esta Ethiopia, da qual nascem outros rios muito grandes, que correm por diversas partes, cada um de differente nome, e que pelo meio d'esta lagoa ha muitas ilhas povoadas de cafres, ricas e abundantes de creações e mantimentos. Chama-se este rio Zambeze, porque ao sahir da lagoa passa por uma grande povoação de cafres assim chamada, e d'ali vem o rio tomar o mesmo nome da povoação. Este rio é muito impetuoso, e tem em partes largura de mais d'uma legoa. Antes que chegue a se metter no mar algumas trinta legoas, se divide em dois braços, e cada um d'elles é quasi tão grande como o mesmo Zambeze, e ambos vão entrar em o mar Oceano Ethiopico, trinta legoas distantes um do outro. Ao principal e de mais agua chamam rio de Luabo; o qual tambem se divide em dois braços, um d'elles se chama rio de Luabo Velho, e o outro Cuama Velha, d'onde parece que todos estes rios tomaram nome de rios de Cuama. O braço menos principal se chama rio de Quilimane ou rio dos Bons Signaes, nome que lhe poz D. Vasco da Gama, quando a elle chegou, indo no descobrimento da India, pelas boas novas e signaes que n'elle achou de Moçambique estar já perto, onde havia embarcações e pilotos que sabiam navegar para a India. Pelo qual respeito poz na praia d'este rio uma columna de pedra, que tinha uma cruz e as armas reaes de Portugal entalhadas; e juntamente poz nome a esta praia Terra de S. Raphael. Este rio tambem lança de si outro braço muito grande a que chamam o rio de Linde. De maneira que este grande rio Zambeze entra no mar

com cinco bocas, ou braços de muita largura, e muitas aguas. Os portuguezes navegam sómente pelos dois principaes: pelo de Luabo podem navegar todo o anno, porque tem muita agua e sempre é capaz de navegação; o que não tem o de Quilimane, por onde navegam sómente no inverno, por que no verão descobre muitas areias, e madeiros, que estão cravados no fundo do rio, onde perigam muito as embarcações.

Por este rio acima (indo sempre a Loesnoroeste) se navega obra de duzentas legoas até ao reino de Sacumbé, que está muito arriba do forte de Tete, no qual logar faz o rio uma grande queda de uns rochedos abaixo, e d'alli para cima vae inda continuando muita penedia pelo meio do rio, por espaço de vinte legoas, até o reino de Chicôva onde estão as minas de prata, de modo que se não navegam estas vinte legoas de Sacumbé até Chicôva, por causa da grande corrente com que as aguas veem quebrando de penedo em penedo, pelo rio abaixo; mas do reino de Chicôva para cima é navegavel, porém não se sabe até onde.

Tornando pois ao rio de Luabo, que é o braço principal, chama-se assim por respeito da ilha Luabo, situada na sua barra, em dezenove graus escassos. Esta ilha tem da parte do Sul o rio que dissemos, e do Norte o rio de Cuama a Velha, e pela parte Leste é cortada de um esteiro de cinco legoas de comprimento, que vae d'um rio até ao outro, e do Sueste lhe fica o mar Ethiopico. Tem cinco legoas de comprimento e outras tantas de largo, pouco mais ou menos. E povoada de mouros e cafres gentios, de cabello crespo, mui sugeitos e quasi vassallos do capitão dos rios de Cuama, o qual muitas vezes reside n'esta ilha, intendendo no concerto das embarcações que levam as mercadorias pelo rio acima, as quaes veem alli de Moçambique em umas embarcações grandes, chamadas pangaios, e por serem grandes, e não poderem navegar pelo rio acima, descarregam n'esta ilha, onde as embarcações pequenas, que tenho dito, tomam sua carga, e todas juntas navegam pelo rio acima até ao forte de Sena, que são sessenta legoas de caminho. As terras que correm ao longo d'este rio da parte do norte, se chamam Botóro, e as da parte do sul Botonga, pelos quaes dois nomes se governam os marinheiros quando navegam, lançando o leme ora para Botóro ora para Botonga, como fazem os das naus para bombordo ou para estibordo.

Pelo meio d'este rio ha muitas ilhas, e algumas d'ellas muito

grandes. A primeira, e maior de todas indo pelo rio acima, é Chingoma, da qual é senhor um cafre Macûa, que tem o mesmo nome da ilha. Esta é fertilissima, e a melhor de todas. Na ponta d'ella se divide o rio Zambeze em os dois braços de Luabo e Quilimane, como atraz dissemos, ficando ella entre ambos. A segunda ilha nomeada d'este rio se chama Inhangoma, situada junto do forte de Sena, a qual é muito raza e baixa, e por isso alagadiça pelas fraldas do rio. Tem dez legoas de comprido, e no mais largo legoa e meia; é muito fertil, e abastada de mantimentos. Quando os portuguezes navegam por este rio, recolhem-se de noite a estas ilhas, e a outros muitos ilheus, que pelo rio ha despovoados, e sómente de dia navegam, por causa das muitas correntes e baixos que ha por todo este rio.

Quando estas embarcações navegam pelo rio, os cafres que habitam em muitas aldeias ao longo d'elle, vem logo a ellas em suas almadias pequenas, carregadas de fructas da terra, arroz, milho, legumes, pescado fresco e secco, e muitas gallinhas, as quaes cousas vendem aos passageiros baratas, por haver grande abundancia, e fertilidade n'estas terras, e muitas creações de gallinhas, que os cafres não comem, mas criam sómente para vender aos que navegam pelo rio, e por isto vale uma gallinha n'elle dezoito até vinte réis sómente. A causa d'esta fertilidade são as enchentes d'este rio, que muitas vezes alagam os campos que correm ao longo d'elle, e wais particularmente no mez de março e abril, quando enchem outros rios e ribeiras mui grandes, que vem metter n'este, e lhe acrecentam suas aguas, com cuja innundação ficam estas terras cheias de nata, e fructificam grandissimamente. N'estes dois mezes são as móres cheias d'este rio, sem n'elles haver chuvas n'estas terras, nem neves que se desfaçam, e corram para o rio, pelo que se manifesta claramente que vem estas aguas de muito longe, e causam aqui estas enchentes, como fazem as do rio Nilo nas terras do Egypto. N'este tempo são estas terras mui doentias, por causa dos ares grossos, que ordinariamente se levantam das lagoas e campos apaúladas, e então morrem mais cafres d'este rio, que nos outros mezes do anno.

## CAPITULO III.

Dos cavallos marinhos, a que os cafres chamam zovo, outros zodo.

N'estes rios de Cuama, e no de Sofala, e nos demais de toda esta costa, se criam muitos cavallos marinhos, mui ferozes e espantosos. São muito maiores, e mais grossos que dois cavallos juntos dos nossos; teem os pés muito curtos e grossos, cinco unhas em cada mão, e quatro em cada pé, e a pegada quasi tamanha como a d'um elephante; tem uma boca mui grande, rasgada e cheia de dentes, e quatro d'elles que são as presas, teem mais de dois palmos de comprimento cada um; os dois de baixo são direitos, e os de cima revoltos como de porco javali, e todos quatro sahidos para fóra da boca um grande palmo. Tem uma cabeça como de tres bois juntos. Uma caveira de cavallo marinho vi um dia á porta d'um cafre, que lhe servia de assento, e elle a tinha posta n'aquelle logar por façanha, e vendo-me olhar para ella com admiração, chamou um filho seu, menino de sete ou oito annos, e abrindo a boca da caveira fez assentar o menino dentro n'ella sobre o queixo de baixo, e dava com a cabeça no queixo de cima mui folgadamente; e disse-me que ainda havia maiores cavallos do que fôra o d'aquella caveira. Estes cavallos ordinariamente vivem dentro na agua, mas comem em terra, e sustentam-se da herva e rama dos matos; fazem muito damno nas searas do milho e arroz, assim com os pés como no que comem; ordinariamente sahem dos rios a comer de noite, e tambem de dia em logares despovoados e desertos; tem muita similhaça com os nossos cavallos sómente na frontaria do rosto, olhos e orelhas, e quasi no rinchar.

São muito ciosos, e nunca se viram dois machos juntos, antes como se encontram logo pelejam, e ferem-se mui cruelmente com os dentes, e algumas vezes se matam n'esta briga e acham-se mortos pelas praias dos rios com muitas feridas e buracos pela barriga, onde elles ordinariamente se ferem quando pelejam. Entre um bando de eguas marinhas não anda mais que um cavallo, como gallo entre gallinhas. E os outros cavallos menores e que menos pódem, andam sempre fugindo de se encontrar com os grandes. Tambem quando a egua pare macho, foge da companhia das outras eguas, e anda sempre só com seu filho, por

que o pae lh'o não mate. E são tão ciosas dos filhos que remetem a toda a embarcação que passa pelo rio junto do logar em que elles andam, e muitas vezes emborcam algumas, e fazem afogar alguma gente. Quando querem parir vão-se a terra, e parem dentro no matto, ou em algum esteiro solitario perto do rio, que não tem agua, nos quaes lugares são achadas pelos cafres muitas vezes parindo. Depois que párem comem as parias, e lambem o filho todo, e tornam-se com elle ao rio onde o criam com leite de duas tetas que tem como as nossas eguas, mas muito maiores, e de tanto leite que ás vezes lhe corre em fio no chão quando sahem fóra a comer.

Estes cavallo marinhos teem pelle muito mais grossa que a de um boi, todos são de uma côr parda sobre cinzenta e de cabello muito aspero; quasi todos, ou os mais d'elles, teem uma silva branco muito alva pelo meio do rosto abaixo até ás ventas, e uma estrella branca na testa muito formosa. Tem mui pouca coma e muito curta, e não tem topete nem sedas compridas no cabo; são mui sugeitos a doença de gotta coral, ou accidentes de malanconia, e quando lhe vem esta dôr cossam o peito mui fortemente com a mão esquerda dobrando-a para traz, e sobre ella se deixam cahir no chão ficando-lhe as unhas debaixo do peito, com cuja virtude dizem os cafres que se lhe tiram os accidentes mais depressa; onde se pôde vêr a providencia da natureza que não falta nas cousas necessarias. Por esta razão affirmam os cafres e mouros d'esta terra que as unhas da mão esquerda do cavallo marinho teem muita virtude contra a malanconia. Deus sabe a verdade d'isto, mas é certo que os cavallo teem os accidentes que disse, e que se cossam com as unhas da mão esquerda, porque d'este modo os tem achado os cafres em terra muitas vezes, e algumas tão desmaiados e sem accordo com a força do mal que padecem, que assim mataram alguns sem se poderem erguer, nem fugir.

Posto que estes cavallo marinhos são mui ferozes, e de grandes corpos, com tudo não são tão bravos que remetam a gente, salvo dentro no rio, quando andam no cio, como fica dito; mas quando sahem a comer em terra, se sentem n'ella qualquer pessoa, ou tem vista d'ella, logo fogem para o rio correndo com tanta furia, como se foram animaes mui pequenos e muito medrosos, e tanta estropiada fazem com os pés quando correm que parecem um trovão; e com esta pressa se lançam ao rio, e muitas vezes de ribanceiras mui altas, e com tanta furia, que levam consigo

grande parte da borda do rio, deixando n'elle tal rasto como se fôra caminho mui seguido.

Uma tarde fui pelas praias do rio de Sofala com dois portuguezes casados da fortaleza, para nos recrearmos e pescarmos n'elle, e para esse effeito foram connosco muitos escravos seus para andarem com as redes. Indo nós d'esta maneira ao longo do rio, vimos sair do matto dois cavallos marinhos que andavam comendo n'elle, e tanto que nos sentiram vieram correndo para se metter no rio, e o seu caminho direito era por onde nós estavamos, pelo que logo os portuguezes tomaram as espingardas, e os cafres seus arcos e frechas e aguardaram os cavallos para os ferirem, ou espantarem, mas foi o seu medo tanto, e maior que o nosso, porque se desviaram de nós, e foram fugindo ao longo do matto até que se metteram no rio bem longe d'onde nós estavamos, de que nos não pesou, porque alguns temiam que com sua chegada houvesse algum desastre.

#### CAPITULO IV.

De como os cafres matam os cavallos marinhos dentro e fóra do rio.

Os cafres do rio de Cuama e os de Sofala, armam aos cavallos marinhos, e os caçam de tres maneiras. A primeira e mais ordinaria, é fazendo covas pela borda das sementeiras de milho e arroz, onde os cavallos de noite vão a comer, as quaes estão cobertas de rama e herva, de tal maneira, que não se enxerga signal de cova, e por isso vão os cavallos passeiando mui seguros por entre as cearas, e pondo as mãos ou os pés sobre as covas dão consigo dentro, e alli ficam entalados até pela manhã, que vem os donos das cearas, e os matam sem perigo nem trabalho algum.

De outra maneira lhe armam com umas taboas de comprimento de uma braça, muito grossas, e fortes, nas quaes os cafres metem muitos farpões de ferro, como farpões de fisga, mui grossos e agudos nas pontas. Estas taboas põem ao longo das cearas, meias enterradas, com os bicos dos farpões para cima, e tanto que os cavallos põem os pés em cima de alguma taboa d'estas, encravam-se nos farpões de tal modo, que não se lhe podem mais despregar, e d'esta maneira ficam presos, sem poderem andar, nem quebrar as taboas, por serem muito fortes, e assim os matam os cafres que lhe tem armado.

O terceiro modo, com que os cafres matam os cavallos marin-

hos, é no rio, onde lhe armam com muitas embarcações pequenas, de um só páo, a que chamam almadias; em cada uma das quaes se metem dois caçadores, um assentado na popa remando, e outro na proa em pé, com uma fisga na mão, de grande e agudo farpão de ferro, a qual vae atada pelo meio da hastea, com uma ponta de corda mui comprida, e fica presa com a outra ponta na mesma almadia. Além d'esta fisga, levam outras, e muitas frechas, e azagaias, e penedos, tudo para effeito de caçar. D'esta maneira vão remando para os pegos e remansos, onde os cavallo andam commummente, com as cabeças fóra d'agua, dando fé de quantos passam pelo rio; e tanto que as almadias chegam perto d'elles, fazem-lhe cerco, e todas em ala remetem com muita ligeiresa, para lhe fazerem chegada, mas elles logo mergulham, e fogem, e vão sahir em outro lugar perto d'aquelle com a cabeça fóra, e as almadias após elles remando, e atirando-lhe sempre com penedos e frechas, e tantas voltas lhe dão para baixo e para cima, até que alguma embarcação chega perto d'algum, a tiro que lhe possam d'ella pregar a fisga, e tanto que lh'a pregam no corpo, e elle se sente ferido, logo desmaia, e vae fugindo com a fisga pregada, levando após si a almadia em que a fisga está presa á corda, pelo qual respeito lhe vão atirando da mesma almadia com muitas frechas, e as outras almadias juntamente acodem, e tambem lhe pregam suas fisgas, e com ser um animal tão feroz e grande, é tão pussilanime depois de ferido, que não remete para se defender de quem o presegue, antes foge, andando de uma parte para a outra, levando após si as almadias presas das fisgas, que leva no corpo pregadas, e tanto trabalha d'esta maneira, até que cansa, e anda em cima da agua com a boca aberta, e a lingua fóra sem poder tomar folego; então remetem as almadias todas a elle, e dão-lho muitas azagaiadas, até que o matam, e depois de morto lhe atam uma corda no pescoço, e o levam a terra, onde o cortam, e desfazem em quartos e pedaços, e cada cafre leva seu quinhão para comer. D'esta maneira matam muitos cavallo marinhos; e posto que este modo de caçar seja trabalhoso para os caçadores, é muito gostoso, e de grande festa e regosijo. Indo eu de Luabo pelo rio acima para Serra, vi andar no rio dez ou doze almadias, com seus caçadores dentro, fazendo a caçada como tenho dito, cousa que muito folgamos de vêr, e senão fomos com tão prospero vento, sempre nos detiveramos n'este lugar, por vêr o fim da caçada.

## CAPITULO V.

De algumas cousas notaveis que ha nos rios de Cuama, assim dentro na agua, como fóra nas terras que correm ao longo d'elles.

Em todos estes rios se cria muito peixe de varias castas, e algum d'elle muito bom, gordo, e saboroso, como são tainhas, cações, peixe pedra, similhante a grandes choupas, peixe boquinha, similhante a savelha; tem mui pequena boca, e pouca espinha: é mui gordo e saboroso; peixe barriguinha, da feição de arenques, mas muito maior; tem grande barriga, pequena boca, e pouca espinha; é mui gordo e saboroso. Ha n'estes rios tão grandes espadartes, como os do mar. Um d'estes se matou arriba de Tete no anno do Senhor de 1586 de que todos ficaram maravilhados, porque não cuidaram que tamanhos peixes se criassem n'esta paragem, mais de cento e vinte legoas distante do mar. Tambem se criam n'estes rios muitos cavallos marinhos, e muitos e grandes lagartos, como fica dito.

Os cafres d'estes rios contam uma historia mui sabida, e praticada dos portuguezes, e mouros d'estas terras, da maneira seguinte. Dizem que um dia veiu um leão correndo após um veado para o matar, e comer, o qual veado vendo-se perseguido, veiu fugindo com medo da morte para se lançar ao rio, e chegando a elle, indo já para se meter dentro, chegou-lhe primeiro o leão, e lançando-lhe as unhas sobre as ancas teve mão n'elle, para que se não acabasse de metter de todo no rio; mas a este reboliço e briga accudiu um lagarto, e vendo que o veado estava com meio corpo dentro na agua, ferrou logo d'elle com os dentes e unhas, para o metter no rio, e teve mão n'elle tão fortemente, que nunca o leão o poudo tirar fóra, nem o lagarto o poudo metter dentro, e tirar das unhas do leão; e d'esta maneira estiveram algum tempo em porfia de quem havia de levar a presa, até que accudiram uns cafres, que andavam trabalhando em umas cearas, e tinham visto todo o successo d'esta contenda, e correndo ao rio com grandes brados, e alaridos, o lagarto se espantou, e largou o veado, recolhendo-se para dentro d'agua, e o leão tambem fugiu, deixando a caça que tinha já quasi morta, e aberta pelas cadeiras com as unhas. Chegaram então os cafres, e recolheram o veado, e o repartiram entre si.

Pelas terras que correm ao longo d'estes rios ha muitos leões,



tigres, onças, badas, elephantes, bufaros bravos, vaccas bravas, quasi da feição das nossas mansas. Ha cavalloos bravos, com sua coma, e cabo como os nossos cavalloos, e rincham quasi da mesma feição; tem uma côr castanha, muito clara, quasi cinzenta, tem cornos mociços como veado, mui direitos e sem esgalhos, e unha fendida como bos; os cafres lhe chamam empophos. Tambem ha asnos bravos de côr parda, com cornos e unha fendida, a que chamam merús; sua carne é tão boa como a de vacca. Ha muita variedade de bichos, porcós montezes, e outra muita casta de animaes silvestres.

Ao longo d'estes rios nascem muitos algodões, em searas, que os cafres semeiam, cultivam e podam, quasi ao modo de vinhas. D'este algodão fazem pannos, a que chamam machiras, de que se vestem, os quaes são do tamanho de um lençol. Ha grandes canaveaes de cannas de assucar, que os cafres semeiam para comerem, e são muita parte de seu mantimento. Não sabem fazer assucar, nem teem engenhos para isso, que se os tiveram cuidado que d'estes rios, e do de Sofala, se tirara mais assucar, que do Brazil.

N'este territorio nascem muitos páos eervas mui medicinaes, e particularmente em umas serras, a que chamam Lupatta, que atravessam este rio, nas quaes ha muita douradinha, infinita aguila brava mui boa, e de tão excellente cheiro, que parece mansa, e algumas pessoas me affirmaram havel-a n'estes matos. Estando eu em Tete me deram um tronco velho de aguila, tão gastado já do tempo, que lhe não ficou mais que o cerne de dentro, preto, e duro, e fazendo eu pouco caso d'elle, por saber que havia muito na terra, o mandei lançar em um quintal que tinha, onde o sol lhe dava, e n'elle esteve algum tempo, até que um dia o vi estar lançando de si oleo suavissimo, que lhe corria no chão com a quentura do sol; então o recolhi, e o tive em grande estima, e como tal o dei a quem o trouxe para este reino, por peça de muito preço.

Ha n'esta terra muita canafistola pelos matos, e outro páo com que os cafres se purgam, mui medicinal, o qual cozem com uma gallinha e agua simples, e depois de bem cozida, bebem o caldo, e com elle purgam muito bem. Esta purga tomei em Sena, para umas sesões que tinha, e me achei muito bem, o que não fiz com outras purgas que antes d'esta me deram. Outro páo ha, que moido, e dado a beber em agua simples estanca camaras de

sangue. Outra páo ha excellente com que os cafres curam suas feridas, moido, e deitado dentro n'ellas o pó; e tem tanta virtude, que em vinte e quatro horas, lança fóra das feridas toda a podridão, ou sangue pizado que tem, e por grande que a ferida seja, em poucos dias sara, curando-se com estes pós, sem pontos nem outra medicina. Outro páo me mostraram em Sofala, o qual tambem ha n'estes rios, e dizem que pizado, e dado a beber, faz vir leite aos peitos de qualquer pessoa que o beber, assim mulher, como homem; tem as folhas muito grossas, e grandes, quasi como herva bobosa.

## CAPITULO VI.

Das serras da Lupata, e do reino do Mongás, e das guerras que teve com os portuguezes, e de umas fontes notaveis d'estas terras.

Do forte de Sena até o de Tete são sessenta legoas pelo rio acima. No meio d'este caminho estão situadas aquellas mui formosas, e nomeadas serras de Lupata, noventa legoas distantes do mar Oceano Ethiopico. Estas serras tem de largura quatro ou cinco legoas; são muito altas, e fragosas de penedias, e saibro aspero, e duro como ferro, e d'esta maneira vão correndo e atravessando grande parte d'esta Ethiopia, e por serem altissimas e atravessarem muitas terras, lhe chamam os cafres espinhaço do mundo. Com estas serras serem tão altas, longas, e de pedra viva, teve o rio Zambeze tanta força, que as rompeu pelo meio, levando suas aguas por entre ellas com tanto impeto, que faz medo sua corrente; e tão cortadas estão estas serras em muitas partes ao longo do rio, que do alto d'ellas até o fundo são direitas, como se foram talhadas ao picão, e a prumo. E n'outras partes ficam os altos das serras pendentes sobre o rio, tão medonhos, que parece estarem para cahir sobre as embarcações que passam por baixo. N'esta paragem será este rio da largura de cincoenta braças, pouco mais ou menos, cercado d'estas serras ingremes, e altissimas, pelo que estas cinco, ou seis legoas de rio são mui perigosas de navegar, e aqui se perdem algumas embarcações, por causa das grandes correntes que tem, dando com ellas sobre as pedras, sem lhe poderem fugir.

Estas serras de Lupata atravessam o reino de um rei chamado Mongás, cujas terras estão ao longo d'este rio, da parte do sul,

como Sena e Tete, e tem por seu limite o mesmo rio, e da banda do sertão confinam com as terras do Manamotapa. Este Mongâs pelejou com os portuguezes no tempo da conquista de Francisco Barreto e de Vasco Frz. Homem, que lhe succedeu no governo por sua morte. Todos estes cafres do Mongâs são gentios, algum tanto baços, mui exforçados, e mais bellicosos que todos os que então havia n'estes rios, e assim deram muito que fazer aos nossos conquistadores, representando-lhe muitas batalhas. Em uma das quaes se conta que vindo um dia cometter aos portuguezes, traziam comsigo uma cafra velha, que diziam ser grande feiticeira, e tanto que chegaram á vista dos nossos, ella se adiantou da sua gente, e pondo-se no meio do campo entre os dois arraiaes, tirou de um cabaço certos pós que alli trazia, e lançando algumas mãoscheias d'elles para o ar contra os portuguezes, dizia que os havia de cegar a todos d'aquella maneira, e que facilmente seriam logo desbaratados e presos. Com esta promessa da feiticeira vinham os cafres tão confiados, que todos traziam cordas para levarem os portuguezes atados como carneiros; mas em breve tempo ficaram frustrados de seus pensamentos, porque o governador vendo a feiticeira no campo, tão soberba e confiada nas suas artes diabolicas, mandou ao Condestable que lhe fizesse tiro com um falcão, que diante de si tinha carregado, o que o Condestable logo fez, e quiz Deus que fosse tão bem apontado, que acertou a feiticeira pelos peitos, e diante dos seus a fez em pedaços, pelo qual o governador levou de uma cadeia de ouro que trazia com um relicario, e a lançou ao pescoço do Condestable, mui alegre, louvando sua destreza, e venturozo tiro, tão importante para o principio da briga que começava. Da outra parte os cafres ficaram mui espantados do successo não esperado, e mais tristes com a morte da sua feiticeira, em quem vinham estribados, mas nada foi bastante para deixarem a briga, antes logo romperam batalha, e pelejaram mui exforçadamente; porém depois que experimentaram o braço dos portuguezes, e os pelouros, tanto á custa de suas vidas, se foram retirando e fugindo, ficando os nossos senhores do campo; e não tardou muito que o Mongâs mandasse cometter pazes ao governador, prometendo-lhe a passagem livre por suas terras, que d'antes lhe queria impedir, as quaes o governador accitou, e duram até agora, sem haver mais quebras, nem alteração alguma.

Abaixo d'estas serras da Lupâta, perto do rio, da banda do

Leste, defronte das terras do Mongâs, está uma formosa lagôa, de tres legoas em roda, mui funda, e no meio d'ella um ilheu de terra fragosa, mui alta que terá quinhentas braças em roda. No alto d'este ilheu está um formoso tamarinheiro, do tamanho, e quasi da feição de um grande pinheiro, o qual carrega os mais dos annos de tamarinho. Seu fructo é similhante a alfarrobas, tem um azedo excellentissimo para temperar o comer em logar do limão, ou de vinagre, é medicinal, e uza-se d'elle nas boticas para purgas. Os tamarinheiros teem tal propriedade, que em se pondo o sol, logo fecham as folhas, e assim estão toda a noite, até que torna a sahir, e em nascendo logo se lhe abrem.

A esta lagoa chamam os cafres Rufumba; é de agua doce, cria muito e bom peixe, muitos cavallo marinhos, e mui grandes lagartos. A borda d'ella está um bosque, a que os cafres chamam Chipanga, de mui fresco e espesso arvoredo silvestre. Os cafres visinhos d'este bosque enterram seus defuntos n'elle, e de todos é tido por cousa mui sagrada; e a causa principal é, porque os lagartos da Rufumba se deitam ao sol, como é seu costume, nas bordas d'este bosque, e os cafres teem para si que são as almas dos seus defuntos, que andam dentro n'estes lagartos, e povoam aquella lagoa, e por esse respeito muitas vezes lhe deitam de comer n'aquellas praias do bosque.

Perto d'esta lagoa está uma fonte, a que os cafres chamam Maembe, na qual nascem cinco olhos de agua affastados uns dos outros pouco mais de uma braça; esta agua é toda quente, convém a saber, dois olhos de agua morna, e dois de muito quente, e o quinto de agua tão quente, como se estivera fervendo com grande fogo, na qual ninguem pode metter a mão, antes podem cozer n'ella ovos, e pellar leitões, como já fizeram alguns portuguezes, que alli foram ter de proposito, a vêr as maravilhas d'esta lagoa. Estas fontes correm todo o anno, e suas aguas se recolhem na lagoa Rufumba.

Arriba do forte de Tete está um logar chamado Empongo, no qual nascem tres olhos de agua quente, á borda do rio Zambeze, e aparecem quando vae vazio, mas como enche, cobre as fontes, e não se veem. Um d'estes olhos dizem que é de agua quentissima, onde ninguem pode metter a mão. Outras muitas cousas maravilhosas dizem que ha n'estes rios, e nas terras que correm ao longo d'elles, de que não trato por não ter d'ellas certa e verdadeira informação, como tive das que ficam apontadas.

## CAPITULO VII.

De algumas fontes e ribeiras de agua salgada, e de outras fontes de admiraveis effeitos, que ha no sertão d'esta Ethiopia Oriental.

Junto do forte de Tete, obra de duas leguas pela terra dentro, está uma ribeira pequena, cuja agua é tão salgada como a do mar, estando distante d'elle mais de cento e vinte leguas. Nas terras do Mocaranga, que estão muito mais longe do mar, dizem que ha muitas ribeiras e lagôas de agua salgada, de que os cafres fazem sal com certos cozimentos que lhe dão, e d'este se provê quasi todo este Mocaranga, e vale muito, pela grande falta que d'elle ha n'estas terras, tão distantes e affastadas do mar.

Não foi cousa que muito me admirasse vêr agua nativa e salgada em terras tão remotas e alongadas do mar, porque já em Portugal tinha visto o mesmo junto do real e sumptuoso monumento da Batalha, que El-Rei Dom João, de gloriosa memoria, fundou e deu aos religiosos do Patriarcha S. Domingos, onde elle jaz sepultado com a rainha D. Philippa sua mulher, e quatro filhos. Junto pois d'este convento, está um posto a que chamam Santas, quatro leguas distante do mar, onde nasce um grande olho de agua salgada, de que fazem muito sal em marinhas, que estão feitas no mesmo logar, entre as quaes os religiosos do dito convento tem algumas de importancia.

Alguns mouros mercadores de machiras (que são uns pannos de algodão de que se vestem os cafres) me contaram estando eu no forte de Tete, que pelo sertão dentro d'estas terras da parte do Nordeste, perto do grande rio Manganja, havia uma fonte de agua salgada, mais de duzentas leguas distante do mar na qual se via uma espantosa maravilha, que era converter-se em pedra dura todo o pau que lhe deitavam dentro, mudando a natureza de pau em pedra ferrenha mui pesada.

Alberto Magno faz menção de outra fonte de agua doce, semelhante a esta nos effeitos, a qual elle diz que viu em Allemanha, e experimentou suas maravilhas, onde se convertia em pedra qualquer pau que lhe deitassem dentro. Isto mesmo refere o P. F. Heitor Pinto sobre Daniel. João Perez, no livro da sua astronomia, conta de outra fonte, cuja agua tirada fóra e lançada em terra, logo se coalha e fica como pedra dura, sem mais se desfazer, nem tornar á sua primitiva natureza.

Na provincia do Alemtejo, do reino de Portugal, está uma povoação, que se chama Ervedal, distante pouco mais de uma legua da villa de Aviz, na qual nascem umas fontes, a que os naturaes da terra chamam fontanheiras e são quatro, ou cinco olhos de agua doce, mas não é boa para beber. Esta agua nasce sómente no verão e corre em tanta quantidade, que faz uma ribeira mui grande, com que se regam algumas hortas e moem muitas azenhas em todo o verão, de abril até setembro, e tanto que torna o tempo a esfriar, logo se seccam as fontes. Cousa admiravel, porque no inverno quando chove e toda a terra se resolve em fontes, n'esse mesmo tempo se seccam sem terem alguma agua. Tem mais outra propriedade estas fontes, que a sua agua no logar onde está queda, sem correr, se converte em pedra dura, ao modo de pedra pomes, e nunca mais se torna a desfazer; se deitam algum pao dentro n'esta agua, ou seja na fonte, ou na ribeira, por onde corre, todo se cobre de pedra dura, gerada e creada da mesma agua, de modo que fica o pao dentro como meolo da pedra, e se lhe tiram o pao de dentro, fica um vão como cano de pedra. O mesmo causa nas hervas e silvas, que estão ao longo da ribeira, onde quer que chega esta agua, cobrindo-as todas de pedra. Da mesma maneira o faz nas azenhas, cobrindo-lhe as rodas de pedra, de modo que para moerem é necessario alimparem-lhe cada anno a pedra, que se lhe cria d'esta agua.

No reino de Dambia, situado n'esta Ethiopia Oriental, ao longo do rio Nilo, e na provincia Belgada, de que adiante fallarei, ha muitas minas de sal em pedra, do qual os mercadores levam aos reinos de Mandinga e Jalofa, situados no sertão d'esta Ethiopia, onde ha tanta falta de sal e tanto ouro que vale o sal quasi tanto como elle.

Na ilha de Ormuz, situada no Estreito da Persia, estão muitas serras de sal em pedra, nascido alli naturalmente, o qual além de servir para temperar o comer, é muito medicinal, e com ser estimado por sua bondade, não vale muito, pela grande copia que d'elle ha n'esta terra.

## CAPITULO VIII.

Dos fortes de Sena e Tete, e da serra Chiri e dos fructos e creações que ha nos rios de Cuama e moeda que n'elles corre.

Sena é uma povoação situada junto ao rio Zambeze, da parte do sul nas terras da cidade Inhamioy, sujeita ao Manamotapa. N'esta povoação está um forte de pedra e cal, guarnecido de algumas peças de artilheria grossa e meuda, mui bastantes para sua defensão, na qual mora o capitão posto da mão do capitão de Moçambique. Dentro n'este forte está a igreja e a feitoria, onde se metem todas as roupas, contas e veniagas que vão de Moçambique, e d'aqui se vendem aos mercadores, que depois as levam a vender aos cafres. No tempo que eu estive n'este forte, haveria n'elle mais de oito centos christãos, dos quaes seriam cinquenta portuguezes e os outros indios e cafres da terra.

Defronte de Sena, da outra parte do rio, obra de sete ou oito leguas pela terra dentro, está uma grandissima e altissima serra, chamada Chiri, a qual se deixa vêr de mais de vinte leguas. Esta serra é fertilissima e toda povoada de cafres, assim no alto como pelos vales. D'aqui vão para Sena os mais dos mantimentos, que se n'ella gastam, como são arroz, milho, batatas, figos e gallinhas. Tem muitas fontes de excellentes aguas, não sómente nos vales, mas tambem nos altos. Pelo pé d'ella corre uma formosa e grande ribeira, que dizem ser braço do celebre rio Luabo d'esta costa de Ethiopia, a qual ribeira vem entrar no rio Zambeze dez leguas abaixo de Sena, e por ella navegam os cafres e os moradores de Sena e tem seu commercio de uma parte para outra.

D'este forte de Sena até ao de Tete são sessenta leguas pelo rio acima. Os moradores de Tete vem a esta feitoria de Sena empregar o seu ouro nas mercadorias que n'ella estão. É Tete uma povoação situada ao longo do rio, da mesma parte do Sena, no reino de Inhabazoe, que o Manamotapa conquistou, e repartiu entre alguns vassallos seus, dando ao forte de Tete uma boa parte d'elle, que são as terras que reconhecem aos portuguezes e ao capitão do forte, como a seu rei, do qual tratarei abaixo mais largamente. Este forte é de pedra e cal, em que estão sete ou oito peças de artilheria; n'elle mora o capitão da terra, que tambem é posto pelo capitão de Moçambique. N'esta povoação

haveria no tempo que eu n'ella estive mais de seiscentos christãos, dos quaes seriam quarenta portuguezes e os outros indios e cafres. D'esta sorte até o mar Oceano Ethiopico, onde este rio vae entrar, são cento e vinte leguas e até aqui navegam os portuguezes com as mercadorias, que vem de Moçambique, e d'este forte vão caminhando por terra, com ellas até o Mocaranga, levando-as os cafres ás costas, que andam a este ganho por aluguer, como bestas de carga.

N'estas povoações de Sena e Tete ha muitos figos de Portugal e da India, como os que tenho dito que ha em Sofala: os quaes ha todo o anno. Ha muitas romeiras, parreiras, limoeiros, palmeiras, muitas fructas do matto, algumas d'ellas boas, como são umas, a que chamam bombâras, que são quasi como azeitonas, e comem-se da mesma maneira salgadas, e são muito appetitasas: ha muitas hortas de boa hortaliça. Um rabano vi em Tete, da casta e semente dos de Portugal, que tinha tres palmos e meio de grosso em roda junto ao pé, cheio por dentro, tenro e saboroso, de comprimento de quasi um covado; d'onde se pôde colligir a grande fertilidade d'estas terras; ha muitos inhames, batatas, ananazes e melões muito finos, aboboras, pepinos, arroz, milho, e outros muitos legumes. Ha muitas creações de vaccas, cabras e ovelhas, de que fazem tão bons queijos, como os de Alemtejo; porcos e grande numero de gallinhas. E todas estas cousas valem baratas, mas as que vem da India para estes rios valem muito caras, particularmente vinhos, farinhas de trigo, calçado e vestido, e todas as mais cousas necessarias, que vem de carroto. Um barril de vinho de Portugal de seis almudes, se é bom, vale n'estes rios ordinariamente cem maticaes, que são cento e vinte cruzados. Um barril de farinha do mesmo tamanho, vale cinquenta e sessenta maticaes, e assim as demais cousas que vem da India. No anno que eu estive n'estes rios, succedeu que se perderam na viagem dois pangaios do capitão de Moçambique, que então era Lourenço de Brito, os quaes vinham para estes fortes carregados de todo o provimento e roupas, como é costume virem cada seis mezes, com cuja falta subiram a grande preço todas as cousas de comer e beber, e chegou a valer uma canada de vinho de Portugal quatorze maticaes, que são seis mil e seiscentos réis; uma caixa de marmellada de cinco arrateis pouco mais ou menos, dez maticaes, e a mesma carestia tiveram as farinhas, roupas e mais cousas que havia na terra.



A menor moeda que ha n'estas terras é um peso de ouro, a que chamam tanga, que vale tres vintens, e a maior é matical, que vale quatrocentos e oitenta réis. Tambem ha outro genero de moeda, com que se compram as cousas meudas, que são umas barrinhas de cobre do comprimento de meio palmo, e de largura de quasi dois dedos, a que chamam maçontas, e cada uma d'ellas vale tambem tres vintens. Tambem é moeda corrente estanho, a que chamam calaim, feito em pães, cada pão de meio arratel, e chamam a estes pães pondos, e cada um pondo d'estes vale duas tangas, que são seis vintens. Correm tambem por moeda ordinaria n'estas terras contas meudas de barro vidrado, de côres, enfiadas em uns fios de comprimento de um palmo, aos quaes fios de contas chamam mites e a dez mites juntos chamam lipôte, e a vinte lipôtes juntos chamam motava, que vale ordinariamente um cruzado. Além d'estas moedas, tambem com as roupas de toda a sorte se compram e vendem todas as cousas, e se pagam as dividas em lugar de ouro. Com esta sorte de moeda pagam tambem aos padres seus ordenados, e as missas que lhe mandam dizer; o que fazem poucas vezes, porque ordinariamente pagam a esmola das missas em ouro; e o que commumente se dá por cada uma é um matical, e algumas pessoas dão avantajadas esmolas, conforme a devoção de cada um. E não pareça que é grande esmola n'estas terras, onde todas as cousas que a ellas vem de carroto valem pesadas a ouro, e tanto importa aqui um matical, como n'este reino pôdem importar dois vintens, ou meio tostão; pelo que se os sacerdotes tiveram menos esmola de suas missas, não se poderam sustentar.

## CAPITULO IX.

Das feiras que ha no Mocaranga, e do capitão de Massapa, e da curva que se paga ao Manamotapa.

Depois que as mercadorias partem de Tete por terra, como fica dito, vão atravessando muita parte do reino do Manamotapa, até chegarem a tres povoações, que estão n'este Mocaranga, distantes umas das outras, a que chamam feiras, como é Massapa, Luanze, Manzovo, nas quaes os moradores de Sena e Tete tem suas casas, a que chamam Churros, onde recolhem suas fazendas, e d'aqui as vendem e mandam vender por todas as terras. A principal

feira d'estas é Massapa, onde mora sempre um capitão portuguez, apresentado pelos portuguezes d'estes rios, e confirmado pelo Manamotapa, ao qual capitão chama o rei sua mulher grande, nome com que elle honra aos portuguezes que estima e tem em muita conta, como são os capitães de Sena, Tete e Moçambique. Este capitão de Massapa tem jurisdicção, e auctoridade de justiça maior sobre todos os cafres que vem ter a Massapa, e sobre os que moram nas suas terras e confins, e póde só por si julgar verbalmente todas as causas, e condemnar os delinquentes, até os mandar enforcar, sem haver appellação nem aggravo de sua sentença. A qual auctoridade lhe tem dado o Manamotapa. Este capitão tem tambem provisão dos Vice-reis da India, para ser juiz, e cabeça sobre todos os portuguezes, que n'estes reinos andam, e como tal julga todas as cousas dos portuguezes, que n'estas partes se movem, e dá suas sentenças. É tambem provedor dos defuntos. Similhante jurisdicção e auctoridade tem todos os capitães d'estas partes, como são o de Sofala, Sena e Tete, concedida pelos Vice-reis. Todos elles pódem sentenciar sómente aos christãos da terra, e executar as taes sentenças, sem haver appellação nem aggravo d'ellas, como fazem algumas vezes a cafres ladrões e malfeitores, que mandam enforcar.

O capitão do Massapa serve n'este logar de tratar todos os negocios portuguezes com o Manamotapa; está tambem aqui como feitor do mesmo rei, para lhe arrecadar todos os direitos, que os mercadores lhe pagam, assim christãos, como mouros, que são de cada vinte pannos um, dos que levam a estas terras para vender; pelos quaes direitos lhe ficam todas as mais roupas livres, e as terras franqueadas, para seguramente andarem por ellas e venderem suas mercadorias, sem haver quem lhe faça impedimento algum. D'este logar de Massapa para dentro, até onde está o rei, ninguem póde entrar, nem passar, sem licença do mesmo rei, ou d'este capitão, e por isso chamam a este logar as portas de Massapa, e ao capitão, capitão das portas; o qual officio é perpetuo em vida de cada um dos que n'elle entram, nem pódem renunciar o cargo, nem sahir d'este logar sem licença do Manamotapa. As insignias d'este capitão, e de sua jurisdicção, é uma azagaia de pao preto, de comprimento de uma vara, pouco mais ou menos, com uma ponta comprida de ouro, ao modo de ferro de lança, a qual traz muitas vezes na mão, como vara de justiça maior. Além d'isto traz uma manilha de ouro.

O capitão de Moçambique é obrigado quando entra na sua fortaleza de novo a dar ao Manamotapa tres mil cruzados de roupas e contas, pelos tres annos que ha de ser capitão, por franquear suas terras no dito tempo a todos os mercadores, assim christãos como mouros, porque todos elles tratam com as roupas do mesmo capitão, e o mais do ouro que d'estes rios sahe, vem ter á mão do capitão de Moçambique, e se não tiver as terras abertas e franqueadas, para os mercadores levarem dentro suas roupas e contas, não haverá ouro, nem quem o traga em tanta quantidade. E franqueadas as terras d'esta maneira, andam todos os mercadores por ellas com os saccos de ouro, muito mais seguros, do que podiam andar em Portugal, porque até hoje não se sabe que cafres ladrões salteassem portuguez algum em caminho, nem o roubassem, salvo por mandado do mesmo Manamotapa, cousa que elle algumas vezes faz, por se vingar de alguns aggravos que tem, ou finge ter dos portuguezes, particularmente quando o capitão de Moçambique, que entra de novo, lhe não paga ou lhe dilata para o segundo anno as roupas, que lhe costuma dar no primeiro; porque então manda dar Empata por todas suas terras nas fazendas dos mercadores, e tomar todas as mercadorias que lhe acham (que a isto chamam Empata) e d'esta maneira se paga do que lhe deve mui largamente, e satisfaz do aggravo que tem recebido. Além d'isso para tornar a franquear as terras, e fazel-as de paz, paga-lhe o capitão tudo inteiramente. E n'estas Empatas, que manda fazer, toma muitos mil cruzados aos mercadores, sem haver mais restituição d'elles, nem da parte do rei, nem de quem foi causa d'ellas.

A esta paga, que os capitães fazem, chamam os cafres curva, e esta manda o Manamotapa buscar ao forte de Sena pelos seus cafres embaixadores, a que chamam Mutûmes. Estes vem buscar a curva com a mesma ordem, e do mesmo modo que os Mutûmes do Quiteve, rei do rio de Sofala, como atraz fica dito. Mas é mui differente a entrega da curva de Sofala, d'esta de Sena, porque em Sofala o capitão da fortaleza a entrega aos Mutûmes que a vem buscar, e elles a levam ao Quiteve seu rei; mas aqui em Sena entrega-se a um portuguez, que para isso elege o capitão, ao qual depois de eleito chamam vice-rei, porque vae por embaixador ao Manamotapa em nome do capitão de Moçambique, a quem os cafres chamam vice-rei. Este portuguez recebe a dita curva na feitoria de Sena, diante dos Mutûmes do Manamo-

tapa, para que elles vejam todas as roupas que lhe mandam, e depois de entregue d'ellas, as leva a seu cargo até á côrte do Manamotapa, em companhia dos Mutûmes, e lá entrega esta curva ao Manamotapa em nome do capitão de Moçambique.

## CAPITULO X.

Dos reinos do Manamotapa, e das terras do Mocaranga, e sua divisão.

Este reino do Manamotapa está situado nas terras a que chamam Mocaranga, como fica dito; as quaes antigamente foram todas do imperio do Manamotapa, e agora são divididas em quatro reinos, a saber: o reino que hoje tem o Manamotapa e o reino do Quiteve, o reino do Sedanda e o reino do Chicanga. A causa d'esta divisão foi um imperador Manamotapa, o qual não querendo, ou não podendo governar terras tão distantes, fez governadores d'ellas tres filhos seus, mandando a um chamado Quiteve, para governar o reino que corre ao longo do rio de Sofala, e a outro chamado Sedanda, para governar as terras que corta o rio da Sabia, o qual vem sahir ao mar Oceano Ethiopico, defronte das ilhas Bocicas; ao terceiro, chamado Chicanga, mandou governar as terras da Manica, onde ha mui grossas minas de ouro. Estes tres filhos governadores, tanto que o pae morreu, e entrou no imperio outro filho que estava na côrte, levantaram-se com as terras em que estavam, e nunca mais quizeram obedecer a este Manamotapa, nem a seus successores, allegando cada um por si pertencer-lhe o dito imperio. Esta é a causa, porque quasi todos os annos tem guerra uns contra os outros. De maneira, que d'este grande imperio do Manamotapa se dividiram tres reinos muito grandes de muitos vassallos, ficando comtudo o mesmo reino que hoje possui o Manamotapa muito maior que todos estes tres juntos. A todos estes cafres chamam Mocarangas, porque todos fallam a lingua mocaranga; e por essa razão chamam tambem a todas estas terras o Mocaranga, tirando as fraldas do mar d'estes reinos, porque em algumas d'ellas fallam outras linguas differentes, particularmente a lingua Botonga, pelo que chamam ás mesmas terras Botonga, e aos habitadores d'ellas Botongas.

Este grande reino do Manamotapa tem de comprimento mais de duzentas leguas, e de largo quasi outro tanto. Da banda

do Noroeste confina com outro rei mui grande, com que tem muitas vezes guerra, ao qual chamam Abûtua, cujo reino tem o mesmo nome, e dizem que chega pelo meio da terra firme, até os confins do reino de Angola, com cujos cafres tem commercio, e estes com os portuguezes, que vão de Portugal para Angola; no que eu não ponho duvida, porque os cafres mercadores do Abûtua trouxeram já a vender ao reino de Manica um cobertor de papa, que veio pela via de Angola, o qual mercou um portuguez, que estava na Manica, e eu o vi em Sofala. N'este reino do Abûtua tambem ha muito e fino ouro, mas os naturaes da terra não se dão tanto a buscal-o, e caval-o, por estarem longe dos portuguezes que lh'o podiam comprar, mas são mui dados a criar gado vaccum, de que ha n'estas terras grande abundancia. Da parte de Leste confina o Manamotapa com o Rio Zambeze, ao qual os cafres vassallos do Manamotapa chamam Empando, que quer dizer Levantado contra o seu rei, porque dizem que se o rio não corra por aquella parte, fôra o Manamotapa senhor das outras terras, que estão da outra banda do rio, onde elle não pôde passar com seu exercito, por falta de embarcações. Para a parte de Sueste vem correndo este reino até o mar Oceano Ethiopico, onde entra com uma ponta de terra, de largura sómente de dez ou doze leguas, que é do rio de Luâbo, até o rio de Tendancûlo, porque as mais terras, que correm para o Sul, até o rio de Inhambâne, estão divididas entre os tres reis levantados, como fica dito. De Tendancûlo até Sofala é reino do Quiteve, de que fallei no primeiro livro. De Sofala para o Sul, fica o reino de Sabia, de que é rei o Sedanda; o qual tambem é rei de muita parte das terras, a que chamam Botonga, que vão correndo para o rio de Inhambane. Na cabeça d'estes dois reinos, do Quiteve e do Sedanda, pela terra dentro fica o reino da Manica, de que é rei o Chicanga, o qual está para a parte do Noroeste, algumas cem leguas distante do mar; e este comprimento tem estes dois reinos do Quiteve e Sedanda, que ambos vão d'aqui entestar no mar Oceano Ethiopico. Da outra parte da terra da Manica para o Norte, fica o reino do Abûtua, e o Manamotapa lhe fica da parte do Nordeste, e da parte do Sul outro rei, a que chamam Biri. Todos estes tres reis levantados são grandes senhores, porém o Quiteve é maior e mais rico, pelo muito commercio que tem com os portuguezes, d'onde lhe vão muitas roupas e contas, que é a riqueza dos cafres; além d'isso, são estes cafres muito mais exforçados que

todos os outros Mocarangas, e por isso nunca o Manamotapa os pôde vencer, vindo muitas vezes sobre o Quiteve, com grande poder de gente. São mui grandes frecheiros e dextros no jogar de azagaia de arremesso. São mui soberbos, e grandes homens de bulras e trapaças.

## CAPITULO XI.

Da serra chamada Fura, e de umas ruinas antigas, que dizem foram feitoria da rainha Sabbá, ou de Salomão.

Perto da povoação de Massapa está uma muito alta, e grande serra, que se chama Fura, d'onde se descobre muita parte do reino de Manamotapa, e por esse respeito não consente o rei que os portuguezes subam a esta serra, por lhe não cubiçarem a grandeza e formozura de suas terras, onde estão escondidas tantas, e tão grossas minas de ouro. No alto d'esta serra estão ainda em pé uns pedaços de paredes velhas, e umas ruinas antigas de pedra e cal, que bem demonstram estarem alli já casas, e aposentos fortes, cousa que não ha em toda a Cafraria, porque até as casas dos reis são de madeira, barradas com barro, e cobertas de palha. Dizem os naturaes d'estas terras, e particularmente alguns mouros antigos, que teem por tradiçãõ de seus antepassados, que aquellas casas foram antigamente feitoria da rainha Sabbá, e que d'aqui lhe levavam muito ouro pelos rios de Cuama abaixo, até o mar Oceano Ethiopico, pelo qual navegavam em navios, indo sempre correndo a costa da Ethiopia, até o mar Roxo, e entrando por elle acima, navegam até chegarem ás praias que confinam com as terras do Egypto, onde se desembarcava todo este ouro, e d'alli o levavam por terra até á côrte da rainha Sabbá, a qual diziam fôra rainha e senhora de muita parte da Ethiopia do Egypto, e que por este mar Roxo mandava suas armadas, buscar o ouro d'estes rios. No que eu tenho pouca duvida, porque esta opiniãõ é de gravissimos auctores nossos, que dizem que a rainha Sabbá foi senhora da Ethiopia do Egypto, como são o glorioso S. Jeronymo sobre o propheta Sophonias, e Origenes sobre os Cantares, e Josepho no livro das antiguidades Judaicas. E além d'isso ainda hoje ha uma nobilissima cidade na Ethiopia, que antigamente se chamava Sabbá, situada em uma ilha que faz o rio Nilo, mui nomeada, e contada entre as cousas notaveis d'aquella regiãõ, assim por sua fertilidade, como por ser mui

povoada, e frequentada de varias nações de gente. A esta cidade Sabbá mudou o nome depois um rei d'este reino, chamado Cambisses, e chamou-lhe Méroe, em memoria de uma irmã sua, a quem amava muito. Fazem menção d'estas cousas Plinio, Strabe, Josepho, e S. Jeronymo, e outros muitos auctores. D'onde se collige ter muito fundamento o que se diz ácerca d'esta rainha de Ethiopia poder ter sua feitoria n'esta serra da Fura, d'onde lhe levassem o ouro.

Outros dizem, que estas ruinas foram feitoria de Salomão, onde tinha seus feitores, que lhe levavam muito ouro d'estas terras, pelos mesmos rios abaixo, até sahirem ao mar Oceano Ethiopico, e pelo mesmo mar navegavam, até entrar pelo estreito do mar Roxo, e que desembarcando nas praias da Arabia, junto a Suez, o levavam por terra até Jerusalem, que são oitenta legoas de caminho, pouco mais ou menos. Dizem mais, que o ouro de Ophir, que levavam a Salomão, era d'esta terra, a que chamam Fura, ou Afura, e que pouca differença vae de Afura a Ophir, o qual nome andar já corrupto pela mudança dos tempos e edades que de então até agora correram. Eu não sei com que fundamento estes dizem uma cousa e outra, sómente sei dizer que ao redor d'esta serra ha muito e fino ouro, e que d'aqui podia ir por estes rios abaixo n'este tempo, como agora vae por via dos portuguezes, e antigamente ia por via dos mouros de Moçambique e de Quiloa, antes que os portuguezes conquistassem estas terras. E assim como agora todo este ouro que sahe d'estes rios vae para a India, assim podia ir até o cabo do Estreito do mar Roxo, e d'ahi até Suez e até Jerusalem, como fica dito. A qual navegação se devia fazer em muito tempo, porque então não estaria esta viagem tão sabida como agora, nem tambem haveria tão boas embarcações e pilotos, como hoje são os que sabem esta carreira, e tambem pelo muito tempo que se devia gastar enquanto se ajuntava e resgatava o ouro da mão dos cafres, porque ainda hoje, que as minas estão mais sabidas e a cubiça dos cafres mais accesa no desejo de possuir as contas e roupas que os portuguezes de continuo levam a suas terras, todavia gastam os mercadores n'este trato um anno e mais sem acabarem de vender suas mercadorias, por causa de serem os cafres muito preguiçosos em cavar a terra para buscarem o ouro, porque o não fazem senão constrangidos da necessidade. Além d'isso gasta-se muito tempo na viagem que se faz assim pelos rios, como pelo mar Ethiopico,

o qual se navega com muitos contrastes, por causa dos tempos differentes que n'elles se esperam, porque em toda esta costa da Ethiopia se navega sómente com dois ventos que duram seis mezes da banda do Levante, e outros seis do Poente, a que chamam monções. Pelo qual respeito invernam as embarcações muitas vezes n'esta costa.

## CAPITULO XII.

De varias opiniões ácerca da região de Ophir, d'onde se levava o ouro a Salomão.

Já temos visto no capitulo atraz, quantos impedimentos e detenções tem a navegação que os portuguezes hoje fazem da India para estas minas de ouro do Manamotapa. D'onde se pode colligir que no tempo de Salomão devia esta viagem ser ainda mais vagarosa e perigosa do que agora é, assim pelas razões allegadas no capitulo passado, como tambem porque a sua frota não podia navegar pelo mar Roxo de noite, senão de dia, por causa das muitas ilhas e baixos que n'elle ha, e d'esta maneira devia gastar muito tempo, e além d'isso, quando navegasse pela costa de Ethiopia devia fazer muita detença em tomar os portos, concertando e reparando n'elles suas embarcações, e provendo-as de mantimentos e agua, marinheiros e pilotos, que as fossem guiando até os rios de Cuama; pelo que não é de espantar que se gastassem n'ella os tres annos que diz a Sagrada Escriptura. O que se deve entender, em ir e vir, e em ajuntar o ouro da Fura e as mais cousas d'esta região, que se levavam a Jerusalem.

Prova-se mais, poder vir a frota de Salomão a esta costa da Ethiopia buscar ouro da Fura, pois tambem levava pedras preciosas, madeira para o templo, bogios e pavões, como consta de alguns logares da Escriptura; as quaes cousas todas se acham n'esta costa, como são perolas finas, e aljofar, que se pescam do parcel de Sofala, entre as ilhas Bocicas, de que já fallei; e a rica e preciosa madeira dos matos de Tebe, que estão entre Sofala e os rios de Cuama, em que eu já estive, onde se fazem embarcações de um só páo cavado por dentro, que tem vinte braças de comprimento, pouco mais ou menos; e tambem em muitas partes d'esta costa, se cria e colhe muito e fino páo preto, que se leva para a India, e vem para este reino. E quanto aos pavões, posto que os



eu não visse n'estas terras maritimas, comtudo não devem faltar pela terra dentro, porque alguns cafres d'ella tenho visto com penachos na cabeça de pennas de pavão mui conhecidas. Pois bogios são infinitos em toda esta costa da Ethiopia, de castas mui differentes. Já no ouro não fallo, porque ha grande copia d'elle em todo este territorio da Fura. Nem menos da fina prata da Chicova, onde se sabe que ha ricas minas, como adiante direi. Assim que todas estas confrontações parece que provam ser esta terra da Fura a verdadeira região de Ophir. O que tambem se pode confirmar com o texto da Sagrada Escripura, onde diz que Salomão enviava suas náos em busca de ouro a Tharsis, a qual região intendem os gregos por Africa, onde estão as minas da Fura, de que vou fallando. Esta opinião segue Raphael Volaterrano, dizendo que muitos tiveram para si que Ophir era uma parte da Ethiopia, situada no mar de Sofala. Isto mesmo affirma Ludovico Veneto, no tratado que fez de sua navegação.

Outros auctores teem differentes opiniões, entre os quaes S. Jeronymo diz que Heber, patriarcha dos Hebreus, teve dois filhos, um chamado Phaleh e o outro Jactan, os quaes lhe nasceram no tempo que foi a divisão de todas as linguas em Babylonia, e que Jactan teve treze filhos, e dois d'elles s. Evila e Ophir foram habitar as terras da India, que estão do rio Ganges até Malaca, e por respeito d'estes dois homens chamaram ás terras do Ganges a região de Evila, e do Ganges, até Malaca, a região de Ophir. D'este antigo fundamento parece que veiu a dizer Josepho que a região de Ophir, d'onde levavam o ouro a Salomão, era a ilha de Samatra, situada na India, na costa de Malaca. Esta opinião segue tambem Rabano, auctor grave, dizendo que Ophir que é uma ilha deserta do mar da India, onde ha muitas feras e muito ouro, a qual tomou nome de Ophir, filho de Jactan. O mesmo diz Nicolau de Lyra. De modo, que d'esta opinião se collige, que Ophir está na India, e que deve ser a ilha de Samatra, o qual Josepho diz que se chama a terra aurea.

Vatablo Parisiense vae por outra via mui differente, e diz que Ophir é uma ilha situada no mar do Sul, descoberta por Christovam Colombo, a que chamou Spagniola, mui abundante de fino ouro, e mui distante de Asion. Gaber, porto do mar Roxo, d'onde as armadas de Salomão partiam a buscar o ouro; e por quanto esta ilha estava tão longe, tardavam as náos tres annos em ir e vir. Esta opinião é menos provavel, pois sabemos que

esta navegação de Arabia para o mar do Sul não se podia fazer senão pelo mar Oceano Ethiopico, até o Cabo da Boa Esperança, e d'ahi atravessando aquelle grande golphão até o Estreito de Magalhães, por onde havia de entrar e sahir. A qual navegação não estava ainda descoberta, porque muito tempo depois descobriu Fernando de Magalhães este Estreito, que foi no anno do Senhor de 1520, no mez de Setembro. Pelo que tem pouco fundamento a opinião d'este auctor. De modo que todos os que tratam d'esta materia differem no sitio e região de Ophir. E finalmente não determinando eu esta questão, digo que a serra da Fura, ou Afura, podia ser a região de Ophir, d'onde se levava o ouro a Jerusalem; pelo que se pode dar algum credito a quem diz serem estas casas feitoria de Salomão, pois estavam na Fura, e o ouro que levavam era de Ophir; nem eu sinto outras minas mais perto, d'onde podesse ir ouro a Jerusalem; e n'este tempo podia Salomão ter o commercio e trato que hoje tem os portuguezes n'estes rios.

### CAPITULO XIII.

Das minas que ha nos reinos do Manamotapa, e de como se tira o ouro d'ellas.

Em todas as terras do Manamotapa, ou na maior parte d'ellas, ha muitas minas de ouro, e particularmente no Chiróro, onde ha muito, e o mais fino que se acha n'este reino. Os cafres colhem este ouro de duas maneiras, como já dissemos que o colhiam os do Quiteve. A primeira e mais ordinaria, é cavando a terra ao longo das ribeiras e das lagôas, e lavando-a em gamellas, até que toda se desfça em polme, ficando no fundo o ouro, e as pedras, as quaes lançadas fóra tambem com a terra, fica o ouro limpo na gamella, d'onde o tiram e recolhem; pelo que nunca cavam o ouro senão ao longo da agua, para com ella poderem logo lavar a terra e apartal-o d'ella. O segundo modo de que os cafres usam para colher o ouro, é no tempo das chuvas, pelas rigueiras por onde corre a agua, nas quaes acham muitas lascas e pedaços de ouro, que ficam sobre a terra descobertos com a corrente.

Todo o cafre que descobre mina grossa e tira ouro d'ella, tem pena de morte, e os bens que tiver perdidos para el-rei, e se acaso indo cavando descobre alguma mina d'estas, é obrigado a gritar

com grandes vozes, para que acuda outro qualquer cafre, a quem tome por testemunha de como cavando acaso n'aquelle logar achou rasto de mina grossa, e de como a torna a deixar, sem levar d'ella cousa alguma, e logo juntamente são obrigados a cobril-a outra vez com terra, e cortar um ramo grande de qualquer arvore e pol-o em cima ; o qual ramo tanto que é visto dos cafres que por alli passam, fogem d'aquelle logar, como quem foge da morte, porque bem sabem já que alli está mina grossa, onde se os virem estar ou chegar, serão condemnados á morte, inda que se lhe não prove que levaram d'alli ouro. E a causa de todo este rigor é não querer o Manamotapa que saibam os portuguezes, que em suas terras ha tão grossas minas de ouro, por lhe não fazerem guerra, com a cobiça d'elle, e tomarem o reino.

Andando eu n'estas terras me affirmaram alguns homens, que tinham experiencia d'ellas, que era cousa mui averiguada fazer o sol n'ellas tanta impressão, com as influencias de seus raios, que além de as apurar e converter em ouro, fazia brotar o mesmo ouro fóra da terra com tanta força, como se fóra planta que quer nascer, e particularmente n'aquelles logares onde se cria na superficie da terra. O que se mostrava claramente onde havia minas grossas, porque alli se via a terra gretada em muitas partes, e nas aberturas que fazia se achavam lascas de ouro. Assim mais se achavam pedaços de ouro sobre a terra descobertos em paragens mui seguidas e trilhadas, onde se via que brotava fóra nos taes logares, e em se descobrindo era logo achado. E para prova d'isto me trouxeram uma historia de um vaqueiro, que indo um dia para entrar no curral, onde cada noite recolhia suas vaccas, dera uma topada com o pé em uma pedra, cousa que muito extranhou, por não haver pedras n'aquelle logar, e levantando-a para a lançar fóra do curral, e achando-a muito pezada, a esfregou e limpou da immundicie das vaccas, para vêr o que era, e achou ser ouro mociço, e teria mais de mil cruzados de pezo. Este ouro se acha de muitas feições, a saber, em pó meudo como areia ; em grãos como contas meudas e grossas ; em lascas, umas tão mociças, que parecem fundidas, outras feitas em raminhos, com muitos esgalhos, outras envoltas e misturadas com a terra, e sacudindo-lh'a, ou lavando-lh'a, ficam vãs por dentro, como favo de mel, ou como borra de ferro, que sahe da fornalha do ferreiro, cujos vãos, e buracos estão cheios de terra vermelha, que ainda não está convertida em ouro, mas bem mostra na sua

côr que tambem se ha de converter n'elle. Tambem se tira ouro de pedras, a que chamam ouro de matûca, como já dissemos que se tirava no reino de Manica. De todas estas sortes de ouro, o de lascas feitas em raminhos, ou esgalhos, esse é o mais fino, e de mais quilates, e o que chamam de matûca, é o mais baixo de todos, e de menos quilates.

#### CAPITULO XIV.

Das minas de prata da Chicôva, e de como Francisco Barreto foi a ellas, e da guerra que os cafres lhe fizeram, e morte de duzentos portuguezes.

Nas terras que confinam com o reino do Manamotapa pelo sertão dentro da parte do Nordeste, está o reino da Chicôva, mui nomeado pelas grossas minas que tem de fina prata, e corre ao longo do rio Zambeze. Depois que o governador Francisco Barreto foi a Sofala conquistar as minas do ouro da Manica, como atraz fica dito, passou d'alli com sua gente aos rios de Cuama, para conquistar tambem as minas de prata da Chicôva: e querendo pôr em effeito sua determinação, partiu de Sena pelo rio acima, e no caminho pelejou com o Mongâs, abaixo das serras de Lupata, e o venceu, como tambem fica dito; e d'aqui foi passando por todas as mais terras, e reinos, que estão ao longo d'este rio, sem haver quem lhe fizesse aggravo algum. E posto que muitos cafres desejaram impedir-lhe a passagem por suas terras, comtudo nenhum d'elles ousou fazel-o sabendo que tinha vencido e desbaratado em batalha campal o Mongâs, a quem elles tinham por mui exforçado e senhor da melhor gente, que havia em todo este rio, e por isso o deixaram passar, fugindo dos logares e povoações em que moravam, com os mantimentos que tinham, embrenhando-se pelos matos, onde estiveram escondidos até passar Francisco Barreto com a soldadesca que levava; e d'esta maneira foi seguramente, ora navegando pelo rio acima, ora caminhando por terra, até chegar ao reino da Chicôva, onde assentou seu arraial, e logo pretendeu descobrir as minas de prata; mas não veiu a effeito o descobrimento d'ellas, por não haver cafre algum, que ousasse dizer o logar certo, onde estavam, porque tinham grandissimo medo que os portuguezes depois que as achassem lhe tomassem as terras, e os lançassem fóra d'ellas; e por esse respeito fugiram todos n'este tempo, e desampararam a terra aos portuguezes; e

tambem porque não fossem tomados alguns d'elles, e obrigados por força, ou tormentos a descobrir o que tanto receiavam, posto que por isso houvesse grandes promessas, e dadivas, que o governador offerecia a quem quer que descobrisse as minas. Com tudo um cafre d'esta terra, movido pelo interesse que podia alcançar se as descobrisse, determinou mostrar-lhe algumas pedras de prata, arrancadas das proprias minas, e enterradas em outra parte, dizendo, e fingindo, que aquelle era o proprio lugar das minas. A qual determinação poz em effeito, e foi-se uma noite secretamente, onde sabia que estavam as minas, e arrancou duas pedras, de quatro ou cinco arrateis cada uma, e as foi enterrar muito longe das minas, cada pedra em seu lugar distante uma da outra duas ou tres braças; e depois de ter esta maranha feita, foi-se ao governador uma tarde, já quasi sol posto, e disse-lhe que elle lhe queria descobrir as minas de prata em segredo, que o não soubesse o seu rei, por lhe não fazer mal, com tal condição que lhe havia de dar por isso certa quantidade de roupas e contas. O governador lhe prometeu tudo o que pedia com muito gosto, e logo lhe mandou dar alguns pannos para o contentar, e juntamente mandou ajuntar uma companhia de soldados, e foi-se com elles e com o mesmo cafre ao lugar em que tinha enterrado as pedras, no qual disse o cafre que cavassem, porque aquellas eram as minas de prata, o que logo foi feito com grande alvoroço. E depois de terem cavado grande pedaço de terra, foram descobrindo as pedras, com cuja vista houve grandissima festa e alegria em todos os portuguezes da conquista, e as trombetas e tambores do arraial ajudaram a festejar este descobrimento. E porque era já quasi noite, disse o cafre ao governador que se queria recolher a sua casa, e posto que as minas estavam alli já descobertas, elle tornaria pela manhã cedo. O governador o deixou ir, cuidando que o tinha seguro pela roupa que havia tornar a buscar, além da que tinha já recebido, com a qual se foi, e não tornou mais. No dia seguinte, vendo o governador que não tornara o cafre, mandou cavar no mesmo lugar, onde se acharam as duas pedras, e toda aquella terra circumstante, sem achar mais signal de minas; então cahiu no engano do cafre. E vendo que não tinha remedio para descobrir as minas que desejava, e que todos os cafres d'aquellas terras eram fugidos com os mantimentos que tinham, e elle não podia deter-se alli muitos dias pela falta d'elles, tornou-se pelo rio abaixo até Sena, deixando

duzentos soldados com seu capitão, chamado Antonio Cardoso d'Almeida, n'aquelle logar, providos de alguns mantimentos e armas, e fortalecidos em uma trincheira de madeira, para d'alli se informarem de vagar da terra, e verem se podiam descobrir as ditas minas.

N'este logar estiveram os soldados alguns mezes, sem haver quem lhe descobrisse o que desejavam, nem quem lhe desse por seu dinheiro os mantimentos que lhe eram necessarios; pelo que lhe foi forçado tomal-os aos cafres por força d'armas, e fizeram algumas sahidas pelas terras circumstantes, onde tomaram muitos mantimentos e vaccas, de que se sustentavam. Vendo os cafres que não podiam viver quietos, nem seguros, tendo os portuguezes por contrarios, e tão visinhos, pretenderam fazer pazes com elles e communicar-os amigavelmente, com intento de os assegurar em sua amisade, para depois os matarem por engano, como fizeram; assim que correndo com elles algum tempo n'esta fingida amisade, no fim d'elle lhe vieram a dizer, que pois eram seus amigos lhe queriam descobrir onde estavam as minas de prata que tanto desejavam: do que os nossos ficaram mui alegres, tendo por bem empregados os trabalhos e fomes que tinham passado á conta de descobrirem estas minas. Assentado o dia em que haviam de ir a este descobrimento (ficando no forte quarenta homens para sua guarda,) os mais, que n'este tempo eram cento e cincoenta, sahiram com suas armas para acompanharem os cafres até á serra das minas, que elles fingiam estar d'alli uma legua; e d'este modo todos juntos foram caminhando até entrarem por uns mattos cerrados, onde estavam em cilada embrenhados tres mil cafres armados, e tanto que os nossos foram entrando n'este passo, sahiram os cafres com grande impeto, e deram sobre elles ferindo e matando quantos podiam; e posto que os portuguezes mataram muitos d'elles, comtudo como estivessem cercados de matto e de todas as partes fossem accommettidos dos inimigos, e não podessem pelejar com ordem, foram alli mortos quasi todos, e mui poucos escaparam, que fugiram para o forte onde os cafres lhe pozeram cerco, determinando matal-os á fome; e assim estiveram cercados alguns mezes, padecendo grandes fomes, e vendo que de todo pereciam, sem esperança de soccorro, determinaram sahir fóra, e tomar alguns mantimentos por força de armas, ou morrer como cavalleiros, e não cercados como ovelhas. Esta determinação pozeram em effeito, dando sobre os cafres com tanto impeto,

que os pozeram em fugida com morte de muitos, mas quando se quizeram recolher, foram os cafres crescendo, e juntaram-se de todas as partes em tanta quantidade, que vindo em seu alcance os mataram todos, sem escapar um só d'elles e d'esta maneira morreram, vendendo suas vidas a troco de muitas que tiraram a seus inimigos. O governador mandou fundir as pedras de prata, e sahiram na fundição tres partes de fina prata, e uma só de escoria, d'onde se collige que são estas as mais ricas minas, e da mais fina prata, que até hoje se sabem. D'estas minas de prata e ouro, ha muitas n'esta Ethiopia Oriental, como são as do reino do Gorâge, e as do reino de Conche, que viu o Patriarcha de Alexandria Dom João Bermudez, como elle refere no livro que fez do Preste João, e outras muitas.

Além d'estas minas de prata e ouro, tambem ha por estas terras do Mocaranga muito ferro, e tão bom, que alguns portuguezes o levam d'aqui para a India, para d'elle fazerem espingardas; tambem ha muito cobre. Os quaes metaes tiram os cafres da terra e os fundem, e do ferro fazem enxadas, frechas, ferros de azagaias, espadas, machadinhas, e a mais ferramenta que lhe é necessaria; e do cobre fazem manilhas, de que usam nas pernas e nos braços, assim homens como mulheres.

## CAPITULO XV.

Do Manamotapa, e de suas insignias reaes, e dos reinos que ha do Cabo das Correntes até Moçambique.

Já temos dito como o Manamotapa foi antigamente um rei muito mais poderoso, antes que se lhe levantassem os estados do Quiteve, Chicanga e Sedanda; e posto que ainda hoje seja grande senhor, nem por isso tem outros reis por seus vassallos e tributarios, salvo se são alguns senhores grandes de seu reino, que são como os senhores de titulo em Portugal, que tem terras e vassallos, a que os cafres não chamam reis, senão Encosses ou Fumos. Pelo que se enganaram certos auctores em algumas cousas que escreveram do sitio d'estas terras, e costumes do Manamotapa, como foi João Botero, italiano,\* na relação universal que fez de Africa, e Luiz de Guzman;† os quaes n'esta descripção seguem

\* Botero, 1. p. lib. 5.

† Guzm. 1. p. lib. 3 das Missões.

em tudo a Osorio e outros, que primeiro escreveram estas cousas ; o que deviam fazer por informações pouco certas, porque a saberem a verdade dos costumes d'este rei, não disseram que os mais reis de toda esta costa pagavam tributo ao Manamotapa, e que os filhos d'estes mesmos reis se criavam, e residiam em sua côrte, para alli aprenderem as leis e costumes do seu reino, havendo muita certeza do contrario ; porque primeiramente o reino do Manamotapa não corre ao longo da costa, antes está mettido pela terra dentro no meio da cafraria, e sómente vem sahir n'esta costa com uma ponta de terra, como já dissemos, ficando esta fralda do mar tão remota de sua côrte, que até os mesmos seus vassallos, que n'ella moram, lhe não obedecem, e vivem quasi como gente sem rei. Tambem se vê claramente a incerta informação que teve o dito Luiz de Guzman,\* na descripção e divisão que faz da Ethiopia, dizendo que o reino de Inhambane está situado na Ethiopia Occidental, junto com o reino do Manamotapa, e que ambos estão juntos entre Sofala e Moçambique ; não advertindo que estes reinos ambos estão na Ethiopia Oriental, como refere Osorio,† e mui distantes um do outro, porque o reino de Inhambane fica junto do Cabo das Correntes para a banda do Cabo da Boa Esperança, e do rio de Inhambane para a banda da India vae correndo outro reino chamado Botonga, e acaba junto do rio de Sabia, de que é rei o Sedanda, cujo reino vem correndo até perto de Sofala, e em Sofala se começa o reino do Quiteve, e chega até o rio de Tendancûlo, e d'aqui corre o reino de Manamotapa até o rio de Luâbo ; e d'este rio de Luâbo até Moçambique são cento e trinta legoas ao longo da costa. Nas quaes terras ha muitos reis de diferentes castas e nações de cafres ; e nenhum d'estes nem dos mais que nomeamos paga tributo, nem vassallagem ao Manamotapa, antes todos são livres e supremos, e alguns d'elles tem guerra com o mesmo Manamotapa, como já dissemos. D'onde fica claro não estarem os reinos de Inhambane e o do Manamotapa juntos entre Sofala e Moçambique, senão mui distantes e apartados um do outro ; nem menos estes reis serem vassallos do Manamotapa, nem lhe pagarem tributo, nem menos andarem seus filhos na sua côrte. E se em algum tempo foi alguma cousa d'estas (no que ponho muita duvida) hoje nem memoria d'isso

\* Lib. 3. c. 13.

† Lib. 4. de reb. gest. Emman.



ha, antes a gente do serviço do Manamotapa é mui limitada, e de pouco fausto, e trata-se do modo que o Quiteve, rei do rio de Sofala, como atraz fica dito, onde se póde vêr.

Tambem Fellipo Pigafetta, italiano, escrevendo da costa do cabo da Boa Esperança até o mar Roxo, por informação de um portuguez, que andou em Congo, chamado Duarte Lopez, faz uma discripção das terras e cousas d'esta Ethiopia, na qual troca uns rios por outros, e reinos por reinos, pondo tudo fóra de seu lugar, e acrescentando outras muitas cousas que não ha nas ditas terras. E particularmente fallando do reino do Manamotapa, diz que vivem n'elle as Amazonas, de que faz um grande discurso, não havendo taes mulheres n'estas terras, nem memoria do que diz. Por onde claramente se vê a incerta informação com que se poz a escrever as taes cousas.

Dizem mais estes auctores, que as insignias de que usa o Manamotapa são uma enxada de ouro, com cabo de marfim, em signal de ser cultivador das terras, e duas settas, para manifestar o rigor de sua justiça, e para ser timido, e que sempre anda acompanhado de gente de guerra. Mas em tudo se enganaram. E quanto aos cafres andarem com arcos e frechas, é tão ordinario n'elles, como a espada na cinta dos portuguezes, e nenhum cafre sahe fóra de casa sem estas armas, e da mesma maneira quando o Manamotapa vae fóra, leva na mão um arco e frechas; e o mesmo fazem os cafres que o acompanham, conforme a seu costume, e não como gente de guerra. Diante d'elle vae um cafre batendo com a mão em uma caixa, para que se saiba que detraz d'elle vae o rei. Quando o Manamotapa não leva seu arco, leva-lh'o outro cafre, que tem esse officio, a que chamam Mafocarira, que é como moço da camara, e o rei leva na mão uma azagaia de páo preto, com a ponta de ouro mociço, ao modo de ferro de lança, ou tres pedaços de páo de obra de um covado, lavrados e delgados, a que chamam fimbos. E quando falla com algum cafre, e o quer matar, deixa cahir da mão um d'estes tres fimbos, e os seus algozes, chamados Infices, que estão presentes, o levam e matam com azagaia; e assim morrem todos os condemnados, porque n'esta terra não ha forca.

O Manamotapa tem muitas mulheres, e a principal, a que elle muito quer, chamada Mazarira, é sua irmã inteira, e mui amiga dos portuguezes, e os deffende, e falla por elles a el-rei, e por essa razão quando dão a curva a el-rei, tambem dão a esta

mulher seu presente de roupas. Ninguem falla com el-rei ou com esta sua mulher, sem lhe levar alguma cousa. Os portuguezes lhe levam roupas; os cafres uma vacca, ou cabra, ou alguns pannos. E quando são tão pobres que não teem que lhe dar, levam-lhe um sacco de terra, em reconhecimento de vassalagem, ou um feixe de palha, para cobrir suas casas, porque todas as que ha n'esta Cafraria, são cobertas d'ella.

O Manamotapa, que agora reina, se chama Mambo; seus vassallos, quando querem affirmar alguma cousa, juram por sua vida dizendo Xé Mambo: e quando fallam com elle, dizem Xédico, como quem diz vossa alteza tal couza. Aos filhos do rei chamam Manambo.

Este Manamotapa deu entrada aos nossos religiosos em seus reinos e deu licença para fazerem egrejas, e christandade n'elles, como hoje fazem; e tem já edificado tres egrejas nos logares principaes do seu reino, s. em Massapa, Luanze, Bucutu, nos quaes moram muitos portuguezes; e esperamos em Deus que vá esta christandade de bem em melhor, e que façam os nossos religiosos d'este reino muito fructo nas almas.

## CAPITULO XVI.

De outros costumes e insignias do Manamotapa, e de seus vassallos.

O Manamotapa, e todos seus vassallos são Mocarangas, nome que teem por habitar as terras do Mocaranga, e fallarem a lingua-gem, chamada Mocaranga, a qual é a melhor e a mais polida de todas as linguas de cafres que tenho visto n'esta Ethiopia, porque tem mais brandura, melhor modo de fallar; e assim como os mouros de Africa, e de Arabia fallam de papo, que parece que vomitam, e arrancam as palavras da garganta, assim pelo contrario estes mocarangas fallam e pronunciam as palavras com a ponta da lingua e beicos, de tal maneira que muitos vocabulos dizem quasi assobiando, no que tem muita graça, como eu vi algumas vezes fallar os cafres da côrte do Quiteve, e do Manamotapa, onde se falla o mocaranga mais polidamente. O seu modo de fallar é por metáforas, e comparações mui proprias, e trazidas a proposito, para seu proposito e interesse, em que todo o seu intento se resolve.

O Manamotapa e os mocarangas seus vassallos trazem na testa

um buzio branco, como joia, pendurado dos cabellos, e o Manamotapa traz outro buzio grande sobre o peito. A estes buzios chamam andoros, os quaes são mui odiosos ao Quiteve por serem divisa do Manamotapa seu inimigo, e assim nem o Quiteve nem seus vassallos trazem andoro, posto que todos sejam mocarangas. Nenhum cafre corta o cabello da barba, nem da cabeça; e comtudo muito poucos ha que tenham barba comprida, porque lhe cresce pouco o cabello, e não se lhe faz branco senão depois de muita idade. O commum d'estes cafres, é viverem noventa e cem annos. São agoureiros, e lançam sortes para adivinhar, e muitas vezes falla n'elles o diabo, mentindo-lhe ordinariamente, como é seu costume; mas nem isso é bastante para deixarem de se fiar d'elle, dando credito a suas mentiras.

D'este Manamotapa se conta, que tem uma casa onde manda pendurar alguns homens mortos, dos que manda matar por justiça, e assim pendurados estão estilando, e lançando de si toda a humidade que tem, em um vaso, que lhe põe debaixo; e depois que se estilam alli todos, e ficam seccos e mirrados, os manda tirar e enterrar, e d'aquella gordura e humidade que fica nos vasos, dizem que faz unguentos, com que se unta, assim para viver muito (como elle cuida) como para lhe não poderem fazer mal os feiteiros. Outros dizem que faz feitiços d'aquella humidade.

D'estas superstições e abusos tem muitos. D. Jorge de Menezes, sendo capitão de Moçambique, mandou ao Manamotapa um libreu muito formoso, que lhe tinha ido de Portugal, o qual o Manamotapa estimava tanto, que sempre o tinha junto comsigo, sem fiar o tratamento d'elle mais que de sua propria pessoa. D'ahi a poucos tempos morreu este rei, e antes que morresse mandou aos seus, como em testamento, que logo em elle acabando de expirar, lhe matassem o seu libreu, a quem queria muito, e a um carneiro muito manso que tinha creado á sua mão, porque se queria lá no outro mundo servir d'elles e tel-os lá para seu gosto e passatempo. O que tudo se cumpriu tanto que o rei morreu, juntamente com sua mulher grande, que tambem bebeu a peçonha para morrer com seu marido, como é seu costume.

Os chinas tem o mesmo erro que estes cafres em seus enterramentos, segundo refere o padre Mendoça, religioso de S. Agostinho, no livro que fez da China, dizendo que os homens nobres quando morrem, mandam matar as mulheres e creados que tem mais estimados n'esta vida, para que os vão servir na outra, onde

creem que hão de viver eternamente em gostos e passatempos, sem tornar a morrer. E por esta causa os taes creados e mulheres não recusam a morte que lhe dão, antes folgam com ella.

Os mais costumes d'este Manamotapa, assim de suas mulheres, officiaes, serviço, trato e leis como de outras particularidades tocantes a seu governo e modo de viver e de seus vassallos, são mui semelhantes, e quasi os mesmos que tenho apontado do Qui-teve, rei de Sofala, no primeiro livro, do quinto capitulo até o dezeseis, que aqui não repito, por abreviar, onde se poderá vêr tudo o mais que podiamos agora dizer do Manamotapa.

## CAPITULO XVII.

Dos cafres visinhos de Tete, e dos Mumbos, que comem gente.

Ao redor do forte de Tete, duas ou tres legoas em circuito, estão onze povoações de cafres, em cada uma das quaes reside um capitão, e governador cafre da mesma nação, a que chamam Encosse. Todos estes cafres são sugeitos, e vassallos do capitão de Tete, e a elle vem com suas demandas e trapassas, as quaes elle julga, e sentença, quando o seu Encosse lh'as não pode julgar, ou concertar. A jurisdicção do capitão de Tete é tanta sobre estes cafres, que até sobre os mesmos Encosses a tem, e os pode tirar do cargo quando fazem o que não devem. E quando algum d'elles morre, põe outro de sua mão, quem lhe parece que o pode bem fazer, sem haver contradicção dos cafres, que hão de ser seus subditos. Quando o capitão de Tete tem necessidade d'estes cafres, ou para alguma guerra, ou para serviço do forte, ou qualquer obra necessaria para o bem commum de sua jurisdicção, manda recado a todos estes onze Encosses; os quaes logo vem com sua gente armada de arcos, frechas, azagaias, machados, enxadas, e todo o mais necessario, conforme ao negocio para que são chamados, e postos em ordem, cada capitão com sua gente, tambores, buzinas e bandeiras, entram na povoação de Tete, e apresentam-se ao capitão do forte, entre os quaes se ajuntaram mais de dois mil cafres de peleja, gente mui exforçada e bellicosa. E esta tem o capitão de Tete sempre certa, quando lhe é necessaria para algum successo.

Estes cafres, e outros muitos, que habitam ao longo d'este rio Zambeze, foram antigamente senhoreados pelo Manamotapa,

vindo com guerra sobre elles, os quaes depois de conquistados, por estarem muito longe do seu imperio, repartiu por alguns cafres seus vassallos, e amigos, para os senhorearem e governarem; e n'esta repartição deu o governo e jurisdicção d'estes onze logares ao capitão de Tete, que então era, e a todos os mais que lhe succedessem na capitania, e de então para cá, tem estes cafres tanta obediencia aos capitães de Tete, como se foram seus reis, e assim nenhuma cousa fazem em suas terras sem sua licença, como é semear as terras, ou colher as searas d'ellas, e quando lhe vão pedir licença para fazer alguma d'estas cousas, vae o Encosse do lugar que pedem a licença acompanhado de alguns cafres, e leva um presente ao capitão, e sem elle nunca lhe pede cousa alguma.

Defronte de Tete, da outra parte do rio pela terra dentro, que corre para o Nordeste e Leste, ha duas castas de cafres, que comem carne humana, uns se chamam Mumbos, e outros Zimbas, ou Muzimbas; os quaes não sómente comem toda a gente que matam em guerra, mas tambem comem seus captivos quando são já velhos, e não prestam para trabalhar; e não se contentam com comerem o que hão mister para sua sustentação, mas o que lhe sobeja vendem no açougue, como se fôra carne de vacca, ou carneiro, sem haver quem lh'o estranhe, nem defenda!

Sucedeu um anno, que um capitão de Tete passou o rio da outra banda em companhia dos portuguezes, que havia na terra, levando juntamente comsigo os onze Encosses vassallos do forte, e todos juntos foram caminhando até um lugar chamado Chicarongo, que está dez legoas de Tete; e o intento d'este caminho foi soccorrer a um cafre nosso amigo, contra outro cafre mumbo, chamado Quizura, o qual lhe viera fazer guerra, e lhe tinha destruido grande parte das suas terras, e estava fortalecido no dito lugar de Chicarongo, no qual lhe tinha captivos muitos vassallos.

Tanto que os portuguezes chegaram a este lugar com a mais gente de guerra, deram logo Santiago nos Mumbos, e depois de haver uma mui travada briga d'ambas as partes, mataram os inimigos todos, sem ficar um só, de seiscentos homens de peleja, que eram, mui exforçados. A qual victoria alcançada, o capitão de Tete entregou a terra outra vez a seu dono, que presente se achou na mesma briga; e depois de descancar alli alguns dias, se tornou com suá gente para Tete, trazendo captivos todos os inimi-

gos, e mulheres, que se acharam dentro no logar. N'esta povoação tinham estes Mumbos feito um açougue, onde matavam cada dia d'aquella gente, que tinham captiva, junto do qual acharam os portuguezes muitos negros e negras, atados todos de pés e mãos, que estavam já destinados para se matarem, e comerem aquelle dia, os quaes soltaram e pozeram em sua liberdade, e outros muitos que tambem acharam presos para o mesmo effeito. Este ladrão Quizura tinha todo o chão da porta da cerca, ou pateo, que entrava para sua casa, calçado de cabeças de homens, que tinha morto n'aquella guerra, e todos quantos entravam em sua casa, ou sahiam, passavam por cima d'esta calçada de caveiras, e elle tinha isto por grande magestade; mas os portuguezes, que pelejaram com elle, lhe deram o pago de tão grande crueldade, tirando-lhe a vida e a todos os seus.

Estes cafres vassallos de Tete são facilissimos para a guerra, e se fóra em sua mão, sempre andaram n'ella, por respeito das presas que d'ella trazem, e dizem que antes querem pelejar, que cavar, porque os que morrem na guerra acabam seus trabalhos, e os que vivem ficam ricos de despojos. Pela qual causa todas as vezes que o capitão de Tete os chama para alguma guerra, logo vem muito contentes. Quando eu estava em Tete, fiz com o capitão, que então era Pero Fernandez de Chaves, que fizesse umas portas para a egreja, que estava sem ellas, para as quaes eram necessarias mui grandes e grossas taboas, por ser o portal mui grande; e o capitão não tendo taboado, nem páos para as fazer, fingiu que queria fazer uma guerra a certos cafres, que tinham feito alguns aggravos ao forte de Tete, e mandou um recado aos onze Encosses seus vassallos, que viessem com sua gente para esta guerra, os quaes logo vieram. E depois que o capitão os teve todos juntos, sahiu fóra de Tete com elles, e com alguns portuguezes, que sabiam a maranha, e caminharam obra de meia legoa, até uns matos, onde ha grossa madeira, e alli assentou seu arraial, e tomou conselho com os Encosses, e com os portuguezes, e disse-lhe que seria mais acertado, e melhor conselho, deixar aquella guerra para outro tempo, por certas causas que para isso apontou. A qual determinação pareceu bem a todos, posto que os cafres ficaram mui pesarosos de se não fazer a guerra, pelo interesse que d'ella esperavam. Depois d'isto disse o capitão aos Encosses, que pois alli estavam n'aquelle mato, cada um d'elles com sua gente cortasse um par de páos

muito grossos, e os levasse a Tete, o que elles fizeram. E d'esta maneira se fizeram as portas da egreja. Esta historia contei para mostrar a facilidade que estes cafres tem em se ajuntarem para a guerra.

### CAPITULO XVIII.

De uma guerra que tiveram os portuguezes com os Muzimbas, e do ruim successo d'ella.

Defronte do forte de Sena, da outra banda do rio, moram alguns cafres, senhores d'aquellas terras, bons vizinhos e amigos dos portuguezes, e sempre lhe foram mui leaes. Succedeu no tempo que eu alli estava, que os cafres Muzimbas, de que atraz fiz menção, que comem carne humana, vieram com guerra sobre as terras d'um cafre d'estes nossos amigos, e por força de armas lhe tomaram o logar em que morava, e muita parte das ditas suas terras, e além d'isso lhe mataram e comeram muita gente. Vendo-se o cafre desbaratado, e impossibilitado se foi a Sena manifestar seus trabalhos, e pedir soccorro ao capitão, que então era André de Santiago, para o ajudar a lançar fóra de sua casa o inimigo, que estava apossado d'ella. O qual vista sua piedosa petição, determinou de o soccorrer, assim por elle ser muito nosso amigo, como por não termos tão perto de Sena um vizinho tão máo, como era o Muzimba. Pelo que juntas todas as cousas, que eram necessarias para esta guerra, se partiu, levando comsigo muita parte dos portuguezes de Sena, com suas espingardas, e dois berços grandes do forte. E chegados ao logar onde os Muzimbas estavam, o acharam mui fortificado com uma cerca em roda de madeira dobrada mui forte, com seus revezes e seteiras, e cercado de uma cava muito funda e larga, e os inimigos dentro mui soberbos. Vendo André de Santiago, que a empreza era muito maior do que elle cuidava, e que trazia pouca gente para commetter tal inimigo, e sua fortaleza, assentou seu arraial ao longo de uma ribeira, que está junto do logar, e mandou recado ao capitão de Tete, Pero Fernandes de Chaves, que o viesse ajudar com os portuguezes de Tete, e com os cafres que podesse trazer vassallos do seu forte.

Pero Fernandes de Chaves se fez logo prestes para ir soccorrer a André de Santiago, e ajuntou mais de cem homens espingardeiros, entre portuguezes e mistiços, e os onze Encosses seus vassal-

los. E passados todos da outra banda do rio, foram caminhando por terra até chegarem perto do lugar em que estavam fortes os Muzimbas; os quaes tiveram noticia da sua vinda, e temeram muito sua chegada. Pelo que mandaram logo algumas espias secretamente ao caminho, para que quando chegassem tomassem vista d'elles, e trouxessem recado da gente que vinha. E sabendo das mesmas espias, que os portuguezes vinham diante do arraial dos cafres em machiras e andores, e sem ordem alguma de pelega, sahiram de noite de sua fortaleza secretamente, sem serem sentidos de André de Santiago, e foram-se embrenhar em um mato espesso, que estava d'ahi meia legoa, por onde a gente de Tete havia de passar. Estando d'esta maneira, chegaram os portuguezes, que vinham quasi meia legoa sempre diante dos cafres de sua companhia, bem descuidados do que lhe podia succeder n'aquelles matos; e assim como vinham foram entrando por elles, e não eram bem entrados, quando lhe sahiram os Muzimbas ao encontro, e subitamente deram n'elles com tanto impeto, que em breve tempo os mataram todos, sem ficar um só vivo, e depois de mortos lhe cortaram as pernas e os braços, e os levaram ás costas com todo o fato, e armas que traziam consigo, e logo se tornaram secretamente para a sua fortaleza. Quando os Encosses chegaram ao mato, e viram todos os portuguezes, e seu capitão mortos, d'aquelle mesmo lugar deram volta e se tornaram para Tete, onde contaram o lastimoso caso, que tinha succedido.

N'este tempo que se ordenou esta guerra andava em Tete pregando um padre de S. Domingos chamado Frei Nicolau do Rosario, natural do Pedrogão, varão prefeito em muitas virtudes, ao qual o capitão Pero Fernandes, e os portuguezes de Tete pediram muito quizesse acompanhal-os n'esta jornada, para confessar e sacramentar os que d'isso tivessem necessidade. O que o padre acceitou, parecendo-lhe que n'isso fazia serviço a Nosso Senhor, e amizade aos portuguezes, e finalmente foi com elles, e n'esta cilada o feriram muito mal, e o prenderam, e levaram consigo ainda vivo, para depois lhe darem mais cruel morte, como deram, porque chegando ao forte o ataram de pés e mãos a uma arvore, onde o assetearam, e acabaram de matar cruelmentê; o que lhe fizeram a elle mais em particular, que aos outros, por ser padre, e cabeça dos christãos, como lhe elles chamam, dando-lhe a culpa de toda esta guerra, dizendo que os



christãos nenhuma cousa fazem sem licença e conselho do seu Cacic. E d'esta maneira acabou este padre com grande constancia, pregando sempre em voz alta, e confessando a fé de Christo, como em outra parte mais largamente contarei.

Estes Zimbas, ou Muzimbas, não adoram idolos, nem conhecem a Deus, mas em seu logar veneram e honram ao seu rei, ao qual teem por cousa divina, e dizem que é o maior e melhor do mundo. E o mesmo rei, diz de si, que elle só é Deus da terra; pelo que se chove quando elle não quer, ou faz muita calma, atira com setas ao ceo, porque lhe não obedece. E posto que todos estes comem gente, o rei sómente a não come, por se não parecer com seus vassallos. Todos estes cafres pela maior parte são altos de corpo, membrudos, e muito robustos. As armas que trazem são machadinhas, frechas, e azagaias, e umas rodellas grandes, com que se cobrem todos, de páo muito leve, forradas de pelles de animaes silvestres, que elles matam e comem. Tem de costume comer a gente que matam em guerra, e beber pelas caveiras, mostrando-se n'isso fanfarrões e ferozes. Se alguns cafres de sua companhia adoecem ou ficam mal feridos da guerra, por não terem trabalho de os curar, os acabam de matar, e os comem. Outras muitas brutalidades tem semelhantes a estas, que deixo por abreviar.

## CAPITULO XIX.

Da morte de André de Santiago, capitão de Sena, e seus companheiros, e do que succedeu a D. Pedro de Sousa, com os Zimbas.

Depois que os zimbas mataram ao P. Francisco Nicolau, descançaram aquella tarde que lhe restava d'este triste dia, e a noite seguinte festejando sua victoria e bom successo, com muitas cornetas e tambores, e ao outro dia rompendo a manhã sahiram todos da fortaleza, o capitão vestido na casula, que o padre levava para dizer missa e com o calix dourado na mão esquerda, e uma azagaia na direita, e todos os mais zimbas com os quartos dos portuguezes ás costas, e com a cabeça do capitão de Tete espetada na ponta de uma lança comprida, e tangendo em o tambor que lhe tinham tomado, e d'esta maneira com grandes gritos e alaridos, vieram dar uma vista e mostra de todas estas cousas a André de Santiago, e aos portuguezes que com elle estavam, e logo se tornaram a recolher para dentro, dizendo que o mesmo lhe

haviam de fazer a elles, que tinham feito aos de Tete, que vinham para os ajudar, cuja carne era aquella, que logo haviam de comer. André de Santiago, que estava esperando por Pero Fernandes de Chaves com muito alvoroço, e não sabia cousa alguma do que tinha acontecido, ficou muito atemorizado, e todos os mais portuguezes que com elle estavam, vendo um tão horrendo e lastimoso espectáculo. Pelo que logo se determinaram de se ir, tanto que viesse a noite. E pondo em effeito sua determinação, foi tanta a pressa que tiveram de passar da outra banda da ribeira, que foram sentidos dos Muzimbas; os quaes sahindo de sua fortaleza com grande impeto, deram sobre elles, e alli na praia do rio mataram muitos, entre os quaes morreu tambem André de Santiago, como exforçado que era, porque podendo fugir o não fez, antes se deixou ficar pelejando, e defendendo seus companheiros na praia, onde primeiro que o matassem, tirou a vida a muitos Muzimbas. De maneira que estes ladrões e crueis Muzimbas mataram, assim da gente de Tete como de Sena, cento e trinta portuguezes e mestiços e os dois capitães d'estes fortes. O que fizeram com pouco custo seu, porque sempre tomaram os portuguezes desapercibidos, sem poderem pelejar, como manhosos que são. Isto foi no anno de 1592.

Mui sentida foi a morte do P. Fr. Nicolau, a quem todos tinham por santo, e a dos mais portuguezes, que tão desastradamente acabaram n'esta guerra; assim porque alguns d'elles eram casados e tinham suas mulheres e filhos n'estes rios, como pelos zimbas ficarem victoriosos e mais soberbos e fortalecidos junto de Sena, d'onde com mais atrevimento podiam fazer pelo tempo em diante muito damno aos portuguezes que navegam por estes rios com suas fazendas. Pelas quaes cousas D. Pedro de Sousa, capitão de Moçambique, determinou castigar estes zimbas, destruil-os e lançal-os da visinhança de Sena. E para isto passou de Moçambique aos rios de Cuama no anno seguinte de 1593, levando comsigo alguns soldados da dita fortaleza, com que chegou a Sena. E depois de se informar do estado em que os zimbas estavam, ordenou logo todas as cousas necessarias para esta guerra e ajuntou perto de duzentos portuguezes e mil e quinhentos cafres, e passando á outra banda do rio Zambeze foi marchando por terra até chegar á fortaleza dos zimbas, onde assentou um arraial no mesmo lugar em que d'antes o tivera André de Santiago, e d'aqui mandou bater o muro da fortaleza com algumas

peças de artilheria que levou comsigo para este effeito, mas nenhum damno lhe fez, porquanto era de madeira grossa e terrelanado pela parte de dentro de entulho mui largo e forte, que os zimbás fizeram com a terra que tinham tirado da cava.

Vendo D. Pedro que sua artilheria não fazia damno ao muro dos inimigos, determinou de os entrar e render á força de braço, e para isso mandou entulhar um pedaço da cava; o que fez com muito trabalho e perigo dos nossos, porque os zimbás de cima do muro frecharam e mataram alguns. Entulhado este pedaço de cava, passou muita gente por elle com machados nas mãos até o pé da tranqueira, e começando de cortar n'ella, foi tanto o azeite e agua fervendo que os zimbás lançaram de cima do muro sobre os que cortavam, que se escaldaram e pellaram quasi todos, e particularmente os cafres, que andavam nús, de maneira que não havia quem ousasse chegar ao pé da tranqueira, assim por medo do azeite fervendo, como de uns ganchos de ferro compridos, á moda de figas, que os zimbás lançavam pelas seteiras do muro fóra, e com elles feriam e aferravam em todos os que chegavam perto, e puxavam de dentro por elles com tanta força que os chegavam aos buracos das seteiras onde lhe davam feridas mortaes. Pela qual causa mandou o capitão que se recolhesse toda a gente ao arraial e descansasse, e todo aquelle dia se gastou em curar os feridos e escaldados.

O dia seguinte mandou o capitão colher muita madeira e verga de que se fizeram grandissimos cestos, tão altos, e mais que as tranqueiras dos inimigos, e mandou que os pozessem defronte dos muros e que os enchessem de terra, para que os soldados pelessem de cima d'elles com as espingardas, e os zimbás não ousassem andar por cima do muro, nem lançar azeite fervendo sobre os que cortassem a tranqueira. Estando este ardil de guerra já quasi ordenado, n'esse mesmo tempo se ordenou outro de paz ou covardia, da maneira seguinte. Havia dois mezes que esta guerra durava, pelo que os moradores d'estes rios, (que alli estavam mais por força que por sua vontade, por estarem fóra de suas casas e mercancias que é todo o seu trato, e não guerras) fingiram algumas cartas, como que lhe vieram de Sena, de suas mulheres, em que lhe davam conta do aperto em que estavam por causa d'um cafre levantado que diziam vinha com muita gente para roubar Sena, sabendo que os portuguezes não estavam n'ella, pelo que acudissem logo a suas casas. Esta maranha

fingida foi logo divulgada pelo arraial, e os moradores de Sena se foram ao capitão e lhe requereram que largasse o cerco dos zimbas e acudisse ao que mais importava, e senão que elles haviam de acudir a suas casas e deixal-o.

Vendo D. Pedro sua determinação e cuidando que as novas das cartas eram verdadeiras, largou o cerco e mandou passar a gente uma noite da outra banda da ribeira, para se tornar a Sena. Mas não se poude fazer esta mudança com tanto segredo que não fosse logo sentida pelos zimbas; os quaes sahindo da sua fortaleza com grande impeto e grita, deram sobre o arraial, onde mataram alguma gente que n'elle ainda estava, e tomaram a maior parte dos despojos e artilheria que ainda não estava recolhida.

Com este desbarato e desgosto se tornou o capitão para Sena, e d'ahi para Moçambique, sem fazer o que desejava, e o Zimba ficou melhorado e mais soberbo que d'antes, e com tudo isso depois commetteu pazes aos portuguezes de Sena, dizendo: que elle nunca quizera guerra com os portuguezes, antes desejara sempre sua amizade e commercio, mas que os portuguezes foram os que lhe fizeram a elle guerra injusta, sem lhe ter feito agravo algum, e que elle os matara em sua justa defensão, como era obrigado. Estas pazes cuidou que se lhe concederiam pelo bem que d'ellas vinham aos portuguezes d'este rio. N'este estado ficaram as cousas d'esta terra quando d'ella me parti para Moçambique.

## CAPITULO XX.

Do exercito dos zimbas, que foi destruindo e comendo grande parte da cafraria, e de como entrou na ilha de Quiloa, e a destruiu.

Um cafre muzimba, da nação d'aquelles de que fallei no capitulo passado, sendo senhor de uma pequena aldeia e de poucos vassallos, mas muito ambicioso de honras humanas, traçando em seu peito o modo que podia ter para ser grande senhor e nomeado pelo mundo, assentou que seria bom meio para este effeito sahir de suas terras com mão armada e destruir, roubar, e comer toda a cousa viva que achasse. Este seu diabolico intento declarou a seus vassallos e a outros muzimbas de sua nação; aos quaes não pareceu mal sua determinação, porque como elles ordinariamente são amigos de não trabalhar, e de

roubar e de comer carne humana, tinham alli occasião entre mãos para satisfazerem a sua cruel e depravada inclinação. Assentada pois, e concluida sua ida, sahiram de suas terras, e começaram logo a exercitar sua furia em seus visinhos, e foram por todos os logares e reinos da cafraria, caminhando sempre para o Levante; pelas quaes terras iam destruindo e roubando quanto achavam, matando e comendo toda a cousa viva, assim homens, mulheres e meninos, como gado, cães, gatos, ratos, cobras e lagartos, sem perdoarem a ninguem, salvo aos cafres que se vinham para elles e os queriam acompanhar n'esta empreza, os quaes admittiam a seu exercito. E d'esta maneira ajuntaram mais de quinze mil homens de guerra, com que foram assolando todas as terras por onde passavam, que parecia um cruel açoute, e castigo que Deus quiz dar a esta cafraria.

Chegados pois á ilha de Quiloa, que é povoada de mouros, e está junto da terra firme, vendo que a não podiam entrar por causa do mar, que a cercava, assentaram seu arraial na terra firme, defronte da ilha, tendo-a de cerco alguns mezes, e comendo-lhe todas as creações e sementeiras, que os mouros tinham na terra firme, de modo que nenhuma cousa d'ella lhe vinha para a ilha. N'este tempo um mouro da mesma ilha, movida da cubiça e ambição de honras, passou uma noite secretamente da ilha para a terra firme, onde estavam os muzimbas, por um passo que elle sabia muito bem, por onde se pode passar de maré vazia de aguas vivas, e chegando ao arraial disse aos cafres (que lhe sahiram ao encontro) que elle era da ilha, e queria fallar ao capitão mór d'aquelle exercito em cousas de muita importancia. E sendo por elles levado, e apresentado ao capitão, disse: Poderoso capitão, saberás que eu sou natural d'esta terra, e morador n'aquella ilha de Quiloa, que tens cercada; e sei de certo que muito cedo has de ser senhor d'ella, e castigar seu povo, por te não reconhecer por grande senhor como és, e obedecer como era razão. E eu conhecendo isto, venho agora dar-te a obediencia devida; e assim mais te quero metter dentro na ilha de Quiloa, com todo teu exercito, pelo passo por onde agora vim, que eu sei muito bem; com tal condição que has de perdoar a morte a meus parentes, que lá estão, e repartir commigo dos despojos e riquezas que tomares na ilha: e tambem me has de fazer mercê das terras, que eu n'ella te apontar, pois n'isso te vae pouco, e eu interesse muito. O Zimba lhe respondeu que era muito contente, e que

se elle o mettesse com sua gente na ilha como dizia, que lhe prometia de fazer tudo o que pedia. Pelo que postos em ordem de passar o váo, o mouro os encaminhou por elle, indo na dianteira, e mostrando-lhes o caminho. E assim chegaram todos á ilha depois da meia noite, onde tomaram todos os mouros, dormindo bem descuidados da traição que lhe tinham feito, e do que lhe podia succeder; dos quaes os muzimbas mataram logo a maior parte, sem haver resistencia alguma, e aos mais captivaram, e depois os foram comendo pouco a pouco emquanto alli estiveram; de modo que mataram e comeram mais de tres mil mouros e mouras que alli havia, entre as quaes eram muitas formosas e delicadas, e roubaram toda a cidade de Quiloa, em que acharam grandes despojos e riquezas, e sómente escaparam d'estes mouros os que tiveram tempo de fugir para os matos da mesma ilha, onde andaram embrenhados, até que os muzimbas se tornaram para a terra firme, e depois se vieram para a cidade, a qual antigamente foi mui nobre, e n'ella moravam os reis de toda esta costa; e ainda hoje se vê sua antiga nobreza nas ruinas das grandes e sumptuosas mesquitas, e aposentos que n'ella houve.

Depois que os muzimbas não tiveram que fazer na ilha, mandou o seu capitão que lhe chamassem o mouro que os metteu n'ella pelo váo, o qual ainda era vivo com toda sua geração, que o capitão mandou guardar, não querendo que fosse morto algum d'elles, como foram os demais. E tanto que os teve diante de si todos juntos, virou-se para o mouro e disse-lhe: Não quero nem sou contente, que tão má cousa como tu és, viva mais tempo, pois foste tão cruel, que por teu proprio interesse entregaste tua patria, e teus naturaes nas mãos de teus inimigos. E virando-se para os seus cafres, disse: Tomae este máo homem, e toda sua geração, que presente está, e atados de pés e mãos os lançae todos n'aquelle mar, para que os peixes os comam, porque não é bem que fique alguem vivo de tão má geração, nem quero que os comaes, porque sua carne deve ser peçonhenta. O qual mandado logo se poz em execução. Sentença certo não de barbaro, como este era, senão do homem prudente; e bem se vê n'ella com quanta razão disse Alexandre Magno, que folgava com as traições, que faziam os que lhe entregavam as cidades, mas que abominava os traidores. Concluida esta guerra de Quiloa, tornou-se o Muzimba da ilha para a terra firme, pelo mesmo passo por onde entrou guiado pelo mouro.

## CAPITULO XXI.

De como os zimbas entraram em Mombaça e a destruíram, e depois foram a Melinde, onde foram desbaratados.

Quiloa destruída tornou o Zimba a continuar seu caminho ao longo da costa, até chegar á terra firme que está defronte da ilha de Mombaça, na praia da qual assentou seu arraial, com determinação de entrar na ilha, como tinha feito na de Quiloa; mas não pôde logo fazer o que desejava, porque n'essa conjunção tinham entrado na mesma ilha quatro galés de turcos do Estreito de Meca, de que tratarei adiante mais largamente. Os quaes turcos lhe deffenderam a entrada da ilha, pelejando com elles muitas vezes, e matando lhe muita gente com sua artilheria, que jogava de duas galés, que tinham postas em um passo por onde o Zimba queria entrar. E n'esta briga foram continuando alguns dias, até que succedeu no mesmo tempo vir Thomé de Sousa, da India, com uma grossa armada contra estas mesmas galés; e achando-as n'este rio, pelejou com ellas, e as tomou com tudo que traziam, e captivou os turcos que n'ella estavam, e juntamente destruiu a ilha de Mombaça. O que tudo foi feito á vista dos Muzimbas, que estavam da outra banda, na terra firme, mui espantados de verem obrar tantas maravilhas aos portuguezes. Pelo que disse o capitão muzimba, que os portuguezes eram deuses do mar, e elle da terra. E logo mandou um embaixador a Thomé de Sousa, dizendo que elle era amigo dos portuguezes, e não queria guerra com elles; e pois tinha já acabada sua obra tão honradamente, que tambem elle queria concluir a sua, em que estava havia já dias, que era entrar na ilha e matar, e comer toda a cousa viva que n'ella achasse. O que logo poz em effeito por consentimento dos portuguezes. E entrando na ilha, buscou todos os palmares e matos, que n'ella havia, onde achou muitos mouros embrenhados, que tinham fugido da cidade, e matou e comeu todos os que pôde tomar. Isto feito tornou-se Thomé de Sousa com sua armada para a India victorioso (como adiante acabarei de contar) e o Zimba para a terra firme, e foi continuando seu caminho e marchando com seu exercito para Melinde.

El-rei de Melinde estava mui atemorizado com as novas que tinha da vinda dos muzimbas, sabendo a destruição que tinham feito em Quiloa e Mombaça; mas comtudo tinha grande confiança

no exorço de Matheus Mendes de Vasconcellos, capitão que então era d'esta costa, o qual n'aquelle tempo estava em Melinde com trinta portuguezes sómente, entre soldados e mercadores, os quaes estavam apostados a defender-lhe a cidade, até morrer na contenda. Chegando pois os Zimbas a Melinde com muita soberba e ousadia, como gente que até então nenhum medo tinha de nação alguma, commetteram a cidade com muito exorço. E posto que os nossos soldados matassem muitos á espingarda, elles com tudo isso não deixavam de entrar por algumas partes do muro, que era baixo, e estavam já quasi senhores de um baluarte, havendo briga mui travada de parte a parte. N'este tempo chegaram de soccorro a Melinde mais de tres mil cafres amigos d'el-rei chamados Mosseguejos. Os quaes sabendo o aperto em que el-rei de Melinde seu amigo estava com a vinda dos Muzimbas, o vinham soccorrer e ajudar.

Estes Mosseguejos são homens mui exorçados e amigos da guerra, dos quaes tratarei adiante mais largamente. Chegando pois a este tempo de combate, deram nas costas dos muzimbas com tanto animo e exorço, que em breve tempo os ajudaram a desbaratar e pôr em fugida. E como estes muzimbas eram estrangeiros, e tinham feito tantos males e mortes pelos caminhos e terras por onde foram, o mesmo lhe fizeram a elles em sua fugida, matando a todos por onde quer que os achavam, e sómente escaparam com vida o capitão d'elles e obra de cem homens, que tornaram a desandar o caminho por onde foram todos unidos em um corpo, sem se apartarem até chegarem outra vez a suas terras. De modo que n'esta cidade de Melinde com a ajuda dos Mosseguejos, se acabou o exercito dos muzimbas, que tinham sahido das terras que correm ao longo d'este rio de Sena e chegado até Melinde, que são quasi trezentas legoas de caminho, sem haver quem lhe resistisse, nem pelejasse com elles; antes lhe largavam as povoações e logares, por onde sabiam que vinha este cruel e carniceiro exercito.

Isto que tenho dito dos cafres, que habitam as terras d'este sertão, me parece que basta por agora. E pois entramos n'ellas pelo rio de Luabo, deserevendo suas particularidades, razão é que tambem desçamos pelo de Quelimane, até chegarmos á fralda do mar, e que digamos alguma cousa de seus habitadores, o que farei nos capitulos seguintes.



## CAPITULO XXII.

Dos rios de Quelimane e Loranga, e dos costumes dos seus habitadores.

Quelimane é um braço do rio Zambeze, formoso e aprazível, de pouco fundo, como já dissemos. Tem de largura na boca pouco mais d'uma legoa. A sua barra tem sómente tres braças d'agua, pela qual razão não pódem por ella entrar naus de alto bordo, e essa foi a causa porque n'ella se perdeu a nau S. Luiz, como adiante direi. A terra que corre ao longo d'elle é raza, sem outeiro algum. Da barra para dentro, obra de duas legoas, tem um porto bem assombrado de campo razo, no qual estão umas casas, palmar e horta, de um portuguez chamado Francisco Brochado, de quem já fallei atraz, que era capitão d'estes rios. Este porto é refugio de toda a gente que navega para este rio; porque n'estas casas acham gasalhado, os christãos graciosamente, e em particular os portuguezes, onde descançam, dormem e se recolhem das calmas, que n'estas terras são mui grandes. Perto d'estas casas está uma povoação pequena de cafres gentios e mouros pobres, que vivem aqui á sombra dos portuguezes, que vão e vem por este rio; onde os marinheiros (que ordinariamente são mouros) tambem acham abrigo e gasalhado, para se refazerem dos trabalhos do mar, e alguns d'elles tem alli suas mulheres.

Toda a demais terra pelo sertão dentro é povoada de cafres macûas, sugeitos a um cafre chamado Gallo, que tem nome de rei, mas seu reino é pequeno, de poucos vassallos, e menos sustancia. Este rei tinha um irmão chamado Sapata, o qual se tinha feito mouro quando alli fui ter, e por esta razão era malquisto e odioso a todos os cafres, porque ainda que estas terras estão inçadas de mouros, e vivem n'ellas como naturaes, quer Nosso Senhor que nenhum cafre se faça mouro, porque os tem em pouca conta e dizem que é gente baixa, e que mais honrados são elles que os mouros; e assim raramente se verá cafre que se torne mouro, nem eu o vi n'estas partes, fazendo-se cada dia christãos, aos quaes tem por gente nobre e honrada; e assim commummente chamam aos portuguezes Musungos, que quer dizer senhores. São pretos, de cabello revoltado, gentios, mas não adoram idolos; são amigos dos portuguezes e bem inclinados.

Com estes cafres confinam outros que habitam as terras que

correm ao longo de um rio chamado Loranga, cuja boca está a cinco legoas de Quelimane, mais para o Levante, indo correndo a costa para Moçambique. Este rio é muito aprazível e tem uma anciada e barra muito boa, onde os pangaios entram e sahem francamente, e n'ella ha muito peixe, o qual não é pescado dos naturaes da terra, porque não ousam sahir fóra do rio a pescal-o em suas almadias, que são pequenas, e sómente pescam em covões que armam no rio e nas esteiras que entram pela terra, onde tomam peixe meudo. Este territorio de Loranga é povoado de cafres macúas gentios, pretos de cabello crespo; os mais d'elles trazem cornos feitos do mesmo cabello, e muitos d'elles são pintados pelo corpo com ferro, e tem as queixadas furadas por galanteria, como os macúas de Moçambique, de que adiante fallarei mais largamente. Entre estes vivem alguns mouros pretos, os mais d'elles pobres, e quasi semelhantes aos cafres em seu modo de viver. Toda esta terra é sugeita a um cafre chamado Bano e a seus irmãos, que vivem n'ella repartidos em diversas aldeias. São todos commumente bem dispostos e bem inclinados. O seu principal trato e commercio, que tem com os portuguezes, é de marfim, arroz, milho, painço, inhames e outros muitos legumes, que esta terra cria em grande abundancia. Os portuguezes lhe levam pannos, estanho, e conças de varias côres, de barro vidrado, com que os cafres se vestem, e fazem galantes. As fazendas d'esta terra são cearas dos mantimentos que tenho dito, e estas grangeadas pelas mulheres, com tanto e mais cuidado que entre nós pelos homens, porque ellas roçam, cavam semeiam e colhem as novidades. Os homens passeiam, conversam, pescam e caçam, e levam boa vida, e d'aqui vem serem as mulheres d'esta terra escassas, e os homens liberaes. Ha n'esta terra palmares, de que os cafres não sabem tirar vinho, nem outro proveito, mais que os cocos para comerem. E posto que a terra é fertil, e de grandes pastos, tem pouca creação de gados, porque estes cafres são de pouco trabalho, e mais dados a bailes e festas, que a grangearias; contentam-se com o comer ordinario de arroz ou milho, e legumes. Tambem comem ratos, cobras, e lagartos, e zombam de quem os não come. Criam-se n'estas terras muitos tigres, onças, leões, elephantes, bufaros, merús, veados, gazellas, muitos gatos de algalia, infinitos bogios e monos, e os cafres caçam todos estes animaes, e comem-lhe a carne. Nos campos e matos ha muito mangericão, madre-silva, mosquetas e jasmims de suave cheiro.

Estes cafres no que toca a religião adoram um só Deus que está no céu, creem a immortalidade da alma, não negam a providencia divina, creem que ha demonios, e que são máos, e que todos os bens vem de Deus, e com tudo isto são grandes blasfemos, porque quando lhe as novidades não respondem como querem, ou lhes não succede as cousas a seu gosto, dizem mal de Deus, e que faz o que não deve, e outras palavras similhantes. A esta terra foi ter o P. Fr. Thomaz Pinto, da ordem dos pregadores, inquizidor da India, quando se salvou da perdição da náu Santiago, e aqui lhe falleceu um seu sobrinho, que levava consigo, pelo qual respeito alguns cafres principaes da terra o foram visitar, e querendo-o consolar do seu nojo, lhe disseram que Deus o fizera muito mal com elle, em lhe dar tantos trabalhos na sua perdição e agora em lhe matar o sobrinho, e que não se fiasse d'elle, porque era máo; mas o padre acudindo pela honra de Deus, lhe disse o que em tal materia convinha, e facilmente os convenceu, porque não são homens de muitas respostas, nem replicas.

### CAPITULO XXIII.

Dos casamentos, festas e superstições, que os macúas do rio de Loranga tem em suas mortalhas.

Os mais d'estes macúas de Loranga tem duas mulheres, e alguns mais nobres e ricos alem das mulheres tem mancebas, mas os filhos d'estas não são herdeiros da casa, e bens de seus paes, como são os filhos das duas legitimas. O dia de seu casamento, logo pela manhã, começam duas ou tres cafras a cantar, tanger e bailar á porta da desposada, e a estas se vão ajuntando outras, de modo que ao meio dia está alli junta toda a gente d'aquella aldeia, festejando e bailando, e n'isso gastam o dia todo, e quantos vão áquellas bodas offerecem á desposada arroz, milho, feijões, painço, figos e farinha, em competencia de quem primeiro lhe fará sua offerta, e de tudo o que lhe offerecem, lançam primeiro uma mão cheia sobre os tangedores, e bailadores, e juntamente enfarinham uma face e o olho esquerdo. Esta festa se acaba ao sol posto, porque então leva o noivo a esposa para sua casa, acompanhada d'esta gente, e d'alli por diante fica tida por sua legitima mulher, sem mais ceremonias.

Tem muitos dias de festa em que fazem algumas superstições,

como é não comerem n'elles cousa alguma, mas bebem todo o dia e noute seguinte de um certo vinho que fazem, assim de milho, como de uma fructa a que chamam putó, que em verde toca d'azeda, e é apetitosa, e madura é muito doce e saborosa. E d'estes dois vinhos que tem feito para estes dias de festa, bebem de modo que sempre andam bebados bailando, tangendo e escaramuçando uns com outros, e fazendo de si tantas visagens, enramados, e enfarinhados, que parecem andando ministros do diabo, ou soldados de Baccho, quando triumphava da India.

Esta gente dá muito credito a seus feiticeiros, e a suas sortes, que lançam para adivinhar o que querem saber. Quando querem descobrir alguns furtos, ajuntam-se muitos cafres, e todos fazem um baile, no qual juntamente dizem umas certas cantigas, e tanto cantam e bailam, até que movidos d'um furor diabolico, parecem doidas ou endemoninhadas, e n'este tempo entra o diabo em uma d'ellas, e descobre o furto. O governo d'esta gente é de pouco trafego; tem em cada aldeia uma cabeça, que os governa, a que chamam Fumo, este determina verbalmente suas differenças, que são poucas, e quando o Fumo as não póde julgar, o Bano, senhor das terras, as determina com conselho dos mais Fumos, que se ajuntam para isso em um terreiro á porta da casa do mesmo Bano. São homens de grandes cumprimentos, e em suas visitas, usam de tantos, que primeiro que comecem a fallar do negocio a que vem, se gasta grande espaço de tempo em cortezias de ambas as partes, e isto lhe vem de serem ociosos, e desoccupados. São de condição maviosa.

Quando morre algum d'estes cafres, a primeira cousa que se faz por sua morte é sahir-se um parente dos mais chegados fóra da casa do mesmo defunto, e pranteal-o em vozes altas, a que acode a gente toda d'aquella aldeia, e todos juntos começam em pranto mui sentido com vozes entoadas, e tão lastimosas, que movem a compaixão a quem as ouve. Dura este pranto uma hora pouco mais ou menos. O defunto se amortalha quasi ao nosso modo, envolto em um bertangi preto, e atado com muitas tiras do mesmo bertangi. Enterram com elle seu arco, frechas, e azagaias, e as mais armas que tem, e milho, arroz, feijão, e outros legumes. Põem-lhe sobre a cova, o leito, ou esteira em que dormia, a tripeça em que se assentava, e depois de enterrado lhe queimam a casa palhoça em que morava, com todo o movel que tinha, porque ninguem pode possuir cousa de que o defunto

se servia quando era vivo, nem tão pouco pôr-lhe a mão; e se acontece que alguém toque cousa do defunto, não entra em sua casa, até se não ir lavar ao rio. A cinza da casa que se queimou, com alguns pedaços de páos, que se não acabaram de queimar, tudo junto lhe põem sobre a cova. O defunto se pranteia oito dias continuos, começando da meia-noite por diante, entoando um cafre o pranto, a cujas vozes se levantam os mais do logar, e juntos vão continuando o pranto na forma que atraz fica dito por espaço de uma ou duas horas. Entre dia vão á sepultura do defunto, e dizendo-lhe certas palavras, lhe lançam em cima milho, feijões, e farinha d'arroz, e com ella juntamente enfarinham uma face e um olho, e d'esta maneira andam sem lavar o rosto, até que a farinha lhe cahe de todo. Com esta cerimonia dizem que encommendam suas sementeiras aos defuntos, e cuidam que suas almas lhe podem n'isso valer e dar boas novidades.

Por aqui démos fim a este livro segundo, e da mais costa que vae correndo até ao Cabo Delgado fallarei no livro seguinte.

### LIVRO TERCEIRO.—CAPITULO I.

Dos cafres macúas da terra firme de Moçambique, e de seus costumes, e de como conquistaram aquella terra.

Em toda esta costa, que vae correndo dos rios de Cuama até á ilha de Moçambique, (que são cento e trinta legoas de terra) não ha reis poderosos e grandes, como são os de que tenho tratado no primeiro e segundo livro. E posto que haja n'ella muitos senhores de vassallos, comtudo nenhum d'elles tem titulo de rei, ainda que alguns mouros ha, que vivem por esta fralda do mar em povoações pequenas, os quaes se chamam reis dos mesmos logares em que vivem, e são como antigamente era o rei de Sofala, Zufe, a quem matou Pero de Anhaya, de pouca sustancia e vassallos. Mas pelo sertão dentro d'esta terra vivem alguns reis grandes e poderosos, cafres gentios de cabello crespo, os quaes pela maior parte são macúas de nação. Um d'elles, que agora se me offerece, com que os moradores de Moçambique tratam e vizinham, é o Mauruça, de quem me pareceu devia dizer aqui alguma cousa.

Os cafres da terra firme de Moçambique são macúas gentios, muito barbaros e grandes ladrões. O seu rei se chama Mauruça.

Esta nação de macúas, de que já fallei atraz algumas vezes, é a mais barbara, e a mais mal inclinada, que todas as nações de cafres que tenho visto n'esta costa. O seu modo de fallar é muito alto e aspero, como quem peleja, e assim a primeira vez que os vi estar fallando, cuidei que pelejavam. Todos ordinariamente limam os dentes de cima e de baixo, e tão agudos os trazem como agulhas. Pintam-se todos pelo corpo com um ferro agudo, cortando suas carnes. Furam ambas as queixadas das pontas das orelhas, quasi até á boca, com tres ou quatro buracos de cada parte, por cada um dos quaes cabe um dedo, e por elles lhe aparecem as gengivas, e os dentes, e lhe corre ordinariamente a humidade e cospinho da boca. E por esse respeito, e tambem por galanteria trazem em cada um d'estes buracos metida uma rolha de páo ou de chumbo, que para isso fazem redonda, e os que a pódem trazer de chumbo são mais ricos, e tratam-se com mais custo, porque o chumbo vale muito entre elles. Tambem trazem dois buracos nos beiços; no de cima metem um páo delgado, como uma pena de galinha, de comprimento de um dedo, e alli o trazem direito para fóra, como um prego, e no debaixo trazem uma grande rolha de chumbo encaixada, tão pezada, que lhe derruba o beiço quasi até á barba, e assim lhe andam sempre aparecendo as gengivas e dentes limados, que parecem demonios. Trazem mais as orelhas todas furadas em roda com muitos buracos, e n'elles mettidos uns páos delgados como agulhas de rede, de comprimento de um dedo, que parecem porcos espinhos. E tudo isto trazem por galanteria e festa, porque quando andam anojados, ou tristes, deixam tudo isto, e trazem todos os buracos destapados. É gente muito robusta e de muito trabalho. Todos andam nús, assim homens, como mulheres, e quando andam bem vestidos trazem uma pelle de bogio, ou d'outro animal cingida da cintura até aos joelhos. Em todos os mais costumes, tratos, modos de viver, sustentação e logares em que habitam, são muito semelhantes aos cafres de Loranga, de que já fallei atraz, e deixo de o repetir aqui por abreviar. Estes costumes que tenho dito, são de quasi todos os cafres d'esta costa, que vivem pelos matos, e mais em particular d'estes macúas, nos quaes se acham mais brutalidades.

Dos macúas do rio de Quizungo se conta, que quando ha de casar alguma moça donzella, entre elles, a mesma moça se sahe fóra da povoação em que vive, e se vae aos matos, nos quaes anda toda uma lua inteira, como em degredo, sentindo, e lamentando

a virgindade que ha de perder, pranto bem differente do que fez a filha de Jephthe, a qual sabendo que seu pae a queria sacrificar pelo voto que tinha feito, pediu-lhe licença para andar dois mezes pelos montes, chorando sua virgindade com suas amigas, e companheiras; mas esta choravã porque morria sem filhos, cousa que na lei dos judeus era mui abominada; e as cafras dizem que choram a virgindade que hão de perder. N'estes trinta dias que as cafras tomam para este pranto pódem ser visitadas e acômpanhadas de suas amigas, e parentas, e todas as noites pódem vir dormir a suas casas, e pela manhã tornar a continuar o degredo, até que apareça a lua nova; no qual dia a mesma desposada, e seus parentes e amigos, fazem grandes festas e bailes, e no dia seguinte se faz o recebimento, que é entregar a desposada a seu marido sem mais cerimoniaes. Estes cafres de Quizungo foram os que captivaram e tiveram em seu poder o P. Fr. Thomaz Pinto, religioso da ordem dos prégadores, inquisidor que foi da India, o qual foi ter a este rio com os outros seus companheiros, que se salvaram da perdição da náó Santiago, que deu nos baixos da India, como mais largamente contarei adiante.

Tornando pois ao Mauruça, e a seus vassallos macûas, que habitam as terras fronteiras a Moçambique, é de saber, que sendo elles estrangeiros, vieram antigamente com guerra sobre os naturaes d'estas terras tambem macûas, e por força d'armas lh'as tomaram, e se apossaram d'ellas; o que fizeram com pouco trabalho, por causa da grande crueldade que uzavam, em comer carne humana dos cafres que matavam na guerra, e ainda dos que tomavam vivos. E por isso os naturaes lhe largaram a maior parte da terra, e se assombravam de ouvir nomear o Mauruça. Tão encarniçados andavam estes macûas em suas mortes e latrocinios, que se não occupavam em outra cousa, mais que em roubar, matar, e comer quanto achavam, e mui poucos se davam a cultivar as terras, que tyranicamente tinham usurpado, porque todos naturalmente (ainda que robustos, e soffredores de trabalho) são preguiçosos, e dados ao ocio, causa principal de todos os males que commettiam. N'esta ociosidade e carniçaria, foram continuando alguns annos, até que na era do Senhor de 1585, sendo Nuno Velho Pereira capitão de Moçambique, se desmandaram mais, e tomaram tanta ousadia, que vinham muitas vezes á praia da terra firme, onde os portuguezes de Moçambique teem seus palmares, hortas, e cearas, que são as fazendas d'esta terra, e

n'ellas faziam muitos roubos, forças e mortes, de modo que os portuguezes vinham quasi a perder e desamparar suas fazendas ; e quando menos mal lhe faziam era virem os cafres a ellas, meterem-se-lhe em casa, pedindo-lhe pannos, e de comer, e de beber, e se lhe não davam quanto queriam, lh'o tomavam por força, e muitas vezes lhe queimavam as casas, e cortavam as palmeiras. De maneira que os portuguezes não podiam ser senhores de suas fazendas, e aquelles que com estes encargos as queriam sustentar, recebiam mais perda do que ellas valiam, e juntamente se arriscavam a serem mortos, e comidos pelos cafres.

## CAPITULO II.

Da guerra que os portuguezes de Moçambique tiveram com a Mauruça e do ruim successo d'ella.

Vendo Nuno Velho Pereira tanto atrevimento e soltura dos macûas, determinou tomar d'elles vingança, destruil-os, e queimar-lhe a cidade em que o Mauruça morava, que estava tres ou quatro legoas pela terra dentro. Para o qual effeito mandou quarenta portuguezes, entre soldados da fortaleza, e casados de Moçambique, dos que tinham fazendas na terra firme ; os quaes magoados das muitas forças, e perdas que tinham recebido dos macûas, se offereceram de boa vontade para este assalto, levando comsigo seus escravos, e outra muita gente fora da terra, que seriam perto de quatrocentos homens, e por capitão de toda esta gente mandou Antonio Pinto, seu creado, tambem casado na fortaleza. Concluida esta determinação, e aparelhadas as cousas necessarias para esta guerra, passaram da ilha para a terra firme uma tarde ao sol posto com muito segredo, sem dizerem para onde iam, com proposito de caminhar de noite, e de madrugada darem sobre o Mauruça, que estava descuidado. Esta determinação se poz em effeito, porque foram até á cidade do Mauruça, onde chegaram de madrugada, e acharam a gente toda descuidada, e amarraram muita parte d'ella, sem fazer resistencia alguma ; pelo que com pouco trabalho destruíram a povoação, e lhe pozeram fogo.

Os macûas que poderam fugir d'este assalto, se foram embrenhar pelos matos, que estavam ao redor da cidade, e depois se ajuntaram todos, e se meteram em um mato que estava no



caminho, por onde os portuguezes haviam de tomar para Moçambique, com o intento de se vingarem d'elles, se podessem. Por outra parte os portuguezes, vendo que não havia mais que fazer na cidade, pois ficava queimada, e os cafres d'ella mortos, e fugidos, cuidaram que tudo ficava seguro e deram as espingardas a seus escravos para que as levassem, e elles meteram-se em seus andores, em que outros escravos os levavam ás costas; e d'esta maneira se tornavam a recolher a Moçambique, espalhados uns dos outros, com muita desordem, como quem caminhava por terras seguras. Mas os cafres que os estavam esperando, com mais ordem e melhor cuidado, tanto que os tiveram a bom lanço, deram subitamente sobre elles com tanto impeto e raiva, que a todos mataram, sem ficarem mais que dois ou tres portuguezes, e alguns cafres, que se embrenharam pelos matos, onde estiveram escondidos, e d'ahi a tres dias vieram ter a Moçambique, e deram as novas do ruim successo de seus companheiros, que ficavam mortos, e comidos pelos macûas do Mauruça. Outros muitos desastres similhantes a este tem acontecido aos portuguezes, pela muita confiança que tem de suas pessoas n'estas partes, e pouca conta em que tem os cafres.

Alguns tempos continuou o Mauruça cruel guerra com os portuguezes de Moçambique, destruindo-lhe suas fazendas da terra firme, como fica dito, que foram os primeiros annos que elle andou n'estas terras, como levantado, e forasteiro; mas depois que fez assento n'ellas, e começou de as cultivar, vendo que lhe era necessario ter commercio e trato com os portuguezes, moradores de Moçambique, pelo proveito que d'isso lhe vinha, fez pazes com elles, e para confirmação d'ellas mandou que nenhum macûa fizesse mais força, nem roubos nas fazendas dos portuguezes, nem comesse carne humana, senão que todos cultivassem as terras, e tivessem commercio com a gente de Moçambique, comprando-lhe e vendendo-lhe suas mercadorias amigavel e fielmente. O que se cumpriu mal muitos annos, porque sempre estes cafres se desmandaram, uzando de seus ordinarios e crueis costumes, e mais por força, e medo do Mauruça que por vontade guardavam suas leis, contrarias á sua má inclinação. E quanto ao comerem carne humana já o não fazem publicamente, mas em secreto todas as vezes que podem a comem, como se verá nos casos do capitulo seguinte.

## CAPITULO III.

De alguns casos estranhos, que succederam em Moçambique.

No tempo que 'o alferes mór de Portugal D. Jorge de Menezes foi capitão de Moçambique, que foi no anno do Senhor de 1586, succedeu que vieram dois cafres macûas vender uma negra aos portuguezes, a qual devia ser furtada, como elles costumam fazer; e chegando com ella a um palmar dos que estão na praia na terra firme, acharam n'elle uma mulher, que era senhora d'aquella fazenda, e disseram-lhe que lhe comprasse a negra; e vindo a preço, pediram-lhe por ella dez pannos que valeriam mil e quinhentos réis, e não lhe querendo ella dar mais que cinco, responderam-lhe os macûas que antes a queriam comer, que dar-lh'a tão barata. E vendo que nem ella nem outrem lhe dava pela negra o que pediam, foram-se para um mato, que estava perto, e mataram a negra, e n'elle estiveram tres ou quatro dias comendo-a, cosida e assada. D'este caso teve logo noticia o capitão de Moçambique, e mandou prender a mulher do palmar, e a castigou mui asperamente, por não querer comprar a negra, e por ser occasião de os cafres a matarem e comerem, e juntamente castigou alguns cafres gentios, dos que moram por aquelles palmares, que soube ajudaram tambem a comer da mesma negra.

No anno do Senhor de 1596, aconteceu em Moçambique o caso seguinte: Vivia n'esta ilha um portuguez chamado Francisco Leitão, casado com uma mistiça, que fôra já casada outra vez, e era rica e tinha fazendas e palmares da outra banda na terra firme, onde tinha seus escravos, que lhe administravam esta fazenda. Succedeu que este Francisco Leitão teve ruims suspeitas de sua mulher por alguns indicios que o diabo lhe representou, pelos quaes a matou, e fugiu logo para a terra firme em uma embarcação que tinha prestes para isso na praia com seus remeiros, e foi-se meter no seu palmar; onde em chegando foi sabida pelos negros seus escravos que lá estavam, a causa de sua fugida, e que deixava sua senhora morta. Pelo qual se indignaram contra elle de tal maneira, que o mataram ás frechadas e azagaiadas, dizendo que vingavam a morte de sua senhora, que era innocente. E depois de o matarem fugiram para o Mauruça,

de modo que ambos os senhores foram mortos dentro em uma hora, pouco mais ou menos.

Soube-se logo em Moçambique, este caso, e o atrevimento d'estes escravos, pelo que mandou o ouvidor pedil-os ao Mauruça a trôco de roupas, que lhe mandou á custa da fazenda dos mortos. E o Mauruça tanto que viu as roupas, movido da cobiça d'ellas, entregou os homicidas, que eram quatro, á justiça, e por ella foram presos e sentenciados á morte. A dois d'elles atanasaram, cortaram as mãos, enforcaram, e esquartejaram, dentro na ilha de Moçambique. Aos outros dois cortaram as mãos no pelourinho, e depois os embarcaram em um batel, e os levaram á terra firme, indo eu e outro padre com elles para os confessar e animar. E depois de chegados á praia, enforcaram um d'elles em uma arvore da mesma praia onde tinham morto o senhor, e depois o esquartejaram e penduraram os quartos pelas arvores. O outro cafre foi assetiado vivo, posto em uma arvore mui bem atado, e vestido em uma alva, onde o deixaram morto, com mais de vinte frechas pregadas n'elle. Mas ao outro dia nem os quartos do negro enforcado, nem o corpo do assetiado, foram vistos, porque aquella mesma noute, vieram os cafres da terra firme, e os levaram, e comeram, como depois se soube. De modo que estes cafres macûas do Mauruça, comem gente todas as vezes que o podem fazer secretamente, e dizem que a carne humana é muito tenra e melhor que todos as carnes.

#### CAPITULO IV.

Da ilha e fortaleza de Moçambique e suas povoações e fructos.

A ilha e fortaleza de Moçambique está n'esta costa em 15 grãos da banda do Sul. É de mais de meia legoa de comprido e no mais largo terá um quarto de legoa, pouco mais ou menos. Na ponta d'esta ilha, á entrada da barra está a fortaleza, na qual sempre reside o capitão, com soldados portuguezes de guarnição, que toda a noute e dia vigiam aos quartos; de dia postos á porta da fortaleza com suas armas, e de noute por cima dos pannos do muro e dos baluartes; dos quaes tem quatro fortissimos, dois para a banda do mar e dois para a ilha, d'onde tambem se descobre o mar de uma parte e da outra, e n'elles estão muitas peças de artilleria grossa e formosa, em que entram esperas, camelos e colu-

brinas. Dentro da fortaleza está uma cisterna, que leva duas mil pipas d'agua, que se toma da que chove nos telhados e muros, por canos que a ella vão ter. Aqui dentro estão os armazens assim da polvora e cousas necessarias para defensão da fortaleza, como de mantimentos d'arroz e milho, de que sempre está bem provida. No meio do terreiro d'esta fortaleza está uma igreja nova, ainda por acabar, que ha de servir de Sé, e junto d'ella outra da Misericordia.

Esta fortaleza é uma das mais fortes que ha na India; foi traçada assim ella como a de Damão, por um architecto que foi sobrinho do arcebispo santo de Braga D. Frei Bartholomeu dos Martyres, da ordem dos prégadores; o qual architecto sendo mancebo se foi a Flandres, d'onde tornou grande official de architectura, e depois d'isso foi mandado á India pela rainha D. Catharina, quando governava este reino, para fazer estas fortalezas; o que foi no anno do Senhor de 1558 quando D. Constantino foi por vice-rei da India. E tornando este architecto da India, foi-se para Castella, onde tomou o habito da ordem de S. Jeronymo, e foi mui acceito a El-Rei Philippe II e por sua traça se fizeram muitas obras no Escorial.

Fóra da fortaleza de Moçambique na ponta da ilha, está uma ermida da invocação de Nossa Senhora do Baluarte, o qual nome lhe pozeram por respeito de ser a mesma igreja antigamente um baluarte, onde estava a artilheria, para deffender a barra, antes que se fizesse a fortaleza; a qual igreja é de muita romagem, não sómente dos moradores da terra, mas tambem dos mareantes, que navegam por esta costa, assim de Portugal como da India. Defronte d'esta fortaleza pela ilha dentro está um campo raso mui formoso, que terá de comprimento mais de um grande tiro de mosquete, e outro tanto de largo, no fim do qual está o convento de S. Domingos, novo e mui formoso, sem haver n'elle outra casa mais que uma ermida de S. Gabriel ao longo da praia, defronte da qual surgem as náos, que vem a este porto, assim de Portugal, como da India. Alem do convento de S. Domingos vae correndo a povoação, em que vivem os portuguezes, e os mais christãos da ilha, que serão por todós duas mil pessoas, pouco mais ou menos. N'esta povoação está a fortaleza velha, e n'ella a Sé antiga e a casa da Misericordia, que ainda hoje servem. Em um panno do muro d'esta fortaleza velha está uma formosa torre de dois sobrados, com outros aposentos junto a ella, onde

vive o feitor e alcaide mór de Moçambique, que pelo tempo é. A umailharga d'esta torre está uma boa cisterna, e nos baixos da torre a cadeia publica. Perto d'esta fortaleza velha está um hospital, onde se curam todos os enfermos que adoecem na terra, e os que vem de fora a este porto, assim da India como de Portugal. O que se faz com muita caridade e deligencia. D'este hospital tem cuidado o provedor e irmãos da Misericordia, mas o gasto d'elle é á custa d'El-Rei, que para isso manda pagar o capitão da fortaleza, como veador que é de sua fazenda n'estas partes de Moçambique. A este hospital está junta uma ermida do Espirito Santo, e no cabo da ilha outra de Santo Antonio, de muita romagem e devoção, e ambas situadas ao longo do mar.

Está tambem n'esta ilha outra povoação de mouros apartada da dos christãos obra de dois tiros de espingarda, pouco mais ou menos, na qual vivem poucos mouros e estes pela maior parte são marinheiros, pobres e mesquinhos, e ordinariamente andam no serviço do capitão e dos portuguezes, dos quaes são amigos, e mostram-se-lhe leaes, ou por medo, ou porque sempre dependem d'elles.

Toda esta ilha é muito secca; não tem agua doce para beber, nem lenha para queimar. A agua lhe vem por mar d'uma fonte que está fóra da barra d'ahi a tres leguas; em uma bahia chamada Titangone, mui nomeada e conhecida de todos os marinheiros da carreira da India, pela bondade de suas aguas e porque n'ella fazem aguada todas as náos de Portugal e da India. Junto a esta fonte esteve antigamente uma povoação de mouros, os quaes sujeitou e fez obedecer á fortaleza de Moçambique Antonio Galvão, vindo da ilha de Quirimba, onde tambem sujeitou os mouros que n'ella moravam, que foi no anno do Senhor de 1522, mas já hoje não estão n'este logar, mais que algumas pobres casinhas de pescadores. A lenha que se queima n'esta ilha vem da terra firme, que está defronte, em partes uma legoa e mais, e em outras muito menos de meia legoa. N'esta terra firme e dentro na mesma ilha, ha muitos palmares, mui ricos, e proveitosos, que dão muito vinho e cocos. Tem algumas hortas de hortaliça, laranjas, cidras, muitas e boas limas, romeiras, figueiras de Portugal e da India, parreiras e muitos ananazes e algumas fructas do mato muito boas.

Nos matos da terra firme ha muitas arvores de páo preto, de que os moradores de Moçambique colhem grande quantidade, que

vendem aos que vão para a India, e para Portugal. N'esta terra firme, e tambem na ilha ha creações de porcos, cabras e gallinhas das quaes se refazem as náos d'este reino quando ali vão ter, e de todos os mais legumes e refresco da terra, e de cafres, que ali se vendem baratos, e a ilha fica provida de vinhos, azeites, queijos, azeitonas, marmelada e de tudo o mais que vae de Portugal para a Índia. Todo o mais provimento lhe vem da India cada anno, e d'aqui vae para as mais partes de toda esta costa, como são farinhas, roupas, contas, vestido e calçado, e todas as mais mercadorias e cousas necessarias, que não ha n'aquellas terras. Esta ilha logo no principio, quando foi povoada pelos portuguezes, era mui doentia; e assim estão n'elles enterrados muitos milhares d'elles, mas já agora pela bondade de Deus é mais sadia.

## CAPITULO XII.

De quatro pragas geraes, que houve n'esta Ethiopia em nossos tempos e de tres generos de doencas mui ordinarias n'esta costa.

Quatro castigos ou pragas geraes, houve n'esta costa em nossos tempos. A primeira foi a guerra dos Zimbas, de que já fallei atraz, que no anno de 1589 atravessaram muita parte d'estas terras, matando e comendo quanto achavam, assim gente, como brutos animaes, sem perdoarem a cousa viva; de maneira que se pode dizer, que estes barbaros foram um fogo abrazador e consumidor de meia Ethiopia.

O segundo castigo, que no mesmo tempo tiveram estas terras, foi uma cruel praga de gafanhotos, que por ellas passaram, mui grandes e em tanta quantidade, que cobriam as terras; e quando se levantavam no ar faziam tão grande nuvem, que as assombrava. E tanto damno fizeram n'ellas, que comeram todas as searas, hortas e palmares, que havia por onde passavam, deixando tudo tão secco e queimado, como se lhe pozeram o fogo; de maneira que nem d'ali a dois annos tornaram a dar fructo; pelo que houve grandissima estirilidade em todo este tempo, e fome, de que muita gente morreu. Esta fome foi o terceiro castigo d'esta Ethiopia, porque houve tanta falta de mantimentos, que os cafres se vinham vender e captivar, sómente pelo comer, e vendiam seus filhos a troco de um alqueire de milho, e os que não

achavam este remedio pereciam á fome. De modo que morreu n'este tempo grande parte da gente d'estas terras.

O quarto mal, e trabalho que houve n'esta cafraria, foi uma grande doença de bexigas, de que tambem morreu grande numero de gente. Esta enfermidade em toda esta costa é como fina peste, porque na casa em que dá todos mata, assim homens como mulheres e meninos, e mui poucos escapam d'este mal, porque o não sabem curar. Os que se sangram muito morrem, e da mesma maneira os que se não querem sangrar. Mas o mais certo remedio é sangrarem-se logo em lhe dando. Não se pegam estas bexigas aos portuguezes, inda que tratem com os cafres doentes, salvo ás creanças de tenra idade. Em todas estas partes do Oriente não ha, nem se sabe que houvesse peste em algum tempo; o que deve ser por causa d'estes climas serem muito quentes, e gastarem os vapores e ares grossos, de que ordinariamente se gera este mal, mas em seu logar ha estas bexigas mui ordinarias, tão contagiosas como a peste. Algumas vezes vem estas bexigas mais brandas e menos perigosas, de modo que não matam.

Outra doença ha em toda esta terra de Sofala, rios de Cuama e Moçambique, mui pegadiça a todo o genero de homem, a qual é causada pelas negras d'estas terras, porque muitas d'ellas, particularmente as escravas dos portuguezes, se acertam de conceber, e não querem que o parto venha a lume, tomam uma beberagem do summo de uma certa herva, que n'estas partes ha, e logo movem com ella, mas depois do movito ficam tão apeçonhentas, que se não pegam aquelle mal a algum homem por meio de ajuntamento, vão-se seccando, e consumindo pouco e pouco, até que morrem. Pelo que depois de moverem, logo buscam algum homem, a quem peguem esta enfermidade, para ficarem com saude; e o homem fica tão apeçonhento, que raramente escapa da morte, porque logo no mesmo instante se lhe causam tão grandes dôres nas virilhas, que d'ellas morrem em poucos dias. E já aconteceu a alguns d'estes em acabando este acto deshonesto, acabarem juntamente a vida. A esta enfermidade chamam entaca, e contra ella ha um só remedio, que é beber o summo de outra herva contrapeçonha da que tomam as negras para mover, com a qual beberagem escapam da morte. Mas para aproveitar esta mésinha ha de ser tomada no mesmo dia em que o mal se pegou, porque se lhe dilatam a cura, logo lavra a peçonha até chegar ao coração, e já então não tem remedio. D'estas duas

hervas ha muita quantidade na terra firme de Moçambique, mui conhecida de todos.

Outro genero de doença ha sómente em Moçambique, que vem a muitas pessoas, sem se saber de que procede, a qual é, privar da vista de noute, não sómente a portuguezes, mas tambem a cafres, sem lhe causar dôr nem pena alguma, mais que a de não poderem vêr de noute; e esta cegueira lhe começa desde que se põe o sol até que torna a nascer, no qual tempo nenhuma cousa veem, ainda que faça muito grande luar, e tão cegos ficam, como se o fossem de sua nascença. Mas tanto que o sol nasce, logo tornam a ver muito bem, e todo o dia veem, inda que o sol ande encoberto. Dizem alguns, que os figados do *çação* assados nas brasas e comidos, são remedio com que se tira este mal. Outros dizem, que lavando os olhos com agua dos bebedouros das pombas, tambem saram. Outros affirmam, que todo o que tiver este mal, se se fôr de Moçambique para outra qualquer terra, tambem se lhe tirará, e verá de noute como d'antes.

Quando os cafres tem dôres de barriga, cingem-se com uma corda, ou correia de casca de páo, como de trovisco, e com ella apertam muito a barriga, e quando lhe doe a cabeça fazem o mesmo, atando uma fita d'estas pela testa mui apertada, e dizem que assim se lhe tiram as dôres, e saram mais depressa, e n'isso tem muita fé.

### CAPITULO XIII.

Dos elephantes d'esta Cafraria, e de como os cafres os matam.

Em toda esta cafraria se criam muitos elephantes mui grandes, e bravos; os quaes são mui damninhos nas sementeiras do milho e arroz, o qual comem e pisam, de que os cafres recebem muita perda. Além d'isso fazem grande damno nos palmares, derrubando-lhe as palmeiras para lhe comerem os palmitos. Os cafres lhe armam de muitas maneiras. A principal e mais ordinaria, e menos perigosa para os caçadores, é fazendo-lhe covas pelos mattos, muito compridas, fundas e largas, cobertas de rama e de herva, com terra por cima, de modo que se não enxergue a cova, onde se os elephantes cahem, não se pôdem mais tirar, e ali os matam sem trabalho.

Outro modo tem de caçar os elephantes, e é quando estão dormindo, o que é facil de saber, porque o elephante quando



dorme resona e ronca tão grandemente, que o ouvem de muito longe, e tem o somno tão carregado, que se chegam os cafres caçadores a elle muito manso, sem serem sentidos, e mettem-lhe pelas virilhas uma azagaia, cujo ferro é de meio palmo de largo, ao modo de choupa, e de comprido dois palmos, sahida na ponta mui aguda e cortadora, feita sómente para esta caça dos elephantes. E depois de lh'a pregarem, fogem mui ligeiramente e embrenham-se pelos mattos, até que se vão para suas casas. O elephante ferido acorda logo com a dôr da ferida, e levantando-se com grande furia, acaba de metter a azagaia pelas tripas, carregando sobre ella quando se levanta, e logo começa de se vasar em sangue. E d'esta maneira vae fugindo e bramindo pelos mattos, até que se lhe esgota o sangue todo, e morre. No dia seguinte tornam os caçadores ao logar onde o feriram, e o vão seguindo pelo rasto do sangue até que dão n'elle, ou morto de todo, ou já tão desmaiado e desfallecido, que se não póde bulir, e alli o acabam de matar. Este modo de caçar é mais perigoso aos caçadores, porque algumas vezes acham os elephantes pouco feridos, e são mortos por elles. Esta caçada fazem os cafres ordinariamente em noutes de luar, assim para que vejam os elephantes e os vão seguindo e vigiando, até que se deitam a dormir, como é seu costume, como tambem para verem o modo que hão de ter para chegar a elles para os ferir.

Tanto que os caçadores tem morto algum elephante, vão chamar sua familia, parentes e amigos, e vem-se todos ao logar onde o elephante jaz morto, e alli o comem assado, e cosido, sem fazerem outra cousa em todo este tempo. E posto que o elephante morto logo aos tres dias cheira tão mal, que não ha podel-o soffrer, nem por isso deixam de o comer, até que não fica d'elle cousa alguma, como cães encarniçados em corpo morto.

A causa principal porque os cafres armam aos elephantes e os matam, é para lhe comerem a carne, e depois d'isso para lhe venderem os dentes, que é o marfim, de que se fazem todas as peças, e brincos, que da India vem para Portugal, e é a principal veniaga d'esta costa, da qual se levam cada anno para a India mais de tres mil arrobas; porque estando eu n'esta fortaleza de Sofala, vi um anno ao capitão, que então era d'ella Garcia de Mello, mandar ao alferes-mór capitão de Moçambique, seu cunhado, cem bares de marfim, que tem cada um dezeseis arrobas, e por aqui se pode colligir todo o mais marfim, que se tira d'esta

costa, onde ha grande trato d'elle, como é no rio de Lourenço Marques, no Cabo das Correntes, e rio de Inhambane, nas ilhas de Angoche, rios de Cuama, na costa de Quirimba, e na de Melinde. D'onde claramente se deixa vêr o numero de elephantes, que ha n'esta Ethiopia, e a multidão que d'elles se mata cada anno, pois de cada um se não tiram mais que dois dentes.

Estes dois dentes são as presas da boca, com que trabalham e pelejam. Estão mettidos no queixo debaixo mais de um covado, e sahem-lhe fóra da boca outro tanto, e mais; e alguns d'elles são muito grossos, e muito maiores do que tenho dito, particularmente os de elephante velho. Garcia de Mello, de quem agora fallei, teve dois dentes na sua feitoria, ambos de um elephante, que pesavam um bar que são dezeseis arrobas, oito cada dente. Estes vi eu e outros muitos quasi tão grandes como estes.

Todos os elephantes se deitam no chão, e dormem deitados, e roncam muito alto, como tenho dito; d'onde se vê bem claramente o engano, que alguns tiveram em dizerem, que os elephantes não se deitavam, e por isso dormiam encostados ás arvores, e que para os matarem, lh'as serravam pelos matos onde andavam, deixando-as em pé meias serradas, para que encostando-se os elephantes a ellas para dormir, cahissem juntamente no chão com elles; e assim por serem mui pezados, e não se poderem levantar, os matavam. O que tudo é falso, porque inda que os elephantes sejam muito grandes, e pareçam carregados, contudo tem muita força para se poderem menear, e andam, e correm muito, como lhe eu vi fazer muitas vezes.

Os elephantes de Ceylão são mais pequenos de corpo, que todos os das outras partes, segundo dizem. Mas são mais nobres, e mais reaes, que todos, e de maiores forças. Pelo que todos lhe tem sujeição e medo. Isto se tem experimentado em algumas partes da India, onde ajuntaram uns e outros. El-rei de Camboja dizem que teve antigamente um elephante branco, outros que o rei de Syão, sobre que houve grandes guerras com o de Pegu, pretendendo cada um que fosse seu, por ser uma cousa nunca vista. Dizem os cafres que os elephantes vivem trezentos annos, e que não geram nem parem, senão de cem annos para cima, porque até então são creanças. De cada parto parem um filho, o qual criam a duas tetas, que tem como vaccas.

## CAPITULO XVI.

Das baleias e espadartes que ha em toda esta costa da Ethiopia.

Ha em toda esta costa da Ethiopia muitas baleias e espadartes, que são quasi tão grandes como ellas. Os quaes dois generos de peixe todas as vezes que se encontram pelejam cruelmente, e as mais das vezes sobre a agua. E a causa é, porque o espadarte, quando peleja, para ferir melhor a baleia, dá um grande salto para o ar, e virando sobre ella de cabeça, a fere com a espada que tem na ponta do focinho, cheia de mui duros e agudos dentes, ao modo de serra. A qual espada é de osso mui duro, de mais de um covado de comprido, e mais de meio palmo de largo. Da terra os viamos muitas vezes pelejar no mar de Moçambique, e as náos da India os encontram muitas vezes pelejando d'esta maneira, quando vão ou vem por esta costa.

Na terra firme de Moçambique, entre uns baixos, que estão na barra, a que chamam Luxaca, deu uma baleia á costa, e outra em Sofala na praia chamada Maçamzane, no tempo que eu estava n'estas terras, mas nenhuma d'ellas vi inteira, porque quando soubemos que estavam alli, indo para as vêr, já os cafres as tinham quasi desfeitas, e levado a maior parte da carne, a qual é gordissima e d'ella fazem muito azeite, pondo-a a derreter em tijellas, como fazem á banha de porco. Os cafres comem os torresmos que ficam, e com o azeite se allumiam, e comem seu milho. Este azeite cheira mal, mas allumia bem. Dos nós do espinhaço fazem tripeças, em que se assenta uma pessoa folgadoamente.

São tantas as baleias n'esta costa, que muitas vezes andam em bandos, particularmente entre as ilhas de Moçambique que estão na barra, onde vi um dia á tarde entrar pelo rio dentro cinco, todas enfiadas, e assim passaram ao longo da fortaleza pelo meio do canal, e deram uma volta dentro na enseada que está entre a terra firme e a ilha, e depois se tornaram a sahir pelo rio fóra, como entraram. As baleias não tem ambar no bucho, como algumas vezes ouvi dizer n'este reino a pessoas que d'isso tinham pouca noticia; verdade é, que dizem os mouros pescadores d'esta costa, que as baleias o comem, e o vomitam mui negro e mole, como massa, e de ruim cheiro. Mas eu não sei que certeza, ou experiencia elles d'isto tenham, salvo cuidarem que o ambar

preto, que muitas vezes se acha nas praias languinhoso e de ruim cheiro, é vomitado da baleia.

Os pangaios, que no mar se encontram com estas baleias, correm muito perigo, porque ellas lhe vão no alcance para pelejarem com elles, como fazem com os espadartes, cuidando (segundo parece) que são outros peixes grandes, que vão nadando, e por isso remettem ás embarcações, e lhe dão focinhadas e encontros, o que já algumas vezes aconteceu, particularmente a uma, que vinha dos rios de Cuama para Moçambique carregada, em que vinha D. Fernando de Monroy, capitão que então era d'esta fortaleza. O qual perto das ilhas de Angoxa encontrou com uma baleia, que o veio seguindo quasi um dia, e por duas vezes remetteu á embarcação, e d'uma d'ellas lhe deu tal encontro, que lhe levou fóra o leme, e a teve quasi virada. Vendo-se os que n'ella iam arriscados, receiando que se lhe desse outro encontro, os mettesse no fundo, foram-lhe fugindo para terra, com determinação de darem á costa, se a baleia os não deixasse, e juntamente lhe deram grandes brados, e lhe tangeram com uma bacia de cobre, e bateram com ferros na pôpa do pangaio. Com o qual estrondo a baleia não tornou mais a enconral-os, mas de longe os foi ainda seguindo mais de duas horas.

Um peixe deu á costa na ilha de Moçambique, defronte da porta da cerca do nosso convento de S. Domingos, o qual depois que vasou a maré ficou em secco na praia. Os escravos de casa accudiram logo, e vendo o peixe chamaram os religiosos, que o fossem vêr, porque era monstruoso e nunca visto. Tinha este peixe de comprimento dezenove palmos, e no mais grosso do corpo tinha oito em roda. As quaes medidas lhe mandámos tomar com uma corda, antes que o cortassem, porque nós fomos dos primeiros que chegámos a elle. Logo se ajuntou muita gente da ilha n'este logar, e todos começaram a cortar no peixe, e levar para suas casas. E cuido eu que pouca gente ficou na ilha que d'elle não levasse quinhão. Este peixe era da feição de um cação, ou espadarte, mas não tinha espada no focinho, nem menos era baleato, porque estes tem a pelle mais preta, e outra feição de cabeça, e a boca muito mais larga. E assim não houve pescador, nem marinheiro que soubesse a casta d'este peixe.

## CAPITULO XVII.

Das tartarugas, que se pescam n'esta costa, até o Cabo Delgado.

Por toda esta costa de Moçambique, até o Cabo Delgado, ha muitas tartarugas da feição de um cágado, e do tamanho de uma grande rodela. Estas sahem do mar em certos tempos a desovar nas ilhas desertas, e deshabitadas, onde fazendo uma cova com as unhas nos areiaes da praia, põem n'ella de uma postura trinta, até quarenta ovos, e tornando-os a cobrir com a areia, se recolhem outra vez para o mar. Estes ovos são do tamanho de ovos de gallinha, redondos, não tem casca, senão uma pelle muito dura é grossa; tem gemma, como ovo de gallinha, mas a clara é liquida, e solta como agua. Estes ovos estão debaixo da terra certo tempo, no qual se chocam, e se geram d'elles as tartarugas, sómente com as influencias do sol, sem mais beneficio da mãe que os poz; e depois de nascidas, ellas mesmas sahem da areia, e caminham para o mar, onde se criam.

Os naturaes d'estas terras sabem já o tempo em que as tartarugas sahem a desovar em terra e vão-se pôr nas praias para as vigiar e espreitar, quando sahem fóra do mar e como as vêem em terra, correm a ellas e viram de costas as que podem alcançar, do qual modo ficam sem se poderem mais bulir e assim as matam, e tiram-lhe a carne de dentro para comer e as conchas de cima das costas sómente, que são as que prestam e vendem. Das quaes fazem na India os cofres e brincos de tartaruga, que vem para este reino.

Os pescadores matam as tartarugas no mar de differente e estranha maneira. Primeiramente, pescam em certas paragens do mar ao longo da costa entre pedras uns peixes de comprimento de dois palmos, a que os mouros chamam sapi, tão inimigos das tartarugas, como o forão do coelho. Este sapi tem pelle muito parda, que vae tirando a preta, o focinho comprido, e delgado e na ponta d'elle uma tromba como porco. Tem um pesçoço de meio palmo e sobre elle da parte de cima uma concha do mesmo comprimento e de tres dedos de largura, a qual é de couro, dura e esponjosa, toda arregoada, com a qual se pega nas pedras como fazem as sanguesugas e a mesma propriedade tem de chupar sangue. E por essa razão quando encontram as tartarugas,

remettem a ellas e ferram-lhe do pescoço ou d'uma ilharga com esta concha e com ella lhe chupam tanto sangue, até que se fartam, deixando-as quasi mortas, sem ellas lhe poderem resistir, nem fugir, por serem muito grandes e carregadas e o peixe sapi mui ligeiro.

Tanto que os pescadores tem tomado algum d'estes peixes, logo o deitam em uma gamella de agua salgada e o trazem na embarcação em viveiro e lhe atam no rabo uma linha de pescar muito comprida, e d'esta maneira o levam e vão pelo mar em busca das tartarugas, que ordinariamente andam sobre as aguas, e como vem alguma lançam-lhe o peixe preso pelo rabo, como quem lança forão atrellado a coelho, e o peixe remette logo a ella com tanta furia, como se estivera solto e não tivera recebido algum escandalo do anzol com que foi pescado, ou da prisão em que andava. E em lhe chegando se aferra n'ella tão fortemente que a não larga mais; e depois que os pescadores o sentem ferrado, puxam pela linha e o trazem acima da agua sem soltar a tartaruga, a qual com ser tão grande e pesada, vem tão senhoriada e atormentada do peixe, que não bole consigo, antes se deixa levar d'elle facilmente, pela dôr que sente no tempo que puxam por elle, porque então ferra muito mais. E d'esta maneira, chegando a tartaruga á borda da embarcação, os pescadores a tomam logo com as mãos mui depressa, e a mettem dentro e tornam o peixe á sua gamella. E d'esta maneira tomam muitas tartarugas.

D'este modo se faz outra pescaria na China com corvos marinhos, que para isso manda o rei crear em todos os seus portos de mar em capoeiras, como gallinhas, como refere o padre Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, no livro que fez da China. A qual pescaria se faz da maneira seguinte: Atam estes corvos com um cordel comprido por baixo das azas e os lançam ao mar, com o bucho atado, para que não possam engolir, o peixe que tomarem. Os quaes mergulham logo abaixo e tomam quanto peixe miudo lhe pode caber na boca e na garganta, e tornando acima da agua, voam para a embarcação, onde estão os pescadores, e n'ella despejam a pescaria que trazem e logo voltam ao mar a fazer outra. E depois de terem feito grande pescaria d'esta maneira, lhe desatam o laço do bucho, para que possam pescar para si e comer até que se fartem. Este peixe miudo recolhem os pescadores em viveiros de agua que trazem nas embarcações, e d'aqui os levam para

terra, e os criam em tanques, que para isso tem feitos, até que são grandes e d'alli os vendem. Pelo qual respeito ha sempre grande abundancia de peixe fresco em todas as terras da China.

Duas castas de tartarugas ha n'esta costa: umas tem uma só concha, como concha de cágado, preta e feia, da qual se não faz obra, nem presta para mais, que para servir de gamella, mas a carne d'estas é melhor. Outras tartarugas ha, que tem duas conchas. A primeira, que tem junto da carne é inteira e molle como couro grosso; sobre esta tem outra concha pegada mui formosa, e pintada de amarello e preto, a qual é de onze peças, cada uma de um palmo, pouco mais ou menos, e estão juntas umas com as outras e pegadas na concha molle, de tal maneira, que parecem ambas uma só inteira. E d'aqui se tiram estas conchas de cima, de que se faz toda a obra que vemos feita de tartaruga, como são cofres, colheres e outras peças curiosas e ricas, tão estimadas como sabemos.

### CAPITULO XVIII.

Dos tubarões de Moçambique, e de todo o mar Oceano, e de outras castas de peixe que ha n'este mar.

Grandes e muitos tubarões ha n'este mar Oceano, mui carniceros, e em particular os que andam no mar de Moçambique. Os quaes se vão ás praias da ilha a espreitar os cafres, que se vão lavar no mar, onde tem já tomado muitos. Pelo que ninguem ousa de se metter n'elle para se lavar, ou nadar, porque estão os tubarões nas praias, tão cosidos com a areia debaixo da agua que não parecem senão quando dão de subito com a presa, e a apanham e levam. Em uma praia d'esta ilha, junto a S. Gabriel, andavam uns moços folgando á borda do mar, e não tinham dentro d'agua mais que os pés, cuidando que andavam mui seguros, mas succedeu-lhes mal, porque veiu um tubarão, e apanhou um d'elles, e o levou para o mar e o comeu.

Outro tubarão apanhou um escravo da nossa casa de S. Domingos de Moçambique, o qual andava com outros da mesma casa deitando ao mar um batel, que na praia estava varado, estando presente o padre Fr. João Madeira, Vigario que então era da dita casa, que lhe mandava fazer esta obra; o qual tubarão ferrou do escravo por uma perna de tal maneira, que lh'a levou logo fóra

por cima do joelho, como se lh'a cortaram com um machado, e acudindo o escravo com uma mão, lh'a levou juntamente com meio braço, e acabara de o levar de todo se os outros escravos lhe não acudiram, e o tiraram a terra, onde d'ahi a pouco morreu.

A estes tubarões chamam os homens do mar marraxos. Outra casta de tubarões ha mais prejudiciaes e carniceiros, que estes, a que chamam tintureiras. Estes são muito maiores e mais compridos, e tem a pelle mais parda, e muitas ordens de dentes. São mui golosos, assim uns, como os outros. Não ha cousa que se deite ao mar, que elles não engulam, se podem. Quando eu fui para a India, em uma náó da nossa companhia tomaram um tubarão e acharam-lhe no bucho um garfo de prata, que devia ter cahido de alguma náó, ou da mesma companhia, ou de qualquer outra. Diz o padre Mendoça, que na viagem das Indias Occidentaes acharam os hespanhoes mui grandes tubarões, que tinham muitas ordens de dentes, e pescando alguns d'elles, lhe acharam nos buchos todas as immundicias, que lançavam das náós, em um dos quaes acharam a cabeça de um carneiro inteira com seus cornos, que tinha cahido ao mar de uma das náós. Os que nós achamos iam seguindo a náó, e tomando toda a carne de salé, que os marinheiros e soldados deitavam ao mar atada em cordas, para se lhe ir lavando a salmoura. E tão golosos e carniceiros eram, que até as camizas, que deitavam ao mar atadas da mesma maneira, para se irem lavando, apanhavam e engolliam, inteiras cortando-lhe as cordas, em que andavam presas. Pela qual causa os marinheiros lhe armavam anzoos grandes iscados com carne que para isso levavam, com dous palmos de cadeia de ferro, porque lhe não cortassem a corda com os dentes. E d'esta maneira tomavam muitos de que faziam grandes justicas, abrindo-lhe as barrigas e o bucho, onde achavam muitas vezes as camizas, que tinham engollido, inda com os nós atados, e as postas de carne inteiras. E depois d'isso lhe quebravam os olhos, e lhe cortavam dois palmos de rabo, e nem assim acabavam de morrer. D'esta maneira os tornavam a deitar ao mar, onde inda iam nadando, até que desapareciam.

Em muitas partes d'esta viagem achamos muito peixe que logo ia seguindo a náó, como eram douradas, bonitos, albocoras. Dos quaes se pescava muita quantidade. Este peixe se pesca, indo a náó á vela, com anzoos, que penduram da náó por uma linha, até chegar á superficie da agoa, os quaes levam pegado ao



ferro um retalho de panno de linho, ou penas de gallo, que vão tocando de quando em quando na agoa; ás quaes remette o peixe de salto, cuidando que é outro peixe pequeno, a que chamam peixe voador, e assim engollindo estas iscas falsas juntamente com o anzol, fica preso, e pendurado pela linha, até que o tiram acima da náó.

Em outras paragens achavamos infinitos peixes voadores. Os quaes são do modo de um arenque, e do mesmo tamanho. Tem duas barbatanas nas ilhargas, grandes e largas como azas de morcego, com que voam muito alto e longe como passaros, quando se veem apertados de outros peixes grandes, que os querem comer. Este é o mais perseguido peixe, que me parece ha no mar, porque os grandes andam sempre após elle, para o comerem, e quando foge d'elles, e vae voando pelo ar, é perseguido dos passaros, que tambem o buscam para o comerem. De modo, que se foge do mar perseguido pelos peixes, ficar no ar nas unhas das aves. E com estes voadores serem tão perseguidos, e morrerem d'esta maneira muitos, ficam tantos, que em muitas partes cobrem os ares voando, como passaros, que andam em bandos.

No mar das ilhas de Quirimba d'esta costa, de que vou falando, ha tantos salmonetes que por serem muitos, não são estimados. Ha tambem outros peixes, a que chamam mordixins, que se parecem muito com bogas ou picões do rio. Este é o melhor e mais sadio peixe, que ha n'estas partes. Ha outro peixe, a que chamam peixe serra, como grandes corvinas, mas é muito melhor, e guarda-se em conserva, e curado parece lacão; e assim é muito estimado.

## CAPITULO XIX.

Das embarcações e marinheiros, navegação, e mercadorias de toda esta costa.

Todas as embarcações, em que se navega por esta costa do Cabo das Correntes até o estreito de Meca, que são de madeira, que os mouros colhem no mato, fendida pelo meio ao machado, e depois lavrada com enxó de duas mãos ao modo de enxada, e assim não fazem de cada páo mais que duas taboas, podendo fazer muitas, se o serraram, mas é cousa que não se usa n'esta costa. D'este taboado fazem as embarcações cosidas todas com fio de cairo, e pregadas com pregos de páo, e do mesmo cairo lhe

fazem toda a cordoalha e as amarras. As embarcações grandes chamam navetas, e ás meãs pangaios, e ás pequenas luzios, ou almadias. As vellas de todas estas são de esteira feitas de folhas de palma, ou tamareiras bravas.

Os marinheiros de todas estas embarcações são mouros os mais d'elles pretos, barbaros e mui amigos de vinho, e não tem de mouros mais que o nome, e circumcisão, porque nem sabem, nem guardam a lei de Mafoma, que professam. O principal em que se esmeram, é em festejar muito todas as luas novas, e n'ellas ordinariamente se embebedam todos com festa defendendo-lhe sua lei o vinho. São muito agoureiros, quando andam no mar, se tem alguma tormenta grande, inda que tragam a embarcação sobre-carregada, não querem alijar cousa alguma d'ella, dizendo que o mar engolle tudo quanto lhe lançam, e nunca se farta, e quanto mais lhe lançam, tanta mais se embravece, e não amaina suas ondas, até lhe não lançarem tudo quanto vae na embarcação.

Quando falta o vento a estes marinheiros para navegar, açoitam as embarcações, em que vão, com cordas pela popa, e pelas ilhargas, tanto, até que elles mesmo cançam e suam; isto fazem gritando e pelejando com ellas, como se tiveram entendimento para sentirem, o que lhe dizem e fazem, ou deixaram de navegar por sua culpa, attribuindo-lh'a elles; porque dizem, que tambem as embarcações se fazem preguiçosas, e ronceiras por não navegar, e o vento, como as vê d'esta maneira, deixa de ventar, compadecendo-se d'ellas e deixando-as descansar, e como descansam, torna a ventar, como d'antes. El alguns marinheiros ha, que tem esta superstição por tão verdadeira, que não ha despersuadil-os d'ella. Isto vi eu fazer duas vezes aos marinheiros das ilhas de Quirimba, indo para Moçambique, e estranhando-lhe muito darem nas embarcações, pois não sentiam o que lhe faziam, zombaram de mim dizendo que não sabia o costume d'aquelles pangaios, porque como se descuidavam era necessario espertal-os, e que eu veria logo tornar o vento; mas não veiu senão quando Deus foi servido. Ao piloto d'estas embarcações chamam Malemo, e ao mestre Mocadão.

As mercadorias com que os mercadores d'esta costa refregam tudo o que os cafres vendem, são roupas de todas as sortes, e particularmente bertangis pretos, e contas meudas de barro vidrado de todas as côres, as quaes vem cada anno da India para

Moçambique. Com estas veniagas manda o capitão da fortaleza uma naveta cada anno á ilha do Inhaca, que está no rio de Lourenço Marques a fazer resgate, d'onde lhe vae ambar, marfim, escravos, mel e manteiga, cornos e unhas de Bada, dentes e unhas de cavallo marinho. Outra naveta ou pangaio manda cada anno ao Cabo das Correntes, e rio de Inhambane, d'onde lhe vae o mesmo. Cada seis mezes manda um pangaio e muitas vezes dois a Sofala com as mesmas mercadorias, d'onde lhe levam ambar, marfim, aljofar e perolas, que se pescam no mar das ilhas Bucicas, dentes de peixe mulher, mel, manteiga, arroz, muitos escravos, e uma boa copia de ouro em pó, pastas e lascas. Aos rios de Cuama manda cada seis mezes tres e quatro pangaaios com estas mercadorias. D'onde lhe vae grande copia de ouro em pó, pastas e lascas, marfim, dentes de cavallo marinho, mel e manteiga, arroz, e muitos escravos. Ás ilhas de Angoxa manda cada seis mezes um pangaio. D'onde lhe trazem marfim, algum ambar, muitos escravos, esteiras de palha muito fina, e palhetes para a cabeça, que são mui usados n'esta costa. Á ilha de S. Lourenço manda cada anno um navio, ou naveta grande. D'onde lhe levam muitas vaccas, cabras de boa casta, que parem duas vezes no anno, dois e tres cabritos de cada parto, ambar e escravos, pannos de hervas, que os negros da ilha tecem, mui bons e finos, de que os portuguezes fazem esteiras para os estrados, e alguns negros, particularmente os da ilha, se vestem d'elles. Ás ilhas de Quirimba, até o Cabo Delgado, manda cada anno um capitão. O qual faz por todas estas ilhas muitos mantimentos de milho e arroz, para provimento da fortaleza de Moçambique, muitas vaccas, cabras e algum marfim que vem da terra firme a vender ás ilhas, algum ambar, muito manná, e muita tartaruga, e grande copia de escravos. Esta jurisdicção do capitão de Moçambique, começa da ilha do Inhaca até o Cabo Delgado, que são mais de trezentas legoas de costa.

Estes escravos de todas estas terras, que tenho apontado todos, ou a maior parte d'elles nasceram fôrros; mas estes cafres são tão grandes ladrões, que furtam os pequenos, e trazem enganados os grandes até ás praias onde os vendem aos portuguezes, ou aos mouros, ou a outros cafres mercadores que tratam n'isso, dizendo que são seus captivos. A outros escravos d'estes vendem seus paes em tempo de necessidades ou de fome. Outros captivam os reis por alguns crimes, que commettem, e os mandam vender.

Outros são os que se captivam em guerra, na qual ordinariamente os cafres andam uns com os outros, e os vencedores vendem os captivos que tomam n'ella.

Já que n'este livro terceiro tratei da ilha e fortaleza de Moçambique, rasão será que dê aqui uma relação, que agora veio da India, do cerco e guerra que os hollandezes lhe fizeram o anno passado de 607 a qual se pode vêr no capitulo seguinte.

## CAPITULO XX.

Em que se dá uma breve relação da guerra que os hollandezes fizeram á fortaleza de Moçambique, e do cerco que lhe pozeram no anno de 607.

N'este anno de 608 chegaram a este reino as náos da India, de que era capitão mór D. Jeronymo Coutinho, em as quaes vieram novas da guerra, que os hollandezes fizeram á fortaleza de Moçambique. E porquanto n'este terceiro livro da *Ethiopia Oriental* tenho tratado d'esta ilha e fortaleza, me pareceu que devia (antes de passar ávante) dar uma breve relação do que n'esta guerra, e cerco succedeu, a qual é a seguinte.

Aos vinte e nove de Março do anno do Senhor de 1607, chegaram ao porto de Moçambique oito náos de hollandezes (estando n'ella por capitão D. Estevão de Athayde, fidalgo mui nobre) com cuja vista os moradores da ilha se acabaram de recolher na fortaleza, porque já se começavam a recolher, por terem aviso da India da ida d'estas náos; e por essa causa tinham já mettido n'ella a principal fazenda, dinheiro, peças e movel de suas casas. Tanto que estas náos chegaram ao porto (que é da banda de dentro de duas ilhas que estão defronte da fortaleza, obra de uma legoa ao mar, chamadas S. Jorge e Santiago) surgiram todas juntas, e logo largaram uma bandeira de guerra, por onde de todo foram conhecidas por náos de inimigos e juntamente lançaram muitas lanchas ao mar, que traziam dentro nas náos. No dia seguinte, que foi sabbado, tanto que a maré começou a encher se levou a náo capitaina e as mais apoz ella, e todas enfiadas uma detraz da outra, foram entrando pela barra da ilha de Moçambique, com tanta ousadia, como se não houvesse ali fortaleza, sendo ella uma das mais fortes da India, e jogando ella n'este tempo com muita e grossa artilheria, que tem, de que os inimigos receberam muito damno. N'esta entrada, tocou uma d'estas oito

nãos em um baixo (de dois que tem esta barra mui perigosos) e sobre elle esteve quasi encostada, e perdida ; mas os hollandezes lhe acudiram logo com muita pressa em suas lanchas, e com cabos, que lhe deram, a tiraram para o canal, e a meteram dentro em companhia das mais náos, com tanta deligencia, como se toda a sua vida foram pilotos d'aquella barra, e souberam os passos d'aquelle canal e bahia. E foram surgir dentro, em parte onde a fortaleza lhe não podia fazer damno ; e logo no domingo seguinte pela manhã deitaram em terra quinhentos mosqueteiros ; e foram senhores d'ella, por causa da gente da fortaleza ser então pouca, em comparação dos inimigos, que não era bastante para lhe defender que não desembarcassem, porque n'esse tempo não havia na fortaleza mais que cento e quarenta e cinco homens, entre velhos e moços. No mesmo domingo tiraram das suas náos algumas peças de artilheria e as pozeram no convento de S. Domingos ; onde se fizeram fortes, e se alojaram todos, por ficar fronteiro á fortaleza. E vendo que lhe ficava d'ali a bateria longe, começaram a fazer vallos e trincheiras do convento até a ermida de S. Gabriel, e d'ahi outras até junto á fortaleza ; onde armaram tres baluartes com sacas e pipas cheias de terra, tão fortes como de pedra e cal ; e n'elles pozeram nove peças de artilheria grossa com que batiam a fortaleza com tanta presta, que cada dia lhe tiravam de oitenta peças para cima, entre as quaes havia um canhão mui grande, que tirava com pelouro de cincoenta e dois arrateis, com o qual lhe faziam muito damno na fortaleza. N'este combate foram continuando por espaço de dois mezes, que a tiveram de cerco.

Alem d'esta bateria ordenaram umas mantas de madeira e taboas postas sobre cavallos de páo, e debaixo d'ellas chegaram a querer picar um baluarte que se chama de S. Gabriel, mas a gente da fortaleza os tratou tão mal com penedos que lhe lançou de cima dos muros, que lhe fez largar a empreza e o ardil que tinham ordenado, com morte de muitos hollandezes. Todos estes ardis faziam os hollandezes de noite por se livrarem do grande damno, que os nossos lhe faziam de cima dos muros da fortaleza com a espingardaria. Da nossa parte tambem não faltavam ardis para encontrar e desfazer os dos hollandezes, porque fizeram grandes luminarias de alcatrão ardendo em caldeiras postas em hasteas compridas sobre o muro, de modo que alumiaavam o campo circumstante á fortaleza : por onde os hollandezes não ousavam

chegar perto d'ella, por não serem vistos dos nossos, que vigiavam por cima dos muros, e mortos á espingarda. De maneira, que os cento e quarenta e cinco homens que havia dentro na fortaleza, sempre lavaram a melhor dos inimigos, que eram dois mil homens pouco mais ou menos, e sempre lhe desfizeram suas machinas, e vieram a tel-os em tão pouca conta, que sahiram uma noute da fortaleza vinte homens, e deram sobre elles, e mataram muitos, sem algum dos nossos perigar; e pelo discurso do tempo, que durou o cerco foram mortos dos inimigos passante de trezentos, e dos nossos sómente dois portuguezes; no que se deve muito ao bom governo, e prudencia do capitão da fortaleza, que n'esta guerra se houve não sómente como sagaz capitão, mas tambem como exforçado soldado, sendo o primeiro na vigia, e na briga, com que dava grande animo aos seus soldados.

Vendo os inimigos o pouco fructo que tinham feito em tão continua guerra, e a muita gente que os da fortaleza lhe tinham morto; e tambem por se temerem que podiam ir as nossas náos d'este reino áquelle porto, (como tem de costume) e achal-os dentro sem poderem fugir, tornaram a embarcar toda a sua artilheria, e querendo-se partir, fizeram uma carta ao capitão da fortaleza em que lhe diziam, se queria resgatar as egrejas, casas e palmares da ilha, e quintas da terra firme, que fossem dois homens da fortaleza tratar isso com elles, e senão, que tudo haviam de pôr por terra, e abrasar com fogo. A isto lhe foi respondido, que nenhum concerto nem resgate queriam com elles, mais que guerra. O que visto pelos hollandezes, pozeram logo fogo a toda a cidade com tão grande incendio d'alcatrão, que não ficou casa nem igreja em pé. Cousa bem para sentir, maiormente o que fizeram ás imagens e altares; o que tudo quebraram e derrubaram. Além d'isso cortaram todos os palmares que havia na ilha, que eram muitos e de muita renda, tambem queimaram duas náos que estavam no porto, uma d'ellas meia carregada de fazendas, que havia poucos dias havia chegado da India. E em terra tomaram muita fazenda, que não houve tempo para se recolher na fortaleza. E levaram um galeoto do capitão da fortaleza, que tinha vindo do Cabo das Correntes. De maneira que a todos foi geral a perda, estimada em mais de cem mil cruzados. Isto concluido, sahiram pela barra fóra, não tanto a seu salvo, como cuidaram, porque além de lhe matarem muita gente com a artilheria da fortaleza, que sempre lhe foi tirando, uma das náos, ao sahir da

barra, se embarçou de maneira que tocou em um dos baixos do canal, e alli ficou encalhada. D'aqui se foram os hollandezes ás ilhas do Comoro, que estão setenta legoas d'esta de Moçambique, buscar mantimentos, como depois se soube.

Poucos dias depois que os hollandezes se foram, chegou ao porto de Moçambique D. Jeronymo Coutinho (que ia d'este reino para a India, por capitão mór) com tres náos, e entrando com ellas pela barra dentro, surgiu perto da fortaleza, onde é costume surgirem. Aqui esteve fazendo agoada, tomando refresco, e esperando tempo, para se partir para a India, até cinco d'agosto; no qual dia tornaram os hollandezes ao porto de Moçambique e lançaram ancora, no surgidouro que está da ilha de S. Jorge para dentro, com cuja chegada se tornou a recolher a gente da ilha de Moçambique dentro na fortaleza; e D. Jeronymo com a sua se foi para as suas náos, e assim uns, como os outros, se pozeram em ordem de pelear com os hollandezes, se quizessem entrar o canal de Moçambique; o que elles não ousaram fazer, antes se deixaram estar no mesmo porto, e d'ali fizeram algumas sahidias em suas lanchas, e de uma se encontraram com os nossos bateis, e pelearam ás mosquetadas, até fugirem para as suas náos. Outra vez sahiram, e desembarcando na terra firme, tomaram um mouro da ilha, e souberam d'elle como D. Jeronymo tinha dois mil homens de pelega, pela qual razão logo se resolveram em ir para a India, como fizeram, e sahiram do porto de Moçambique aos vinte e seis dias de Agosto.

Vendo D. Jeronymo Coutinho como os hollandezes eram idos, e que inda tinha tempo para poder ir á India, negociou as cousas, que lhe eram necessarias para a viagem, e deixando na fortaleza cem soldados das suas náos, e trinta mosquetes, logo se partiu; mas ao sahir da barra tocou uma das tres náos que levava (que foi a náó S. Francisco) em um dos baixos do canal, onde se encostou, mas logo lhe acudiram, e a descarregaram da fazenda que levava, sem se perder nada d'ella; e depois que a náó se descarregou, nadou, porém fazia tanta agoa, que ficou em Moçambique, e parte da sua carga, e a outra se partiu pelas outras duas náos, e foi para a India. N'este estado ficaram as cousas d'esta ilha, e fortaleza de Moçambique. E hoje está mui bem provida de soldados, munições, e mantimentos.

## SEGUNDA PARTE.—LIVRO II.—CAPITULO VIII.

Da fundação da casa de S. Domingos de Moçambique.

Depois que os religiosos da ordem dos pregadores plantaram a fé de Christo em algumas partes da India, como fica dito, desejosos de a dilatar pelas mais partes do Oriente, passaram ás da Ethiopia Oriental, para n'ellas cultivarem o mato da inculta, e agreste gentildade. Estes foram os padres Fr. Jeronymo do Couto, e Fr. Pedro Usus Maris; os quaes fundaram logo uma casa na ilha de Moçambique, em que morassem ordinariamente seis ou sete religiosos. Isto foi no tempo que veiu ter a esta ilha o conde d'Atouguia D. Luiz d'Athayde, quando foi a segunda vez por vice-rei da India, que foi no anno de 1577. Os quaes padres vieram ali da India dirigidos para irem á ilha de S. Lourenço, que então se mandava descobrir e conquistar, para n'ella pregarem e fundarem casas, em que residissem religiosos da mesma ordem para o mesmo effeito. O que então se não poudo executar, por se não fazer esta conquista nem o estado da India estar poderoso para fazer tantas despezas e gastos, como para tal empreza era necessario. Pelo que o dito conde vice-rei deixou os padres em Moçambique, dando-lhe ordem, para que fizessem primeiro assento na dita ilha, escolhendo-lhe elle em pessoa o sitio, para se fazer o convento, que os hollandezes destruíram (como fica dito), a qual casa seria fundamento e seminario de toda esta christandade, e que d'alli poderiam os padres ir a todas as partes, assim á ilha de S. Lourenço, quando se conquistasse, como a toda esta costa da terra firme do Cabo Delgado até o Cabo das Correntes, a prégar o santo Evangelho. Estes justos e prudentes intentos d'este vice-rei não foram mal fundados, antes todos se cumpriram, e pozeram em effeito; porque da mesma casa foram logo os padres de S. Domingos continuando com a christandade, e pregação do Evangelho por todas estas partes; dos quaes uns foram á ilha de S. Lourenço (como adiante diremos) outros foram á ilha do Cabo Delgado, e fizeram com Diogo Rodriguez Corrêa senhor da ilha de Quirimba, que fizesse na mesma ilha uma igreja, como fez, muito formosa, da invocação de Nossa Senhora do Rosario, a qual deu á ordem de S. Domingos, com terras e palmares, que estão ao redor d'ella,



com obrigação de duas missas rezadas cada semana. A qual igreja os padres de S. Domingos acceitaram com a dita obrigação; e até agora tem residido n'ella, e tem feito muitos milhares de christãos. N'esta igreja estive eu dois annos, e a christandade que n'ella fiz direi adiante em seu logar.

Outros religiosos d'esta casa de Moçambique foram enviados aos rios de Cuama, onde viviam os christãos que lá andavam, como se o não foram nem professaram a guarda da lei de Deus, comendo sempre carne ás sextas feiras, sabbados e quaresmas, uns por não saberem quando era dia de peixe ou de carne, nem terem quem lh'o lembrasse; outros por não quererem saber estas cousas, a que estavam obrigados. E a tanto chegava o descuido d'esta gente, que os moradores de Sena tinham em uma ermida, que havia na terra, sobre o altar um painel, no qual estava pintada Lucrecia Romana, assim como se pinta nua, atravessada com uma espada pelos peitos, á qual se encommendavam, cuidando que era Santa Catharina Martyr; de que se magoaram muito os primeiros padres que alli foram d'esta sagrada ordem, vendo em gente christã tanto descuido e ignorancia nas cousas da christandade. Pelo que foram logo estranhando, amoestando e prégando aos moradores d'estas partes, e tirando-lhe pouco e pouco muitos maus costumes, em que estavam arreigados, até os trazer ao conhecimento dos erros em que viviam, e á observancia da lei que professavam, como christãos tementes a Deus. De modo, que em todas as cousas da religião christã não tem agora estas terras differença alguma das que estão mettidas no amago da christandade. Estes mesmos padres fizeram logo uma igreja em Sena, da invocação de Santa Catharina de Sena, com duas confrarias mais, uma de Nossa Senhora do Rosario, e outra de Jesu, com suas imagens muito devotas e curiosas, que mandaram vir da India.

Fizeram mais uma igreja em Tete da invocação de Sant'iago, e n'ella outras duas confrarias, uma de Nossa Senhora da Conceição, e outra de Santo Antonio de Padua. As quaes igrejas ornaram de muitos ornamentos, e cousas necessarias para o culto divino. E assim fizeram muitos milhares de christãos dos gentios da terra; entre os quaes baptisaram alguns reis visinhos de Sena e de Tete. E os moradores d'estes rios confessaram publicamente, que a christandade d'estas partes se devia toda ao trabalho e vigilancia dos padres de S. Domingos. N'estas igrejas

estive eu tambem um anno, e a christandade que n'ellas fiz contarei adiante.

D'esta casa de Moçambique foram algumas vezes religiosos da dita ordem a visitar toda esta costa, assim de Sofala e rios de Cuama, como das ilhas de Quirimba e costa de Melinde, com poderes de visitadores dos arcebispos de Gôa, de cujo arcebis-pado é toda esta costa. Um dos quaes foi o padre Fr. Jeronymo de S. Agostinho, irmão do padre mestre Fr. Antonio de S. Domingos da mesma ordem, lente jubilado na cadeira de prima de theologia de Universidade de Coimbra. Outro foi o padre Fr. Diogo Cornejo, natural da India, da cidade de Chaul. Outro foi o padre apresentado Fr. Estevão de Assumpção. Outro foi o padre Fr. Manuel Pinto; todos religiosos de muita auctoridade, prudencia e virtude. Os quaes n'estas visitações (que cada um fez por sua vez, e alguns duas vezes e mais) fizeram muitos serviços a Deus, emendando muitos vicios, reprehendendo muitos peccados publicos e maus costumes, que havia em todas estas partes. De modo que esta casa de S. Domingos de Moçambique é seminario, do qual se provem todas estas christandades da Ethiopia, que tenho apontado, onde se faz muito serviço a Deus e a El-Rei Nosso Senhor.

## CAPITULO IX.

Que trata dos padres Fr. Nicolau do Rosario, Fr. João de S. Thomaz e Fr. João da Piedade, que os infieis mataram andando na christandade da Ethiopia.

### EXTRACTOS:—

Outro padre da mesma ordem, chamado Fr. Nicolau do Rosario, foi d'esta casa de Moçambique prégar aos rios de Cuama, no anno do Senhor de 1592, o qual era mui grande prégador, e dotado de muita virtude, e por tal tido não sómente da gente d'estes rios, mas tambem de todos os que o conheciam e conversavam, e muito mais da gente da perdição da náó S. Thomé, na qual tambem se achou, indo da India para Portugal. E em todos os trabalhos d'esta perdição (que foram infinitos) se houve como verdadeiro servo de Deus, soffrendo todos com muita paciencia e grande constancia, animando com seu exemplo e admoestações aos outros, que não desfallecessem; e no exterior mostrou muito bem os quilates da virtude que tinha no interior.

Este padre, depois de vir d'esta perdição, foi a estes rios, como tenho dito, em os quaes andava prégando, e fazendo officio de varão apostolico. N'este tempo succedeu uma guerra entre os portuguezes d'estes rios, e uma nação de cafres, a que chamam Zimbas, mui barbaros e crueis, os quaes comiam carne humana, e faziam muitos males, e muito maiores se esperava que fizessem. Pelo qual respeito o capitão de Tete, que então era Pero Fernandez de Chaves, com a maior parte dos portuguezes que havia na terra, determinou lançar fóra estes cafres dos logares que tinham tomados por força aos cafres visinhos d'estes rios, e tornal-os outra vez a seus donos. Posta sua ida em conclusão, pediu o capitão muito ao padre Fr. Nicolau o quizesse acompanhar n'este caminho, para sacramentar a gente d'esta companhia. O que elle accitou, e fez com muito gosto, parecendo-lhe que n'isso fazia muito grande serviço a Deus e aos portuguezes. Mas n'este caminho morreram quasi todos ás frechadas em uma cilada, que os cafres lhe fizeram (como largamente atraz fica contado), e o padre Fr. Nicolau, que ficou ainda vivo, posto que muito mal ferido, foi preso e levado á sua povoação, e atado de pés e mãos a um páu, o assetiaram e acabaram de matar cruelmente ás frechadas, por ser religioso, a quem elles chamam Caciz, dizendo que os portuguezes não faziam aquella guerra senão por seu conselho, porque os christãos não fazem similhantes cousas sem conselho e parecer de seus Cacizes. D'esta maneira acabou este religioso, como outro S. Sebastião, todo atravessado de frechas, prégando sempre, e confessando a fé de Christo, por quem morria. Depois de morto, os mesmos cafres o fizeram em pedaços, e o repartiram entre si, e o comeram cosido. Mas sua alma terá já alcançado o premio dos trabalhos, e morte que soffreu por amor de Deus.

D'esta casa de Moçambique foi mandado para a igreja de Sena o padre Fr. João da Piedade, onde se occupava nó serviço d'aquella christandade. N'este tempo succedeu que um cafre gentio, chamado Sanapache, senhor de umas terras dos rios de Cuama (vendo-se opprimido de seus inimigos) fugiu para Sena ao abrigo, e amparo dos portuguezes; e para os mais obrigar, e ter de sua parte, se fez christão, e o P. Fr. João da Piedade o catechisou e baptisou. Mas como este cafre se converteu (segundo depois mostrou) mais por respeito da necessidade, em que estava, que com desejo de sua salvação, tornou a fugir para suas terras

por certa occasião que teve, e levantou-se contra os portuguezes, declarando-se por seu inimigo, e fazendo-lhe todo o mal que podia. N'esta conjunção vindo o P. Fr. João pelo rio em uma embarcação, este cafre lhe sahiu ao encontro, e o matou cruelmente, em paga de o fazer christão, e de lhe dar conhecimento de Deus. De maneira que a estes perigos e mortes andam ordinariamente offerecidos os nossos religiosos, que n'esta christandade se occupam pela augmentar e dilatar.

## CAPITULO XVII.

De vinte e quatro religiosos da ordem dos prégadores, que foram de Portugal offerecidos para as christandades de Solor, e da Ethiopia Oriental.

Já temos dito, como no anno do Senhor de 1585 vieram da India cartas do bispo de Malaca D. João Gayo Ribeiro ao cardeal Alberto, que então governava este reino de Portugal, e ao provincial da ordem dos prégadores d'este reino, em que lhes declarava a grande christandade que os padres da mesma ordem faziam nas ilhas de Solor, e Timor, e do Ende, e do grande augmento, em que a tinham posto, e que não bastavam os que n'esse ministerio andavam occupados; e assim se deixava de fazer muita mais christandade, por ser grande a sementeira, e poucos os obreiros, e não poderem accudir a tanto. Pelo que admoestava e pedia muito, fossem de Portugal padres da dita ordem a soccorrer esta necessidade. Estas cartas por descuido que houve em quem as trouxe, se detiveram até dois dias antes do Natal, e então se deram ao cardeal, e ao nosso padre provincial que n'esse tempo era o padre mestre Fr. Jeronymo Corrêa. E vistas por elles, as mandaram lêr em capitulo aos religiosos do convento de S. Domingos de Lisboa. Pelo que se offereceram logo cinco padres para se embarcarem no galeão *Reis Magos*, que estava para partir para Malaca o dia seguinte, que era vespera de Natal. Estes cinco padres eram, o P. mestre Fr. Thomaz de Brito, mui douto, que actualmente estava lendo theologia em S. Domingos de Lisboa. O padre presentado Fr. Francisco de Mattos mui habil, que juntamente estava lendo artes no mesmo convento. O P. Fr. Luiz de Brito. O padre Fr. Francisco da Cunha. E o padre Fr. Gaspar Teixeira, todos lettrados e prégadores de muitas partes, e grandes esperanças.

Dos quaes ia por presidente o padre M. F. Thomaz de Brito, com muitos favores e privilegios do cardeal. Embarcados pois no dito galeão (de que era capitão João Gago d'Andrade, piloto André Lopes, e mestre Antonio Corrêa) não poderam partir da barra de Lisboa senão vespera de Reis do anno de 1586. A qual viagem foi muito trabalhosa, e padeceram n'ella muitos infortunios, assim dos tempos contrarios, como por via de ladrões ingleses, com duas náos dos quaes pelejaram, e tiveram tão cruel briga, que abalroando o galeão com as náos vieram á espada, e pelejaram obra de duas horas, havendo feridos, e mortos de parte a parte; e vendo os ladrões a pouca esperança que tinham de levar a melhor dos nossos, desaferraram o galeão, e se fizeram n'outra volta, e os do galeão foram continuando sua viagem; e a cabo de seis mezes chegaram a Moçambique, por causa dos ventos contrarios que tiveram.

Depois de partidos estes cinco religiosos, foram levadas estas cartas do bispo de Malaca pelos nossos conventos d'esta provincia de Portugal, e lidas aos religiosos d'ella. E logo se offereceram para esta nova empreza muitos, particularmente no collegio de Coimbra, d'onde sahiram alguns collegiaes de grande habilidade, e vieram a Lisboa para se embarcarem nas náos, que se aviavam para ir á Índia, como de feito embarcaram dezenove por todos, em companhia do padre Fr. Jeronymo de S. Thomaz, que n'esse anno foi para a India por vigario geral da congregação dos frades prégadores. Estes religiosos se repartiram em duas náos, que eram a náo *Reliquias*, e a náo *S. Thomé* Capitaina, na qual ia por capitão mór D. Jeronymo Coutinho, piloto Alvaro de Villasboas, e mestre Antonio Negrão. N'esta náo se embarcaram com o padre vigario geral treze religiosos, s. O P. apresentado F. João da Piedade, que agora é bispo da China. O padre Fr. Jeronymo de S. Domingos, o qual depois de estar na India treze annos foi eleito em vigario geral da congregação da mesma ordem. O P. Fr. Domingos da Visitação, religioso mui virtuoso, e douto, o qual leu artes tanto que chegou á India, e depois theologia. O padre Fr. Serafino de Christo. O padre Fr. Cosmo Carreira. O padre Fr. João Lopez. O padre Fr. João de S. Paulo, flamengo de nação. O padre Fr. João Frausto. O padre Fr. Diogo. O padre Fr. Pantaleão da Silva. O irmão Fr. Domingos leigo. E eu, a quem coube tambem a sorte de acompanhar d'esta viagem tão virtuosos, e grandes religiosos, e fiz

este roteiro para lembrança das muitas e grandes mercês, que Deus nos fez em tão larga peregrinação. Em a náó *Reliquias* se embarcaram os padres Fr. Domingos Gomes, Fr. Francisco da Silva, Fr. Diogo Barreira, Fr. Jeronymo Lopez, Fr. Miguel dos Anjos, e o irmão Fr. Antonio de S. Jorge, leigo.

### CAPITULO XVIII.

Do que nos aconteceu na viagem de Portugal, até o cabo da Boa Esperança.

Partimos da barra de Lisboa aos treze de Abril de 1586 indo n'esta frota cinco náos, s. a náó Capitaina *S. Thomé*, a náó *Caranjá*, a náó *S. Philippe*, a náó *Salvador*, e a náó *Reliquias*. Aos dois dias de viagem chegamos a uma paragem do mar, a que os mareantes chamam Val das Egoas, onde achámos grandes ventos, e mares empolados, e por elles fomos navegando cinco dias. E aos vinte de abril chegámos á ilha da Madeira; e do Portosanto veiu um batel de pescadores á nossa náó, que nos deram algum pescado, e levaram para terra alguns soldados enjoados, que ali quizeram ficar.

Aos dez dias de Maio chegámos á linha equinocial; onde tivemos muitas calmarias, trovoadas, e chuviros, que nos trataram muito mal, e nos romperam as velas da cevadeira por duas vezes. Outra vez nos deu uma grande trovoadade de noite, que nos levou a vela grande da gavea. E com esta trovoadade se apartaram todas as náos, que até então tinham vindo juntas, e cada uma foi para seu cabo; de modo que quando veiu pela manhã nenhuma viu a outra, nem se ajuntaram, senão em Moçambique. Finalmente a cabo de oito dias que alli andamos muito enfadados, entrou o vento geral, com que passámos a linha do Norte para o Sul, aos dezoito dias do mez de Maio. E n'esta paragem se nos corromperam os mais dos mantimentos.

Aos tres dias de junho vimos uma ilha deserta em altura de vinte e tres graos da banda do Sul, de serras mui altas, e mui cheia de arvoredos. Teria mais de uma legoa de comprido e meia de largo. Por junto da qual passamos uma manhã sem ser conhecida do piloto, nem dos marinheiros. Passada esta ilha, tivemos alguns dias de calmaria, e no fim d'elles um grande temporal de ventos furiosos; com que fomos navegando pela bolina escaça com muito trabalho. E foi o tempo tanto, que nos

quebrou a verga do mastro grande pelo meio, e rompeu a vela grande em pedaços. Mas quiz Deus que não perigassemos em outra cousa mais, e tudo se concertou passada a tormenta; e fomos outra vez continuando nossa viagem.

Chegamos ao cabo de Boa Esperança (que está em 34 grãos e meio da banda do Sul) o primeiro dia de julho, onde nos acalmou o vento. O mesmo dia á tarde, e toda aquella noute, e parte do dia seguinte pescaram os marinheiros, e tomaram infinidade de pescadas, ruivos, cações, e outro peixe de diversas castas; com que aliviamos muita parte de fome, enfadamentos, e trabalhos do mar.

No dia seguinte á tarde nos entrou bom vento em popa, com que fomos navegando para Moçambique com muito alvoroço, e alegria.

## CAPITULO XIX.

Do Corpo Santo que vimos, e do mais que nos succedeu até Moçambique.

### EXTRACTOS :—

Aos dez dias de agosto tivemos vista da terra firme, e das ilhas de Angoxa (que estão trinta legoas de Moçambique) onde encontrámos o Galeão de Malaca, que tinha partido de Portugal tres mezes diante de nós, em que iam os cinco padres de S. Domingos (de que já fallei) para a christandade de Solor; os quaes tinham sahido de Moçambique o dia d'antes, onde estiveram alguns dias refazendo-se do cansaço, e enfadamentos do mar, e tomaram refresco e agua necessaria para d'alli até Malaca. E porque correm muito as aguas n'aquella paragem, e o vento lhe faltou, tornaram atraz estas trinta legoas que são de Moçambique até Angoxa, onde os topámos; mas tornando-lhe bom vento foram continuando sua viagem até chegarem a salvamento á fortaleza de Malaca; e d'alli se tornaram a embarcar para as ilhas de Solor e Timor; aonde chegaram depois de passarem muitos contrastes e perigos na viagem. N'estas ilhas estiveram, e fizeram muitos serviços a Deus no augmento da christandade, e conversão da gentildade, que n'ellas morava.

Depois que perdemos de vista este galeão de Malaca, ao outro dia que foram treze de Agosto, chegámos a Moçambique, onde achámos já a náó *Caranjá*, e a náó *Reliquias* da nossa companhia,

que tinham alli chegado havia dois dias. E aos 14 logo depois de nós chegou a náó *Salvador* tambem da nossa companhia.

## CAPITULO XXII.

Do successo, que tiveram os padres, que foram á India n'esta frota.

Tanto que os religiosos d'esta nossa companhia chegaram á India, logo o padre vigario geral os começou de repartir, e occupar no ministerio da christandade para effectuarem o intento, a que foram de Portugal, que era prégar o Evangelho, e converter os infieis. Pelo que mandou alguns d'elles para as ilhas de Solor e Timor; onde fizeram muito fructo nas almas, convertendo, e baptisando muitos gentios, e fazendo outros muitos serviços a Deus.

Outros mandou para os fortes de Sena e Tete, que estão nos rios de Cuama; onde havia muitos annos que estavam padres da mesma ordem cultivando esta christandade. Para a igreja de Sena foi o P. Fr. Jeronymo Lopes. O qual fez n'aquella terra uma formosa igreja, porque a velha estava já muitó damnificada. E depois d'isso foi a Tete fazer outra a petição de seus moradores. E em Sena fez muitos christãos, e se occupou em outros serviços de Deus trez annos e meio que n'ella residiu por vigario.

Para a igreja de Tete foi o P. Fr. João Frausto; onde esteve outros tres annos e meio. E n'este tempo fez tambem grande copia de christãos, e foi algumas vezes dentro ao reino do Manamotapa a confessar, e sacramentar os christãos, que por aquelle reino andam espalhados e occupados em suas mercancias, assim portuguezes e mistiços, como dos naturaes da terra.

\* \* \* \* \*

Para a fortaleza de Sofala me mandou o nosso P. vigario geral, na qual estava já o P. Fr. João Madeira da mesma ordem, religioso velho e honrado, para estarmos ambos no ministerio d'esta christandade, e nos consolarmos e ajudarmos um ao outro em terras tão distantes e remotas da India. E o que n'ellas nos succedeu tratarei no seguinte livro.



## LIVRO TERCEIRO.—CAPITULO I.

Da primeira viagem que fiz de Moçambique para a fortaleza de Sofala.

Em Moçambique me deixou a obediencia, para d'ahi passar á christandade de Sofala, que são cento e sessenta legoas de viagem. E depois de negociadas todas as cousas, que nos eram necessarias para a dita christandade, partimos o primeiro de Novembro de 1586 com muito bom tempo, e com elle fomos navegando até horas de vespera. E chegámos aos baixos de Muginquale (que são quinze legoas de Moçambique) sobre os quaes estivemos perdidos por culpa do piloto, sem alguma esperança de salvação. Estando nós n'este perigo, já todos despídos esperando nossa perdição, quiz Nosso Senhor que veiu um grande mar, e levantou a embarcação (a que n'esta costa chamam pangaio) e a tirou de cima dos baixos, onde se estava desfazendo, com pancadas, e a lançou dentro em uns canaes, que estão entre aquelles baixos; por onde fômos sahindo sem tocar em outro baixo algum dos muitos, que havia por diante. Finalmente o dia seguinte fomos tomar o porto das ilhas de Angoxa; onde se concertou o pangaio, que vinha aberto, sem leme, quebrado, e quasi alagado com muita perda da fazenda, que dentro estava.

Estas ilhas de Angoxa são sete ou oito pequenas, umas de legua, e outras de meia, e menos; as quaes estão trinta leguas de Moçambique. Tres d'ellas sómente são povoadas de mouros pobres e mesquinhos. Os quaes são grandes officiaes de tecer esteiras de palha muito fina, brancas, e de côres muito formosas, que servem nos estrados das mulheres nobres, e tambem para dormirem n'ellas no tempo das calmas, que n'estas terras são mui ordinarias, e mui grandes; e fazem muitos chapéos de palha fina de que usam muito os portuguezes n'estas partes. Entre estas ilhas deu á costa, e se perdeu a náó *Nossa Senhora do Castello*, mas a gente quasi toda se salvou, e muita parte da fazenda da náó.

D'estas ilhas nos partimos depois do pangaio concertado, que foi d'ahi a quinze dias. Mas o segundo dia de viagem nos foi forçado entrar no rio de Quelimane por causa de uma trovoadá, que nos sobreveio do Sueste, o qual é travessão n'esta costa; e

na barra d'este rio estivemos quasi perdidos, porque o negro piloto errou a barra de modo, que fomos entrando por cima de todos os baixos mais de uma legoa, todos alagados com as grandes ondas, que havia. Mas quiz Deus, que não perigássemos, e assim entramos dentro sem tocar em baixo algum.

Na barra d'este rio se perdeu a náó *S. Luiz* o anno de 1582. A qual indo de Portugal para a India amanheceu um dia de frente d'este rio em tão pouca agua, que foi necessario cortar-lhe os mastros, porque o vento, com que alli foi, era do mar, e não podia com elle tornar por detraz, nem fugir dos baixos, que havia por diante. Mas nem isso bastou para que deixasse de dar á costa, e quebrar as amarras de duas ancoras, que tinha lançado ao mar. Finalmente dando nos baixos se fez em muitos pedaços, e alli se affogaram muitas pessoas, e outras se salvaram no batel, e no esquife da mesma náó, que foram ter a terra; onde em desembarcando, foram roubados pelos cafres de quanto salvaram, e d'aqui se foram pelo rio acima, até o forte de Sena.

N'esta barra estivemos oito dias; no fim dos quaes partimos para o rio de Luabo, onde haviamos de deixar algumas fazendas, que levava o nosso pangaio. Mas antes, que chegássemos a este rio, nos deu um vento contrario do Sul, muito grande, com que entramos no rio de Cuama a Velha, que está cinco legoas de Luabo, e alli dormimos uma noute. E no dia seguinte fomos para o rio de Luabo por dentro de um esteiro, que divide a terra firme da ilha de Luabo, a qual é de cinco legoas de largo, e outras tantas pouco mais ou menos de comprido, e por causa d'esta ilha chamam rio de Luabo a este braço, que é o principal dos rios de Cuama. N'este rio éstivemos cinco dias, e n'elles se descarregaram as fazendas, que alli haviam de ficar; e depois d'isso nos partimos para Sofala, onde chegamos a salvamento aos cinco de Dezembro do dito anno. Na qual fortaleza fui recebido com muito alvoroço, assim do padre Fr. João Madeira meu companheiro, como do capitão da fortaleza, que então era Garcia de Mello, fidalgo nobre e honrado, cunhado do alferes mór de Portugal D. Jorge de Menezes, que então era capitão de Moçambique.

## CAPITULO II.

De algumas viagens, que fiz por este mar de Sofala em serviço da sua christandade, e dos perigos que n'ellas tive.

Andando eu n'esta christandade de Sofala, muitas vezes me foi necessario passar a uma ilha chamada Inhançato (que está da outra banda do rio) por respeito dos christãos, que n'ella moravam, umas vezes a confessal-os, e sacramental-os quando estavam doentes, outras a dizer-lhe missa; e na passagem do rio, que é muito perigoso e largo, me vi perdido algumas vezes com tempos contrarios e trovoadas, que me succederam. E particularmente uma vez tornando da ilha para Sofala, vindo no meio do rio, a horas de sol posto se armou uma grande serração e subita trovoadade de vento e chuva, com que totalmente me vi perdido; pelo que mandei logo remar para a terra que apparecia mais perto, e foi entre uns matos, onde chegando com muito trabalho sahimos na praia, deixando o batel n'ella todo alagado; e d'alli á fortaleza de Sofala era uma legoa sem caminho, por entre matos, onde havia muitos ribeiros, que todos iam cheios de agoa, nos quaes nos vimos muito mais perdidos, pelo escuro ser muito grande, e não vermos por onde caminhavamos. Finalmente chegámos á fortaleza junto da meia noute feridos nos pés e mãos e rosto, do mato, ensopados em agoa, e mui mal tratados. Do qual trabalho se me causou uma gravissima enfermidade de quartans, que me duraram seis mezes.

Aos cinco dias de Novembro do anno de 1588, dois homens honrados casados em Sofala, e eu fomos a uma ilha deserta, que está no rio de Bango, sete legoas de Sofala, para lá estarmos alguns dias cortando madeira (que na dita ilha ha mui formosa) para emmadeirmos a egreja matriz, que estava para cahir. Partindo nós uma madrugada com o terreno, antes que sahisse o sol se levantou uma das maiores tormentas, que tenho visto; mas quiz Deus, que a furia d'ella nos tomou já perto da ilha; porém durou trez dias e trez noutes. O qual tempo todo estivemos na dita ilha oito pessoas sem comer e sem beber, porque outra embarcação que nos havia de levar as camas, e o mantimento necessario para todo o tempo, que lá haviamos de estar não se atreveu a partir de Sofala, nem o tempo lhe deu logar para isso, senão passados os trez dias. No fim dos quaes chegou á dita

ilha, onde nos achou já mui desfallecidos, assim da fome e sêde, como do máo tratamento dos ventos furiosos, que tinham ventado, e do desabrigo da ilha, porque a maior parte d'ella era allagadiça, e quando enchia a maré, estavamos sobre as arvores, assim de dia como de noute, até tornar a vazar. E o que mais nos atormentava, eram infinitos mosquitos, que nos comiam os olhos, sem lhe poder fugir nem resistir. E d'este máo tratamento adoecemos todos depois; e foi grande mercê de Deus não durar mais o tempo, porque se durara dois dias mais, todos alli acabaramos; mas como iamos em serviço de Deus, e do seu templo houve misericordia de nós, e tornou bom tempo, com que trouxemos a madeira necessaria, e concertamos a igreja mui perfeitamente.

No anno seguinte me foi necessario ir a Moçambique a certos negocios importantes á christandade de Sofala. Pelo que me embarquei em um pangaio. E sahindo pela barra, estivemos perdidos, porque achamos n'ella tão grandes mares, que nos quebrou a verga do mastro com os grandes balanços, que a embarcação dava, e se rompeu a vela em pedaços; e por outra parte as ondas nos levavam aos baixos, aos quaes se chegamos, sem falta nos perderamos. Mas quiz Deus que a maré vazava, e foi levando a embarcação para o mar fóra dos baixos, onde ficou mais quieta, e os mares deram logar para se tornar a concertar a verga e vela, com que tornámos outra vez a navegar levando bom tempo e vento. Mas o segundo dia nos deu uma tormenta do Sueste com muitos trovões, fuzis, e chuva grossa a horas de meia noute mui triste e medonha, em que nos vimos tão perdidos que fomos em busca da terra para darmos á costa, e salvarmos quando muito nossas vidas. Pelo que navegando toda a mais noute até as dez horas da manhã, chegamos á vista d'ella, e fomos-lhe pondo a prôa, indo todos já despídos, postos em feição de nadar, tanto que o navio tocasse em terra. E juntamente vinhamos resando as ladainhas e pedindo misericordia a Deus. A qual Elle houve comnosco, porque chegando a terra, vimos um riacho pequeno, chamado Inhagea, onde entramos sem perigo algum, e n'elle estivemos alguns dias, esperando bom tempo para seguir nossa viagem; mas não a fizemos, por serem já acabados os Ponentes e entrados os Levantes, que são os dois ventos, que cursam ordinariamente n'esta costa; pelo que nos tornamos d'alli para Sofala a cabo de um mez de viagem.

Muitas vezes caminhei em serviço da christandade de Sofala pelos matos de que a fortaleza está toda cercada, onde ha muitos elefantes, bufaras bravas, e outros bichos; dos quaes muitas vezes encontrei alguns a caso e pela misericordia de Deus nunca me fizeram mal algum, e assim me livrou sempre dos perigos do mar e da terra; pelo que lhe dou muitas graças. Apontei aqui estes casos para que se veja a quantos perigos andam os nossos religiosos offerecidos n'estas partes pelo augmento d'esta christandade.

## CAPITULO VII.

De uma mesquita, que os mouros de Sofala fizeram a outro mouro rico, onde o veneravam como santo, a qual eu queimei.

Defronte da fortaleza de Sofala está uma ilha da outra banda do rio chamada Inhançato, como já disse. D'esta ilha foi senhor antigamente um mouro chamado Muyenhe Mafamede, o qual era muito rico, e muito amigo dos portuguezes moradores de Sofala, tanto que muitas vezes comia e bebia com elles em suas casas todos os comeres, inda que levassem porco (cousa muito prohibida na sua lei) e particularmente era muito amigo de lacão, e de chouriços de carne de porco, e muito mais de vinho, que tambem é prohibido na mesma lei. De modo que zombava da sua lei em estas e outras muitas couzas; e dizia, que Mafamede não defendera o vinho, nem a carne de porco aos mouros; para prova do qual contava uma historia (que eu já ouvi n'este reino muitas vezes) em desprezo de Mafamede, dizendo, que antes de Mafamede ser rico e honrado, fôra primeiro regatão de vinhos, os quaes andava vendendo pelos campos aos lavradores, e que um dia levando um jumento carregado de vinhos, sahiu do mato um porco bravo, e atravessando o caminho, por onde elle passava com muita furia, o jumento se espantou, e indo fugindo, com o medo deu com a carga do vinho no chão, e rompendo-se as vazilhas entornou o vinho, e que n'este passo dissera Mafamede mal de sua vida, e que não beberia mais vinho, nem comeria porco, e que isso dissera Mafamede do porco que fugiu, e do vinho que alli se entornou, e não do vinho e porco que agora havia.

A este mouro depois que morreu, fizeram os mouros de Sofala

uma mesquita na sua ilha de Inhançatô, dentro da qual tinham sua sepultura em grande veneração e respeito, sómente porque fôra mouro honrado e rico; as quaes partes achavam estes mouros barbaros serem mui sufficientes para o terem, e honrarem por santo, não tendo elle de mouro mais que o nome; e tinham-lhe toda a sua mesquita armada com pannos pintados, e as pedras de sua sepultura untadas de sandalo cheiroso, e ao redôr d'ella muitos brazeiros, em que deitavam incenso para perfumar a mesquita, e por cima da cova estava muito arroz e milho derramado, que os mouros lhe deitavam, pedindo-lhe com esta offerta prosperas novidades. Defronte da porta da mesquita estava um meio mastro mettido no chão com muitos pregos, onde todos os marinheiros mouros (antes que fizessem alguma viagem) penduravam pedaços de remos, roldanas, ou alguma corda de sua embarcação, para que o mouro lhe dêsse boa viagem. De maneira que lhe faziam petições e rezavam como a santo.

Sabendo eu isto, desejava summamente vêr esta mesquita, para lhe fazer as honras que merecia. O que veio a effeito, indo um dia a folgar á dita ilha com o dono d'ella (que então era um portuguez nobre e honrado, chamado Pero Lobo) porque depois de estarmos na ilha chamei dois moços nossos secretamente, e outro moço do dito Pero Lobo, que sabia onde estava a mesquita, e disse-lhe que me levassem a ella, porque desejava muito de a vêr. Os quaes me levaram por dentro da ilha obra de um quarto de legoa até a dita mesquita, que estava em um grande terreiro, cercado de muitos e espessos matos. E depois de a olhar muito bem, puz-lhe o fogo com um morrão de espingarda, que mandei levar accessó um dos nossos moços, não lhe dizendo para que era, porque se lh'o disséra, ou elles imaginaram o que eu queria fazer, nenhum d'elles fôra comigo a isso, porque temem muito fazer algum mal aos defuntos, quanto mais áquelle, que os mouros tinham por santo. Mas tanto que lhe puz o fogo, a mesquita (que era de madeira, e coberta de palha, como são todas as casas de Sofala) ardeu com quantos pannos tinha armados dentro, sem ficar cousa alguma por queimar. E foi o fogo tão forte, que acudiram a elle os mais dos mouros da ilha, e vendo a mesquita queimada, e posta por terra, e feita uma braza viva (que bem representava o fogo em que Mafamede ardia) ficaram todos espantados e maguados, e bem quizeram tomar vingança de mim, se lh'o não impedira o medo, que tem dos

portuguezes, e a veneração e respeito que tem aos nossos religiosos; mas uns e outros me rogaram mil pragas entre si, e me agouraram mil males, e castigos da mão de Mafamede, pela descortezia que tinha feito á sua sepultura. Isto diziam não só os mouros, mas tambem alguns dos christãos da terra, tendo-me por atrevido, e o menos que me esperavam era morrer por isso muito cedo.

Sucedeu d'ahi a alguns dias que tive um corrimento em um olho, e vindo isto á noticia dos mouros, fizeram grandes festas, dizendo que já Mafamede me começava castigar, e que me havia de quebrar os olhos. Mas quiz Deus, a quem eu servia, dar-me perfeita saude, ficando os mouros frustados de suas esperanças. Conteí esta historia, para que se veja o pouco fundamento, que todos estes mouros tem na veneração de seus santos, pois tem aos máos por justos, como tinham a este mouro, que o não foi mais que no nome (como já disse) sómente por ser rico e honrado em sua vida.

### CAPITULO VIII.

Da christandade que fizemos nas terras de Sofala, e de como nos sahimos d'ella, e fomos aos rios de Cuama, e de algumas cousas notaveis, que vimos n'este caminho.

Estivemos n'esta fortaleza de Sofala o padre Fr. João Madeira, e eu quatro annos, e logo no primeiro anno reparamos as egrejas d'aquella terra, que mais pareciam mesquitas de mouros mal concertadas, que egrejas de christãos, e fizemos duas ermidas de novo, uma de Nossa Senhora do Rosario nas casas em que moravamos, e outra da invocação da Madre de Deus fóra da povoação em um palmar nosso, que é a melhor sahida que tem Sofala. E a hermidá é de muita romagem e devoção. As quaes egrejas tinhamos mui limpas, curiosas, e bem ornadas de vestimentas, e do mais necessario para a culto divino. E fizemos muito por accrescentar e conservar a christandade n'estas terras; a qual pela bondade e misericordia de Deus, foi em muito crescimento, assim entre os gentios, como entre os mouros, convertendo-se muitos á nossa santa fé, assim por nossas pregações, como pelas procissões e officios divinos que nos viam fazer; no que trabalhavamos de continuo por ser a gente d'estas terras muito barbara e trabalhosa de converter, e trazer ao conhecimento de seus erros.

Dos quaes o padre Fr. João Madeira baptisou mais de mil pessoas e eu baptisei seiscentas e noventa e quatro.

No fim d'estes quatro annos que estivemos no ministerio d'esta christandade (que foi até Julho de 1590) tivemos recado da India do nosso padre vigario geral, que tornassemos para Moçambique, onde tinhamos outras cousas de muita importancia, e serviço de Deus, a que acudir. O que sentiram muito os moradores de Sofala, pelo desamparo em que ficavam sem religiosos de S. Domingos. Mas foi forçado cumprir a obediencia que tinhamos. Pela qual razão entregamos ao vigario da terra as nossas egrejas com todos seus ornamentos, pedindo-lhe muito as conservasse e tratasse com a limpeza e cuidado, com que as nós tinhamos ornadas, até tornarem para ellas outros religiosos da nossa ordem. E logo nos determinamos partir para Moçambique, mas por quanto o navio em que nós haviamos de ir, ficou metido no rio de Luabo sem poder chegar a Sofala, por causa dos ventos contrarios, que teve, nos foi forçado ir por terra em busca d'elle, para nos embarcarmos, e irmos a Moçambique.

Posta nossa ida em conclusão, partimos aos treze de Julho por terras de cafres, com duas guias, que nos guiassem até os rios de Cuama, que são trinta legoas de caminhos asperos e trabalhasos, e os mais d'elles despovoados de gente, e cheios de matos, e arvoredos silvestres, onde ha muitos elephantes, tigres, onças, leões, bufaros bravos, e outros muitos bichos, e feros animaes; dos quaes vimos muitos de longe, e encontramos alguns, que nos poseram em muito sobresalto e perigo. Mas nenhum ousou a nos commetter, porque levavamos em nossa companhia quatorze escravos de alguns nossos amigos de Sofala, que n'olos emprestaram, para este caminho; os quaes iam todos armados de arcos, frechas e azagaias.

Todas estas terras são do reino do Quiteve senhor do rio de Sofala nosso amigo. Pelo qual respeito em todos os logares onde chegavamos, povoados de cafres, logo o capitão do logar (a que chamam Encosse) nos agazalhava e fazia muita festa, sabendo que eramos os padres de Sofala, a quem elles chamam Cacizes, e nos mandava um presente de galinhas, inhames, e massa de milho, que é o seu comer ordinario, e juntamente mandava ajuntar todos os muzicos da terra com seus tambores, e outros instrumentos á nossa porta, onde faziam uma muzica tão desconcertada, e com vozes tão dissonantes, que nos



atroavam; e d'esta maneira tangiam, cantavam, e bailavam toda a noute, de modo, que a festa que faziam nos era mui penosa; mas não ousavamos dizer-lhe que se callassem, por se não agravarem. E quando vinha a manhã, davamos a estes musicos uma mão cheia de contas a cada um, que valeria dez réis (coisa muito estimada entre elles) e ao Encosse davamos um panno, que valeria quatro vintens. E com isto ficavam todos mui satisfeitos, e contentes. E d'esta maneira fomos passando por todos os logares povoados, até chegar ao rio de Tendanculo.

Depois que passamos estes cafres, entrando já em outras terras, que são do Manamotapa, dormimos uma noute em uns matos desertos; onde ouvimos muita parte da noute grandissimos apupos de umas vozes mui grandes, e temerosas, como vozes de homem, do modo que enxotam os passaros do trigo. Com as quaes vozes e brados ficamos mui atemorizados, parecendo-nos que eram cafres ladrões, que vinham em nosso alcance, para nos matar, e roubar. Pelo que não ousavamos fallar uns com os outros, por não sermos ouvidos, nem sentidos, antes nos deixavamos estar sobre as arvores, onde já estavamos subidos por causa das feras e bichos, que ha por aquelles matos. E d'esta maneira estivemos até amanhecer vigiando, bem atribulados. E vindo a manhã (que para nós foi de muita alegria) tornamos a continuar nosso caminho sem vermos pessoa alguma. E no primeiro logar de cafres, a que chegamos, contamos o que nos tinha succedido; e os cafres nos disseram, que aquillo que gritava de noute eram aves muito grandes, maiores que gallos, as quaes de dia estavam escondidas, e sómente de noute voavam, e andavam caçando outras aves para comerem, e que por isso lhe apupavam, para que espantadas de suas vozes sahisses das moutas e arvores, onde estavam dormindo; e tanto que saham logo eram caçadas, e comidas. Isto mesmo nos certificou Francisco Brochado, de que já fallei atraz, que estava no rio de Luabo, doze legoas d'aquella paragem, onde achamos estas aves.

## CAPITULO IX.

De um animal marinho, que achamos n'este caminho, e de uns pássaros muito grandes, e do mais, que n'ella nos succedeu.

Tanto que passamos o rio de Tentanculo, indo caminhando pelas praias ao longo do mar Oceano (terras do Manamotapa) achámos um animal morto, com muitas feridas de frechas, e azagaias; o qual tinham morto o dia d'antes os cafres d'aquella terra, andando pescando na entrada do rio em uns baixos, que estão ao longo da praia, onde diziam que viera ter o animal, como desatinado, e alli nos baixos se embaraçara de modo, que em vez de nadar para o mar, foi varando para terra, onde o mataram, estando meio em secco. Este animal era coberto de cabello cinzento pelas costas, e branco pela barriga, como cabello de boi, mas muito mais aspero; a cabeça e boca era como de tigre, com grandissimos dentes; tinha bigodes brancos de comprimento de um palmo, e tão grossos, como sedas, com que cozem os sapateiros. Teria mais de dez palmos de comprido; era mais grosso, que um grosso homem. Tinha um rabo de um palmo, muito grosso, e orelhas de cão, braços de homem pellados sem cabello algum, e nos cotovellos umas barbatanas grandes como de peixe. Tinha junto ao rabo dois pés curtos, espalmados como pés de mono grande, e não tinha pernas. Tinha cinco dedos em cada pé e mão, cobertos com uma pelle, ao modo de pé-de pato; mas depois de esfolada aquella pelle, ficaram-lhe os dedos soltos de um grande palmo cada um. No meio dos dedos dos pés sómente, da banda das costas, tinha unhas brancas muito grandes, e agudas, como unhas de tigre. Tinha junto do rabo signal de macho; as tripas, bofes e figados eram como são as de um porco.

Este animal mandámos esfoliar pelos nossos escravos, que levavamos comnosco, n'aquella mesma praia, onde o achámos morto, e tinha a pelle tão grossa, e mais, que a de um boi. Estando nós n'isto, vieram alguns cafres da terra ter comnosco; aos quaes mandámos perguntar pela lingoa, qual era a causa porque não comiam da carne d'aquelle animal, pois era tão vermelha e tão gorda, comendo elles cobras, lagartos, ratos, e todo o mais genero de carne, que achavam. Ao que elles

responderam, que não tinham visto tal besta como aquella, nem na terra, nem no mar; e que tinham para si que aquillo era filho do diabo, porque quando o mataram dava tão grandes roncões, que a todos assombrou, e foram ouvidos dentro no seu logar (que estaria d'alli meia legoa) e por essa razão haviam medo de comer d'elle. Mas como viram que os nossos escravos lhe tomaram a ferçura, e fizeram uma grande espétada em um páo, e a assaram, e comeram, saltaram todos no animal, e em pedaços o levaram para comerem, e nem o couro lhe deixaram.

Dezoito dias pozemos n'este caminho; e detivemo-nos tanto n'elle, porque alguns dias esperavamos á borda de rios, e lagoas mui grandes, que achavamos, até lhe sabermos o vao por onde melhor se podesse passar, e alguns passamos com agoa pelo pescoço com muito trabalho. Além d'isto tivemos alguns dias de fomes, e máo gasalhado, dormindo muitas noutes no chão, e algumas que nos tomavam em despovoado, sobre arvores, atados, por não cahirmos com o somno, o que faziamos com medo das feras, que por alli andavam de dia e de noute. Mas em todos estes trabalhos achavamos sempre a suavidade, e consolação de serem padecidos por respeito da christandade, a que estavamos offerecidos. Outras muitas cousas nos aconteceram e vimos n'este caminho, de que tenho tratado na descripção d'estas terras, como fica dito.

Chegámos ao rio de Luabo o primeiro dia d'Agosto de 1590 onde fomos bem recebidos, e agasalhados do capitão dos rios de Cuama, que então alli estava, chamado Francisco Brochado (de quem já fallei algumas vezes) e alli achamos o pangaio, em que havíamos de ir para Moçambique, o qual esperava por nós. E tanto que chegamos, logo ao outro dia nos embarcamos, e fomos lançar ancora na barra do mesmo rio, para d'alli partirmos, como tivessemos tempo para isso. Mas foram os ventos tão contrarios, que nunca podemos sahir do rio; e por esse respeito estivemos alli oito dias. N'este tempo sahiram em terra alguns marinheiros a buscar lenha, e fructas pelos matos, que estão ao longo das praias; d'onde trouxeram dois passaros novos cobertos inda de pennugem branca, que acharam no ninho; mui semelhantes a aguias nas unhas, olhos e bico; mas na grandeza do corpo muito maiores, que grandes aguias. Tinham nové palmos de comprimento da ponta de uma aza até a outra, que lhe eu mandei medir por façanha. Os marinheiros os mataram, por se não poderem

inda crear sem mãe, e fizeram uma grande panellada de sua carne, que comeram. D'onde se póde claramente colligir, que estes passaros depois de chegarem a sua perfeita idade, devem ser de espantosa grandeza. Outros passaros dizem que ha n'estas terras mui grandes, de que já tratei na descripção de Sofala.

Estando nós aqui n'esta barra esperando tempo prospero, começou o pangaio a fazer tanta agoa, que nos iamos ao fundo, sem lh'a poder tomar, e foi mercê de Deus faltar-nos o vento para navegar, porque se o tiveramos, e sahiramos ao mar, tanto que o pangaio começasse de navegar, houvera de abrir de todo, e nós, e elle nos houveramos de perder; mas quiz Nosso Senhor fazer-nos mercê, que aquelles dias descobriu o mal, que tinha; e tornamos para dentro do rio, e foi varado em terra para se concertar. Pelo qual respeito não fizemos viagem aquella monção, e ficamos este anno n'estes rios.

## CAPITULO X.

De como fomos pelo rio de Luabo acima, e de como residimos nas egrejas de Sena e Tete.

Doze dias estivemos n'esta ilha de Luabo. No fim dos quaes vendo que não podiamos ir para Moçambique, nos partimos para Sena em companhia do capitão dos rios. Pelo meio d'este rio ha muitos ilheus grandes de areias, onde dormiamos, e sómente de dia navegavamos, por causa das muitas correntes, e baixos que tem. Os cafres moradores d'estas praias, tanto que viam a nossa embarcação, logo vinham a ella metidos em outras muito pequenas (a que chamam almadias) em que traziam a vender fructas, legumes, gallinhas e peixe; o que tudo lhe compravamos muito barato.

Indo navegando por este rio acima, vimos um dia estar uns poucos de cafres á borda do rio com grandes festas e gritas. Pelo que mandou o capitão ao que governava (a quem alli chamam Malemo) que fosse ao longo da terra, para vermos que festa era aquella; e chegando a ella vimos, que tinham morto, e tirado do rio um grandissimo lagarto, e começavam de o fazer em pedaços, para o comerem. Do que muito me maravilhei, porque os cafres de Sofala não matam, nem pescam lagartos do rio, porque o seu

rei lhe tem posto pena de morte, que o não façam; e a causa é, porque dizem, que os figados do lagarto é a mais fina peçonha que se acha, e por esse respeito não quer o rei que se matem, por não usarem d'ella.

Chegamos ao forte de Sena aos vinte e dois dias d'Agosto do dito anno; onde fomos bem recebidos dos moradores da terra, e do capitão do forte, que então era Gonçalo de Beja, o qual nos levou para sua casa, e nos agasalhou com muita caridade. Logo no outro dia começámos de entender no serviço da igreja, e da christandade; porque n'estes rios nenhum padre havia, que administrasse os sacramentos, mais que um só clerigo, que estava muito doente em Tete, onde tambem pela mesma causa não podia servir; e assim estavam ambas as igrejas sem ministros. E por isso os christãos d'estas terras padeciam muitas necessidades espirituaes. Portanto logo começámos de lhe administrar os Sacramentos, dizendo-lhe missa, confessando, e baptisando com muita diligencia. E n'isto fomos continuando ambos trinta e dois dias. No fim dos quaes mandaram os moradores de Tete uma embarcação e uma carta, em que nos pediam muito, e requeriam da parte de Deus, que um de nós lhe quizesse acudir, pois Deus nos trouxera áquelles rios em tempo, que elles padeciam tantas necessidades na alma; porque passava já de quatro mezes, que não tinham missa, nem quem lhe administrasse os Sacramentos, e algumas pessoas eram fallecidas sem elles, e que para isso mandavam aquella embarcação provida do necessario, e que fosse com a mór brevidade, que podessemos. Vistas tão justas causas, logo o outro dia me parti para Tete, ficando o padre Fr. João Madeira na igreja de Sena.

Indo de Sena para Tete (que são sessenta legoas de caminho pelo rio acima) achámos muitas e perigosas correntes; em uma das quaes (que está na Lupata, onde ha grandes e altas serras, de que já fallei) estivemos perdidos; porque esta corrente, que pretendiamos passar a remo e vela, foi tão forçosa, que nos levou a embarcação atravessada, e meia emborcada pelo rio abaixo mais de um tiro de espingarda, até nos encostar sobre umas pedras, onde se tem perdido muitas embarcações, e a nossa esteve n'esse risco; mas não o permittiu Deus; antes milagrosamente se tornou a endireitar, e foi pela corrente abaixo sem perigo, até que atravessámos o rio á outra banda, posto que descahimos uma grande meia legoa. E d'ali tornámos a continuar nossa viagem

até o forte de Tete ; onde chegámos a salvamento a cabo de sete dias, que foi a vinte e um de Setembro. E na praia estava já o capitão com a maior parte do povo esperando por mim ; os quaes me receberam com tanto alvoroço e alegria, como se fôra vindo do céu ; e assim diziam, que agora conheciam claramente, que Deus se não esquecia d'elles, nem o padre S. Domingos da christandade, que os seus religiosos tinham feito n'aquellas partes ; pois em tempo de tanta necessidade os mesmos religiosos, que a fundaram, a tornavam socorrer e sustentar. O que muito me edificou, vendo o grande sentimento, que este povo mostrava de lhe faltarem os Sacramentos tão importantes para sua salvação. Logo ao outro dia (que foi sabbado) disse missa de Nossa Senhora, a que veio toda a gente da terra, como se fôra dia santo, e n'isso fui continuando, e administrando os Sacramentos, emquanto alli estive.

## CAPITULO XI.

De umas feiticeiras, que havia em Tete, as quaes fiz desterrar d'esta povoação.

Estando eu n'este forte de Santiago de Tete, havia n'esta terra duas cafras gentias, que fingiam serem feiticeiras ; as quaes moravam no campo em umas serras, que estão perto da povoação dos portuguezes. Pelo qual respeito muitas pessoas, assim dos gentios, como dos christãos da terra, iam ter com ellas de noute secretamente, a consultar feitiços, e a pedir-lhe que descobrissem alguns furtos, que lhe tinham feito, ou lhe adivinhassem como, e onde achariam as cousas que tinham perdidas, e o mais, que cada um desejava saber. E posto que estas feiticeiras ordinariamente não respondiam a proposito, antes disbarates, e o que acaso lhe vinha ao pensamento, comtudo tinham adquirido tanto credito para com estes ignorantes, que as consultavam, que se não persuadiam serem suas feitiçarias falsas e mentirosas, antes tinham para si, que fallavam com o diabo, e elle lhe descobria tudo quanto queriam saber. O que ellas mui bem sabiam fingir, porque publicamente se punham a fallar com elle, e fingiam que lhe respondia em uma voz, que todos os presentes ouviam com grande admiração ; o que faziam da maneira seguinte.

Cada uma d'estas feiticeiras tinha um cabaço, em que estavam dentes de homens, de tigres e de bugios, bosta de elefantes, cabellos de homens brancos, e de cafres, retalhos de panno, e

caroços de certa fruta, e tudo isto misturado com cinza. Na bocca d'estes cabaços tinham um grande molho de penas de rabo de gallo. E quando alguma d'estas feiticeiras queria consultar o diabo, punha o cabaço sobre uma tripeça, onde lhe fallava muitos amores, e palavras brandas, como que fingia chamal-o, e provocal-o a que lhe viesse fallar dentro no cabaço. E depois de fazer este fingimento, quando já queria acabar de concluir sua mentira, dizia que já o diabo era chegado, e o recebia com muita cortezia, dizendo-lhe: " Vinde embora, meu senhor." E logo se chegava junto do cabaço, e mettia o rosto por entre as penas de modo, que ellas lh'o cobriam todo; e d'esta maneira com a bocca posta na do cabaço, fallavam muito manso, perguntando-lhe como estava, e porque lhe tardara tanto, que tinha já grandes saudades d'elle; e algumas vezes se ria, fingindo que o diabo lhe dizia algumas graças. E todas estas cousas faziam ambas diante d'aquelles, que as buscavam; e para que dessem mais credito a suas feitiçarias, usavam d'esta arte diabolica tão secreta, que ninguem lh'a podia entender.

Tomavam dois caroços de fruta redondos, como caroços de cerejas, furados pelo meio, como contas, e mettiã cada um d'elles em sua venta do nariz, e d'esta maneira fallavam por entre as penas de tal modo, que retumbando a voz dentro no cabaço, fazia um echo brando, a qual voz tornavam a sorver com os narizes e por respeito dos caroços furados, que dentro n'elles tinham, soava outro voz differente da primeira, mais branda e delgada, ao modo de assobio, que parecia resposta do que perguntava a feiticeira, do que todos os circumstantes ficavam espantados. E d'esta maneira ganhavam estas feiticeiras de comer, porque nenhuma pessoa ia consultar com ellas alguma cousa, por pequena que fosse, que levasse as mãos vãs, mas antes todos lhe levavam o preço, que lhe haviam de dar, conforme o remedio que buscavam. E para que estas feiticeiras fossem achadas de noute, subia-se cada uma d'ellas sobre uma serra, e tangia com um chocalho, pelo tom do qual os que as buscavam iam ter onde ellas estavam. E assim viviam estas feiticeiras, enganando muita gente ignorante, que se fiava de suas mentiras e embaimentos; mas comtudo ninguem sabia do engano dos caroços furados, de que usavam, sendo este o principal instrumento com que faziam dar credito a suas falsidades.

Tendo eu noticia d'estas feiticeiras, e de como alguns christãos

iam de noute secretamente consultal-as com tanto perigo de suas almas, fiz com o capitão de Tete (que então era Pero Frz. de Chaves) que as mandasse prender, castigar, e desterrar d'este logar, por não inficcionarem com suas artes diabolicas os moradores da terra. O que elle logo fez, mandando ao seu meirinho, que fosse em busca d'ellas, e que as trouxesse presas. O que o meirinho fez com muita diligencia, trazendo-as com seus cabaços a casa do capitão. Ao outro dia pela manhã, mandou-me o capitão recado, que tinha as feiticeiras em sua casa, que me chegasse para lá, se as queria vêr, e consultariamos o castigo, que lhe daria. Fui eu logo ter com o dito capitão, em cuja companhia estavam já seis ou sete portuguezes, que elle tinha chamado para o mesmo effeito. Estando nós assim todos juntos, mandou o capitão ás feiticeiras, que fallassem com seus cabaços, como costumavam, e chamassem seus diabos, que lhe viessem fallar, porque estavamos nós todos presentes, e queriamos vêr suas artes e maravilhas. A feiticeira mais velha, e mais sagaz, estava muito triste, e disse, que o seu diabo estava longe d'alli occupado em outra cousa melhor, e que o não podia por então chamar; mas a outra feiticeira mais moça, e menos acautellada que a velha, disse que ella chamaria o seu e fallaria com elle. Nós todos alvoroçados para vêr esta farça, tomou ella o cabaço, e pol-o sobre uma mesa, que para isso foi posta no meio da casa, e começou de lhe fallar muitos amores, provocando ao diabo, que viesse, e não se detivesse, porque lhe importava sua honra e credito; e d'alli a pouco fingiu que já viera, e estava mettido no cabaço, e poz-se a fallar com elle da maneira, que acima tenho dito. E todos quantos alli estavamos, tinhamos para nós, que de dentro lhe respondia outra voz; mas tornando-nos a certificar, vimos, que se formava esta voz dentro no nariz da feiticeira, e dando-lhe um dos circumstantes n'elle uma pancada, caiu-lhe de dentro um dos caroços furados. E logo vimos o engano, de que usava; pelo que lhe buscaram logo a outra venta, d'onde lhe tiraram outro caroço semelhante, ficando elle mui turvada, e confusa, por lhe descobrirem seus enganos. E logo lhe fizeram o cabaço em pedaços; do qual cahiram os dentes, cinzas, retalhos, e tudo o mais, que acima tenho dito. E tambem quebramos o outro cabaço da feiticeira velha, onde estavam as mesmas cousas. O capitão as mandou açoutar publicamente, e as degradou para sempre fóra das terras de Tete. . Contei esta historia, para que



se veja quão barbaros são estes cafres, e quão amigos de feitiçarias, porque inda aquelles, que não são feiticeiros, fingem que o são, para serem mais temidos, e estimados.

## CAPITULO XII.

Da christandade, que fizemos nos rios de Cuama, e do que nos succedeu, sahindo d'elles, até Moçambique, onde achamos uma caravella da companhia do galeão S. Lucas.

Oito mezes estive no forte de Tete, servindo aquelle povo em lhe administrar os sacramentos, que foi até o fim de Abril de 1591, no qual tempo já o vigario da terra, que alli estava doente, se começava de levantar. Pela qual razão logo determinei tornar para Sena onde estava o padre meu companheiro, e tambem porque se vinha chegando o tempo, em que nos haviamos de ir para Moçambique. Muito sentiram os moradores de Tete minha partida, e pertenderam impedir-m'a com rogos, e lagrimas de sentimento, pedindo-me que os não deixasse desamparados, pois taes ficavam sem a vista do habito do P. S. Domingos, a quem tinham muita devoção, e sem a companhia de seus religiosos, de quem tinham recebido os bens espirituaes, que possuíam; e que pois Deus alli me levara, ficasse com elles, porque me sustentariam á sua custa, e dariam uma boa esmola para as obras da casa de S. Domingos de Moçambique, que então se fazia. Mas eu não lhe pude satisfazer a seus desejos, porque me era necessario cumprir a obediencia, que me mandava tornar para Moçambique. E para os quietar e consolar, lhe prometti, que levando-me Deus a Moçambique, faria com o padre vigario da casa, que alli temos, que lhe mandasse alguns religiosos (como elle de feito mandou logo) e com estas esperanças ficaram quietos e satisfeitos, e me deixaram tornar para Sena, dando-me para isso embarcação, que d'antes me negavam, pelos não deixar.

Pelo que me embarquei logo, e sahi de Tete o primeiro de Maio do dito anno; e no segundo dia de viagem tivemos um grande perigo no rio abaixo das serras da Lupata, onde nos deu um repentino pé de vento tão furioso, que nos fez a vela em pedaços, e estivemos em risco de se nos alagar a embarcação. Estes pés de vento repentinos são mui ordinarios n'este rio, e commumente ventam sobre a tarde, e duram meia hora, pouco

mais ou menos, com tanto impeto e furia, que arrancam grandissimas arvores, e as viram com as raizes para o ar, parecendo cousa impossivel haver pé de vento, que as possa mover, quanto mais arrancar. E assim é este vento mui perigoso para os que navegam por este rio, por vir de repente, estando o tempo claro e sereno; e por isso os que navegam por aqui, vão sempre vigiando as praias, porque de muito longe se vê o signal d'este vento, que é grandissima poeira no ar, palhas e ramos, que elle levanta por onde vem, em tanta quantidade, que parece uma nuvem; e quando se vê este signal de longe, logo amainam as velas, e chegam as embarcações a terra, se podem; e assim esperam, até que passe esta corda de vento, como nós fizemos, quando este nos tomou de subito, sem sentirmos sua vinda, por ser da parte de uns matos, onde não havia areias, que nos dessem o signal, que tenho dito. Depois da tormenta passada, se concertou a vela, e tornamos a navegar pelo rio abaixo, até Sena; aonde chegamos a quatro de Maio.

N'estes rios de Cuama estivemos um anno no serviço d'estas egrejas; no qual tempo o padre F. João Madeira, baptisou em Sena mais de duzentas pessoas, e fez muitas pazes e amizades entre alguns moradores d'esta terra, que andavam em bandos, e mui differentes. Da mesma maneira foi Deus servido, que eu me houvesse no forte de Tete em serviço do seu povo, e de sua christandade; onde baptisei cento e dezasete pessoas, assim dos filhos dos christãos, como dos gentios da terra dos quaes achamos por conta assim dos livros velhos, como dos novos, que havia n'esta christandade dos baptisados, que do tempo que os nossos religiosos entraram n'estes rios, até o anno de 1591 tinham convertido, e baptisado passante de vinte mil almas, entre as quaes baptisaram muitos Encosses, que são capitães, ou cabeças dos logares vizinhos d'estes fortes, e alguns regulos d'este sertão. Pelo que com muita razão dizem os moradores d'estes rios que toda a christandade, que n'elles ha, se deve aos religiosos do patriarcha S. Domingos.

Estivemos n'esta povoação de Sena até oito de Julho do mesmo anno, e d'ali nos partimos pelo rio abaixo já de viagem para Moçambique; mas depois que entramos pelo braço, que vae ter a Quilimane, demos em secco no meio do rio em um baixo de areia onde virou a embarcação com a força da corrente, e ficou de ilharga, e nós todos com agua pela cinta, e depois com muito

trabalho tornamos a indireitar a embarcação, e deitar a agua fóra; e tanto que a maré tornou a encher, e a embarcação nadou, tornamos a seguir nossa viagem com muita perda do que traziamos dentro, e o dia seguinte chegamos ao porto de Quilimane; onde nos enxugamos, e refizemos do trabalho passado.

N'este porto estivemos sete dias, e d'aqui nos embarcamos em um de quatro pangaaios, que alli estavam do capitão de Moçambique, no qual ia um caixão com cem mil cruzados em ouro de pó, lascas e pastas, que eram do contrato, que D. Jorge de Menezes tinha feito n'estes rios com o governador da India Manuel de Sousa Coutinho. O qual ouro ordinariamente se tira cada seis mezes d'estes rios, entre o de partes, e do capitão.

Partidos de Quilimane todos juntos, fomos ter a Moçambique dentro em oito dias de viagem, que foi o primeiro d'Agosto de mil e quinhentos e noventa e um, onde achamos cartas do nosso padre vigario geral da India, em que mandava que o padre Fr. João Madeira ficasse por vigario da nossa casa de Moçambique e eu fosse para a igreja das ilhas de Quirimba.

## CAPITULO XVI.

Da christandade, que fizemos nas ilhas de Quirimba, d'onde tornei a Sofala com as bullas da Cruzada, e do que nos succedeu n'esta viagem.

Depois de ter negociado em Moçambique as cousas necessarias para a igreja de Quirimba, me tornei a embarcar, e favorecendonos o tempo e ventos, chegamos a Quirimba a dezeseis de Novembro de 1593, onde acabei de todo as obras que tinha começado, e fui continuando no serviço d'esta igreja, e christandade d'estas ilhas, em que estive dois annos; e n'elles fiz seiscentos e noventa e quatro christãos, assim dos gentios, como dos mouros de todas estas ilhas; entre os quaes baptizei um sobrinho d'el-rei de Zamzibar, filho de um seu irmão já defunto, moço de dezeseite annos, ao qual puz nome André da Cunha, por respeito do padrinho que teve no baptismo, senhorio da ilha de Quirimba, que tinha o mesmo nome. Este moço fugiu de casa d'el-rei seu tio, onde estava, e se embarcou em um pangaio de um portuguez, com muito segredo, de noute, e veio ter comigo a Quirimba, para que o fizesse christão. O que fez movido de

alguns recados, e admoestações, que lhe eu mandei secretamente por alguns portuguezes, tendo noticia de sua boa inclinação, e do desejo que tinha de ser christão. Mas el-rei seu tio sabendo de sua fugida, e de como estava em minha companhia feito christão, teve grandissimo desgosto e paixão, e dizia, que tempo viria, em que eu lhe pagasse esta affronta, e o furto, que lhe fizera de seu sobrinho, que elle tinha creado para seu herdeiro, porque não tinha filhos. Este moço tive comigo mais de um anno, e n'elle lhe dei sempre todo o necessario, assim por elle o merecer, como por respeito dos mouros, que n'estas partes vivem, não dizerem que os christãos tratam mal aos mouros, que se convertem, e depois que o tive bem instruido na fé, e na doutrina christã, o ensinei a lêr e escrever; o que tomou mui depressa, e muito bem. E depois o mandei para o nosso convento de Moçambique; onde esteve mais de dois annos, e n'elle ficava ainda, quando d'esta costa me fui para a India. N'estas ilhas tinham os nossos religiosos convertido, e baptizado até este anno de 1593 mais de dezeseis mil gentios, e alguns mouros, como constou dos livros dos baptizados d'esta christandade.

A cabo de dois annos, que estive n'estas ilhas de Quirimba tive recado do nosso padre vigario geral da India, que tornasse a Sofala, por commissario da bulla da Cruzada, de que elle era commissario geral d'aquelle estado da India. O que puz em effeito aos vinte e trez d'Abril de 1594, ficando em meu logar na igreja de Quirimba o padre Fr. Manuel Pantoja da mesma ordem. Partindo pois de Quirimba, fomos navegando com tão prospero vento, que não amainamos a vela, senão em Moçambique. Onde estive esperando até chegar o tempo, em que se navega para Sofala. No qual o capitão de Moçambique aviou um navio, para mandar ao cabo das Correntes, e de caminho havia de entrar em Sofala. E por esse respeito me embarquei n'elle. D'este navio era capitão Manuel Malheiro, homem honrado e de boa consciencia. Partindo nós d'esta fortaleza, tivemos tão prospero vento, que em cinco dias fomos a Sofala, onde o navio se refez das cousas que lhe eram necessarias. E depois de aviado se partiu, e chegou á ilha do Inhaca a salvamento. N'esta ilha, esteve Manuel Malheiro, fazendo seu resgate de marfim, quasi um anno. E tendo já o navio meio carregado para se tornar para Moçambique, vieram ter com elle alguns cafres da terra firme, moradores no rio de Lourenço Marques,

vassallos do Manhiça cafre, rei de grande parte d'esta terra; os quaes cubiçosos do fato, e fazenda, que viram ao capitão, e ao mestre do navio, os mataram, e lhe roubaram a casa, e o navio, dando por causa principal de seu maleficio, terem recebido aggravos do mestre, e com esta capa de vingança fizeram seus costumados roubos.

Os antepassados d'esta nação de cafres foram os que roubaram, e maltrataram a Manuel de Sousa, e a sua mulher D. Leonor, e foram causa de sua destruição, e lastimosa morte, como largamente se póde vêr na historia da perdição do galeão *S. João*; onde se conta, que indo estes fidalgos da India para Portugal, deram á costa na terra do Natal, e d'alli vieram por terra, caminhando seis mezes; a cabo dos quaes chegaram a este rio, onde foram despidos, e roubados por estes cafres. Pelo que aquella honesta fidalga, vendo-se despida, no mesmo logar fez uma cova na areia, e n'ella se meteu até á cinta, sem mais se levantar, tendo junto comsigo dois meninos de tenra idade seus filhos, chorando pelo comer, que ella não tinha para lhe dar, com que mais se lhe dobravam seus trabalhos. Manuel de Sousa, por outra parte, sentindo estas necessidades, se metteu pelos matos, em busca de algumas fructas, para lhe trazer; e quando tornou, achou a mulher muito fraca, assim da fome, como de chorar um dos filhos, que lhe morreu tambem de fome. E dando graças a Deus, por se vêr em tanto desamparo, fez uma cova na mesma areia, onde enterrou o filho. E o dia seguinte tornou ao mesmo mato, em busca de mais fructas, e quando tornou achou a mulher e o outro filho mortos. E com este lastimoso espectaculo ficou tal, que não fallou mais, nem pode chorar; mas como homem espantado se chegou aos defuntos, e o melhor que pode, fez uma cova no mesmo logar, em que estavam, e n'ella os enterrou com ajuda de algumas moças da India suas escravas, que alli estavam com a senhora. E depois d'isto se tornou a metter pelo mato, sem mais tornar. D'onde se presume que o mataram, e comeram os tigres e leões, que n'aquelles matos andam. E assim tão miseravelmente acabaram estes nobres fidalgos, por causa dos maus cafres d'esta terra, dos quaes descendem os que mataram a Manuel Malheiro.

Os marinheiros do navio e outro portuguez, que andavam fazendo resgate de marfim na terra firme, depois que tornaram á ilha, e viram mortos seu capitão e mestre, e o navio roubado,

metteram-se n'elle, e foram para Moçambique, onde chegaram a salvamento.

Eu depois que o navio se partiu para a ilha do Inhaca, fiquei na nossa igreja de Sofala, pondo em effeito as cousas, e negocios, de que fui encarregado, e juntamente ajudei a confessar e sacramentar aquella quaresma toda a gente d'esta fortaleza. E depois que não tive mais que fazer em Sofala, me tornei a embarcar para Moçambique, em um pangaio de mouros, onde vinham tambem quatro portuguezes mercadores. E o que nos succedeu n'esta viagem direi no capitulo seguinte.

## CAPITULO XVII.

Da tornaviagem, que fiz de Sofala para Moçambique, e do que n'ella nos succedeu.

Partimos de Sofala para Moçambique a dezeseis de Abril de 1595 com muito bom tempo, e com elle fomos navegando quatro dias. No fim dos quaes, a horas de sol posto, nos deu uma espantosa tormenta do Sueste, em que nos vimos perdidos muitas vezes. A noute se veiu cerrando tão medonha e escura, que nos não viamos uns aos outros, nem enxergavamos a vela se governava direita, e aviada para o vento, que era o maior perigo, que tinhamos. A allarida e confusão dos mouros, que vinham no pangaio, era tanta, que se não entendiam, nem o que governava ouvia o que lhe diziam da proa, para saber aonde havia de lançar o leme. Outros se abraçavam, e davam as mãos, beijando-as (que é o modo que tem, quando se despedem uns dos outros) dizendo, que já era chegado seu fim. Os mares, que rebentavam em flôr, faziam tão grande ardentia, que parecia irmos navegando por entre ondas de fogo, que nos cobriam e abrazavam. Onde se me representou muitas vezes o medonho espectaculo do fogo do inferno, e assim parecia, que no mar andavam soltas as furias infernaes.

No meio de tantos trabalhos, cinco portuguezes, que alli vinhamos, trez acudiram á proa ao governo da véla, e dois ao leme, ajudando o malemo, que governava, e tendo tento n'elle, que não esmorecesse, e largasse o leme com medo das ondas, que a cada passo nos cobriam; de modo, que tirando forças de fraqueza de animos tão atribulados, como os nossos estavam, animavamos

fortemente os mouros, que não desmaiassem, e trabalhassem em dar á bomba, e lançar a agua fóra do pangaio, pois n'isso estava grande parte de nossa salvação. E d'esta maneira andamos toda a noute, ora debaixo, ora sobre as ondas, com a morte diante dos olhos, e quando amanheceu, nos achamos perto da terra firme, defronte de um rio chamado Quizungo, onde o P. Fr. Thomaz Pinto inquisidor da India foi ter, quando se salvou no batel da náó *Santiago*, que se perdeu nos baixos da India, como fica dito. N'este rio entramos com muito trabalho, pelos grandes mares, que na barra havia, por ser conjunção de baixamar na costa, onde vinham as ondas encapellando, e quebrando umas sobre outras com tanta furia, que a mais pequena d'ellas era bastante para desfazer muitos, e grandes navios, quanto mais um pangaio tão fraco, e tão pequeno, como o nosso era. N'este perigo nos parecia, que não havia mais que fazer, senão cruzar os braços, e entregar de todo á morte, e este julgamos por maior perigo, que todos os passados. Finalmente foi Deus servido, que entrássemos no rio, onde lançamos fatexa, quasi allagados, e taes, como quem tinha escapado das mãos da morte.

Aqui estivemos trinta e dois dias, sem termos tempo, nem vento, para poder navegar. Pelo que passamos muitas fomes, por se nos acabar a matalotagem, que traziamos para oito dias sómente (que é o tempo ordinario, que se gasta n'esta viagem de Sofala até Moçambique). E depois de acabada, não tivemos outro mantimento mais, que milho cozido em agua tal perto de vinte dias, nem ousavamos desembarcar na terra firme, para buscar algum mantimento, assim por haver n'ella grande fome, como por estar então povoada de Zimbás (cruel nação de cafres, que comem carne humana) pelo qual os cafres Macúas naturaes da terra, fugiram d'ella para uma ilha deserta, ao longo da qual nós estavamos ancorados, e n'ella padeciam crueis fomes. E posto que todos estes cafres são malissimos, comtudo sempre emquanto alli estivemos, lhe demos do nosso milho, movidos de compaixão do os vér perecer. Estes Macúas logo quando alli chegamos, como souberam da nossa vinda, vieram o dia seguinte ter á praia connosco, e fingiram-se mui agastados, meneando os arcos, e frechas, que traziam, contra nós, porquanto tinhamos desembarcado na sua ilha sem sua licença, e lançaram mão de dois escravos nossos, para os levarem presos, e tudo isto faziam a fim de lhe darmos pannos e mantimentos. Pelo que nos viemos

a concertar com elles em tres pãnnos, e um pouco de milho, que lhe demos. Depois d'isto se foram pôr á borda de uma lagoa, d'onde bebiamos, e disseram que se quizessemos agua, que lh'a haviamos de pagar muito bem; pelo que lhe demos mais dois pãnnos. E d'alli por diante ficaram muito nossos amigos, mas nunca nos fiamos d'elles, porque são mui cubiçosos, e interesseiros. Estes cafres foram os que captivaram o P. Fr. Thomaz Pinto, e seus companheiros. Aqui nos morreram alguns escravos, e nós estivemos mui perto de lhe fazer companhia, por causa da fome, que padeciamos, da qual estavamos já tão debilitados, que totalmente me pareceu, que todos pereciamos; pelo que me apparelhei para morrer. E vendo quão mal se enterravam os que alli morriam, pois escassamente os cobriam de terra, por não haver enxadas, mandei fazer uma cova bem funda ao pé de um espinheiro, que estava junto da praia, para minha sepultura, se alli morresse, e no tronco do espinheiro abri uma cruz com uma faca, e ao pé d'ella umas lettras, que diziam meu nome, e como estava alli enterrado, para que se alli fossem alguma hora ter os nossos religiosos, que andam n'esta christandade, se lembrassem de me encommendar a Deus. Vendo meus companheiros, como eu tratava de minha morte, e como me apparelhava para ella, e conhecendo que tambem estavam no mesmo risco, todos se apparelharam para morrer, e fizeram commigo largas confissões com muitas lagrimas, de que fiquei mui edificado, e alegre; e d'alli por diante gastamos os mais dias em orações, e ladainhas, até que Deus houve misericordia de nós. E a cabo de trinta e dois dias, que alli estivemos, entrou vento prospero, com que sahimos d'este rio de nosso purgatorio, e com elle chegamos a Moçambique a vinte seis de Maio do dito anno; pelo que dou muitas graças a Deus.



[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

## EASTERN ETHIOPIA.

BY

FRIAR JOÃO DOS SANTOS.

## BOOK I.—CHAPTER I.

In which is given a short account of the four parts of the world, according to the description of various authors.

## EXTRACTS:—

Eastern Ethiopia commences at the Cape of Good Hope, and lies along the whole coast of the Ethiopian sea from west to east, as far as the Red sea, where it ends, the land along the coast of that sea being Western Ethiopia. This province is very fertile in some parts, and abounds with provisions; cows, goats, sheep, and many hens. It is peopled by many nations, differing not only in their languages, but also in their customs and appearance. The land in some parts is a rugged barren desert, in which there are many wild beasts, such as lions, tigers, panthers, and bears, and many wild animals of the forest, such as elephants, rhinoceroses, buffaloes, wild cows, which are very like the domesticated cow, stags, elands, which resemble horses but are much larger, gnus, which are like small chestnut horses, somewhat deformed in the hind-quarters, but swift as the wind; and quaggas, which resemble asses; all these animals having horns and cloven hoofs. There are beautiful striped zebras, and many other animals and innumerable insects.

The country is very hot, unhealthy, and prejudicial to foreigners, especially the Portuguese, who generally fall sick and die of fever; but this is not sufficient to restrain their avarice and the eagerness with which they go thither in search of the mines and riches of the country, to secure which they brave hardship, danger, and death. What I have here said briefly

concerning Ethiopia will suffice for the present, as I shall dwell upon the further peculiarities of the country during the course of the following history.

As for the proper understanding and credit of any history it is necessary to know the grounds thereof, and the proofs on which it is founded by the author, that his veracity may be the more easily recognised,—the history of which I intend to treat being that of Eastern Ethiopia, which I had extensive knowledge of during eleven years that I dwelt there,—it seems to me that I am bound before commencing it to make known my reasons for going to those parts, and how and to what end I travelled therein, that my words may be credited when in the course of my narrative I relate what I have seen.

In the year of our Lord 1585 the bishop of Malacca, who was then Dom João Gayo Ribeiro, hearing of the great number of Christians converted by the religious of the Order of Preachers, whose numbers they were daily increasing in the islands of Solor and Timor, as pastor of those parts, desiring the continued progress and preservation of the Christian missions there, wrote certain letters to the archduke Albert of Austria, who was then cardinal and governed this kingdom of Portugal, and others to our father provincial, who was then Friar Hieronymo Correa, earnestly requesting that religious of that holy order should be sent to him, to cultivate and sustain the Christian missions for which we were responsible there. These letters, having been read, were immediately made known to the religious of this province, and many of them offered themselves for this work, among whom I also offered to assist in the conversion of souls, that I might thereby merit and obtain the salvation of my own.

As soon as the ships were ready for the voyage we all embarked, and left Lisbon harbour on the 13th of April in the year of our Lord 1586. We doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 2nd of July, and reached Mozambique on the 13th of August, where obedience called upon me to remain in order to proceed to Sofala and take up my abode in the Christian mission there, of which I shall treat in the second part, giving the first place to a description of the lands and people of Ethiopia. And as the fortress of Sofala is the oldest and the first which the Portuguese built there, it seemed to me that it should stand at the beginning of the following history.

## CHAPTER II.

Of the fortress of Sofala and its villages.

The fortress of Sofala is situated in  $20\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  south latitude, on the coast of Eastern Ethiopia, near the sea, and close to a river the mouth of which is about a league wide, and which rises about a hundred leagues in the interior, in the lands called Mocaranga, and passes by a city called Zimbaoe, where Quiteve always dwells, who is the king of a great part of these lands and of all the river of Sofala. The inhabitants of the fortress of Sofala navigate this river, and carry their merchandise to Manica, which is a land of much gold situated more than sixty leagues inland, where they sell their merchandise and bring back quantities of gold in plates, fragments, and powder.

The fortress of Sofala is square, and is surrounded by a wall twenty-five spans in height. It has four round bastions at the corners, furnished with light and heavy artillery. On the side of the square facing the sea there is a fine large tower, two stories high, and at the foot of it a most beautiful courtyard with houses in which the captain of the fortress dwells. At the end of the courtyard the captain has his offices, and at the side of the tower from the ground to the first story there is a very fine and good cistern for rain-water, which the people of Sofala generally drink, as it is much better than the water of the wells, and they cannot drink the river water because it is very salt there. Within the fortress is the mother church, which is the parish church of all the people of the country. On the side of the square which faces the village there is a fine building which serves as a factory, where all the merchandise, such as cloth and beads, which comes from Mozambique, is stored, and also the ivory which is bought and collected throughout these territories.

Near this fortress of Sofala is the village of the Christian inhabitants, which when I was there contained more than six hundred souls professing Christianity, composed of Portuguese, half-breeds, and natives. In this village there is a chapel dedicated to the Holy Ghost, and we built another in the house where we dwelt, dedicated to our Lady of the Rosary. Outside the village we built a third, dedicated to the Mother of God, in a

palm grove of ours, which is the best station and place of departure in Sofala, and is a favourite place of pilgrimage and devotion with the people of that land. All these chapels were well adorned with different pieces and ornaments when we left Sofala.

The inhabitants of the fortress are chiefly merchants. Some go to Manica to barter cloth and beads, both their own and the captain's, for gold; others to the river Sabi and the Bocicas islands and other rivers which are near Sofala, to trade for ivory, ambergris, and sesame and other vegetables; and they also carry on an extensive slave trade. The women of this country employ themselves in sowing rice, which occupies them for the greater part of the year, now in tilling the earth, now in sowing, now in plucking and weeding, all their labour being performed with the hoe, and nothing sown with the help of the plough.

There is another village in Sofala composed of Moors, at a distance of about two gun-shots from the fortress, which, when I was there, contained about a hundred inhabitants, who are vassals of our fortress and very obedient to the captain and other Christians. They are all poor and miserable, and generally live by serving the Portuguese in their journeys and trading and also as sailors. The Moorish women, as well as the Christians, employ themselves in cultivation, and pay tithes of all their harvests to our church.

### CHAPTER III.

Of the foundation of the fortress of Sofala, and of the treachery and war of the Moors against it, in which the king of the country was killed and the Portuguese became lords thereof.

The captain who resides in the fortress of Sofala is appointed by the captain of Mozambique, but formerly the captains of Sofala and Mozambique resided there, and the island of Mozambique had only a factory, wherein dwelt the factor of the captain of Sofala, until, in the time when the Queen Dona Catherina was governing for the king Dom Sebastião, the fortress of Mozambique was ordered to be built, for fear of the Turks of the straits of Mecca, which was in the year of our Lord 1558, Dom Constantino being viceroy of India. After the building of the fortress the captains resided six months in Mozambique and six

in Sofala, but now the captains always remain in Mozambique and appoint whom they please to the fortress of Sofala, by virtue of a special power given to them for the purpose by the viceroys of India.

This fortress was built in the year of our Lord 1505 by Pedro da Nhaya, who was sent to the coast by the king Dom Manuel of glorious memory, with a fleet of six ships. After a voyage full of hardships, he reached the river of Sofala, which he entered with the four smallest ships, leaving the two largest in the sea because they could not cross the bar, which is very shallow. When he had disembarked he began to build the fortress, with the consent of the king of the country, who was a Moor named Zufe, whom some complaint from which he suffered had rendered blind in both eyes. But when Pedro da Nhaya had almost completed the fortress, King Zufe repented that he had given his consent for such a fortress to be built in his country, and by the advice of the chief Moors, his subjects, he determined to kill all the Portuguese and take the fortress from them.

This plot was made known by an Abyssinian Moor named Açotes, who dwelt in that land and was a great friend of Pedro da Nhaya. Upon this warning the Portuguese in the fortress made ready to defend themselves against the Moors, who attacked them on the appointed day, thinking that the Portuguese were unprepared and did not know of their treachery, in which they found themselves very much mistaken, for when they began to attack the fortress with great fury they met with such resistance and strength in the Portuguese that they could not withstand them and were forced to turn back, fleeing to the place where the king had fortified himself. The Portuguese pursued them to the very apartments of the king, who, though blind, endeavoured to sell his life at the price of that of his enemies, by hurling at them the assagais which lay beside him, by means of which he wounded some of the Portuguese, among whom was Pedro da Nhaya; but his resistance did not last long, and he was killed by the Portuguese with many of his subjects, and the rest were defeated and routed.

At the beginning of this combat Açotes came with a hundred men, his family and dependents, and joining the party of his friend Pedro da Nhaya with all his men, fought in defence of the Portuguese like a true and loyal friend. For this service Pedro

da Nhaya made him king of the Moors in Sofala, and he reigned there all his life, at peace with the Moors and the Portuguese. Pedro da Nhaya finished the fortress in peace, and died there when the building was completed, Manuel Fernandes, who was the king's factor on that coast, succeeding him as captain. When I went thither in the year 1586 I still found at the fortress several old Moors and Christian women who had been Moors, natives of that country, who well remembered that war and the time when the fortress was built, which was then more than eighty years since.

In speaking of this kingdom of Sofala it must be known that formerly upon the shore along that coast, especially at the mouths of the rivers and on the islands, there were large settlements inhabited by Moors, full of palm-groves and merchandise, and each of these cities had a king, as this Zufe was king of Sofala, and they had commerce and were at peace with the Kaffir kings who were lords of the interior. But now there are very few of these Moorish kings, for most of them were killed upon the entrance of the Portuguese to these lands, as were those of Sofala, where there are no more Moorish kings nor any of their race, their place being occupied by the captains of Sofala, who carry on their former commerce and friendship with Quiteve, king of all the lands of the interior.

#### CHAPTER IV.

Of the produce, trees, and fruit of Sofala and its territory.

In the lands of Sofala there are many gardens in which vegetables grow like those of Portugal, and many fruit trees, such as the pomegranate which bears flowers and green and ripe fruit at the same time all the year round, many Portuguese fig-trees, which yield most excellent black figs all the year, very like the wild fig, many vines which yield grapes twice a year, in January and in July, orange-trees and lime-trees which yield an abundance of good limes. In the fields and thickets there are numberless basil and jasmine plants with their white sweet-smelling flowers. There are many very excellent pineapples like those of Brazil, and many Indian fig-trees which yield large bunches of figs the size of a cucumber, which turn yellow when

they are ripe, and taste and smell very good. I have seen bunches of figs in this country, each composed of seventy figs or more all clustered together like a bunch of grapes, so that a man could scarcely lift them from the ground. There are many large palm-groves which yield innumerable cocoa-nuts and wine, of which I shall treat at greater length farther on. There are many large plantations of sugar cane along the river, which the Kaffirs plant and cultivate, not to make sugar, which might be done if there were the necessary appliances in the country, but simply as food, for these canes form a great part of their means of subsistence. There is a quantity of millet and rice, and many yams, sweet potatoes, beans, and a large variety of other vegetables, all of which are very cheap.

Throughout these lands there is an abundance of very good white sesame, of which they make oil, which is commonly eaten by all in the same manner as olive oil in Portugal. To make this oil the sesame is well pounded in wooden vessels like a mortar, but so large that they reach to a man's waist. The Kaffirs call them *chuni* and the Portuguese *pilão*. When the sesame is well crushed and reduced to a pulp, it is squeezed with the same wooden pestles with which it was crushed, and yields a very beautiful clear oil, which is called oil of sesame, and the remaining pulp is eaten by the Kaffirs with cooked millet, instead of butter or other condiment. In the same way they make cocoa-nut oil, after it is dried and withered, and this oil burns better and gives a clearer light than olive oil, besides which it is excellent for wounds and sores, and is the only remedy used by the Kaffirs, who wash and anoint their wounds with it.

In the kingdom of Manica a small tree grows on the top of rocks and mountains which for the greater part of the year is bare and without leaf or verdure, but it has this strange property that if a branch is cut off and thrown into water, in the space of twelve hours it buds and blossoms into green leaves, and when it is taken out of the water it becomes as dry as ever. The Kaffirs affirm that if a branch has been cut for ten years, and is then thrown into the water, it will still blossom and turn green. This wood, powdered and taken in water, is a good remedy for dysentery. The Kaffirs call it *mungodao*; it is very like holm, but the leaves are not so rough.

There is another kind of wood which the Kaffirs call *matuvi*,

which signifies the excrement of man ; the reason of this name is that it has the same bad smell, so disgusting that no one can endure it. This wood is also found in India ; the tree is like a thorn-bush, and the Kaffirs and Indians assert that it has great virtue against ague, and therefore many of them wear it threaded with beads and tied round the arm next to the skin ; it is specially seen on children of tender age.

In two places along the river of Sofala there are two unowned thickets full of orange and lemon trees, of which all who choose may freely gather the fruit ; and the lemons are so abundant that the Kaffirs load vessels with them and go down the river to Sofala, where they are sold almost for nothing. The inhabitants of the fortress salt and fill barrels and jars with them, which they send to India, where they are greatly esteemed, and are eaten with rice.

The bread commonly eaten in Sofala is made of rice and millet mixed and made into cakes, which they call *mocates*. They are endurable when hot, but no one can eat them cold. The Portuguese generally drink palm wine, and the Kaffirs a wine made from millet, which is very strong and intoxicating, as I shall explain hereafter. The meat is generally hens, which are innumerable. The Kaffirs breed them to sell to the Portuguese, and in Sofala they give twelve for a black cotton cloth, which is there worth two testoons at most ; and if the purchaser goes up the river to their dwellings to buy them, they will give sixteen or eighteen for the same piece of cloth, which makes eleven reis or thereabouts for each hen. They are very good, and almost as large as those of Portugal. There are also many domesticated pigs which are bred among the houses, many goats and cows, and an abundance of venison, wild pigs, and other wild animals, of which I shall treat more at length in another place.

## CHAPTER V.

Of the customs of Quiteve, king of the lands and river of Sofala, and what occurs in the kingdom at his death.

The king of all these lands of the interior and of the river of Sofala is a woolly-haired Kaffir, a heathen who adores nothing whatever, and has no knowledge of God ; on the contrary he



esteems himself the god of all his lands, and is so looked upon and revered by his subjects, as I shall hereafter relate. He is called Quiteve, the name being common to all the kings of that kingdom, who on coming to the throne discard their former name and are never known by it again.

This Quiteve has more than a hundred wives, all within his palace, among whom one or two are his chief wives, like queens, and the others are but concubines. Many of these are his own sisters and daughters, whom he uses, saying that the children born of them are the true heirs of the kingdom, having no admixture of alien blood, and will defend and sustain the kingdom much better than those descended from a strange people and kingdom.

When Quiteve dies his chief wives are obliged to die also, in order to serve and dwell with him in the next world, which is another of their barbarities. In fulfilment of this inhuman law, as soon as the king is dead they take poison, which they call *lucasse*, kept prepared for the purpose, and so die. The king who succeeds to the throne also succeeds as husband to all the remaining wives of the former king, of whom some are his sisters, aunts, and nieces, only excepting his own mother if she is among the wives of his predecessor. This law only applies to the kings, for the other Kaffirs, though they may be great lords, cannot marry their sisters or daughters, under pain of death.

The prince who succeeds to the throne is generally one of the eldest sons of the former king and his chief wives who are legitimate, and when they have not sufficient prudence to govern, the second or third son succeeds. Should these also be insufficient, the king is succeeded by his brother, if he is skilful and can govern well. This uncertainty in the succession is because the Kaffirs say that any legitimate son of former kings of that land can inherit the kingdom of his father, and that he has the best right of succession who is best fitted to govern. Therefore they do not choose the eldest or nearest prince as king; but the most skilful and prudent. The choice generally lies with the king during his life; he fixes his eyes on him who is fitted to govern, showing him most favour, consulting with him in matters of government, and showing that he is to succeed him in the kingdom, and therefore he is feared and respected by all. When I was in Sofala the reigning king had more than thirty sons,

legitimate and illegitimate, but he chose none of them as heir apparent, appointing one of his brothers whom he greatly loved, as a man of prudence and of great talent in governing; and for these qualities and the rumour that he was to succeed his brother in the kingdom he was as much beloved by all as if he had been king already, and on his brother's death there would be little doubt of his accession.

Their method of taking possession is as follows: The day the king dies nothing is thought of but the arrangements for the funeral, which consists in carrying the body to a mountain where all the kings are buried. The next day, at dawn, the prince appointed to succeed to the throne repairs to the palace where the wives of the former king await him, and enters it with their consent. He then seats himself with the principal wives in a public hall in which the kings hear all causes, in which he is hidden by a cloth or curtain so that none can see the king and his wives who sit behind it. Thence the principal ministers and officials are despatched to announce throughout the city that the new king is in peaceable possession of the palace and wives of the former king, calling upon them to come and do him homage. This is immediately done by all the nobles of the court, and those of the city come to the palace, which is already well furnished with the usual guard and officers, who admit a few of them at a time into the hall where the new king sits with his wives. They drag themselves along the ground to the middle of the room, and thence they speak to the new king, swearing allegiance to him, without seeing the king or his wives who are behind the curtain. The king answers, thanking them for the good will which they show him as loyal subjects, and then in a few words he orders the curtain to be raised and shows himself to all present, while they clap their hands, which is their method of salutation. The curtain is then lowered again, those in the room dragging themselves out upon the ground as they entered, and being replaced by others until all those in the court have done homage to the king. The best part of the day is passed in this ceremony, with great feasting, music, and dancing throughout the city. The next day the king sends his ambassadors through the kingdom to announce the death of the former king, and his own peaceful succession, bidding all come to the court to see him break the bow, of which I shall treat in the seventh chapter.

## CHAPTER VI.

Of the second manner in which the princes succeed to the kingdom, by the election of the king's wives.

Disputes sometimes arise in the election of these princes, for as the chief wives of the former king are many, and each one has sons by him, there are many pretenders to the throne, and each one wishes to be king, and those who have the power do all they can to win the people to their cause, sometimes stirring up changes and rebellions among them. Others bribe the king's wives to admit them and give them peaceable possession of the kingdom, which consists in entering the palace, for it is a law that no prince can enter the palace where they are without their permission, or take possession of the kingdom without their consent, and whoever enters by violence and takes possession against their will loses his right of succession to the kingdom. No one has power to oppose the election made by the wives, as will be seen by the following example.

Near the kingdom of Quiteve is another of which Sedanda is king, the laws and customs of which are very similar to those of Quiteve, all these Kaffirs being of the same nation, and these two kingdoms having formerly been one, as I shall relate hereafter. When I was in Sofala it happened that king Sedanda was seized with a severe and contagious leprosy, and seeing that his complaint was incurable, having named the prince who was to succeed him, he took poison and died, according to the custom of those kings when they are afflicted with any physical deformity, as I shall relate hereafter. Sedanda being dead, the prince whom he had chosen in his life would have entered the palace and seated himself with the wives of the former king, in the usual place where the ceremony of taking possession is gone through, as I have described. But things fell out very differently from what he expected, for the king's wives had a great aversion to him, on account of his evil condition and other defects which they found in him. In the night therefore they secretly summoned another prince, upon whom they had fixed their eyes as more skilful and more pleasing to them, and seated him with them in the king's public place, and sent officers through the city to proclaim to the

people that they had now a king and all should come and do him homage. When the prince appointed by the dead king saw his plans thus frustrated, he fled for fear of being put to death, and the king elected by the wives was left reigning. But he did not remain long in peace, for the prince who had fled was very powerful and was looked upon as the successor of the dead king. He assembled a large force, and came with violence to take possession of the kingdom, forcing an entrance to the palace in defiance of the king's wives, at which all were amazed, for none may enter there by force, and this action of his was sufficient to cause all his party to desert him and side with the women and the king whom they had elected, so that the rebel was forced to flee and never raised his head again.

## CHAPTER VII.

How Quiteve breaks the bow, and kills himself when afflicted by physical defects, and of the manner of speaking to him.

Before beginning to govern, the new king who succeeds to the kingdom issues a proclamation bidding all his lords and nobles come to the court to see him break the bow, which signifies his taking possession of the kingdom and government. It is the custom in this court to order some of the assembled nobles to be put to death, upon the pretext that they are required to serve the dead king in the other world. The king therefore orders those whom he fears, or against whom he has a prejudice, to be put to death under cover of feigned virtue, by means of this evil custom which is allowed among them. After killing these he appoints other lords of his own partisans in their stead. For this reason many of the lords, especially those who fear or know that they are not in favour with the new king, refuse to come to the court, fearing that they will be put to death, and flee to strange kingdoms, preferring to lose the rank which they possess rather than risk their lives at the will of the new king.

It was formerly the custom of the kings of this land to commit suicide by taking poison when any disaster or natural physical defect fell upon them, such as impotence, infectious disease, the loss of their front teeth by which they were disfigured, or any other deformity or affliction. To put an end to such defects

they killed themselves, saying that the king should be free from any blemish, and if not it was better for his honour that he should die and seek another life where he would be made whole, for there everything was perfect. But the Quiteve who reigned when I was in those parts would not imitate his predecessors in this, being discreet and dreaded as he was; for having lost a front tooth he caused it to be proclaimed throughout the kingdom that all should be aware that he had lost a tooth and should recognise him when they saw him without it, and if his predecessors killed themselves for such things they were very foolish, and he would not do so; on the contrary he would be very sorry when the time came for him to die a natural death, for his life was very necessary to preserve his kingdom and defend it from his enemies; and he recommended his successors to follow his example.

When the Kaffirs wish to speak to the king they throw themselves on the ground in the doorway and drag themselves to where he is, and speak to him lying on their sides without looking at him, clapping their hands all the while they are speaking, which is the principal mark of courtesy in use among them. When their business is concluded they withdraw in the same manner as they entered. Thus no Kaffir can speak to the king standing, much less look at him when speaking, unless they are his friends and familiars, or when he is conversing with them. The Portuguese when they speak to the king do not enter by dragging themselves on the ground like the Kaffirs, but walk in barefooted, and when they are near the king they throw themselves upon the ground sideways, almost in a sitting posture, and so speak without looking at him, clapping their hands after every four words, as is the custom.

It is said that the Chinese use an almost similar show of reverence in speaking to their presidents or judges, for on coming into their presence they go down on their knees in the doorway and so advance into the middle of the room with bowed head and eyes fixed upon the ground, and speak in a low and humble voice, and on receiving their answer they withdraw backwards, without raising their eyes or turning their backs upon the judge with whom they have spoken.

Quiteve generally has on one side of the room in which he gives audience certain large jars full of wine which the Kaffirs

make from millet, and which they call *pombe*. He offers this wine to all those who visit him, both Kaffirs and Portuguese; and though the Portuguese cannot drink it they are obliged to do so and to rejoice, showing that they think the king has done them a great favour, for should they do otherwise and say that they are not accustomed to drink that kind of wine, the king immediately picks a quarrel with them, which the Kaffirs call *empofia*, saying that they will not drink because they despise his wine or suspect that it is poisoned, making him out an evil king, and he orders them out of his presence and remains deeply offended with the Portuguese, or feigning to be so. Then he sends them a message that they cannot leave the city without his permission, and before the wretched man can get the king's leave to return to his own land, he must spend all he has in gifts and bribes to him and his subjects. Quiteve makes many of these *empofias* for anything, no matter how trifling, when he finds that those against whom they are brought are able to pay.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Of the obsequies of the dead kings held by Quiteve every year, when the devil generally speaks to him.

Every year in the month of September, when the new moon appears, Quiteve ascends a very high mountain situated near the city called Zimbaoe, in which he dwells, on the summit of which he performs grand obsequies for the kings, his predecessors, who are all buried there. For this purpose he takes many people with him, both of his city and summoned from other parts of his kingdom. On reaching the top of the mountain, the first thing they do is to eat and drink their *pombe* until they are all drunk, the king first of all (a very usual thing, and no cause for wonder with the Kaffirs), and they continue eating and drinking for eight days with great rejoicings, the chief of which is for the king to cause to *pemberar*, as they call one party running against the other, as in the game of canes in Portugal. For these feasts the king and his nobles dress themselves in their best pieces of silk or cotton, and tie a wide ribbon round their heads with many woven ends hanging like the fringe of a carpet, which hang over their eyes and faces like the front of a horse's

mane, parted in the middle. Standing thus, they rush against each other with bows and arrows in their hands, pretending to shoot and fight, but sending all the arrows into the air so as not to wound each other. And thus they continue, running and turning with many grimaces, until they are too exhausted to move, and those who keep the field longest are the most valiant and skilful, and carry off the prize for which they compete. Garcia de Mello, who was captain of Sofala when I was there, ordered a broad ribbon to be made with a deep fringe of silk and gold, and sent it to Quiteve with other valuable presents, but he valued the ribbon above everything, to wear to *pemberar*, for he indulges in that sport very frequently.

When the king has feasted for eight days, he begins his lamentation for the dead who are buried there, and all join in continual lamentation for two or three days, until the devil enters into one of the Kaffirs of the assembly, saying that he is the soul of the dead king, father of him who is engaged in these ceremonies, come to converse with his son. The demoniac becomes as one into whose body the devil has entered, stretched on the ground disfigured, deformed, and out of his senses, and while he is in this state the devil speaks through his mouth in all the foreign tongues of other Kaffir nations, which are understood by many of those present. Besides this, he begins to cough and speak like the dead king whom he represents, in such a manner that it seems to be his very self, both in voice and movements, by which signs the Kaffirs recognise that the soul of the dead king has come as they expected. The king who is performing the ceremonies, being informed of this, comes accompanied by all his nobles to the place where the demoniac is, and all prostrate themselves before him, showing him great honour. Then all withdraw, leaving the king alone with the demoniac, with whom he converses amicably as if with his dead father, asking him if there will be war, and if he will triumph over his enemies, and if there will be famine or misfortunes in his kingdom, and everything else which he wishes to know. The devil answers all these questions, and counsels him as to what he is to do, generally lying in all he says, as the false enemy to the human race which he is. But this does not prevent these blind men from believing him and coming to consult him every year in the manner aforesaid. After this conference the devil goes

out of the man's body, leaving the negro very exhausted and broken down, and still disfigured. This being done, the king returns to his house with all those who came to assist at the obsequies, and the Kaffirs loudly praise their king for being so fortunate that the dead kings come to converse with him, whom they hold to be happy and powerful in the other world, and able to grant the living king everything which he may ask for. Certain Portuguese who have chanced to be present at these assemblies saw the things which I have here related.

This manner of speaking to these barbarians the devil also makes use of with most of the heathens, as I have found in many parts where they did the same thing upon this coast, and even in India. Father Mendonça, in his book on China, relates that some barefooted friars navigating from China to the Philippines in a ship belonging to heathen Chinese, there arose a great storm, and the Chinese fearing death began to call upon the devil to assist them, while the friars on the other hand uttered exorcisms and maledictions against the demons, so that they could not listen to the cries of the heathens, as they usually do in such cases, but the voice of a demon was clearly heard saying, "We cannot answer your petitions because we are prevented by those friars whom you have with you." But the storm increasing, the Chinese consulted the demons in writing, in which manner they never fail to answer them, as they did, notwithstanding all the exorcisms of the friars, telling the Chinese not to fear, for before three days they would be safe in port. They lied in this, as they generally do, for they did not reach land till after many days.

Close to the Philippines there are other islands, peopled by heathens called Illocos, who adore the devil and offer many sacrifices to him, having no other God whom they adore. Thus most of the heathens have dealings and commerce with the devil, some covertly like the Kaffirs in their obsequies, thinking they are the souls of the dead, and others clearly and openly, knowing them to be demons, as the Chinese, Illocos, and many others whom I do not mention here for the sake of brevity.



## CHAPTER IX.

How these Kaffirs adore nothing whatever, and of certain days which they keep upon which they do no work ; and of the paradises in which they believe.

I certainly believe that the Kaffir nation is the most barbarous and brutal in the world, for they adore no God and have neither idols, images, nor temples, nor do they make use of sacrifices, and have no ministers consecrated to the divine worship such as almost all heathen nations have by a natural instinct which moves them to religion and sacred worship, especially when they have some knowledge of another life, as these Kaffirs have. Thus they are very difficult to convert, and will not accept the law of Christ which we have taught and preached to them many times, and still less that of the Moors who are constantly mixed with them and dwell in their lands, and are almost like Kaffirs both in their black colour and in their customs and conversation.

But they have a confused knowledge that there is a great God, whom they call *Molungo*, but they do not pray or commend themselves to him. When they suffer necessity or scarcity they have recourse to the king, firmly believing that he can give them all that they desire or have need of, and can obtain anything from his dead predecessors, with whom they believe that he holds converse. For this reason they ask the king to give them rain when it is required, and other favourable weather for their harvest, and in coming to ask for any of these things they bring him valuable presents, which the king accepts, bidding them return to their homes and he will be careful to grant their petitions. They are such barbarians that though they see how often the king does not give them what they ask for, they are not undeceived, but make him still greater offerings, and many days are spent in these comings and goings, until the weather turns to rain, and the Kaffirs are satisfied, believing that the king did not grant their request until he had been well bribed and importuned, as he himself affirms, in order to maintain them in their error.

These Kaffirs have many days of observance on which they do no work. These days are appointed by the king without their knowing at what time, or for what reason they are called upon to

observe them, but they only know when these days come round, and keep them with feasting and dancing. These days are called *musimos*, which signifies the souls of dead saints, and I believe that they observe these days in honour of their black saints.

A Portuguese resident of Sofala went with his merchandise to Zimbaœ, where Quiteve dwells, in order to proceed thence to Manica where there are many gold mines; and being in the city of Quiteve he ordered a cow to be killed in his house, in order to feed his slaves and the other men whom he had with him to help him in the sale of his merchandise. On the day this cow was killed one of these said *musimos* feasts was being held, and the intelligence was immediately carried to Quiteve by his spies, of whom he has an infinite number to report to him all that goes on in the city and even in the whole kingdom. Quiteve immediately sent word to the Portuguese that they had done very ill in breaking his saint's day by killing a cow, but since it was done they must not lay hands upon it, but must cover it with branches and the *musimo* of the day would eat it. The dead cow remained thus in the house of the Portuguese, and the king would not allow it to be touched, and it grew putrid and smelt so badly that the Portuguese wished to leave that house and take another. But Quiteve would not consent, insisting that as a penalty for killing the cow on the day of his *musimo*, he should endure the evil smell, or pay the *empofia* which he demanded. The Portuguese, moved by the inconvenience which he was forced to endure, came to an agreement with the king and paid him fifty pieces of cloth for the *empofia* laid upon him, and did not eat the cow, but endured the smell of it for many days. This thief of a Quiteve exacted this strict observance of that holy day more as a pretext for robbing the Portuguese than from zeal for the observance of such a day.

These Kaffirs have no idea of the creation of the world, nor that God made man and that there is a hell for the wicked and a heaven for the good. Nevertheless they know that the soul of man is immortal and lives eternally in the other world, but they think that they dwell there with their wives, and do what they please, leading a pleasanter life than in this world, and they do not know where this place of habitation may be. I have sometimes asked honourable and intelligent Kaffirs where they supposed the place might be in which their dead kings and

others whom they esteem as saints now dwelt, and whether they thought it was in the heavens. They replied that in heaven there was only God, whom they call *Mulungo*, and the dead inhabited some abundant, joyful, and shady lands, but they did not know where they might be, and they call those places paradises of joy, feasting, and contentment.

The heathens of Camboja follow the same barbarous error, affirming that there are twenty-seven paradises, each nobler and better than the one before, wherein dwell the souls of the just who have departed this life, in accordance with their merits, and also the souls of brute beasts. In the same way they affirm that there are thirteen hells where all sinners go, some higher and some lower, according to their guilt. Thus all nations, even barbarians, understand that there is another life after death in which the just are rewarded and the wicked chastised.

These Kaffirs also know that there is a devil, whom they call *Musuca*, and that he is wicked and works evil towards mankind. They hold a great feast on the day of the new moon, and I think they got this custom from the Moors who are scattered about these lands and do the same. They say that the sun has gone to sleep when it sets. They can neither read nor write, and have no books, and all ancient history and other things which they know they learn by tradition from their ancestors. It is believed among them that monkeys were formerly men and women, and therefore in their own language they call them first-folk.

## CHAPTER X.

Of the three kinds of ministers who serve Quiteve.

Quiteve has a guard of two or three hundred men, whom they call *inficis*, which signifies the same as executioners, and they are very brutal. They are girt round the neck and waist with a thick cord, and carry in their hands a very bright iron hatchet and a wooden club about three quarters of a yard long. With these instruments they kill all those whom the king commands to be put to death, first striking them on the head with the club as if killing a pig, and having thus brought any one whom they strike to the ground, they cut off his head with their hatchet. These men generally go round and round the house and enclosure

of the king, shouting "Inhama, Inhama," which signifies flesh! flesh! meaning to call upon the king to condemn some one to death, that they may exercise their office of executioner.

The king has another class of Kaffirs, who are called *marombes*, which means the same as jester. These also go round and round the royal dwelling, shouting in very harsh voices many songs and discourses in praise of the king, in the course of which they call him lord of the sun and moon, king of the land and of the rivers, conqueror of his enemies, great in all things, great thief, great wizard, great lion; and all other forms of greatness which they can invent, either good or bad, are attributed to him by them. When the king goes out he is surrounded and encircled by these *marombes*, who recite these praises to him with loud cries, to the sound of small drums, irons, and bells, which help them to make a louder noise and clamour.

Quiteve also makes use of another class of Kaffirs, great musicians and dancers, who have no other office than to sit in the first room of the king's palace, at the outer door, and round his dwelling, playing many different musical instruments, and singing to them a great variety of songs and discourses in praise of the king, in very high and sonorous voices. The best and most musical of their instruments is called the *ambira*, which greatly resembles our organs; it is composed of long gourds, some very wide and some very narrow, held close together and arranged in order. The narrowest, which form the treble, are placed on the left, contrary to that of our organs, and after the treble come the other gourds with their different sounds of contralto, tenor, and bass, being eighteen gourds in all. Each gourd has a small opening at the side near the end, and at the bottom a small hole the size of a dollar, covered with a certain kind of spider's web, very fine, closely woven, and strong, which does not break. Upon all the mouths of these gourds, which are of the same size and placed in a row, keys of thin wood are suspended by cords so that each key is held in the air above the hollow of its gourd, not reaching the edges of the mouth. The instrument being thus constructed, the Kaffirs play upon the keys with sticks after the fashion of drumsticks, at the points of which are buttons made of sinews rolled into a light ball of the size of a nut, so that striking the notes with these two sticks, the blows resound in the mouths of the gourds, producing a sweet and rhythmical harmony, which can be

heard as far as the sound of a good harpsichord. There are many of these instruments, and many musicians who play upon them very well.

These Kaffirs have another musical instrument, also called an ambira, very similar to that just described, but it is all made of iron instead of gourds, being composed of narrow flat rods of iron about a palm in length, tempered in the fire so that each has a different sound. There are only nine of these rods, placed in a row close together, with the ends nailed to a piece of wood like the bridge of a violin, from which they hang over a hollow in the wood, which is shaped like a bowl, above which the other ends of the rods are suspended in the air. The Kaffirs play upon this instrument by striking the loose ends of the rods with their thumb-nails, which they allow to grow long for that purpose, and they strike the keys as lightly as a good player strikes those of a harpsichord. Thus the iron rods being shaken and the blows resounding above the hollow of the bowl, after the fashion of a jew's harp, they produce altogether a sweet and gentle harmony of accordant sounds. This instrument is much more musical than that made of gourds, but it is not so loud, and is generally played in the king's palace, for it is very soft and makes but little noise.

These Kaffirs have many other instruments which they call musical, but which I call ear splitting. Such are the large horns of certain wild animals which they call *paraparas*, and therefore these horns are called *parapandas*, and they have a terrible and frightful sound like that of a bastard trumpet. They make use of many drums after the fashion of kettle-drums, some large and some small, which they temper so that some have a treble sound and others yield other tones, and to these those who play upon them sing with voices so loud and harsh that the whole of the surrounding country is stunned by the noise of their singing and playing.

When Quiteve sends ambassadors to any part, they are always accompanied by these three classes of Kaffirs, who continually exercise their office, some playing, some shouting, others dancing, and praising their king in the manner aforesaid. Quiteve always employs these three classes of Kaffirs in his palace as grooms of the chamber, to carry his orders, and they often serve him as couriers to certain parts of his kingdom, and under this title they

are well received and respected by every one in all the lands through which they pass, and are provided with free maintenance by all, and if it is not offered willingly they take it by force, and no one dare oppose them. This is especially the case with the savage *inficis*, for they have less fear and consideration for other Kaffirs, and do absolutely what they please, and all are in great fear of them, because they are bloodthirsty and accustomed to putting men to death, and carry as their constant device the instruments of death, namely the axe and cord, by which all are terrified and overawed.

## CHAPTER XI.

Of the three kinds of wonderful oaths in use among these Kaffirs.

These Kaffirs have three kinds of most terrible and wonderful oaths which they make use of in trying cases, when a Kaffir is accused of any grave crime of which there is not sufficient proof, or when a debt is denied, and in other similar cases when it is necessary to leave the truth to be proved by the oath of the accused, when he is ready to take it in proof of his innocence.

The first and most dangerous is called the oath of *lucasse*, which is a cup of poison that the accused is called upon to drink, with the assurance that if he is innocent the poison will leave him safe and sound, but if he is guilty he will die of it. Therefore those who are guilty when the time comes that they are obliged to take this oath generally confess their guilt, to avoid drinking the poison; but when they are innocent of the charge brought against them they drink the poison confidently and it does them no harm; and upon this proof of their innocence they are acquitted, and their accuser in punishment of the false testimony borne against them becomes the slave of him whom he falsely accused, and forfeits all his property and his wife and children, half going to the king and the other half to him who was accused.

The second oath is called by the Kaffirs the oath of the *xoca*, which is the iron of an adze heated red-hot in the fire; it is then taken out with pincers and held to the mouth of the accused, who is told to lick the red hot iron with his tongue, and if he is not guilty of the crime with which he is charged the fire will not harm him and his tongue and lips will not be burnt; but if he is

guilty, the fire will burn his tongue, lips, and face. This oath is the most usual, and is often used not only by the Kaffirs but also by the Moors who dwell in those parts; and worse still, some Christians have administered it to their slaves whom they suspected of theft. Several persons assured me that an inhabitant of Sofala administered this oath to one of his slaves whom he suspected of having stolen a small quantity of cloth, and that the Kaffir, who was innocent of the charge, licked the red-hot iron three times without receiving any harm whatever.

The third oath is less dangerous, but no less marvellous, and is called by the Kaffirs the oath of the *calão*, which is a bowl of hot water containing one almude, and rendered bitter by certain herbs which are thrown into it. This water is given lukewarm to him who is to take the oath, and he is told that if he is innocent of the charge brought against him he will be able to drink all the water at a draught without taking breath, and his stomach will contain it all, and afterwards he will vomit it up again, and it will do him no harm; but if he is guilty he will not be able to drink it, nor even to swallow a single drop, for it will stick in his throat and choke him.

These three methods of taking an oath have sometimes been witnessed among these Kaffirs, and many who have sworn falsely have died of the poison which they drank; others have had their tongues and lips burned by the hot iron, and others have been unable to swallow a single drop of the liquid. On the contrary those who were innocent and swore truthfully have taken these oaths unharmed, a thing which has ever filled me with amazement, and which I would not believe were it not reported by persons worthy of credit who have been present at such occurrences, nor do I know to what so great a marvel is to be attributed unless God wished to prove the innocence of those who were falsely accused of crimes they had not committed, or, as many theologians affirm, these things might do their bodies no harm by the artifices of the devil, that they may be confirmed in the errors in which they live and remain blind all their lives.

Lucius Siculus, Isidore, and Solinus make mention of a spring in Sardinia which is a marvellous and manifest test of thieves who are suspected of having stolen anything, for if they are guilty and swear falsely on bathing in the spring they become blind, but of those who swear truly and bathe in the same way.

their eyes become clearer and they enjoy better sight than they did before.

In holy scripture we have a similar example in the book of Numbers, where it is related how God was wont to make manifest the guilt or innocence of a woman suspected of adultery, without sufficient proofs. The husband who entertained such suspicions of his wife brought her to the priest, who gave her certain bitter waters to drink, and if she was guilty of the said adultery the waters went through her and corrupted her bowels, so that her belly grew mortified, and her infamy became manifest, and she was dishonoured. But if the woman was innocent of the fault imputed to her by her husband, the waters did her no harm, her innocence became manifest, and she was held in honour. All these things were brought about by divine providence, as may be seen more fully in the aforesaid book. In the same way it may be presumed that God permits the faults of the wicked and the innocence of the good to be made manifest by these oaths in justification of their cases, in His justice succouring the innocent and justifying them.

João Perez in his book upon astronomy refers to a similar oath. Finally these oaths which I have described as being in use among the Kaffirs were many times administered and witnessed by persons worthy of credit, and these things are notorious and well known in Sofala, as I have related.

## CHAPTER XII.

Of the appearance, dress, and crafts of these Kaffirs, and of the royal hunting.

Most of these Kaffirs are as black as jet, with woolly hair; they are handsome men, especially the Macarangas, who dwell in the lands of Quiteve. All wear their hair made into horns all over their heads for finery. The hair is made to stand up as straight as an arrow by being twisted round a thin piece of wood, so that it cannot bend, and outside it is bound with the outer covering of a certain herb like that of spurge laurel, which when it is fresh sticks like glue, and when it is dry becomes as hard as wood. With this they tie their hair in twists from the root to the point, making each twist into a very well shaped horn, and this is all their finery and show, which they arrange for each



other. They make great sport of a man who wears no horns, saying that he is like a woman, because a man being the male should have horns, thus comparing themselves to the wild animals among which the female has no horns, such as stags, gnus, zebras, paraparas, and nondos.

No Kaffir may wear his horns in the same fashion as Quiteve; he wears four horns: one a palm in length above his forehead like a unicorn, and three half a palm in length, one at the back of the head, and one over each ear; each horn standing very straight up in its place. Because of these horns they all go bareheaded, and use no hats.

The dress of the king and of his lords is a fine cloth of cotton or silk hanging from the waist to the ankle, and another much larger cloth of the same cotton woven by the Kaffirs, which they call *machiras*, or of silk, thrown over the shoulders like a cape, with which they cover and muffle themselves, always leaving the end of the cloth on the left side so long that it drags upon the ground, and the more it drags the greater their majesty and dignity. The rest of their body is naked. All, even the king, go barefoot. The poor Kaffirs, that is nearly all of them, go naked, both men and women, and no one wonders or is ashamed of it. Those who are the best dressed wear a monkey skin hanging down from the waist in front like a blacksmith's apron, and the women also; the rest of their body is naked, because they are very poor and are not able to buy a cloth with which to cover themselves at least from the waist to the knee. This is the dress of the greater part of this Kaffraria, except of such Kaffirs as have dealings with the Portuguese, or who dwell among them, for most of these wear a cloth girt round the waist and hanging to the knee, and those who can afford it wear a larger cloth over their shoulders like a cape, with which they cover themselves, and the rest of their bodies is bare.

There are no craftsmen among these Kaffirs except blacksmiths, who make arrows, assagais, hoes, hatchets, and a kind of half sword which they call *lupangas*, and weavers, who make a kind of coarse cotton cloth about the size of a moderately large handkerchief, which they call *machiras*. This cotton is spun by the women, which is almost contrary to their usual province, their most ordinary occupation being to dig, sow, and weed, the hoe being as proper in the hands of the Kaffir women as the distaff

is in the girdle of the women between Douro and Minho. Therefore Kaffirs who are careful to choose laborious wives are the richest, and have most provisions. Some of the Kaffirs also weed, dig, and assist their wives, but they are very few, for they are all indolent and lovers of idleness, given to feasting, singing, and dancing, therefore they are poor, their favourite exercise being hunting wild animals, monkeys, and wild beasts for food.

Quiteve is accustomed to hold certain royal hunting parties, taking with him all the men of the city in which he dwells, who are three or four thousand, a little more or less. With all these he repairs to the woods which are near the city, and surrounding a large space they advance in order, driving all the animals therein before them with loud cries and clamour, until they have surrounded them in the open, where tigers, panthers, lions, elephants, buffaloes, stags, wild boars, and many other wild animals are collected. Having thus surrounded them, they set their dogs upon them, and hurl their arrows and assagais among them, killing most of them. Then they cut the flesh into many strips and dry it, both for the king and for each one of them.

In this hunt, which is frequently held by Quiteve, it is lawful for the Kaffirs to kill lions, but not at any other time or place, for Quiteve has made a law in this kingdom that none may kill a lion under pain of death, for he is called the great lion, and as such he says that he is bound to protect the lives of the other lions, and they may only be slain in his presence and for his recreation. All eat of these spoils at the place of slaughter with great rejoicing and merriment, and they carry the remainder of the meat to their homes.

### CHAPTER XIII.

Of the dwellings and kraals of the Kaffirs, the provisions which they use, and the manner in which they decide their *empofias* and cases.

Although many of these Kaffirs of Ethiopia live in the woods, hidden in their huts, with their wives and children, like wild animals, yet most of them dwell in small kraals, and some in very large ones, containing two or three thousand inhabitants. In each kraal there is a chief or governor appointed by the king, who has authority to judge the *empofias* and law-suits of the Kaffirs

of his kraal in trifling matters, but not cases of importance, for all these are referred to and tried before the king, and he delivers verbal judgment as he thinks proper. Penalties of money or property to which the defendants are condemned by the king, or by any chief, are divided between the judge and the plaintiff, the defendant paying all the costs.

The dwellings of these Kaffirs are round, made of rough wood, and thatched with straw like a country barn. They can move these huts from place to place at their will. Their movable furniture consists of a clay pot in which they cook the millet which they eat, two hoes for digging, a bow and arrows for hunting, and a mat of rushes which they weave themselves, and which serves them as a bed; but more often they sleep upon the ground, and when it is cold they make a fire in the middle of the hut, and the husband, wife, and children sleep round it in the ashes like cats. This poverty and miserable mode of life is common throughout Kaffraria, but they do not feel it much, being born and bred in this manner, and so accustomed to these hardships that they look upon them as a natural life, like the brute beasts that they resemble in many things.

The ordinary food of the Kaffirs is millet, vegetables, fruits of the forest, and fish, which they catch in the rivers with nets made of twigs and with reeds; all kinds of animals, which they catch in the forests and marshes, as monkeys, dogs, cats, rats, snakes, and both land and river lizards, which they call *gonas* and we call crocodiles; so that they spare no kind of flesh.

In some parts of Kaffraria, especially upon the mainland opposite Cape Delgado, there is an abundance of reeds like those of Portugal, which grow in the hedges, which every three years, and often every two years, yield large ears full of grain almost resembling rye, of which the Kaffirs gather a large harvest, upon which they live, and they prize it almost as highly as millet. I have several times eaten bread made of this grain, and found it sufficiently sustaining. There is also an abundance of rice in these lands, but the Kaffirs do not like it so much as millet, which is more substantial and strengthening than rice. They cultivate it, however, to sell to the Portuguese, especially upon the coast of Melinde and Cape Delgado, where there is an infinite quantity of rice, which is the chief commodity dealt in by many merchants.

The wine usually drunk by these Kaffirs is made of millet, and is called *pombe*. It is made in the following manner: first they soak about three gallons of millet in water, where it remains for two days, in the course of which it sprouts; the water is then drained off, and it is left to dry for two or three hours, and when it is well dried, they pound it thoroughly to a pulp. This is done in a large wooden mortar which reaches to a man's waist, which the Kaffirs call *cuni*, and the Portuguese *pilão*, as has been said. This being done, they place a large cauldron half full of water on the fire, and when it boils they gradually mix in about a gallon and a half of millet flour, as if making a broth, and when it has boiled a little they take the cauldron off the fire and throw into it the pulp made of the ground millet, mixing it until it dissolves. The cauldron is then left for two days, during which the liquor cooks and boils without fire, like the must of grapes, and after these two days they drink it. They make it in this manner every day. This *pombe* is as intoxicating as wine if much of it is drunk; it is so sustaining that many Kaffirs eat and drink nothing else, but live on *pombe* alone. If they leave it in the cauldron for four or five days it becomes very sour, and the more sour it is the more intoxicating it becomes, and the Kaffirs esteem it greatly so, because they say it gives them more strength.

Throughout the whole of Kaffraria a certain herb is found, which the Kaffirs sow, and which they call *bangué*; it is exactly like an ear of coriander, resembling it greatly in the grain and ear, but not in the leaf, which is like that of a clove gilliflower. The Kaffirs dry the leaf and stalk, and when they are well dried they pound them to powder, of which they eat a handful, and then drink some water, after which they are quite satisfied and their stomachs are comforted. Many Kaffirs sustain themselves with this *bangué* for many days, and eat nothing else; and many of them assemble together to eat it, becoming as drunk as if they had taken a quantity of wine. All these Kaffirs are very fond of this herb, and commonly use it, going about half drunk from its effects; and those who are accustomed to it do not take any *pombe*, but are satisfied with *bangué* alone.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Of certain laws among these Kaffirs, and their custom of casting lots upon all occasions.

All these Kaffirs before undertaking anything, whether it be a journey, business, or planting, cast lots to discover if the issue will be fortunate or not, and if the lot is not favourable they put off their business for that day. By these lots they also practise divination to recover things lost or stolen, and I think that these are wizards, though they do not proclaim themselves such. The lots which they all use are small round flat pieces of wood, pierced in the middle, and smaller than playing draughts. These pieces of wood, or lots, the Kaffirs call *chacatas*, and every Kaffir carries these *chacatas* with him, threaded on a string, in order to use them when any doubt arises. In such a case he throws them, as we throw dice, several times, and they say that they are thus shown whether a thing be good or evil, and they attach as much credit to them as we do to the gospel. When a Kaffir is without these *chacatas*, and any doubt arises upon which they wish to throw lots, they do so in another manner by means of certain lines upon the ground, to which they also attach great credit.

It is also related of the Chinese that they cast lots before their idols, and if the lots do not fall out to please them, they beat the idols, and burn their hands or feet, or at least put them in water or throw them on the ground every time until the lots are favourable. And though they often find that the matter upon which they throw the lots falls out contrary to their expectations, yet they are never undeceived and brought to believe such lots to be false and uncertain.

Some of these Kaffirs are great sorcerers, and have dealings with the devil, whom they call the master of sorcery. As most of them are inclined to this vice, it is forbidden by the king of the country, for only himself and his friends are allowed to use this science; and any Kaffir practising sorcery without the permission of the king is condemned to death and to forfeit his property, wife, and children, half to go to the king and the other half to his accuser. Although the penalty is so severe there is no lack of secret sorcerers, and all would be so if they could, such

is their inclination to this vice ; but they are greatly offended if any one calls them *moroy*, which signifies sorcerer. The same penalty as is imposed upon the sorcerer is pronounced against the thief, whom they call *bava*, and the adulterer, and any one is allowed to kill any of these three classes of criminals if they catch them in the act, without suffering any penalty. However if the offended person does not wish the adulterer who has wronged him, the thief who has robbed him, or the sorcerer who has cast his spells upon him, to be put to death, the said criminals become his slaves, and he may sell them or dispose of them as he pleases, and therefore they speak of them after they thus become slaves as my thief, my adulterer, or my sorcerer. The penalty of forfeiting their goods to the king is very common among these Kaffirs, and is imposed for any kind of crime ; and therefore most of them accumulate property for the king (as they say themselves), for sooner or later they commit or are accused of actions for which they forfeit it.

## CHAPTER XV.

Of the marriages, child-bearing, and burials among these Kaffirs.

The Kaffirs of these lands buy the women whom they marry from their fathers or mothers, giving in exchange cows, cloths, beads, or hoes, each according to his power and the value of the woman. Thus those Kaffirs who have many daughters to marry are rich, and live in contentment through them, because they have plenty to sell. If any Kaffir is discontented with his wife he may return her to her father, but forfeits the price which he paid for her ; and her father or mother is obliged to receive their rejected daughter, and when she is once more in their power the marriage is dissolved, and the father may sell her to another husband. A woman may not separate from her husband, nor leave, nor reject him, because in a way she is his slave for whom he has paid. When these Kaffirs marry they have no other ceremony than an agreement between the parties, and on the day of the wedding they have great dancing, feasting, and games, at which all the inhabitants of the kraal where the wedding takes place are present. Each of the guests brings a present of millet, meal, yams, grain, beans, and whatever else they can afford or wish to

contribute, all of which is given to the young couple to assist in the expense of the day, and most of these presents are consumed in the eating and drinking of the wedding feast.

Every Kaffir who wishes to have two wives may do so if he can afford it, but these are very few, and therefore they only have one, except the nobles and lords of the kingdom, for these have many, one only being the chief wife and all the rest like concubines.

Some of the Kaffir women in these lands are as wild as savage beasts or sylvan animals, as they show clearly in their child-bearing, for many of them when they begin to feel the pains of travail withdraw into the woods, and roam about there breathing the perfume of the forests, so that they are more speedily delivered, as if they were she-goats; and after they are delivered they rise and go to the pools or river, and there wash themselves and the child they have brought forth, and return to their homes with the child in their arms, without any swathing band, for they have nothing with which to make it, nor are they accustomed to make use of it. Still less do they take to their beds, for they have none for themselves or their tender babes except a mat or a little straw, upon which they will lie at most the day of their delivery, unless they are ill, as often happens.

When a Kaffir dies he is mourned for not only by his friends and relations but also by all the inhabitants of the kraal or village in which he dwelt, the lamentations lasting throughout the day of his death. Upon the same day they carry him out to be buried, upon the mat or bed upon which he died, and if the dead man had any piece of cloth which could serve as a shroud he is wrapped therein, or if not he is left naked as he was in life. They dig his grave in the forest, placing him therein almost in a sitting position, with a bowl of water and a little millet by his side, which they say is for the dead man to eat and drink upon his journey to the next life. Without any further ceremony they cover him with earth, and place the mat or bed upon which they carried the corpse above the grave, where in time it rots away, and is never used again, although it may be new, for they have a great dread of touching any mat or bed upon which any one has died, believing that death or some evil will befall them from such contact.

The relations and friends of the deceased mourn for him for

eight days, in the morning, at midday, and at sunset, for about an hour at a time. Their mourning consists of dancing and singing aloud many lamentations and mournful phrases, after their own fashion, all standing in a ring, from which every now and then one advances into the middle, turns round once or twice, and returns to his place; and this lamentation being ended they sit down in a ring and eat and drink for the soul of him whom they are bewailing. This being done, each one returns to his house. The nearest relations of the deceased contribute towards this entertainment.

All these Kaffirs are cruel and inhuman towards each other. If one of them falls sick and has no wife or relatives and friends who love him, and will nurse him, he generally dies in abandonment, for no other Kaffir will pity him, or give him meat and drink, even though they may see him perishing and dying of hunger and want, which is generally the cause of their death, for they are very poor and miserable, and niggardly with any food or drink which they may have. The most that any friend will do for these poor wretches is to carry them into the forest and lay them down at the foot of a tree or bush, placing near them a bowl of water and a little millet, that they may eat and drink if they are able, and there they are left to die, and no further heed is taken of them, and though any Kaffir passing should hear them moaning and complaining, he will not have sufficient pity to succour them. Some Kaffirs think this want of humanity so natural that they inflict this cruelty upon themselves, for feeling themselves to be ill and thinking that the end of their life is near, they have themselves carried into the forest and laid under a bush, and there allow themselves to die like brute beasts.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Of white Kaffirs and men who suckled children at their breasts, and other phenomena.

In the kingdoms of Mocaranga there were some Kaffir women who bore children very white and yellow haired like the Flemish, though their parents were as black as pitch. When I was in the kingdom of Quiteve, the king had one of these white children which he brought up and maintained in his court as a rare



prodigy. Monomotapa also had two white Kaffirs at his court, who were looked upon as wonders. The Kaffirs say that these white children born of black women are the children of the devil, begotten on them by him during their sleep. Dom Hieronymo Coutinho, when he came from India as commodore of the fleet in the year 1600, brought with him in his ship a little Kaffir girl who was very white, and had been given to him in India by the viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama, count of Vidigueira, in whose house in Goa I saw the child, and afterwards again at the island of St. Helena when we were all there, I being in the said fleet. This little Kaffir, the daughter of two black Kaffirs, was so fair that even her eye-lashes were white. She died at sea, on the passage between St. Helena and Portugal.

On a river called Inhaguea, which is between Sofala and the river Luabo, I saw an old negress more than sixty years of age suckling a child to which, at that age, she had given birth a few months previously. Many Kaffir women bear two or three children at a birth. I saw one at Sofala who had borne three, one of which died, and she reared the other two, who reached maturity.

I saw a Christian Kaffir at Sofala, named Pedro, whose wife having died about a month after she had given birth to a daughter, he himself took the child and suckled it with milk from his breasts, and so reared it for a year until it died of worms, and not for want of milk. After the death of the child his breasts became dry, and never contained milk again. One day in Sofala this Kaffir was pointed out to me, and the above extraordinary case was related; I therefore called him to me and asked him what means he had used to make his breasts yield milk. He answered that the poverty and necessity to which he was reduced in the forest where he dwelt, with a motherless child crying, and with nothing to give her suck, had moved him to put his left breast in the child's mouth, that it might suck it though dry and be pacified, and afterwards he gave it very thin gruel to drink. He continued to do this for two or three days, at the end of which he found milk in the breast which the child sucked, and little by little the quantity increased until it was sufficient to bring up the child for a year, when it died, as has been said.

I related this case in India, and was assured by persons worthy

of credit that in the fortress of Ormus there was a Jew,—who are very numerous in India,—who also suckled his son at his breasts instead of its mother, his wife, who died in the said fortress, leaving the child of very tender age; and being poor he would not seek a nurse for his son, having sufficient milk in his breasts to rear him, which he did successfully.

I saw a Kaffir at the river of Good Omens, which the Kaffirs call Quilimane, who had large prominent breasts like those of a nursing mother, but they never contained any milk, for I questioned him on the subject, and he told me that his breasts were naturally so, and his maternal grandfather had the same large breasts.

Gabriel Rabello, who was factor and chief alcaide of the fortress of Maluco, in his book upon notable events in the islands of Malucca, dedicated to Dom Constantino, who was viceroy of India, relates that a friend and comrade of his, an inhabitant of the said fortress of Maluco, named Francisco Palha, had a large he-goat in his house together with other goats, which had a large teat full of milk which the kids sucked, the animal consenting and welcoming them as if he had been their mother.

When I returned from India to Portugal, I heard that in Moura, a noble town of Alemtejo, there lived a poor man who generally earned his bread by the sweat of his brow, and was commonly called Old Father, being very well known in those parts by that name. I was assured that for many years this man had milk in his breasts, and even then being of the age of more than sixty years he had milk in as great abundance as a woman giving suck, which he also did, suckling two children, the daughters of his niece or relation in whose house he lived. This man is still alive, and upon my inquiring concerning him of the people of Moura, in order to examine into the truth of this prodigy, I was assured that this man upon several occasions, when others had made bets and wagers as to whether he had milk or not, had pressed his breast with his hand so that the milk squirted out in great quantities, and it was so thick that placing a few drops upon his nail they would remain suspended without falling. A religious of the order of St. Dominic, who went to that town, was shown this man and told how he gave suck to two children and helped to bring them up in the manner aforesaid.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Of the war between the governor Francisco Barreto and the Kaffirs of Quiteve.

A few years after the king Dom Sebastião had assumed the government of Portugal, he sent Francisco Barreto, with the title of governor and captain general of a large fleet, to Sofala, to conquer the gold mines of the kingdom of Mocaranga, particularly the mines of Manica. In pursuit of this conquest the said governor had great and cruel wars with Quiteve, the king of the lands between Sofala and Manica; for he always endeavoured to prevent him and impede his passage to the said mines situated in the kingdom of one of his neighbours, called Tshikanga, and the governor could not reach the mines without passing through the whole kingdom of Quiteve, who would not consent to it. The cause of his refusal was partly that the Portuguese might not have commerce and dealings with his enemy Tshikanga, taking to his lands quantities of cloth and beads to barter them for the gold of his mines, by which he might become rich and powerful, a thing he did not desire for his enemy; and partly because he did not wish them to obtain knowledge of his lands by traversing the whole of his kingdom. Therefore he always disputed the passage with the Portuguese, and frequently came out to meet Francisco Barreto, who journeyed sometimes by land and sometimes navigated up the river of Sofala, always pursuing his conquest with his men and soldiers in good order.

During his journey Quiteve gave battle many times, fighting the Portuguese very valiantly, giving him a great deal of trouble, and killing some. He did this at the great peril of his Kaffirs, for the Portuguese always killed them and defeated his armies and avoided the ambushes laid for them upon the road nearly every day. Quiteve thought of nothing else but to assemble fresh men and send them out every day to fight Francisco Barreto and prevent his going forward; but nothing sufficed to daunt the valour and constant courage of the Portuguese, who continued to break through and defeat the enemy at every encounter, while at the same time they suffered great famine for want of provisions, which the Kaffirs hid from them and removed from all the lands and villages through which the

Portuguese passed. In this way, suffering from hunger and continual warfare, with their arms upon their shoulders, they marched as far as the city of Zimbaoe where Quiteve was, who hearing of their arrival fled to some great mountains which were close by, with his wives and with most of the people of the city, whom he took as his guard, so that when Francisco Barreto reached the city he met with but little resistance, and setting it on fire, burned the greater part of it.

After this he continued his journey to the kingdom of Manica, where he arrived two days afterwards, without meeting any opposition. On the contrary Tshikanga, hearing of his coming, sent to meet him on the way with abundance of provisions and cows, telling him that he was delighted to see him in his kingdom. Francisco Barreto sent to thank him for his good will and the welcome he had given him, forwarding to him at the same time a fine present of cloth and beads, with which the Kaffir was very well pleased and contented. When Francisco Barreto drew near the city he came out to meet him with great rejoicing, and all the time that he remained there he treated him with great affection and courtesy, making him welcome and providing him with all the necessary provisions for his army in great abundance. During this time Francisco Barreto made a treaty of peace with Tshikanga, that thenceforward the Portuguese should have free entrance to his kingdom, and barter their merchandise for the gold of his mines without opposition from any one. This treaty of peace and friendship was accepted by Tshikanga with great pleasure, and he promised to observe and keep it with great fidelity for ever.

When the Portuguese found themselves in the land of gold they thought that they would immediately be able to fill sacks with it, and carry off as much as they chose; but when they had spent a few days near the mines, and saw the difficulty and labour of the Kaffirs, and with what risk and peril of their lives they extracted it from the bowels of the earth and from the stones, they found their hopes frustrated.

The Kaffirs have three methods of extracting and collecting this gold. The first and most usual manner is to make deep holes and mines, from which they dig into the earth along the veins which are known to them, and bring out the gold, washing it with water in bowls, and thus freeing it from the earth with

which it is mixed. They do this at the great peril of their lives, for very often the mines collapse and bury them, and many are killed in this employment; but such is their desire and covetousness for the cloth which the Portuguese give them in exchange for the gold, that they brave every danger in order to extract it from the bowels of the earth.

The second method of collecting the gold is practised when it rains, for then the Kaffirs seek it in all the springs of the mountains and plains, when it is laid bare by the torrents and currents of water, in which many nuggets and pieces of gold are found.

Thirdly the gold is extracted from certain stones which are found in particular mines. These stones contain many veins of gold, in order to extract which they break and grind them to powder, which they afterwards wash in bowls, and all that is not gold melts in the water and is carried off, the gold remaining at the bottom of the bowl, and thus they collect it. This gold from the stones is called by the Kaffirs *matuca*; it is inferior and of few carats fineness. All the other gold they call *dahabo*, whether it be in powder or in pieces.

After Francisco Barreto had made peace with Tshikanga, he took leave of him, and returned by the same way he had gone, having resolved to pass through the city of Quiteve and wage fierce war against him in case he would not make peace with the Portuguese.

But Quiteve, hearing of his return, took better counsel than before, and the first day that Francisco Barreto entered his kingdom he sent him proposals of peace, which Francisco Barreto very gladly accepted, wishing to secure this road for the merchants of Sofala. Seeing the small advantage it would be to Quiteve for them to traverse his lands carrying merchandise to another kingdom to exchange it for gold, it seemed proper to grant him something in order to satisfy him. It was therefore agreed that the captain of Sofala and his successors should thenceforward be bound to give Quiteve a tribute of two hundred pieces of cloth every year; in return for which Quiteve should thenceforward give the Portuguese free and safe passage through his lands with their merchandise to the kingdom of his neighbour Tshikanga, to bring gold from it without any opposition or molestation whatever, and further he should make the whole river of Sofala free, that the inhabitants of the fortress might have liberty to

send thither for provisions. This treaty of peace having been accepted and agreed to on both sides, Francisco Barreto returned peacefully to Sofala, leaving all the lands of Tshikanga and Quiteve quiet and at peace with the Portuguese.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the *curua* or tribute which the Portuguese and Kaffirs pay to Quiteve, and the manner in which it is collected.

It has already been stated in the last chapter that the captain of Sofala paid to Quiteve, the king of those lands, an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of cloth for free passage through his lands. These pieces of cloth are worth in Sofala more than two hundred cruzados, and this among the Portuguese, for among the Kaffirs they are worth more than a hundred thousand reis. This tribute is called by the Kaffirs *curua*, and Quiteve sends for and collects it every year in the following manner:—

He sends four ambassadors chosen for the purpose, whom the Kaffirs call *mutumes*. One of these represents the person of the king upon this journey, and only while it lasts do the Kaffirs show him the same respect and reverence. The second *mutume* is called the king's mouth, it being his office to speak and do the king's embassy. The third is called the king's eye, his office being to watch all that is done upon this journey and embassy, both good and bad, in order to relate it all to his king upon his return to court, and also to see how much and what kind of cloth is delivered to him. The fourth *mutume* is called the king's ear, his office being to listen to what is said upon this embassy both on the part of the king and on the part of the captain of Sofala, and to observe if the ambassadors add to or deduct from their embassy.

These four ambassadors are generally all nobles, and sometimes the king's own sons, especially he who represents the king, for he is always of higher rank than the other three. To all these Kaffirs the captain gives many pieces of cloth and beads, with which they are very well satisfied and contented, besides the *curua* which he delivers to them for Quiteve. Such gifts are the rewards of their embassy, Quiteve employing them in this and similar offices as a great favour and honour, giving them this

occasion of profiting by the gifts which the captain bestows upon them.

These ambassadors, when they come for the *curua*, bring with them more than a hundred Kaffirs, not only as a suite but also to carry the cloth and beads of the *curua* upon their shoulders, according to their custom. Before they reach the settlement of Sofala, while they are still about half a league distant, they send notice of their arrival to the captain, who commands them to be received by the sheik of Sofala, who is a Moor, with several other Moors, that they may come to the fortress in company with the Kaffirs, and they enter the settlement all together in the following manner:—

First come, in front, certain drummers and players of other instruments, together with certain dancers, all singing and playing as they march, deafening the surrounding country with their harsh and discordant voices, their heads ornamented with cock's-tail feathers. After them come the other Kaffirs in single file, and after them the four *mutumes* in their proper order, he who represents the king coming last with the Moorish sheik at his side, and thus they enter Sofala in good order. The captain of the fortress, who awaits them, receives them with great courtesy in a hall of the fortress, accompanied by all the Portuguese in the land. Then he orders them to be lodged in the Moorish village, where they are provided with all that they require as long as they remain there, which is for seven or eight days.

In receiving them the captain used often to order the artillery of the fortress to be discharged to do honour to the *mutumes*, but the noise of it terrified them so that it was found to be a very irksome honour to them. They therefore requested Quiteve to send a message to the captain, asking him when his people went for the *curua* to hide the *inafutes* of the fortress, for thus they call the pieces of artillery, because they shrieked so loud and were very angry, and none could suffer their cries; and further that all who heard that appalling din were so terrified that they grew withered and wasted away, and many died of it. Quiteve sent this message to the captain, and from that time he did not fire the guns; and the Kaffirs are so afraid of them that they dare not so much as lay their hands upon them when they go to the fortress, at the gate of which stand three large pieces of artillery. In this manner aforesaid Quiteve sends every year for

the *curua* or tribute which Francisco Barreto promised him when he made the treaty of peace at the time of the conquest, as has been related.

The Kaffirs, vassals of Quiteve, also pay him tribute in the following manner: In all the villages and kraals in the kingdom of Quiteve there is a large crop of millet for the king, and all the inhabitants of the place are obliged to work upon it certain days in the year, which are fixed upon. In this way the Kaffirs of each kraal weed, dig, sow, and gather this crop reserved in their village for the king, which the king orders to be collected by his agents appointed in each village for the purpose. This is the only tribute which they all pay to the king, and nothing further, except the Kaffir merchants who deal in cloth, beads, and other merchandise with the Portuguese, for these pay three in every twenty pieces to the king.

The Portuguese traders who go with their merchandise to Manica on passing through the lands of Quiteve pay a tribute or duty to the said Quiteve of one piece of cloth in twenty, and the same for beads; and thus they pass in safety through his lands to the kingdom of Manica, where the gold mines are.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Of certain customs, abuses, and superstitions of the Moors of Sofala.

In many places upon this coast of Eastern Ethiopia dwell certain dark-skinned Moors, almost resembling the Kaffirs in their customs, and still more given to many barbarous superstitions.

When one of these Moors gets married, on the day of the wedding he procures another strong and healthy Moor to carry him on his shoulders to the house of the bride without resting on the way, even though the distance be half a league, as very often happens, for these Moors of Sofala live scattered in the palm groves around the fortress, which are like farms in Portugal, and are sometimes almost a league distant from each other. If it happens that the Moor who carries the bridegroom on his shoulders gets tired upon the road, and cannot reach the house of the bride, in such a case the wedding does not take place that day, for the Moors consider it a very ill omen for the bridegroom



not to reach the house of the woman who is to be his wife without the one who carries him resting on the way. They therefore choose another day and a stronger Moor, who is able to carry him the whole distance without resting on the way. This ceremony is so common among them that no Moor is married without it.

All the Moors upon this coast, though they may be very poor and have not sufficient to eat during their lives, use every endeavour to have a piece of fine cloth or Indian muslin put by to serve them as a shroud when they die. They are also buried in the woods like the Kaffirs, and in the grave they put rice, millet, butter, and water in some vessel, and then cover the whole with earth.

They mark the grave with two stones, one at the head and one at the foot, which they anoint with sandal, a sweet-smelling powder, not only when the deceased is buried, but thereafter the relations come and anoint the stones with sandal and throw rice upon the grave, and some place a pot with burning coals and incense upon the grave, which perfumes the spot. These Moors carry out their dead for burial upon the mats or beds upon which they die, and leave them upon the grave, and they are never used again, although they may be new, and there in time they rot away. They seem to have adopted this custom from the Kaffirs, who all do the same thing.

The Christian inhabitants of Sofala when their slaves die also have them carried out for burial on the beds or mats upon which they died, and will not allow the mats to be brought back to the house, but leave them upon the graves of the dead, who are usually buried in the churchyard. But I always ordered them to be removed and thrown into the river, or to be taken to our house and used as fuel, both to clear the churchyard, and to cure them of this superstition, which some who were natives of that land took very ill, especially women, and their feeling on the subject was so strong that they sent to warn me, upon pretext of charity, not to disturb the shrouds and properties of the dead, for no good would come of it, but rather many evils might come upon me through the dead, because of this. But I acted in direct opposition to their advice, and from that time forward would never allow any bed or mat whatever to remain upon the graves, but ordered them all to be thrown into the river. I did

this, as I have said, to see if I could cure them of their errors and superstitions, when they saw that no harm came to me from this as they predicted. All the natives of this land, Moors, heathens, or Christians, attach great credit to dreams, so that if they have good dreams they are happy and contented, expecting something good to happen to them or that they will receive good news; on the contrary, when they have bad dreams they are very sad and melancholy, thinking what evil will befall them. And though things sometimes fall out contrary to their dreams this does not prevent them from attaching credit to them. If their right eye pains them, they say that they will hear good news, or will see something soon which will give them great pleasure; but if it is the left eye, they believe that the contrary will happen. If they hear the cry of an owl near their house at night, or if it flies over it or perches on the roof, they hasten to take the children in their arms, and then to walk all about the house with a piece of cloth or a branch in their hands, waving the air out of the house as if keeping off flies, for they believe that the cry of the owl infects the air of the house, so that it kills young children as if they were bewitched.

The natives of this country, especially the heathen Kaffirs, have another superstition, which is that if any one strikes them with something hollow, such as a reed or straw, they fly shrieking as if they were being killed, and they would rather be struck with a stick or piece of iron, even though it hurt them, than with anything hollow, because they say that being hollow it makes him who is beaten with it wither and waste away gradually until he dies. These people have many other omens and superstitions so firmly implanted in their hearts that no amount of reasoning will dissuade them from them, especially the women of Sofala, which comes from the mystical conversations which they hold with the Kaffir women who make use of these things.

## CHAPTER XX.

Of the island of Maroupe situated in the middle of the river of Sofala, and of the game which breeds there.

Up the river of Sofala, about four leagues above the fortress, is an island called Maroupe, which is eight leagues in length and

about a league and a half in width at its widest part. A Portuguese named Rodrigo Lobo was lord of the greater part of this island, which was granted to him by Quiteve, who was a great friend of his, together with the title of his wife, a name which the king bestows upon the captains of Mozambique and of Sofala, and upon all those Portuguese whom he greatly esteems; this name signifying that he loves them, and desires all to show them as much courtesy as to his wife, and indeed the Kaffirs have a great veneration for the Portuguese who have the title of the king's wife. In this island Rodrigo Lobo had many Kaffirs, his slaves, and all the other inhabitants were his vassals. The father, my companion, and I went there several times to catechize and baptize some of them, but most of them are heathens. Upon other occasions we went there for pleasure, for there are many sources of recreation in the island, such as good fishing and many kinds of animals for hunting, as stags, gnus, paraparas, nondos, gazelles, wild cattle which greatly resemble the domesticated, numerous wild pigs, and many other kinds of wild animals which herd together like cows or goats.

The inhabitants of this island have three methods of hunting these animals. The first and most common is by digging pits in the valleys of the island, where the animals resort at night for food. These pits are about the depth of a man, three yards long, and a yard and a half wide at the mouth. They are very narrow at the bottom, so that when the game falls into them, its legs are twisted under it and it cannot jump out, and there it remains a prisoner, unable to move, so that the Kaffirs are able to kill it without trouble or danger, or to take it out alive. They arrange these pits with pieces of wood laid across the top covered with straw or branches, so that no sign of them is visible.

The second method of hunting is to make a circle on the land with a numerous party of men and dogs which bark and drive the game towards the river, where they have many small vessels, which they call *almadias*, posted along the shore, with two huntsmen in each, one seated in the stern with a paddle ready to use, and the other in the prow with *assagais* to wound and kill the game. These vessels being ready on the river, and the men in them silent and crouching down that they may not be seen or heard by the game, those on the land form a half circle and surround the game, cheering on the dogs with loud

shouts, the game fleeing towards the river in order to swim across, according to their custom ; but as soon as they are in the water the canoes are paddled swiftly forward and take the game alive in the middle of the river, and bring it to the water's edge where they kill it without any trouble or danger and with great rejoicing. This method of hunting is pleasanter and more entertaining than the other, for in this way a whole herd of animals is sometimes taken.

The third way of killing all kinds of game is at the time when the river is at its highest, when most of the plains in the island are flooded, and the game flees to the hills, where it is surrounded and cannot escape on any side. Here are found lions, tigers, panthers, elephants, stags, pigs, and every other kind of wild and savage animal gathered together without hurting each other, as if they were in Noah's ark ; this harmony being caused by their fear of the rising waters, which flood the plains and drown many of them. At this time the Kaffirs repair to the hills in canoes, from which they wound the animals with arrows and assagais. These finding themselves wounded and tormented plunge into the water and swim away, and thinking to escape their wounds they meet their death, for the hunters immediately paddle after them in their canoes, and following all the game which has fled take them in the water and kill them without any resistance or danger whatever. They make quantities of dried meat of their flesh, which they eat and sell all the year. These hunts are highly esteemed and celebrated among the Kaffirs, both because they yield great pleasure and because they are very profitable.

It happened one year when Rodrigo Lobo, the owner of this island, was hunting with many of his Kaffir slaves and vassals, inhabitants of the island, that a lion was killed among a quantity of other game, which was killed all together, a thing strictly forbidden in the whole kingdom of Quiteve, the lord and king of these lands, as has been stated. The lord of the island, knowing that the king was sure to hear of it at once, for the Kaffirs cannot keep anything secret, and are very ready to carry evil tidings, ordered the lion to be placed in a canoe, covered it with branches, and placing twenty pieces of cloth on the top, he sent the whole to Quiteve, telling him that he, Rodrigo Lobo the king's wife, being occupied in gathering the harvest of his husband, this rebellious and discourteous lion attacked him, and

therefore he struck it on the head with his hoe, for the honour of his husband, and now sent it to him dead, that he might take further vengeance upon it for the offence it had done to his wife. Quiteve accepted the present, and sent him word that he had done well to kill the lion, since it was discourteous to his wife. This put an end to the *empofia* which Rodrigo Lobo feared, and by which he had expected to lose the island at least, and if he had been a Kaffir he would have lost his life and forfeited all his property to the crown, in conformity with the law of Quiteve; but as Rodrigo Lobo was a great friend of his, and knew how to speak in metaphors after the fashion of the Kaffirs, he hit upon this plan for satisfying Quiteve, in which he was successful, and the king declared that the law he had made did not apply to Rodrigo Lobo, his well beloved wife.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Of the lions, tigers, and panthers in this island, and of certain things which occurred there.

In the middle of the island of Maroupe, of which I have spoken above, half a league from the houses of the lord of the island and his people, there is a magnificent forest more than a league in circumference, full of primeval trees so high that they touch the clouds and so vast and thickly spreading at the top that the light of the sun cannot penetrate them, so that some parts of the forest are dark and gloomy. This forest is the home of lions, tigers, panthers, elephants, and wild boars. One day the father, my companion, and I went into this forest to see a boar hunt which the lord of the island organised in our honour and for our amusement. He therefore assembled more than fifty slaves and vassals, his huntsmen, both for the security of our persons and for the duties of the chase; they were all armed with bows and arrows, assagais, and a few guns. In this way we traversed the forest, finding many boars, of which three were killed, and we took several little sucking pigs. We also came across elephants, tigers, and a few buffaloes, which turned away from us and fled, to our great satisfaction.

In a tiger's den we found a cub about a month old, which we carried home with us, and the next night its mother followed the

scent to the door of the house where the cub was, roaring with rage as if she would have killed and eaten us all. She continued to do this for four nights, until the cub died through the fault of the Kaffirs, who would not take care of it, because of their hatred for these animals. When the cub was dead it was thrown out towards that part of the wood where the mother came to look for it, and the next day it had disappeared, from which we presumed that the tigress had found and carried it off, or eaten it, for from that day she came no more to roar round the house at night with fury, as she did before.

One afternoon when we were in this island sitting at the door with the master of the house, a Kaffir slave came and told us to get up if we wished to see six lions which had just then crossed the river from the mainland to the island, for they were crossing the valley near the house. The other father and I were rather doubtful about going to see them in the open, but the lord of the island and the huntsman reassured us, saying that the lions and tigers of that island never attacked men or did them any harm unless they met them or were provoked by them, the reason being that they had more than sufficient game, with which they were gorged, the island furnishing an endless quantity. Upon this we rose up and went to see the lions from the top of a height near the house, but we only saw half their bodies and their raised heads, because of the quantity of grass in the valley; and thus they approached the forest as securely and confidently as if they were the lords of the fields and arms.

That same night, towards dawn, we heard the roaring of lions and tigers very near the house in which we slept, the reason being that a lion had pursued a gnu and caught it near the house, and while he was devouring it came three or four tigers surrounding the lion in order to seize his prey. The Kaffirs say that the tigers generally do this, following the track of the lion when he kills his prey, in order to devour what he leaves when he is satisfied, as the tigers did in this case. But the lion was not yet satisfied, and growled like a dog who is eating voraciously surrounded by other dogs who are trying to take away his food. Every now and then he made as if he would attack the tigers, which fled to a little distance, and then returned, roaring at the lion to make him abandon his prey, and yet not one of them dared to touch it.

While this was going on the master of the house called us to come and watch the fighting of these wild beasts, which was well worth seeing. We did so, and while we were waiting to see the end of it the lord of the island sent two slaves, his huntsmen, who were present, to take the prey from the lion. They went with loud shouts and clamour to drive off the beasts from the prey; the tigers retired when they saw the determination of the huntsmen, but the lion never moved and took no notice of them, continuing to eat at his leisure and growling at the approaching huntsmen. Seeing this, they returned, and told their master that the lion was not yet gorged, and as long as he is not so and the prey is before him he will not stir from it though they might kill him, for he is very voracious and carnivorous. When he was gorged he rose of his own accord and walked off slowly and securely as one who fears no living thing. When he had disappeared the Kaffirs went and brought back nearly the whole gnu, for the lion had only eaten the neck, a good part of the breast, and a few mouthfuls of the haunches. Neither the lion nor the tigers returned.

These tigers have a wonderful scent for anything dead, for many times they came to the churchyard of the church of the Holy Ghost in Sofala, and dug up the dead who had been recently buried and devoured them, as I saw myself three times, and therefore I ordered the graves to be made very deep. One morning a tiger was found in this same churchyard dead upon a grave with his claws stuck into the ground in the act of digging and opening a grave. He was so old that his teeth were all broken and decayed, and so thin that he was nothing but skin and bone; most of his body was bare or mangy. He had more than twenty scars of old wounds, some a palm in length, which must have been inflicted by other tigers with which he had fought, as they usually do over their food; so that this one must have come there to die either from old age, or famine, or from both combined.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Of the various animals in the forests of Sofala, of how they hunt panthers, and of the animal called *inhazara*.

Throughout the lands of Sofala are found many species of animals and wild beasts, and other creatures, and game such as pigs of two or three breeds whose flesh is very good, hares, stags, gazelles, and wild cattle which are very like our domesticated. There are many beautiful striped zebras which are very like mules in the shape of their bodies and in their nature, for they run with their heads between their fore legs, running and kicking out, with other actions of a mule. They have round horny hoofs like mules, their stripes are like very beautiful girdles of white and black hair, of the width of two fingers, well disposed upon the whole body, head, and legs, one white, and one black, composed of hair as soft and fine as silk. There are many gnus, which are like asses, but have horns and cloven hoofs like stags, whose flesh is very good to eat; they have a beautiful white stripe about half a palm in width which passes round their haunches down the hips to the knees, all the other hair on their bodies is ash coloured and rough. There are many nondos, which are almost like the horses of Galicia, they are of a dark chestnut colour with short smooth hair; their hind-quarters are so shaped that they look deformed, the reason being that their fore legs are longer than their hind legs, and in this way they can run much better than stags. There are many very savage buffaloes, upon whose horns huntsmen of the country generally die, for they are very jealous of their females and young, and when they see a man they attack him more furiously than a savage bull.

There are many civet cats, monkeys, and baboons. In the house of Garcia de Mello, who was then captain of Sofala, there was an ape who combined both sexes, male and female. The Kaffirs say that the female apes have their sickness every moon as if they were women. In the forests of these lands there is a breed of dogs no larger than curs, which the Kaffirs call *impumpes*; they generally go about in packs, and when they chase any animal they all run after it biting its legs, jumping at its haunches, and eating it alive, for such is the strength of their



teeth and jaws that to seize a mouthful and tear it out is all one to them, and in this way they follow a stag or any other quarry, eating its legs until it falls from weakness and exhaustion, and then they finish devouring it. They run very swiftly and lightly, and do not bark while hunting; they are all reddish brown on the back, with white bellies, and flee at the approach of men.

Throughout the whole of Ethiopia there are many great elephants, of whose nature and habits I shall treat hereafter. There are many lions, about the size of a six months old bullock; they look very savage and awful, and are of a grey colour inclining to dark. There are many tigers almost as large as the lions; they are not striped like those of India, but are of a uniform ash-colour, dark, and ugly, almost resembling the wolves of this kingdom. They are more cowardly than any other wild beast, for they have never been known to attack a man. There are numerous panthers, striped, and of a beautiful colour; they are much larger and longer than an Irish greyhound, greatly resembling our cats in the fashion of their heads and bodies. They are so carnivorous that most nights they enter the town of Sofala and carry off such pigs and goats as they find straying from the folds in which they are placed at night for this reason. Their usual habit is to carry off dogs and cats and eat them; they very seldom attack man. Some Kaffirs were eating one night in a house in Sofala, seated on the ground in a circle, as is their custom, with a cat among them. Suddenly a panther came from the fields and sprang within the enclosure round the house in which they were seated, unperceived by them, and approaching them gave one spring and carried off the cat from the midst of them, and clearing the enclosure again, with the cat in its mouth, escaped. This is a very ordinary occurrence with them, for they easily clear these enclosures, which are of wood, about fifteen palms in height.

The inhabitants of Sofala snare and catch some of these panthers in the following manner. In the open country outside the settlement they make cages of stout poles firmly driven into the ground so that they cannot be pulled out; these cages are about two yards long, four palms in height, and only two palms in width, so that the panther can just enter; they are covered with wood, very firmly fixed. At one end they have a trap-door like the door of a mouse-trap, and inside, at the other end there

is a partition forming a little compartment, in which they put a puppy, and near it they set the end of the cord which holds up the door of the cage like a mouse-trap. They set this trap at night, and the puppy, howling and yelping, attracts the panther, which goes round the cage and finally enters it to seize the prey; but as it approaches it touches the end of the cord with its paws or muzzle, and being very cunningly devised, it releases the door, which falls and traps the panther in the cage, where it cannot turn round, the space being so narrow, nor can it touch the puppy, which is protected by the wooden partition; and thus it is held prisoner until morning, when the hunters come and beat it to death through the wooden bars of the cage.

In the forests of Sofala is found an animal which the natives call *inhazara*; it is about the size of a large pig, which it much resembles. It has very black thin hair, five toes on each hind foot and four on those of its front legs; these toes are like human fingers, with very long sharp nails. They live beneath the ground in burrows, which they make like rabbit burrows, with two or three entrances. Their chief food is ants. They dig with their nails in the ant-hills, which are very large and numerous in these parts, and when they have stirred up the ants they put their tongues, which are three quarters of a yard long and round and thin like a wax candle, into the holes in the ant-hills; the ants stick to the animal's tongue, and when it is covered with them it draws it back into its mouth and swallows the ants, doing this many times until it is gorged. It has a very long thin muzzle, with large open nostrils, and very long thin ears like those of a mule, quite free from any hair whatever. It has no sign of teeth in its mouth. It has a tail a palm in length, very thick, straight, and square at the end, like a spindle.

Our slaves killed one of these animals when they were seeking wood in the forest, and brought it back to the house, where they singed it, opened it, and took out the intestines, in which they found nothing whatever, the bowels being full of air, at which all who saw it wondered, and some of the natives said they had heard their ancestors affirm that these animals lived on air alone, and they had often seen them with their mouths open to the wind. Others asserted that they fed on ants as well, for whenever they found them in the forest, they were on the ant-hills, digging with their nails, and eating the ants as has been

described. The flesh of these animals is very good, and tastes almost like pork, but has no lard, and its entrails are exactly like those of a pig.

### CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the lizards, venomous snakes, and other varieties of reptiles found in the woods of Sofala.

In all this territory of Sofala and the rivers of Cuama are found very large coloured lizards of the same species as those of Portugal. They are a yard and a half and more in length, which was the size of one that I saw dead; they are as thick as a man's leg, they have large and sharp teeth, and the tongue forked at the point and very black. They will not attack man unless provoked, when they will set upon him without fear, and bite cruelly. Their bite is poisonous, but not sufficiently so to kill. Some people assert that these land lizards go to the riverside, where the river lizards come out to them, whereupon they mate with one another to breed, but I look upon this as a fable, as up to the present no native of the land has seen this, so that those who wrote it must have done so upon false information. The Kaffirs kill these lizards and eat the flesh, which they declare is the most delicious of all the beasts in the wood.

In these lands are found very large and poisonous snakes, especially one kind that the Kaffirs call cangares, which are as thick as the calf of a stout man's leg, in length they are eighteen and twenty palms. These do great damage, as they kill smaller animals, such as swine, goats, sheep, and hens, to eat them. They are so venomous that any living thing that they bite dies, unless some antidote is administered to them.

In the lands of a Kaffir king called Biri, that are in the vicinity of Mónica, of which I have previously spoken, is found a certain species of small snake three quarters of a yard in length, which the Kaffirs call *ruca inhanga*, which are so venomous that the grass or wood bitten by them any day when they cannot find any living thing to bite dries up; this being their custom or nature, as in this bite they leave a great part of their poison, by which they appear to be relieved, and when they bite a living thing the animal thus bitten swells like a wine-skin, and within twenty-four hours the hair, hoofs, horns, and teeth fall, and it

dies, there being no antidote that can resist it. With these snakes King Biri makes a sort of paste with which he anoints arrows, which is so subtle and strong that if any of these arrows touches a living thing so as to draw blood, it causes the same effect as the bite of the said snake. No one can make use of this poison for arrows except King Biri himself, who has forbidden its use under pain of death and loss of property.

One of these snakes bit a Kaffir of that kingdom, who seeing that he was bitten, and suffering great agony, and knowing that he could not escape death, pursued the snake to do it what damage he could, and the snake turning to bite him again, which it did, he seized it in both hands, and raising it to his mouth he bit it with great fury, crying: "I am as venomous as thou art, and if I die thou shalt not remain alive," and it so happened that upon setting the snake free it could not get away, and both died the same day. Although this appears to be a fiction of the Kaffirs, nevertheless several persons worthy of credit from that country declared to me that what I have related really occurred.

I have heard it said many times in India that in the island of Ormuz there was a man, yellow and freckled, a great draft player, who was so venomous that all the flies that settled on his head, hands, or face, died as soon as they stung him, and if they did not sting him they remained stunned, and unable to fly, for which reason he did not drive them off him as other people do, but rather he would say: "Let them bite me, they will pay for it," and therefore when he rose from a place he left it covered with dead and stunned flies, by which is seen that poison is engendered not only in wild beasts and reptiles, but also in rational beings.

In all this Kaffraria many drones breed in the following manner: They make a ball of mud and stick it to the walls or roofs, with many holes in it like a honeycomb of bees or wasps, and in each hole they put a little worm similar to those found in cabbages, some green, some black, others white and grey, so that they are not all of the same kind, but any that they find. These they carry between their legs and fly to their honeycomb that they have made of mud, and in each hole they put a worm, and close up the hole with fresh mud, all the worms remaining shut in. And within they breed other drones, with legs and wings, and as soon as they are hatched they pierce the mud themselves

and come out and fly, and when they are full grown they breed in the same manner, so that with the offspring of other insects they form little ones of their own, a matter which greatly astonishes me.

Along the river of Sofala and of Cuama are found many insects like small beetles, whose tails shine at night like a live coal, of which there are some in this kingdom. As soon as night comes these insects rise into the air in bands in such numbers that they illuminate nearly the whole atmosphere, and terrify all who are ignorant of the cause, as I know happened to certain strangers in these lands who were sleeping one dark night on the borders of this river, who fled in terror to the Kaffir town, believing it to be witchcraft.

A number of chameleons are found in these lands, which change colour a thousand times every hour, which colours they take from the things upon which they settle, because if they are on the ground they turn grey like the earth, if on the green grass they become the same colour as the grass, if upon anything red they become red, and so on with regard to other colours. They are of the size, and almost the same shape as a lizard no more than a palm in length, they have large heads almost empty, and they fill them with wind and then empty them, they have four long legs like frogs' legs, they move slowly and do not run, they jump like frogs, but not with equal agility; they live upon air.

In these lands there is a species of very small mouse that gives forth a scent of musk, not only when taken in the hand but wherever they pass they leave a most fragrant odour; they bite severely, and their bite is most poisonous.

There are in these lands very large bats that breed in the trunks of trees and among the branches of the palm trees; they are as large as big pigeons. The Kaffirs kill them, and skin them, and generally eat them boiled and roasted, and they say that they are very fat and as savoury as hens.

In the woods throughout this Kaffraria there are very large tortoises, which are all black and gloomy looking, and of the size of a large shield. They are very fleshy and fat, and roasted and boiled they are much valued by the Kaffirs. Some Portuguese eat them boiled, seasoned like hens.

Many other varieties of reptiles are found in these woods, which I leave for the sake of brevity.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the variety of birds within the lands and limits of Sofala.

In the lands of Sofala and along the banks of its river there is a great variety of birds of many species and of various and beautiful colours, some of which sing very sweetly. They breed in cages, especially one kind called *inhapures*, which greatly resemble canaries in colour and in their song. There are also many Portuguese birds, such as doves of three or four species, one of which is very beautiful, and has gilded wings that appear to be fine gold. There are wagtails that sing most exquisitely, which they usually do in the morning, the afternoon, and at sunset. There are many swallows, sparrows, lapwings, jays, and small green parrots.

There is a great quantity of winged game, such as geese of three varieties, one of which is much larger than the Portuguese goose, black on the back and white underneath; they have a red crest in the middle of the head, very hard and sharp like a horn. These are called Greek geese.

There are many ducks of four different varieties, and numerous *marrecas* also, some of which are brightly coloured and beautiful; many royal herons, and the red heron like those of Portugal.

There are numerous pelicans, which are of the size of a large turkey-cock; they are white, but not a very clear white, and they have very fat short legs, and they are usually in the river catching fish to eat.

There are many gulls, which are also continually in pursuit of prey. They are of the same size as a kite, and have the head and wings black as jet, with a very beautiful white collar round the neck. They are white underneath, and have a curved beak, eyes, and talons like an eagle's.

There are numerous vultures of the size of a pea-hen, which they closely resemble, but they are not of the same colour. They have very long black legs, and all the body is of a dark ash colour, almost black; they are ugly and ill-shaped, and have no feathers on the neck or head, but only a white skin, scaly and pimply, which looks similar to leprosy. They are very loathsome, as they generally frequent the shores and dunghills seeking

carrion and human excrement, upon which they live. They have a very quick scent for carrion, are tame, and do not shun man.

In these lands there is a species of bird that the natives call *curuanes*. They are as big as a crane, but much more beautiful, as their backs are of a handsome black like black satin, and underneath they are of a spotless white; their necks are more than an ell in length, covered with very fine white feathers like silk, that are excellent for crests. This bird has a very fine crest of black feathers on the head, similar to the red crest of our goldfinches, in the middle of which is a tuft of very fine white feathers that rise straight and equal to about the height of a palm, and then spread out and droop down like a very white mushroom with its narrow stalk rising from the middle of the head, and it has the appearance of a parasol. The Kaffirs say that this is the king of birds, both because it is big and beautiful and because it carries a parasol over the head, which is the insignia and banner used by some of the kings of Kaffraria, such as Quiteve, Tshikanga, Sedanda, and others.

A Portuguese in Sofala related to me that when he was visiting the mainland at Mambone, opposite the islands of Bocicas,—of which I shall speak later on,—trading in ivory, he had an ape chained to a block about ten or twelve pounds in weight, which being one day outside the house in the country, a bird of prey of immense size flew down, and fastening upon it carried it in its talons through the air, together with the block to which it was chained, the ape giving incessant cries, and finally it carried its prey to a wood close at hand where it ate it, and afterwards the block and the chain were found in the said wood. He further declared to me that in these lands there were many birds of this species, which did great damage, as they fell upon kids, sucking pigs, and fowls, of which there are a great number in these territories. There are other very large birds in these lands, which I shall describe later when I am dealing with the places where they are found.

Marco Paulo, the Venetian, in the 4th chapter of his 3rd book, speaks of an island situated in the sea south of the island of Madagascar, not far from this coast of which I speak, where he says there are birds of prey of such strength and size that they carry an elephant through the air in their talons, and let it fall to the ground to be dashed to pieces that they may eat it. He

says that these birds closely resemble eagles, and are so big that some of the feathers of the wings are ten paces in length. I have never seen nor heard speak of these birds on this coast, nor does this account of the Venetian appear to me to be correct, although it is sure that very large birds of prey are found in this Ethiopia, and especially on the borders of the river Nile, of which I shall speak later on.

In these lands of Sofala is found a species of bird that lives upon wax. This bird frequents the woods in search of bee hives, of which there are a great number on the ground in holes and in the trunks of trees, and when they find a hive with honey in it they go into the roads in search of men to lead them to it, which they do by flying on ahead, giving cries, and flapping their wings, flying from branch to branch until they reach the hive. The natives of the land, who know these birds, as soon as they catch sight of them follow them to gather the honey, and the profit that the birds reap from this is that they eat the small pieces and scrapings of the wax and of the honeycomb and the dead bees that are left where the beehive has been.

These birds are called by the Kaffirs *sazu*, they are of the same size and nearly the same colour as a greenfinch, and have a long tail. Many times they have come in at the windows of our church in Sofala, and we have found them eating the little pieces of wax left in the candlesticks, and the boys of our household have laid snares for them there, and have caught several.

Another variety of birds found in these lands live upon the fruit of trees that they plant themselves in the following manner: they fly to any tree, and with their beak, which is very strong, they bore a hole in the trunk on the top of the tree among the principal branches, into which they put the kernel of the fruit which they eat. This kernel sprouts inside the hole, and joins the tree in such a way as to form a new graft, and produces a branch of the same class of tree to which it belongs. Thus there are many of these trees that have two kinds of foliage and fruit, one belonging to the tree itself, and the other that which the bird has planted in its trunk, upon the fruit of which it afterwards lives. I saw many of these trees in Sofala and the rivers of Cuama. The birds are of the same size and closely resemble starlings, but are grey like larks.

There is a species of green and yellow bird in these lands, very



beautiful, that the natives call a *minga*. They closely resemble pigeons. They never settle on the ground, as their legs are so short that they are scarcely discernible. They settle upon the trees, of which they eat the fruit. When they wish to fly they let themselves fall from the tree with closed wings, and in the air they open them and fly; when they want to drink they fly very close to the surface of the water, and drink from the rivers and lakes. If they fall to the ground they cannot rise; they are very fat, and make a very savoury dish.

They say that in these lands there is another kind of bird, similar to the birds of Mexico, called *cinçoes*, that have no legs, and live upon the dew of heaven, with whose most beautiful feathers of different colours the Indians of Mexico make numerous pictures fixed in frames, with such art and subtle workmanship that one could not paint better with brush and fine colours.

## CHAPTER XXV.

Of the lizards or crocodiles found in the river of Sofala, called by some Kaffirs *gona* and by others *engona*.

Numerous lizards are found in the river of Sofala, very large and very voracious, that seize every living thing that enters the river, and even attack the cattle that go to drink at the banks and the negroes that go for water or to wash. To catch their prey they come to the banks of the river, and crouch down, lying flat along the sand, and as soon as any cattle or any person comes unsuspectingly by they fall upon them with great agility, and planting their fore feet and chest firmly on the ground, they raise their tails in the air, with which they strike a severe blow that knocks their prey into the river, where they fasten upon it with teeth and nails and carry it to the bottom; and when it is dead they go to the deserted shores and islands in the middle of the river, and there putting their prey almost uncovered on the shore, they proceed to eat it, and every mouthful that they take they swallow with water, the reason of this being that they have no tongue with which to swallow.

They will not eat anything that has been dead many days or that is not fresh, which is plainly seen by things thrown in the river, such as dogs and cats, and some persons who have been

drowned in the various streams that empty themselves into this river, as frequently happens at times of inundation, when numerous Kaffirs are drowned in crossing the streams, whose dead bodies are found on the banks of this river, there being no lizard that will touch them, whereas if a living thing was in the same place it would be immediately seized, killed, and eaten by a lizard.

These lizards generally every morning and evening stretch themselves out in the sun on the sandy banks, the smaller ones completely out of the water, the larger ones only half out, with their tails and half of their bodies in the river; and so they remain with their mouths open catching flies, and the reason of this is that their breath has a most offensive odour, and the flies are attracted by the bad smell and settle on their snouts, and sting their nostrils and eyes, which annoys the lizards, and upon this persecution they open their mouths and the flies enter to eat the dirt between their teeth, for which reason now and again they shut their mouths and kill the flies that are inside, and this is why the Kaffirs call them *papamoscas*.

The lizards of this river are as cowardly and timorous on land as they are voracious and cruel in the water, as when they are on land lying in the sun, if they hear any noise or the voices of men, or if any person is seen on the land, or any boat comes down the river, they disappear into the water with great agility, because of their fear.

These lizards are very subject to wind, the bad smell of which no living thing can tolerate. One day when I and other persons were coming down the river from the island of Maroupe to Sofala, at a certain place where the waters are still and where lizards abound, the bad smell was so great that not being able to tolerate it all held their noses, and the Kaffirs who were paddling laughed, and making fun of the matter declared that it was the lizards' wind of which the pestiferous smell penetrating the waters poisoned all that part of the river. The same fact was related to me by other persons worthy of credit, to whom it had occurred in this river.

Gabriel Rebello relates in his book concerning the notable things of the Malucca islands, that among these islands there are numerous sea lizards that land and kill persons whom they find off their guard and eat them, and would execute a great deal

more damage than they do if the bad smell that comes from their mouths did not make their presence known, which smell is so pestiferous that it can be detected at a great distance. He also says that they are very cowardly, because if four or five men attack them they immediately flee to the water, crouching along the bottom thinking that thus they are hidden, and in this case they are so timorous that they will wait until they tread upon them and bind them with cords, without daring to stir. These lizards, he says, have four eyes, two in the forehead and two in the throat. In these details they differ greatly from the lizards of this coast.

The lizards of this Ethiopia are more than twenty-five spans in length, and thicker than a stout man. They are green, with dark yellow marks, and others are grey, almost black; they are very ugly, fearful to look upon, and loathsome. The old ones have moss and oysters attached to their backs and heads, as though they were hard stones or iron. They have many rows of teeth and no tongue, everything that they eat they swallow with water, as has been stated. These are the crocodiles, similar in every respect to those of the Nile. The Kaffirs call them *gonna* and others *engonna*. They are born on land, and grow up in the water. When the time for depositing their eggs arrives they come to land, and with their nails, which are very long and thick, they make a hole in the sand close to the river, and in this hole they lay a number of eggs at a time; these eggs are larger than those of a goose, nearly grey, with almost black marks on them; covering them with sand, they leave them and return to the river. Here the eggs are hatched by the power of the sun and produce crocodiles, and when they are hatched they leave the land of their own accord and take to the river, where they grow big. The Kaffirs frequently find the eggs in such positions as I have described; the yolk is red, and the white liquid like water.

Quiteve, king of the river of Sofala, has made a law under pain of death and forfeiture of property to his crown that none of his vassals in all his kingdom shall dare to kill a lizard of this river, the reason being that it is known for certain that the liver of the lizard is most poisonous, and he does not wish them to be killed to prevent this subtle poison from being made use of. Some Kaffirs say that one part of the lizard's liver is poisonous

and the other is its antidote, which I greatly doubt, as the different parts of the liver are so closely joined together that it would be placing two contraries such as poison and its antidote in one subject, which in natural philosophy is considered impossible. Although they also say that in the lands of Malacca there is a certain kind of tree whose roots have different effects, those growing to the east being a much esteemed antidote and having medicinal properties against fevers, and those growing to the west being a subtle poison, as Father Mendonça relates in his itinerary of the New World.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

The manner in which the Kaffirs catch crocodiles, and the variety of fish found in the river of Sofala.

The Kaffirs of the river of Cuama, who are not vassals of Quiteve nor subject to the law of which I spoke in the last chapter, fish for, kill, and eat crocodiles, which they catch in the following manner: They cut a thick straight piece of wood about two spans long, with a notch in the middle to which they tie a strong cord, and put a piece of fresh meat on this wood as on a hook. This done, they throw the hook covered with meat into the river at some place where the waters are still, where lizards are more certain to be found. These, as soon as they smell the meat, come to it and swallow it with the wood, and the Kaffir fishers, as soon as they see the cord moving and think that some lizard has swallowed the bait, pull the cord and draw the lizard to the river side a prisoner with its mouth open, being unable to bite the cord because of the wood fixed across its throat, which prevents it from shutting its mouth, so that its stomach fills with water and it suffocates. In this manner half suffocated they finish killing it on the edge of the river, and when dead they drag it ashore and cut it up for eating. The Kaffirs say that when they kill it it groans and tears run from its eyes like from a human being.

In the lands that border the river of Sofala a herb grows with which the Kaffirs anoint themselves when they are going to fish in the river. This herb has the virtue of preventing crocodiles from seizing them or doing them any injury, because if they try

to seize them with their teeth the teeth become blunted in such a way that they are like teeth of wax, with no strength in them whatever, and therefore on seizing persons thus anointed they drop them and make away instantaneously. Furthermore it rarely comes to their seizing persons entering the river thus anointed, as in approaching to seize them they catch the scent of the herb, by which they become sickened and turn away. This herb is called *miciriri*, and when the Kaffirs wish to make use of it for the purpose of fishing they try it first upon themselves, putting some on their own head and then chewing something, and if their teeth are blunt and become like wax, without power to masticate, then they know that the herb is good and possesses the said virtue, and they make use of it, treading upon it and anointing themselves with its juice; but the fear with which the crocodile inspires them is so great that even when anointed with this herb they dare not enter the river to fish.

In this river of Sofala many kinds of fish abound, fat and savoury, such as *tainhas* very large, *saltões* similar to *tainhas*, but much more delicious, numerous sea-lampreys, better and more wholesome than those of Portugal, an abundance of rock fish that resemble large *choupas*, *cabozes* similar to *pescadinhas*, so excellent and wholesome that they are given to sick people, their heads are flat and nearly round like a cake, a number of crabs full of coral and very good, an infinite number of oysters, and all this very cheap.

In the fresh water rivers is found a certain kind of fish called by the Portuguese *tremedor* and by the Kaffirs *thinta*, which possesses a quality that prevents it from being held in the hand while living, and if any person takes hold of it it causes such pain in all the hand and arm that they appear to be separating in every joint, so that he immediately drops the fish, but when dead it is like any other fish, and is eaten, and is very delicious and much esteemed. The natives say that charms are made from the skin of this fish, and that it has medicinal properties against colic, toasted, crushed, and drunk in a glass of wine. The largest fish of this species is an ell in length; it has a skin like that of the sea-lamprey, nearly black, very rough and thick.

There is another kind of fish in Sofala that is found in the ponds, called by the natives *macone*, which has holes in the throat like a lamprey, which it closely resembles and is of the

same size, marked on the back like a water snake. This fish is of such a nature that when the ponds dry up in summer it buries itself more than a span's depth below the surface of the mud, curling itself up with its tail in its mouth, and so it remains all the summer sucking its tail, upon which it lives all this time until it rains again, which is more than three months. In this manner it frequently eats nearly all its tail, but when it rains and the ponds fill its tail grows as before. The Kaffirs are very fond of this fish, which they go to the ponds to look for, digging the earth, where they find it in the condition which I have described. It is very fat and passable food, I have eaten it many times.

In winter when the river of Sofala rises it frequently overflows its banks and inundates the fields and fills the ponds in them, which become full of fish from the river, among which is one kind similar to *choupas*, very fat and savoury, which the natives call *enxavos*. There is such a quantity of this fish during these times that no one can exterminate it, and even the swine are surfeited with it.

There is another fish found in this river called by the Kaffirs *munemune*, which closely resembles a conger eel, and is of the same size; its smell is so offensive that no one can tolerate it except the Kaffirs, who eat it. It is very fat and clammy, and is not eaten fresh, but cut open and smoked. The Kaffirs catch a quantity of this fish during the time of the inundation of the river, which they smoke and lay in provision for all the year.

One year when I was in the fortress of Sofala there were violent storms on the sea, and great quantities of fish were thrown up on the coast and found dead, among which were some sturgeons, very similar to those of Portugal in size, appearance, and taste. And although some said they were tunny fish, nevertheless those who were most versed in the matter declared that they were sturgeons.

Close to the bar of the river of Sofala, on the shores of the island of Inhansato, of which I shall speak later on, soles and *azevias* are caught, and greater numbers would be taken if there were fishermen who knew how to catch them, as is done in this kingdom, which the Kaffirs and Moors of that land do not know how to do, as they have neither nets, apparatus, or ability for this purpose.

There are many other kinds of fish in these rivers, which I leave for the sake of brevity.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the mermaids and the seed pearl found in the islands of Bocicas.

Fifteen leagues from Sofala are situated the islands of Bocicas along the coast to the south, and in the sea round about is found great quantities of the woman fish, which is caught by the natives of these islands with strong lines and big hooks with iron chains made only for this purpose. Of the flesh of this fish they make smoked cutlets, that look like pork cutlets. The flesh of this fish is very good and fat, we have eaten it many times in Sofala boiled with cabbages, seasoned, and with its own gravy. This fish has a great resemblance to men and women from the belly to the neck; the female rears its young at the breast, which is formed like that of a woman. From the belly downward it has a very thick tail, long and with fins like those of a sea-lamprey. Its skin is soft and white underneath, and on the back rougher than that of a sea-lamprey. It has arms, but no hands or fingers, only fins that begin from the elbow and extend to the end of the arms. It has a misshapen face, flat and round, and much larger than that of a man, but it has no resemblance to a man's face, as the mouth is very large, similar to that of a skate, with hanging lips like those of a mastiff. The mouth is full of teeth like those of a dog, four of which, being the eye-teeth, protrude from the mouth nearly the length of a span, as do the tusks of a wild boar, and are greatly valued. From them are made the beads called mermaid's beads, and it is said they have great virtue against piles and flux of blood, for which reason they are worn next the skin. The nostrils are very large, resembling those of a bullock. These fish are called woman fish, and not man fish, because their bodies more closely resemble a woman's than a man's.

This fish neither talks nor sings, as some persons would have that they do, only when they are killed it is said they groan like a human being; they have no hair either on the body or the head. Taken out of the water they die as any other fish, but unless killed they take a long time to die.

I am of opinion that these fish are the sirens and Tritons which

the ancients speak of, saying that Triton was a merman, son of Salacia, a sea-nymph, and that they lived in the sea; for which reason they declared that Triton was god of the sea and Neptune's trumpeter. Other poets fancied that these sirens were three sisters named Parthenope, Lygia, and Leuconia, daughters of Achelous and Calliope, who inhabited the shores of Sicily, where the rocks of Scylla and Charybdis were situated. These sisters, they said, sang so sweetly on these shores that they attracted all the navigators of that sea, so that being carried away by their music they neglected their ships and their course, ran on to the coast, and were lost, from which shipwrecks the sirens reaped great advantage. For this reason Ulysses, wishing to sail over this sea, closed his sailors' ears with wax, and commanded them to tie him to the foot of the mast so that he could not move or stir upon hearing the sirens' song, and in this manner he sailed through this dangerous passage without the sirens being able to effect their purpose. Upon which, seeing themselves slighted by Ulysses, they were so incensed that they threw themselves into the sea, where by the mercy of the gods, who would not permit them to be drowned, they were transformed into fishes from the waist downwards.

Ovid pretends that these three sisters were companions of Proserpine, who was stolen and carried off by Pluto, god of the infernal regions, to which place he took her and kept her as his wife, for which reason the mermaids being overpowered by grief threw themselves into the sea to kill themselves, but by the mercy of the gods they were converted into fishes from the waist downwards.

All this is fables of poets, but the truth is that the woman fish in its natural state is born and bred in the sea as other fish, and has more of the nature of a fish than the hippopotamus, or seal, or the crocodiles of the river, as all these can live out of water and frequently come to land, whereas the woman fish cannot do so, but if it is out of the water it dies, as has been stated.

Alexander the Great in a letter which he wrote to his master Aristotle relating the notable events and prodigies that he had seen in eastern parts when he was conquering them, states that when his army was marching through the deserts of India, he saw naked men and women covered with hair like wild beasts



moving about a level plain, who, upon seeing the men of the camp, fled towards a large river close by and plunged into it, but two of the women were taken before they could escape. The Indians called these ichthyophagos. Quintus Curtius says that these creatures live in this river and sustain themselves upon raw fish, and that they are nine feet long, their bodies very white, and their faces very beautiful like nymphs, with long hair thrown back; and that they did great evil to ignorant Indians who went into the river, as some were drowned, others dashed to pieces among the reeds, and others, vanquished by their beauty, were killed by their disordered and sensual appetite. In these details they all differ greatly from the woman fish, which is bred and lives in the sea near the Bocicas, as I have said.

In the sea around these islands there is a quantity of seed pearl and pearls. These are formed inside very large oysters, which they call mother of pearl, which are found at the bottom of the sea, in sandy ground. The natives obtain them by diving, and before descending they let down a basket made fast to the boat, with a stone inside so that it may go to the bottom. This done, they dive, having round their waists a cord which is fastened to the boat that they may not go astray from it, and to reach the bottom quicker they carry a stone in their arms, which they drop as soon as they are down, and thus they go to the bottom of the sea seeking oysters. They put them into the basket, and when it is full they pull the cord with which they are fastened to the boat, and the fishermen in it pull up the basket, empty it, and let it down again. When the fishers who are at the bottom of the sea are wearied and can no longer hold their breath, they come to the surface, guided by the ropes tied round them, and get into the boats, but when they are rested they dive again and continue their fishing, and in this way they go down many times and obtain a great number of oysters. They are so accustomed to diving that frequently they are seven and a half minutes under the water, and they make many bets as to who shall remain the longest. The water in which they fish may be about ten, twelve, and up to fifteen fathoms deep.

The seed pearl and pearls are found inside the shells attached to the flesh of the oyster; many have two, three, and four grains, and others do not contain any. The chief reason why the Kaffirs

and Moors fish for these oysters is to eat them, as they do not value the seed pearl, and for this reason they sell it very cheap. This seed pearl is formed by the dew of heaven that falls in March and April, and in September and October, during which months the oysters usually swim on the surface of the water, with their shells open in fine weather, receiving the dew which falls from heaven, which they do after sunset, in the early night, and at dawn before the sun has risen. The natives say that the finest seed pearl and pearls are those that are formed from the dew that the oysters receive at dawn. God knows the truth of this secret.

### CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of the formation of ambergris, and of the great quantity found on this coast of Ethiopia.

On all this coast from the Cape of Good Hope to the Red sea a great quantity of ambergris is found, that the sea throws up on the shore. It is formed at the bottom of the sea, whence it is torn up by the impetus and movement of the waters, especially in times of severe storms and in places where the sea is not very deep and the waves beat with greater fury, as then by this movement pieces of ambergris are broken and torn away from the bottom, to which they are attached, and come to the surface of the water; and are then thrown on the coast by the wind and waves. For this reason whenever there are rough winds and severe storms at sea, the Kaffirs go to the shore in search of amber, and find a quantity of pieces which they sell to the Moors and the Portuguese.

There are three kinds of amber found on this coast: one very white, which they call ambergris, another grey, called *mexoeira*, and another black as pitch, which they call black amber. This is frequently as soft as dough, and has a bad smell, the cause of this being, according to the natives of the land, that it is vomited by the whales, and it is certain that they eat it, as it has been found in the stomachs of several dead whales on this coast. And not only do the whales eat it, but also the other fish in the sea, as frequently fish have been seen eating pieces of amber on the surface of the water. The birds on the coast do the same if they find any, so that the fish and the birds both eat it, either because

they find some virtue in it or because they like it. Ambergris is much esteemed by the Moors, who buy it to eat, as they say that it greatly strengthens nature, and is beneficial to the old as it invigorates and revives them.

It is a fact of which the truth has been established that amber is formed at the bottom of the sea, where it is attached to the ground in great quantities. A ship sailed from Mozambique to the island of Madagascar, and cast anchor one night off the said island, where it remained anchored that night, and on the morning of the next day the sailors hove up the anchor to get under weigh and continue their voyage, which they did; but when they had got the anchor aboard they discovered that the flukes were full of most excellent white amber, upon which the ship had been anchored that night in twenty and more fathoms. The same thing happened to another ship close to Cape das Correntes.

Roque de Brito Falcão, who was captured by the Turks when going from the coast of Melinde to India, while captain of the aforesaid coast, obtained a piece of amber that was thrown up on that shore, which was of the size and nearly the same shape as a very large sugar loaf hat.

Between the rivers of Linde and Quilimane was found a piece of amber mexoeira that weighed more than twenty pounds, and the Kaffirs sold it to a Portuguese named Francisco Brochado, who resided at those rivers, believing it to be pitch. During the time that I was on the island of Quirimba a piece of white amber of the size of the piece referred to was thrown up on the coast, and was seized by the Moors of Xanga, who divided it among themselves and afterwards sold it in pieces weighing a pound more or less.

In the year of our Lord 1596 a mass of very excellent white amber was thrown on shore close to the town of Brava and near the coast of Melinde, which, according to the Moors who found it, was so high and of such bulk that the amber being in the middle of them they were hidden from one another, and the quantity was so great that the Moors of Brava and many from the town of Magadaxo came and carried away a large amount, and the price of it was very cheap. This information reached Mozambique, and Dom Pedro de Sousa, who was then captain of the fortress, equipped a pinnace and dispatched it to Brava to buy all the amber possible, and though a year had passed they

found such a quantity that they brought back a large box full to Mozambique at a very cheap rate.

Another piece of amber similar to the one spoken of was in olden times found on the coast of Malabar, between Chale and Panani, a land populated by very barbarous fishermen, who believing it to be pitch boiled it and covered their boats with it. It so happened that at this time a Portuguese from Cochin put in there, and on the shore where the boats had been tarred, he found many small pieces of amber. Enquiring of the inhabitants who it was that gave them such sweet-scented tar to cover their boats, they related the matter to him, by which he knew that it was amber that had been thrown up on the coast. This story is well known throughout India.

When the ship *S. Thomé* was lost on her passage from India to Portugal, as soon as the men saved in the skiff saw land, which was at Fumos, close to Natal, they approached the shore to be better able to recognise it, and two men landed to explore the country and bring information of what they discovered there. One of these was Antonio Gomes Cacho, who knew something of the Kaffir language. One afternoon when walking along the shore they found many pieces of amber, which they carried away with them. Seeing this, some Kaffirs of the country who were with them were greatly horrified at their taking amber in their hands, and told them to throw away the noxious poison and not even to smell it, because any person taking it away from the shore forthwith withered and died, and even the cattle and every living thing in the house died like their owner. With this the Kaffirs left them and fled as though they had the plague. The Portuguese returned to the skiff, which they found off the coast, whereupon they embarked, and I shall relate what further befel them during this journey later on. This story was told to me many times by Antonio Gomes Cacho when I was in Sofala, during which time these shipwrecked men reached that place.

Thus many and very large pieces of amber are found on all this coast. From this is clearly inferred the delusion which those labour under who say that amber is formed in the belly of the whale, which vomits it up. This is false, as no whale, however big, could vomit such huge pieces and mountains of amber as I have referred to in this chapter. Besides which experience has proved to us the contrary.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER I.

Of the Kaffirs, and notable matters in the lands lying between Sofala and the river Luabo.

Father João Madeira and myself were four years in the fortress of Sofala occupied in the service of Christianity, and then by order of our vicar general of India we left that place and went to the rivers of Cuama, a distance of thirty leagues of rugged and difficult road, where there are extensive woods and deserts frequented by numerous wild animals, such as lions, tigers, panthers, elephants, buffaloes, many baboons and apes, and many other wild beasts. All this territory belongs to Quiteve, king of the river of Sofala. In the populated places that he possesses there are many species of goats and of fowls small but very fat and delicate. There is an abundance of provisions, millet, rice, panic, large yams, and different other kinds of vegetables.

The inhabitants of these lands are heathen Kaffirs, not of a very black colour. The greater number of them have decayed and broken teeth. They say that this comes from the land in which they live being very humid and marshy, and also from eating hot roasted yams, which is their usual food, because of the quantity of this vegetable to be had in these lands. Most of these Kaffirs suffer from hernia, and some of them are so maimed by this disease that they are unable to walk. On this journey we saw a Kaffir who lived in a village called Inhaguea, who was a cripple, born without a left arm, but nature, that had denied him this most necessary member, endowed him with such dexterity that from a child he was accustomed to work with the right hand and the left foot in such a manner that with these two members, so dissimilar, he could do anything that other persons could do with two hands, as he made wooden bowls and platters and weaved straw mats, by which he earned a livelihood. From this may be seen that providential nature, as Aristotle says, never neglects the necessaries for human life.

This will not astonish those who have heard of a cripple of our times who lived in the town of Monte Mor o novo, named Francisco Dias, who, being born without arms, accustomed him-

self from infancy to using his feet instead of hands which he was without, and ate, drank, played cards, and threaded needles with his feet, and wrote so well that he kept a school in which he taught a number of boys to read and write, by which he earned a livelihood. With his feet he mended pens, punished the boys, and caned them. To do all this he used the big toe and the next one of the right foot ; thus everything that can be done with the hands he did quite perfectly with his feet, upon which he wore slippers made to serve the purpose of hands.

The Kaffirs of these lands are good natured and well disposed, because knowing nothing of us, they behaved in the most friendly manner, receiving us into their houses and giving us at a very cheap rate the provisions which the land produces. Beyond the said Kaffirs, six or seven leagues to the north, is a small river called Tebe, which runs through a fine wood of wild trees more than a league in breadth, which wood we passed through. Many trees in it are as high and thick as the tall masts of a ship, straight and even without knots, either because the Kaffirs cut them off or because it is their natural condition. We were of opinion that they grow in this way until they are very tall trees. In this wood we found a number of Kaffirs cutting down big pieces of timber with which to make boats, which they usually make of one piece hollowed out, and some are so long that they are twenty fathoms and more in length, and carry twenty tons. I saw some of the boats cut and made in this wood at the rivers of Cuama, they are called almadias. The trees are so closely set in this place and the foliage at the top is so thick that from a distance it appears to be a fine grove of pine trees, the foliage overhead being so thick that only in a few places is the sun able to penetrate, for which reason no grass grows, but there is a bed of leaves of the same trees nearly a span in height.

Beyond this river is another called Tendanculo, where the kingdom of Quiteve ends and the great empire of Monomotapa commences. In this river we found a dead animal of the sea, of terrifying aspect, and some nocturnal birds which struck us with wonder ; of all this I shall speak later in its right place. From this river to that of Luabo, which is the principal of the rivers of Cuama, the lands belong to Monomotapa. They are inhabited by heathen Kaffirs and Moors, some black, others white, some of whom are rich ; and although they are subjects of Monomotapa

they live here almost independent, being at a great distance from the court of this king, of whose lands, vassals, and customs I intend to deal in this second book. And as these rivers of Cuama which we have now reached are the gates by which the Portuguese enter this vast kingdom, it appears to me that I should deal first with them, which I shall do in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER II.

Of the rivers of Cuama and the chief islands situated therein.

This river of Cuama so celebrated and widely known for its riches the Kaffirs call Zambesi; it takes its rise at such a distance inland that no one knows anything of its source. The Kaffirs say that a tradition of their ancestors tells them that it takes its rise in a great lake situated in the interior of this Ethiopia, from which other very large rivers flow in different directions, each having its own name; and that in the middle of this lake are many islands peopled by Kaffirs, which islands are rich, abounding in animals and provisions.

This river is called the Zambesi because upon issuing from the lake it runs through a large Kaffir town so called, and from this the river takes the same name as the town. It is most impetuous, and in some places is more than a league wide. Some thirty leagues before it empties itself into the sea it divides into two branches, each of which is nearly as big as the Zambesi itself, and each discharges into the Indian Ocean, thirty leagues distant one from the other. The principal branch, which has the greatest volume of water, is called the Luabo: it also divides into two branches, one called the old river of Luabo and the other the old Cuama, which appears to be the reason why all these rivers have come to be called the rivers of Cuama.

The less important branch is called the Quilimane, or the river of Good Omens, a name given to it by Dom Vasco da Gama when he put in there when engaged in the discovery of India, because of the good tidings and signs which he found there of Mozambique being already near, in which place there were pilots who knew the route to India. For this reason he erected a stone pillar on this shore with a cross and the royal arms of Portugal

carved thereon, and also gave to the shore the name of the land of St. Rafael.

This river also throws off another very large branch called the Linde, so that the great river Zambesi enters the sea by five mouths or branches of great breadth and volume of water. The Portuguese use only the two principal. That of Luabo is navigable all the year, as it has abundant water and is always fit for the use of vessels; but the Quilimane has not, and is therefore only navigable in winter, as in the summer it leaves exposed many sand banks and trunks of trees lying in its bed, where vessels are easily lost.

Going up the river, always to the west-north-west, about two hundred leagues are traversed before reaching the kingdom of Sacumbé, which is much beyond the fort of Tete, at which place the river forms a rapid over some rocks, and thence it continues to be very rocky in the middle for the space of twenty leagues, as far as the kingdom of Chicova, where the silver mines are situated. The twenty leagues therefore from Sacumbé to Chicova are not navigable, by reason of the rapid current of the river, which rushes down breaking from rock to rock, but from the kingdom of Chicova onward it is navigable no one knows how far.

To return to the river of Luabo, which is the most important branch: it is so called from the island of Luabo situated above its bar, in not quite 19° S. This island has to the south the river we speak of, and to the north the old river of Cuama, on the eastern side it is cut through by a strait five leagues in length, which runs from one river to the other, and on the south-east lies the Indian Ocean. It is about five leagues long and five leagues wide. It is peopled by Moors and heathen Kaffirs with woolly hair, very reduced and almost vassals of the captain of the rivers of Cuama, who frequently resides in this island overseeing the boats that carry merchandise up the river, which merchandise is brought there from Mozambique in large vessels called pangayos, which being large cannot go up the river, and therefore discharge their cargoes at this island, where the small boats referred to before take in their cargoes and all together go up the river to the fort of Sena, which is a journey of sixty leagues. The lands that lie along the banks of this river are called Bororo to the north and Botonga to the south, and the sailors in navigating



direct their course by these two names, steering now to Bororo, now to Botonga, as in large ships they steer to larboard or to starboard.

In the middle of this river there are many islands, some of them very large. The largest of all going up the river is Chingoma, of which a Macua Kaffir is lord, who has the same name as the island. It is most fertile, and the best of all the islands; at its extremity the Zambesi divides into two branches, the Luabo and the Quilimane, as has been stated, the island being between the two.

The next well-known island in this river is called Inhangoma, situated close to the fort of Sena, which island is very level and low, and owing to this is inundated along the banks of the river. It is ten leagues long, and in the widest part a league and a half across; it is very fertile, and has an abundance of provisions. When the Portuguese navigate this river they take shelter at night on these islands and many other uninhabited islets, and navigate during the daytime only, because of the many currents and shoals encountered in the whole course of the stream.

When boats are proceeding along the river the Kaffirs who inhabit the many villages on its banks approach in their little canoes laden with fruits of the land, rice, millet, vegetables, fresh and dried fish, and numerous fowls, which things they sell cheap to the passengers, as these lands are very fertile and abundant, and fowls are very plentiful, which the Kaffirs do not eat, but breed to sell to those who navigate this river, for which reason the value of a fowl here is only eighteen to twenty reis.

The reason of this fertility is the overflowing of the river, which frequently inundates the fields lying along its banks, and more especially in the months of March and April, when other rivers and very large streams which empty themselves into it are full and increase its waters, by which inundation the lands are covered with ooze, which greatly increases their fertility. In these two months the greatest floods of the river take place, though there is no rain in the lands at the time, nor snow that melts and runs down into it, which clearly proves that these waters come from a great distance and cause inundations at this place, as do those of the river Nile in the lands of Egypt. At such times these lands are very unhealthy, because of the unwholesome vapours which usually rise from the ponds and marshy fields, and

at this time more Kaffirs die than during the other months of the year.

### CHAPTER III.

Of the hippopotami which the Kaffirs call *zovo* and others *zodo*.

In these rivers of Cuama, in that of Sofala, and in the others of all this coast are found a number of very ferocious and frightful hippopotami. They are very much larger and stouter than two of our horses put together, they have very short stout legs, with five hoofs on the fore feet and four on the hind, their footprint is almost as large as an elephant's. They have a very large mouth full of teeth, four of which, being the eye teeth, are more than two spans in length; the two underneath are straight and the two of the upper jaw are curved like the tusks of a wild boar, and all four protrude from the mouth to the extent of a good span. The head is of the size of three bullocks' heads put together. I once saw the skull of a hippopotamus in a Kaffir's doorway, which served him as a seat, and he had placed it there as a trophy. Seeing me looking at it in wonder, he called his little son, a child of seven or eight years of age, and opening the mouth of the skull he made the child sit inside, who sat quite easily between the lower and upper jaw; and I am told that there are even larger hippopotami than the one to which this skull belonged. These animals usually live in the water, but they come to land to eat, and live upon the grass and leaves in the woods. They do a great deal of damage to the crops of millet and rice, both by treading them down and by eating them. They usually come out of the water to eat at night, and also in the daytime in uninhabited and deserted places. They only closely resemble our horses in the upper part of the face, eyes, and ears, and neigh almost like them.

They are very jealous, and two males are never seen together. If they meet they immediately fight and wound each other very cruelly with their tusks, and very often they kill each other in these combats, and their dead bodies are found on the banks of the river with many wounds and holes in the belly, where they usually wound one another in fighting. Only one male goes with a herd of females, as a cock among hens, and the other smaller males that are less strong always keep out of the way, for

fear of meeting with the bigger ones. Further, when a female gives birth to a male, she avoids the company of the others, and goes about alone with her progeny for fear that the father should kill it. They are so careful of their young that they will attack any boat that comes down the river near the place where they are, and frequently they upset the boats, by which some persons are drowned. When their time for delivery has come they go ashore and bring forth in the woods or in some deserted dry creek close to the river, in which places they are frequently found by the Kaffirs in the act of parturition. After delivery they eat the afterbirth and lick the little one clean, and then return with it to the river, where they rear it with the milk of two teats that they have similar to our mares, but much larger, and containing so great a quantity of milk that it trickles to the ground when they come out to eat. These hippopotami have a very much thicker hide than that of an ox. They are all of an ash grey colour, and have very coarse hair; nearly all of them, or the greater number, have a very white mark running from the middle of their foreheads to the nostrils and a very fine white star on the forehead. They have a very short and scanty mane, and have no tuft or long hairs on the tail. They are very subject to epilepsy or attacks of melancholy, and when this pain seizes them they press their left fore foot very tightly against the breast, doubling it back, and let themselves fall to the ground upon it, their hoofs coming under the breast, by virtue of which the Kaffirs say the attacks pass off more quickly, by which nature's providence never failing in necessary things may be seen. For this reason the Kaffirs and Moors assert that the hoofs of the left fore foot of the hippopotamus have great virtue against melancholy. God knows the truth of this, but it is a fact that these animals suffer from the attacks I speak of, and that they press themselves tightly with the hoofs of their left fore foot, as the Kaffirs have frequently found them on land in this position, and some of them so weakened and senseless from the pain they were suffering that they have killed several without their being able to rise or to escape.

Although these hippopotami are very ferocious and of a huge size, they are nevertheless not so fierce as to attack man, excepting in the river when they are in rut as aforesaid, but when they come to land to eat, if they hear or catch sight of anyone they

immediately run to the river as furiously as though they were very small and timid animals, making so great a noise with their feet in running that it sounds like thunder, and with this speed they hurl themselves into the river, frequently from very high banks, and with such violence that they take with them a great part of the bank, leaving a track behind like a frequented road.

One afternoon I went along the banks of the river of Sofala with two Portuguese, married men of the fortress, for the purpose of enjoyment and to fish in the river, for which reason a great number of their slaves accompanied us to carry the nets. Going in this way along the banks of the river, we saw two hippopotami come out of the wood where they had been eating, and as soon as they saw us they came running to get back to the river, their direct road to it being past the place where we were, for which reason the Portuguese seized their guns and the Kaffirs their bows and arrows, and waited for the animals to wound or to frighten them. But their fear was as great or greater than ours, as they turned away from us, and made off by the side of the wood until they entered the river at a great distance from us, of which we were not sorry, as some feared that their arrival would be followed by a disaster.

#### CHAPTER IV.

How the Kaffirs kill the hippopotami in the river and on land.

The Kaffirs of the river of Cuama and those of Sofala lay snares for the hippopotami and hunt them in three ways. The first and most usual is by making pits at the edges of the fields of millet and rice, where the animals go to feed at night. They cover the mouth of the pit with branches and grass so that there is no sign of it, and the hippopotami wander about among the crops in fancied security, and putting their hind or fore feet on the mouth of the pit they fall in, and there they remain stuck fast until the owners of the fields come in the morning and kill them, without danger or difficulty.

Another manner of entrapping the hippopotamus is by means of planks about six feet long, very thick and strong, to which the Kaffirs attach a number of iron harpoons like fish spears,

very thick and pointed at the ends. These planks they place at the edge of the plantations, the harpoons being half buried with their points sticking out, and as soon as the animals put their feet on these planks they are pierced by the harpoons, and cannot get free; and in this manner they remain prisoners, being unable to escape or to break the planks, which are very strong, and thus they are killed by the Kaffirs who have set the trap.

The third manner in which the Kaffirs kill the hippopotami is in the river, where they attack them in a number of small boats called *almadias*, made of one piece of wood, in each of which are two hunters, one seated in the stern paddling, the other standing in the prow with a long sharp iron harpoon in his hand, to which is tied in the middle a long piece of cord, the other end of which is made fast to the canoe. Besides this harpoon they carry others, and many arrows, assagais, and great stones, all for the purpose of hunting. In this way they paddle to the deep and still waters where the hippopotami are usually to be found with their heads out of the water, observing all that passes on the river. Upon approaching them the canoes form a circle, and dash forward with great rapidity to reach them, but the animals immediately dive and escape to another place near by, where they come up again, the canoes following them with the hunters hurling stones and arrows at them without ceasing. They continue turning about under the water and on the surface until some canoe comes close enough to one to harpoon it, and as soon as it is pierced in the body and feels itself wounded its courage fails, and it tries to escape with the harpoon fixed in it, drawing after it the canoe to which the harpoon is attached, so that those in the canoe hurl many arrows at it, and the other canoes come up and also transfix it with their harpoons. Although it is so huge an animal, and so ferocious, it is so pusillanimous when wounded, that it does not attack its pursuers to defend itself, but attempts to escape, swimming from one place to another, taking with it all the canoes that are attached to the harpoons fixed in its body, and continues in this way until it is wearied and moves on the surface of the water with its mouth open and its tongue out, unable to draw breath. The canoes then come up to it, and the hunters kill it with their assagais, and when dead they tie a cord round its neck and pull it ashore, quarter it, and cut it in pieces; and each Kaffir takes his share to eat. In this manner

they kill many hippopotami, and although this way of hunting them is laborious for the hunters, it is very enjoyable and good sport.

In coming up the river from Luabo to Sena I saw ten or twelve canoes on the river with their hunters on board employed in this pursuit I speak of, which was a sight we were well pleased to see, and had it not been that the wind was most favourable, we should have remained at the place to see the end of the hunt.

## CHAPTER V.

Of some notable things found at the rivers of Cuama, both in the water and on the lauds extending along the banks.

All of these rivers contain fish of different kinds, some very good, fat, and savoury, such as tainhas, sea-lampreys, rock fish similar to large choupas, the fish called boquinha, which resembles a shad,—it has a very small mouth, few bones, and is very fat and savoury, the barriquinha, which closely resembles a herring but is much larger,—it has a big belly, small mouth, few bones, and is very fat and savoury. In these rivers are found grampuses as large as those of the sea. One was killed at Tete in the year of our Lord 1586 which caused astonishment to all, as no one thought that fish of this size were to be found in this locality more than one hundred and twenty leagues distant from the sea. These rivers also abound in hippopotami and large crocodiles, as has been stated.

The Kaffirs of these rivers tell a story that is well known to the Portuguese and Moors of these lands. It is as follows:—

They say that one day a lion was pursuing a stag to kill and eat it. The stag, seeing itself thus pursued and in fear of death, came running to throw itself into the river, and having reached the waterside and being partly in the water, the lion came up with it and fastened on its haunches with its claws to prevent its going farther into the water. The noise and struggle attracted a crocodile, which upon seeing that the stag had half its body in the water gripped on to it with teeth and nails to drag it into the river. And each had such a strong hold that the lion could not drag it out and the crocodile could not drag it into the river out of the lion's claws, and so they remained for some time, each

struggling to carry off the prey, until some Kaffirs who were working in their plantations and had seen the whole of the struggle came running to the bank of the river with shouts and cries, and frightened the crocodile, which loosened its hold of the stag and made off into the river. The lion also fled, leaving its prey almost dead, its haunches being torn open by its claws. The Kaffirs thereupon came up, and taking the stag divided it among themselves.

The lands which extend along the banks of these rivers abound in lions, tigers, panthers, rhinoceroses, elephants, wild buffaloes, and wild cows which closely resemble our domestic cattle. There are wild horses, with manes and tails like our horses, and their neigh is also very similar. They are of a very light chestnut, almost ash colour; they have solid horns like stags, very straight, with no branches, and cloven hoofs like oxen. The Kaffirs call them *empophos* (elands).

There are also wild asses, of a grey colour, with horns and cloven hoofs. They are called *merus* (gnus). Their flesh is as good as that of cows.

There is a great variety of insects, wild swine, and many other kinds of wild animals.

On the banks of these rivers grow many cotton plants, in plantations which the Kaffirs sow, cultivate, and prune almost in the same way as vines. With the cotton they make pieces of cloth which they call *machiras*, with which they clothe themselves. These pieces are of the same size as a handkerchief.

There are large plantations of sugar cane which the Kaffirs plant to eat, and it forms a great part of their maintenance. They do not know how to make sugar, and have no mills for the purpose, but if they had them I am of opinion that more sugar would be obtained from these rivers and that of Sofala than from Brazil.

A number of medicinal woods and plants grow in this territory, especially on some mountains called Lupata, that cross this river. On these mountains there is a quantity of ceterach and a vast amount of wild agallochium, very good and of such an excellent perfume that it would appear to be the cultivated tree, and some persons declared to me that there are some to be found in these woods.

When I was in Tete I was given an old trunk of agallochium

so worn with age that there only remained the inner ring, black and hard; and holding it of little value, knowing that there was a quantity of it in the land, I gave order for it to be thrown into a garden belonging to me, where the sun shone on it, and there it remained some time, until one day I noticed that a sweet smelling oil was coming from it and running on to the ground from the warmth of the sun. Then I took it in and valued it greatly, and as a thing of value I gave it to the person who brought it to this kingdom.

In this country there is a quantity of cassia growing in the woods, and another tree which the Kaffirs use as a purgative, which has great medicinal properties. They boil this with a fowl in plain water, and after boiling well they drink the broth, which forms a very effective purgative. I took this purgative in Sena for the ague, from which I was suffering, and was greatly relieved, although other purgatives given to me before this had had no effect. There is another sort of wood which, crushed and drunk in plain water, will stop a flux of blood. There is also another excellent wood with which the Kaffirs cure wounds, by crushing it and putting the powder into the wound, and its virtue is such that in twenty-four hours the wounds discharge all corrupt matter or bad blood, and however severe the wound it is healed in a few days, being cured with this powder without stitching and other medicine.

Another wood was shown to me in Sofala, and it is also found in these rivers. They say that crushed and given as a drink it will cause the breasts of any person who drinks it, man or woman, to be filled with milk. The tree has very large coarse leaves, almost similar to the aloe plant.

## CHAPTER VI.

Of the mountains of Lupata and the kingdom of Mongas, of the wars between Mongas and the Portuguese, and of some remarkable springs in these lands.

From the fort of Sena to that of Tete is a distance of sixty leagues up the river. Half-way between these places are situated the grand and celebrated mountains of Lupata, ninety leagues distant from the Indian ocean. These mountains are four or



five leagues in breadth; they are very high and rugged, covered with stones and rough gravel hard as iron, they extend across a great part of this Ethiopia, and being very high, and crossing many lands, the Kaffirs call them the world's spine. Although these mountains are so high, of great breadth, and of solid rock, the river Zambesi is of such strength that it has forced a passage through them, its waters dashing along with such impetus that their current strikes one with awe.

In many places along the river these mountains rise in a perpendicular line from base to summit, as though they had been cut with chisel and plummet. In other places the mountains hang over the river in an awe striking manner, seeming as though they were about to fall upon the boats passing underneath. In this locality the river may be about three hundred feet in width, enclosed by these steep lofty mountains, for which reason for five or six leagues it is very dangerous to navigate, and here boats are sometimes lost, because of the rapid current which drives them on the rocks, there being no means of escape.

These mountains of Lupata traverse the realm of a king named Mongas, whose lands are on the bank of the river, on the southern side, as are Sena and Tete. Their boundary is the said river, and in the interior they adjoin the lands of the Monomotapa.

This Mongas fought with the Portuguese at the time of the conquest of Francisco Barreto and Vasco Fernandes Homem, who succeeded him at his death. All these Kaffirs of Mongas are pagans, of a blackish colour, very valiant, and the most warlike of all the tribes then at the rivers, and therefore they gave great trouble to our conquerors, with whom they fought many battles.

It is related that in one of these battles, when advancing to attack the Portuguese, they brought with them an old Kaffir woman, who they said was a great sorceress, and upon coming in sight of our men she advanced before her people and placing herself in the middle of the field between the two camps, she took some powder from a gourd, and throwing handfuls of it in the air in the direction of the Portuguese, she declared that in this way she would blind them all, and that after this they could be easily overthrown and taken prisoners. Through this promise

of the sorceress the Kaffirs came so confidently that they all carried cords with which to bind the Portuguese and lead them off like sheep, but their designs were speedily frustrated, because the governor, seeing the sorceress so insolent and confident in her diabolical arts, commanded the chief gunner to take aim at her with the falcon that was loaded before him, which he did, and by God's will his aim was so sure that he hit the sorceress between the breasts and she was blown in pieces before her men. For this the governor took a chain that he wore round his neck with a reliquary and put it round the chief gunner's neck most joyfully, praising his dexterity and fortunate shot, so important with respect to the battle that was about to begin. On the other side the Kaffirs were most amazed at the unexpected event, and most saddened by the death of their sorceress, upon whom they relied. They were not, however, sufficiently overawed to abandon the combat, but on the contrary began battle and fought most valiantly, nevertheless when they had felt the power of the Portuguese and their fire, which cost many of them their lives, they retreated and fled, leaving our men masters of the field, and it was not long before Mongas sent to the governor to treat for peace, promising him a free passage through his lands, having previously wished to impede him. This the governor accepted, and the peace has lasted to the present time, without any further quarrels or disputes whatever.

Below these mountains of Lupata, close to the river on the eastern side facing the lands of Mongas, is a fine lake, three leagues in circumference and very deep, in the middle of which is an island very lofty and craggy, about a thousand yards in circumference. On the crown of this island is a very fine tamarind tree, which is about the same size and closely resembles a large pine tree, which bears fruit almost every year. Its fruit is similar to the carob, the acid from it is most excellent for seasoning food instead of lemons or vinegar; it has great medicinal properties and is used by apothecaries as a purgative. The tamarind tree has the property of closing its leaves when the sun sets, and so it remains all night until the sun rises again, when they immediately open.

The Kaffirs call this lake Rufumba. It is of fresh water, abounds with good fish, hippopotami, and very large crocodiles. On its edge is a grove called by the Kaffirs Chipanga, thickly

wooded with shady wild trees. The Kaffirs who live in the vicinity of this grove bury their dead there, and it is looked upon by all as a very sacred place, the principal reason of this being that the crocodiles of the Rufumba stretch themselves in the sun on its borders according to their custom, and the Kaffirs imagine that the souls of their dead go into these crocodiles and frequent this lake, for which reason they frequently throw food to them on the borders of the grove.

Close to this lake is a spring to which the Kaffirs give the name Maembe, which has five eyes rather more than six feet from one another; the water of them all is warm, that is the water of two of them is lukewarm, of two very warm, and of the fifth as hot as though it had been boiling on a big fire, no one being able to bear his hand in it, and eggs can be boiled in it, and sucking-pigs scalded, as was proved by some Portuguese who went there purposely to observe the wonders of this lake. These springs run all the year, and their waters flow into Lake Rufumba.

Beyond the fort of Tete is a place called Empongo, where there are three hot water springs on the edge of the river Zambesi, and when the stream is low they can be seen, but when it is swollen it covers the springs and they are not visible. It is said that one of these springs is so hot that no one could bear to hold his hand in it.

There are many other wonderful things, it is said, in these rivers and in the lands extending along their banks, of which I do not speak, as I have no sure and reliable information thereon, as I had upon the things of which I have treated.

## CHAPTER VII.

Concerning some springs and rivers of salt water, and other springs of wonderful properties, situated in the interior of this Eastern Ethiopia.

Close to the fort of Tete, about two leagues towards the interior, is a small rivulet, the water of which is as salt as that of the sea, although it is more than one hundred and twenty leagues distant from the coast. In the lands of Mocaranga, which are very much farther from the sea, it is said there are many rivers and ponds of salt water, from which the Kaffirs procure salt by

boiling, and with this salt almost the whole of Mocaranga is supplied, and it is of high value, as there is a great scarcity of salt in these lands so distant from the sea.

It was not a matter of great wonder to me to see natural salt water in lands so remote and distant from the ocean, as I had already seen the same in Portugal close to the royal and sumptuous monument of Batalha, which the king Dom João of glorious memory founded and gave to the religious of the order of St. Dominic, and where he lies buried with his queen Dona Philippa and four sons. Close to this convent is a place called Santos, four leagues distant from the sea, where there is a large spring of salt water, from which a great quantity of salt is procured by means of appliances established at the same place, among which the religious of the said convent possess several of importance.

Some Moorish merchants trading in machiras, which are pieces of cotton cloth with which the Kaffirs clothe themselves, related to me when I was in the fort of Tete that in the interior of these lands, to the north-east, close to the great river of Manganja, there was a fountain of salt water more than two hundred leagues distant from the sea, where a most astonishing marvel could be seen, which was that any wood thrown into it is converted into hard stone, the nature of the wood being changed so that it becomes hard and heavy stone.

Albertus Magnus makes mention of another fountain of fresh water having a similar property, which he says that he saw in Germany, and made experiments of its marvellous properties, and it converts into stone any wood thrown into it. Father Hector Pinto in his book on Daniel refers to the same thing. João Perez in his work on Astronomy speaks of another fountain, the water of which when drawn out and thrown on the ground immediately congeals and becomes like hard stone, which never dissolves or returns to its former state.

In the province of Alemtejo in the kingdom of Portugal there is a village named Ervedal, a little more than a league's distance from the town of Avis, where there are some springs which the natives of the land call fontanheiras; these are four or five fountains of fresh water, but not fit for drinking. This water runs only in summer, and in such volume as to form a very considerable rivulet, which is used for watering various kitchen

gardens and working mills during the whole summer from April to September, and as soon as the weather gets cold again the springs dry up. This is a thing to marvel at, because in winter when it rains and all the land abounds in springs these dry up and contain no water. These fountains have this further property that in places where their waters are still and do not run they become converted into hard stone similar to pumice stone, which never again dissolves. If wood is thrown into this water, either in the spring or on the ground where the water runs, it becomes covered with hard stone formed by this water, so that the wood becomes like the pith of the stone, and if drawn out there remains a hollow stone pipe. It has the same effect upon the grass and rushes growing by the water-side: wherever the water reaches it leaves a coating of stone. In the same way it covers the wheels of the mills with stone, so that to move them it is necessary to scrape off every year the stone that this water has formed.

In the kingdom of Dambia, situated in this Eastern Ethiopia, on the borders of the Nile, and in the province of Belgada, of which I shall speak later on, there are many mines of rock salt which the merchants take to the kingdoms of Mandinga and Jalofa, situated in the interior of this Ethiopia, where there is such a scarcity of salt and such an abundance of gold that the salt is worth almost as much as the metal.

In the island of Ormuz, situated in the Persian gulf, there are many mountains of rock salt which nature has formed there, which salt besides being used for seasoning food has also great medicinal properties, and although it is much valued for its good quality it is not dear, because of its great abundance in this land.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Of the forts of Sena and Tete and the mountain of Chiri, and of the fruits and animals of the rivers of Cuama and the money that is current there.

Sena is a village situated close to the river Zambesi, on the southern bank, in the lands of the town of Inhamioy, subject to Monomotapa. In this village there is a fort of stone and mortar furnished with several pieces of large and small artillery, sufficient

for its defence. In this fort resides the captain appointed by the captain of Mozambique. Within it are the church and the factory, to which are brought all the cloth, beads, and other goods that come from Mozambique, and here they are sold to the traders who take them to sell to the Kaffirs. During the time that I was in this fort there were more than eight hundred Christians in it, of whom about fifty were Portuguese and the others Indians and native Kaffirs.

Opposite Sena on the other side of the river, seven or eight leagues towards the interior, there is a very grand and lofty mountain called Chiri, which may be seen at more than twenty leagues distance. This mountain is most fertile, and is entirely inhabited by Kaffirs, both on the heights and in the valleys. From it come nearly all the provisions consumed in Sena, such as rice, millet, sweet potatoes, figs, and fowls. It abounds in springs of excellent water, not only in the valleys but also on the heights, at its foot runs a fine large river, which they say is an arm of the celebrated river Luabo of this coast of Ethiopia, which river empties itself into the Zambesi ten leagues below Sena, and it is navigated by the Kaffirs and residents of Sena who carry on commerce from one part to another.

From this fort of Sena Tete is sixty leagues up the river. The residents of Tete come to the factory of Sena to purchase with their gold the merchandise which is to be had there. Tete is a village situated on the bank of the river, on the same side as Sena, in the kingdom of Inhabazoe, which Monomotapa conquered and divided among some of his vassals, giving a good part of it to the fort of Tete. These are the lands that recognise the Portuguese and the captain of the fort as their king, of which I shall speak later on more in detail.

This fort is built of stone and mortar, and contains seven or eight pieces of artillery. In it resides the captain of the land, who is also appointed by the captain of Mozambique.

When I was in this place there were more than six hundred Christians in it, of whom about forty were Portuguese and the others Indians and Kaffirs. From this fort to the Indian ocean, into which the river empties itself, is one hundred and twenty leagues, and up to this point the Portuguese navigate the river with merchandise arriving from Mozambique, and from this fort they journey by land to Mocaranga, Kaffirs carrying the mer-

chandise on their backs, and these Kaffirs can be hired for this purpose like beasts of burden.

In these villages of Sena and Tete all the year round there is an abundance of Portuguese and Indian figs, such as those I have spoken of as growing in Sofala. There are many pomegranate trees, vines, lemon trees, and palm trees, an abundance of wild fruit, some of which is good, such as the wild fruit which they call bombaras, which is very similar to an olive, is eaten pickled in the same way, and is very appetising. There are many kitchen gardens, where good vegetables are grown. In Tete I saw a radish similar to those of Portugal, which was three and a half spans round close to the stem, full inside, tender, and of a good taste, and nearly an ell in length. From this the great fertility of these lands may be inferred.

There is an abundance of yams, sweet potatoes, pineapples, and very good melons, gourds, cucumbers, rice, millet, and many other vegetables.

There are many cows, goats, and sheep, from (whose milk) they make as good cheese as that of Alemtejo, swine, and a great number of fowls. All these things are very cheap, but those coming from India to these rivers are sold at a very high rate, especially wine, wheaten flour, boots, clothing, and all other necessary goods sent from abroad. A barrel of six almudes of Portuguese wine, if it is good, is usually worth in these rivers one hundred maticals, that is one hundred and twenty cruzados. A barrel of flour of the same size is worth fifty or sixty maticals, and so on with other goods coming from India.

During the year I was at these rivers it so happened that on the voyage two pangayos were lost belonging to the captain of Mozambique, who was then Lourenço de Brito, which pangayos were coming to these ports laden with provisions and cloth, as it is usual to send them every six months. By this loss the price of all kinds of food and liquor rose to a high rate, and a canada of Portuguese wine rose to fourteen maticals, that is six thousand six hundred reis, a case of marmalade of about five pounds cost ten maticals, and flour, cloth, and other things in the country were proportionately dear.

The smallest money used in these lands is a weight of gold called a tanga, which is worth three vintens, and the largest is a matical worth four hundred and eighty reis. There is also

another kind of money which is used for buying small articles. This is little copper bars about half a span in length and two fingers wide, which they call maçontas; each of these is also worth three vintens. There is also current a coin made of pewter, which they call calaim: it is made in bars, each weighing half a pound. They call these bars pondos, and each of these pondos is worth two tangas, that is six vintens.

In these lands small earthenware beads glazed and coloured are also current as ordinary money. They are threaded on strings of about a span in length. These strings of beads are called mites, ten mites joined together are called a lipote, and twenty lipotes joined together are called motava which is usually worth one cruzado. Besides these moneys, all kinds of things are bought and sold for any sort of cloth, with which debts are paid instead of with gold. With this kind of money they also pay the fathers their stipends and for the masses which they are asked to say, but this is seldom, as usually the alms for a mass is paid in gold and a matical is what is generally given for a mass, though some persons give larger alms, according to their devotion.

This does not appear to be large alms in this country, where all things that are imported are worth their weight in gold, and a matical is not worth more here than two vintens or half a testoon would be in Portugal, for which reason if the priests received smaller alms for their masses they would be unable to support themselves.

## CHAPTER IX.

Of the markets of Mocaranga, and of the captain of Massapa and the tribute paid to Monomotapa.

After merchandise has left Tete by land, as has been said, it is carried over a great part of the kingdom of Monomotapa to three villages situated in this Mocaranga at some distance from each other, which they call fairs. They are Massapa, Luanze, and Manzovo, in which places the residents of Sena and Tete have houses called churros, where they store their merchandise, and from which they sell it and send it to be sold throughout all the country. The principal of these market places is Massapa, where a Portuguese captain always resides, who is elected by the



Portuguese of these rivers, his appointment being confirmed by Monomotapa. This captain is called by the king his great wife, a name by which he honours the Portuguese whom he esteems and holds in great respect, such as the captains of Sena, Tete, and Mozambique.

This captain of Massapa has jurisdiction and supreme judicial authority over all the Kaffirs who come to Massapa and those who live on his lands or within his borders. He has power to give verbal sentence in all cases, and he can even condemn the guilty to be hanged, without appeal against his sentence. This authority has been given him by Monomotapa. This captain also receives from the viceroys of India power to act as judge and chief of all the Portuguese who frequent these kingdoms, and as such he gives judgment in all cases affecting Portuguese that are brought into court in these parts. He is also executor for deceased persons. All the captains in these parts have similar jurisdiction and authority conceded to them by the viceroys, such as the captains of Sofala, Sena, and Tete. They all can alone pass sentence on the Christians in the country, and carry such sentences into execution, there being no right of appeal from them, and sometimes they do so with Kaffir thieves and malefactors whom they condemn to the gallows.

The captain of Massapa in this office serves as agent in all matters between the Portuguese and Monomotapa; he acts here also as factor of Monomotapa to receive all the duties paid to him by the merchants, both Christians and Moors, which are one piece of cloth in every twenty brought into these lands to be sold. In consideration of this duty all the rest of the cloth is free, and the country is open for the secure passage of traders through it to sell their merchandise, they being impeded by no one.

No person may enter the territory between Massapa and the residence of the king without the license of the king or the captain, for which reason this place is called the Gates of Massapa, and the captain the Captain of the Gates. The office is permanent during the life of each person appointed to it, and he cannot resign it or leave the place without Monomotapa's license. The insignia of this captain and of his jurisdiction are an assagai of black wood about a yard in length, with a long golden point similar to the point of a lance, which he frequently carries in his

hand like a staff of supreme justice, besides which he wears a golden bracelet.

Each new captain of Mozambique upon entering his fortress is under obligation to pay to Monomotapa the value of three thousand cruzados in cloth and beads for the three years of his office, that he may during this term open his lands to all merchants, both Christians and Moors, as all of them trade with cloth obtained from the said captain, and the greater part of the gold exported from these rivers goes into the hands of the captain of Mozambique; and if the lands were not open and free for the merchants to pass through them with their cloth and beads, there would be no gold, nor anyone to bring it in such quantities.

The lands being open in this manner, the merchants can traverse them with their bags of gold much more securely than if they were in Portugal, as to the present time it has been an unheard of thing for Kaffir thieves to attack the Portuguese on the road or to rob them, unless by order of Monomotapa himself, as he has sometimes given such orders to avenge some injury he has received, or pretended to have received, from the Portuguese, especially when the captain who has newly entered office at Mozambique has not paid him, or delayed until the second year the cloth which it is usual to pay him during the first. Then he commands an *empata* of all the merchandise throughout his lands, and seizes all that is found, as this is what they call an *empata*, and in this way he liberally pays himself what is due and takes satisfaction for the affront he has received. Besides this, that he may once more open his lands and establish peace there, the captain pays him in full, and in these *empatas* which he orders he confiscates many thousands of cruzados from the merchants, without any restitution being made of them either on the king's part or on the part of him who was the cause of the trouble.

This payment made by the captains the Kaffirs call a *curva*, and Monomotapa sends his Kaffir ambassadors, called *mutumes*, to the fort of Sena to receive it. These Kaffirs come to receive the *curva* in the same order and in the same way as the *mutumes* of Quiteve, king of the river of Sofala, as has been previously related. But the delivery of the *curva* of Sofala differs greatly from this of Sena, as in Sofala the captain of the fortress delivers it to the *mutumes* who have come for it, and they carry it to

Quiteve, their king, but here in Sena it is delivered to a Portuguese chosen for this purpose by the captain, who after his election is called viceroy, as he is going as ambassador to Monomotapa, in the name of the captain of Mozambique, whom the Kaffirs call viceroy. This Portuguese receives the said curva in the factory of Sena in presence of the mutumes of Monomotapa, that they may see all the cloth that is being sent to him, and after its delivery he takes it under his charge to the court of Monomotapa, accompanied by the mutumes, and there he delivers this curva to Monomotapa in the name of the captain of Mozambique.

## CHAPTER X.

Of the kingdoms of Monomotapa and of the lands of Mocaranga and their division. ///

This kingdom of Monomotapa is situated in the lands called Mocaranga, as has been stated, all of which lands formerly belonged to the empire of Monomotapa, and at present are divided into four kingdoms, viz. the kingdom which at present belongs to Monomotapa, the kingdom of Quiteve, the kingdom of Sedanda, and that of Tshikanga.

This division was made by an emperor Monomotapa, who not wishing, or not being able, to govern such distant lands, made three of his sons governors thereof, sending one named Quiteve to govern the lands extending along the river of Sofala, another named Sedanda to govern the lands traversed by the river Sabi, which flows into the Indian ocean opposite the islands of Bocicas, and the third, named Tshikanga, he sent to govern the lands of Manica, where there are very extensive gold mines.

These three governors, his sons, as soon as their father died and another son who was at court succeeded to the empire, rose in arms with their territories, and were never again willing to obey this Monomotapa or his successors, each one alleging that the said empire was his. This is the reason why there is war between them nearly every year. In this manner from the great empire of Monomotapa three very large kingdoms containing many vassals were separated, the kingdom now possessed by Monomotapa being nevertheless very much more extensive than the three others combined.

All these Kaffirs are called Mocarangas, as all speak the Mocaranga language, and for this reason all these lands are also called Mocaranga, except parts of the kingdoms along the sea-coast, where other languages are spoken, particularly the Botonga tongue, for which reason these lands are called Botonga and their inhabitants Botongas.

This vast kingdom of Monomotapa is more than two hundred leagues in length and almost as much in breadth. On the north-western side it borders on the lands of another very powerful king, with whom there are frequent wars. He is called Abutua, and his kingdom bears the same name. They say that it extends in the centre of the continent to the borders of the kingdom of Angola, with the Kaffirs of which its people trade, these Kaffirs carrying on commerce with the Portuguese who go from Portugal to Angola, which I do not doubt, as Kaffir merchants from Abutua brought a blanket to the kingdom of Manica to sell it, which blanket had come through Angola, and was bought by a Portuguese in Manica, and I saw it in Sofala.

In this kingdom of Abutua there is also a quantity of fine gold, but the natives of the country do not trouble to seek it or dig for it, as they are at a distance from the Portuguese who might buy it; but they are much occupied with the breeding of cattle, of which there are great numbers in these lands.

On the eastern side Monomotapa is bounded by the river Zambesi, which is called by the Kaffir vassals of Monomotapa *Empando*, which means a rebel against his king, because they say that if the river did not run through that part Monomotapa would be lord of other lands lying on the other side of the river, which he cannot reach with his army for want of boats. On the south-eastern side this kingdom extends to the Indian ocean, where it forms a tongue of land only ten or twelve leagues in breadth between the rivers *Luabo* and *Tendanculo*, as the lands which extend to the south as far as the river *Inhambane* are divided among the three rebel kings, as has been stated. From *Tendanculo* to *Sofala* is the kingdom of *Quiteve*, of which I treated in the first book; from *Sofala* to the south is the kingdom of *Sabia*, of which *Sedanda* is king, who is also king of a great part of the lands called *Botonga*, which extend to the river *Inhambane*. Beyond these two kingdoms of *Quiteve* and *Sedanda* towards the interior is the kingdom of *Manica*, of which

Tshikanga is king. This kingdom extends to the north-west to about a hundred leagues from the sea. The two kingdoms of Quiteve and Sedanda extend as far along the Indian ocean. On the other side of the land of Manica to the north is the kingdom of Abutua, of which Monomotapa lies on the north-east, and to the south is another king called Biri.

All these three rebel kings are great lords, but Quiteve is the most powerful and richest, because of the extensive commerce he carries on with the Portuguese, from whom he obtains great quantities of cloth and beads, which form the wealth of the Kaffirs. Besides this these Kaffirs are much more valiant than all the other Mocarangas, and for this reason Monomotapa is never able to conquer them, although he frequently falls upon Quiteve with a powerful army. They are great archers, and most dexterous in hurling the assagai. They are very insolent, and most clever in defrauding and cheating.

## CHAPTER XI.

Of the mountain called Fura, and of certain ancient ruins said to have been the factory of the queen of Sheba or of Solomon.

Close to the town of Masapa is a very high and grand mountain called Fura, from which there is a view of a great part of the kingdom of Monomotapa. For this reason the king will not permit the Portuguese to ascend this mountain, that their covetousness may not be excited by the vastness and beauty of his country, where so many and such large mines of gold are hidden.

On the summit of this mountain some fragments of old walls and ancient ruins of stone and mortar are still standing, which clearly show that once there were houses here and strong dwellings, which are not to be found in all Kaffraria, as even the kings' palaces are built of wood covered with clay and thatched with straw. The natives of these lands, especially some aged Moors, assert that they have a tradition from their ancestors that these houses were anciently a factory of the queen of Sheba, and that from this place a great quantity of gold was brought to her, it being conveyed down the rivers of Cuama to the Indian ocean, which they navigated in ships keeping along the coast of

Ethiopia to the Red sea, which they entered and pursued their course up it until they reached the shores bordering on the lands of Egypt, where they discharged all this gold, and thence it was conveyed by land to the court of the queen of Sheba, who they said was the queen and mistress of a great part of Ethiopia above Egypt, and by the Red sea she sent her fleets for the gold of these rivers.

I have very little doubt of this, as it is the opinion of some of our most serious writers, who say that the queen of Sheba was mistress of that part of Ethiopia which is above Egypt, such authors as the glorious St. Jerome on the prophet Zephaniah, Origen on the book of Canticles, and Josephus in his book upon Jewish Antiquities. And besides this, even at the present time there is a most noble city in Ethiopia which was formerly called Sheba, situated on an island formed by the river Nile, which is much renowned and talked of among the notable things of that region, both on account of its fertility and because it is densely populated and frequented by men of various nationalities. The name of this city of Sheba was changed to Meroe by a king called Cambyses, in memory of a sister whom he greatly loved.

Pliny, Strabo, Josephus, St. Jerome, and many other writers make mention of these matters, from which one may infer that there is solid foundation in what is said concerning the queen of Ethiopia having a factory on this mountain of Fura, whence the gold was conveyed to her.

Others say that these are the ruins of the factory of Solomon, where he had his factors who procured a great quantity of gold from these lands, conveying it down the same rivers to the Indian ocean, which they navigated until they entered the straits of the Red sea, disembarking on the shores of Arabia close to Suez, whence the gold was conveyed by land to Jerusalem, a journey of about eighty leagues more or less. They say further that the gold of Ophir which was brought to Solomon was from the place called Fura or Afura, and that there is little difference between Afura and Ophir, which name has been corrupted by the changes of time in the ages between that period and the present.

I know not what foundation they have for saying one thing or the other, I can only say that there is a quantity of fine gold in the lands round this mountain, and that it could be sent

thence by these rivers in those times as it is now by the Portuguese, and was in former days through the medium of the Moors of Mozambique and Kilwa, before the Portuguese conquered these lands. And as at the present time all the gold exported from these rivers goes to India, in the same way it might be conveyed to the cape of the straits of the Red sea and thence to Suez and to Jerusalem, as has been said.

This voyage must have occupied much time, as then the route was not so well known as at present, nor did they have as good ships or as good pilots as those of the present day who know the route, and also much time must have been expended in collecting and buying the gold from the Kaffirs, as even at the present day, when the mines are better known and the Kaffirs are more covetous of possessing the beads and cloth that the Portuguese are continually taking to their country, the merchants are engaged for a year, and even then they are not able to sell all their goods, as the Kaffirs are very indolent with regard to digging the earth to find the gold, and they will not do so unless compelled thereto by want. Besides this the navigation both of the rivers and of the Indian ocean takes much time and is attended by many difficulties, because of the delays caused by the winds there, as along the whole of this coast of Ethiopia there are only two winds to assist navigation, the east winds that blow for six months, and the west winds that also blow six months, which are called monsoons, for which reason ships very frequently winter on this coast.

## CHAPTER XII.

Various opinions concerning the region of Ophir, whence gold was brought to Solomon.

We have already seen in the last chapter the many difficulties and delays encountered at the present day by the Portuguese in their passage from India to the gold mines of Monomotapa, from which one may infer that in the time of Solomon this voyage was still more tedious and dangerous than it is at present, both owing to the causes referred to in the last chapter and because his fleet could not navigate in the Red sea at night,

but only in the daytime, on account of the many islands and shoals with which it abounds, and in this way much time must have been expended. Besides which, when navigating along the coast of Ethiopia great delay must have been occasioned by putting into ports, there repairing and restoring the ships, and equipping them with provisions, water, sailors, and pilots to guide them to the rivers of Cuama, for which reasons it is not astonishing that they should have taken the three years for this voyage mentioned in the holy scripture, which must be understood as the time occupied in going and returning, and collecting at Fura the gold and other products of this country that were taken to Jerusalem.

Further proof that Solomon's fleet may have come to this coast of Ethiopia to obtain gold from Fura is that it also carried away precious stones, timber for the temple, apes, and peacocks, as related in different parts of holy scripture, all of which are found on this coast, such as fine pearls and seed pearls, which are gathered on the bank of Sofala between the islands called Bocicas, of which I have already spoken, and the rich and precious timber from the forests of Tebe, which are between Sofala and the rivers of Cuama, where I have been, and where boats are made of a single piece of wood hollowed out, which boats are twenty fathoms in length more or less. Also on many parts of this coast a fine black wood is found, which is cut down and sent to India and to this kingdom. And although I have not seen any peacocks in the lands bordering on the sea, yet there must be some in the interior of the country, as I have seen Kaffirs wearing crests of peacock's feathers on their heads, which are well known. There is an infinite number of different kinds of apes on the whole of this coast of Ethiopia, and of the gold I do not speak, as there is great abundance of it in all the territory of Fura, nor yet of the fine silver of Chicova, where it is known there are rich mines, of which I shall speak later on. Thus all these proofs appear to show this territory of Fura to be the real region of Ophir, which is also confirmed by the text of holy scripture, which says that Solomon sent his ships to Tarshish for gold, which country the Greeks take to be Africa, where the mines of Fura, of which I am speaking, are situated. This opinion is held by Raphael Volaterrano, who says that many persons are of opinion that Ophir was part of Ethiopia situated



on the sea of Sofala. The same is affirmed by Ludovic Veneto in his treatise upon this navigation.

Other writers have different opinions, among whom is St. Jerome, who says that Heber, patriarch of the Hebrews, had two sons, one named Phaleh and the other Jactan, who were born to him at the time of the confusion of tongues in Babylon, and that Jactan had thirteen sons, two of whom, Evila and Ophir, went to inhabit the lands of India lying between the Ganges and Malacca, and that in honour of these two men the lands of the Ganges were called the country of Evila and from the Ganges to Malacca the country of Ophir. From this ancient testimony it appears that Josephus gathered that the region of Ophir whence gold was brought to Solomon was the island of Sumatra, situated in India, off the coast of Malacca. This opinion is followed by Rabano, a serious writer, who says that Ophir is a desert island of the Indian sea, where there are many wild animals and abundance of gold, which island took its name from Ophir, son of Jactan. Nicolau de Lyra asserts the same, so that from this opinion one might infer that Ophir is in India and should be the island of Sumatra, which Josephus says is called the land of gold.

Vatablo Parisiense is of a very different opinion, and says that Ophir is an island situated in the South sea discovered by Christopher Columbus, to which he gave the name of Hispaniola, which is very productive of fine gold, and is very distant from Asion Gaber, the port of the Red sea whence Solomon's fleets sailed to seek the gold; and because this island was so far distant the ships took three years in going and returning. This opinion is less probable, as we are aware that the voyage from Arabia to the South sea could not be made except down the Indian ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence traversing the great gulf to the straits of Magellan, which the ships would have to enter and pass through. This route had not yet been found, as much later this strait was discovered by Fernando de Magalhães, in the year of our Lord 1520, in the month of September. For which reason there are but little grounds for this writer's opinion. Thus all who treat of this matter differ as to the site and region of Ophir; and finally, not deciding this question, I state that the mountain of Fura or Afura may be the region of Ophir, whence gold was brought to Jerusalem, by

which some credit might be given to the statement that these houses were the factory of Solomon, as they were in Fura, and the gold which was carried was from Ophir, nor do I know of any other mines nearer from which gold could be taken to Jerusalem, and at that time Solomon may have possessed the commerce that the Portuguese enjoy to-day in these rivers.

### CHAPTER XIII.

Of the mines in the kingdom of Monomotapa, and of the manner of extracting gold from them.

Throughout the lands of Monomotapa, or in the greater part of them, there are many gold mines, especially in Chiroro, where there is an abundance of the best gold to be found in this kingdom. The Kaffirs have two methods of obtaining the gold, as we have stated when speaking of those of Quiteve.

The first and most usual is by digging the ground on the margins of rivulets and pools and washing the earth in bowls until it dissolves, when it leaves at the bottom the gold and stones which they throw out with the earth, and find the gold clean at the bottom of the bowl, which they collect and take out. For this reason they never dig earth anywhere but at the water side, that they may be able to wash it and separate it from the gold.

The second method which the Kaffirs have for obtaining gold is by going during the rainy season to the furrows where the water runs down, where they find many small nuggets and pieces of gold left exposed by the current.

Every Kaffir who finds a rich mine and extracts gold from it is condemned to death, and whatever property he possesses is forfeited to the king. If when digging he comes by chance upon the traces of one of these gold mines he is obliged to shout loudly to another Kaffir to join him, whom he takes as witness that when digging in this place he has found traces of a large mine, and that he leaves it without extracting anything from it, after which they are both bound to cover the place with earth once more and to cut a large branch from any tree and put it on the top. Kaffirs who pass by and see this branch immediately flee from the place as those who flee from death, as they well

know that here is a large mine and that if they are seen at this place they will be condemned to death, even though it cannot be proved that they have taken any gold from it.

The reason of this severity is that Monomotapa does not wish the Portuguese to know that there are such large gold mines in his country, that they may not make war upon him through greed of them, and take the kingdom.

When I was in these lands various men who had experience of them assured me that it was a well established fact that the rays of the sun had so great an effect upon them that besides purifying the earth and converting it into gold, they caused the gold to burst out of the earth with as much force as though it was a plant endeavouring to sprout, and especially in those places where it is formed on the surface of the ground. This was clearly shown in places where there were large mines, as here the earth cracks open in many parts, and in the fissures many splinters of gold were found, besides which pieces of gold were found in very frequented and beaten tracks, showing that in these places they burst out of the earth, and upon being left exposed on the ground were discovered.

As a proof of this a story was told to me concerning a herdsman who one day, upon entering the fold where every night he kept his cows, knocked his foot against a stone, at which he was much astonished, as there were no stones in the place, and picking it up to throw it out of the fold he found it to be very heavy, upon which he rubbed and cleansed it of the cow's dung to see what it was, when he found it to be a piece of solid gold weighing more than one thousand cruzados.

This gold is found in many different shapes, that is in dust like sand, in grains like large and small beads, in fragments, some of which are so solid that they seem to have been melted down, others in branches with many shoots, and others mixed with earth in such a way that upon shaking and washing off the earth they remain hollow within like a honeycomb or an iron bar coming from the blacksmith's furnace, the holes and hollows of which are full of red earth that has not yet been converted into gold, but which shows by its colour that it will so become.

Gold is also extracted from stones, which is called gold of matuca, such as we have stated is found in the kingdom of Manica. Of all these kinds of gold the fragments in branches

are the finest and of the greatest purity, and that called matuca is the coarsest of all and the least pure.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

Of the silver mines of Chicova, and how Francisco Barreto went there, and the war which the Kaffirs made upon him and the death of two hundred Portuguese.

In the lands which border on the kingdom of Monomotapa in the interior, on the north-eastern side, is the kingdom of Chicova, greatly renowned for its large mines of fine silver. It lies along the river Zambesi. After the governor Francisco Barreto went to Sofala to conquer the gold mines of Manica, as has been related, he passed from them with his people to the rivers of Cuama to conquer the silver mines of Chicova also; and wishing to carry his design into execution, he left Sena and proceeded up the river, and on the way he fought with Mongas beyond the mountains of Lupata and vanquished him, which also has been related. Thence he passed through all the other lands and kingdoms which extend along this river, without encountering any resistance. And although many Kaffirs wished to prevent his passage through their lands, they dared not attempt to do so, knowing that he had vanquished and routed Mongas on the field of battle, whom they looked upon as very valiant and the lord of the best men of all this river, for which reason they allowed him to pass, fleeing from the villages and towns in which they lived, and carrying their provisions with them into the thickets, where they remained hidden until Francisco Barreto had passed with his army.

In this way he pushed forward safely, now navigating the river, now journeying by land, until he reached the kingdom of Chicova, where he formed a camp, and forthwith set about searching for the silver mines, but this discovery was never effected, for no Kaffir dared to point out the exact situation of the mines, as they were in great fear that the Portuguese after discovering them would take their lands from them and drive them out, for which reason they all now fled, abandoning the country to the Portuguese, and also that some of them might not be seized and compelled by violence or torture to disclose what they

greatly feared to do, notwithstanding the promises and liberal gifts that the governor offered to any one who would show him the mines.

However there was one Kaffir of the land who was moved by the advantage he would derive from disclosing their position, and determined to show him various stones containing silver extracted from these mines and buried in another place, saying and pretending that this was the site of the mines. This resolution he carried out, and one night he proceeded secretly to the place where he knew the mines to be, and extracting two stones of about four or five pounds weight each, he buried them at a great distance from the mines, about two or three fathoms one from the other. After carrying out this deceit, he went to the governor one afternoon as the sun was setting and told him that he wished to disclose the locality of the silver mines secretly to him, that the king might not hear of it and do him evil, on condition that he would give him for this a certain quantity of cloth and beads.

The governor promised him all that he asked with great joy, and to satisfy him ordered several pieces of cloth to be given to him, and also commanded a company of soldiers to be assembled and went with them and the Kaffir to the place where he had buried the stones, at which place the Kaffir told them to dig, as there were the silver mines, which was immediately done with great rejoicing.

After digging over a large piece of ground they discovered the stones, at the sight of which there was rejoicing and delight among all the Portuguese of the conquest, and the trumpets and drums of the camp assisted in celebrating the discovery. As it was nearly nightfall the Kaffir told the governor that he wished to return to his home, and that as the mines were already discovered he would come back early in the morning. The governor allowed him to depart, thinking that he could be relied upon because of the cloth he was to come back for in addition to that which he had already received and taken away, but he never returned. On the following day the governor, seeing that the Kaffir did not appear, commanded the earth to be dug at the place where the two stones had been found, and all the ground round about, but no traces of mines were found, upon which he realised the Kaffir's deceit. And seeing that there were no means

of discovering the mines, and that all the Kaffirs of the land had fled with their provisions, and as he could not remain there many days on account of the scarcity of food, he proceeded down the river to Sena, leaving two hundred soldiers with their captain, Antonio Cardoso d'Almeida, at this place, with some provisions and arms and fortified within a wooden stockade, to procure information concerning the desertion of the country and to see whether they could discover the mines.

The soldiers remained several months at this place, but found no one to disclose to them what they desired to know, nor anyone to sell them for their money the provisions they required, for which reason they were compelled to take them by force from the Kaffirs, and they made various excursions into the surrounding country, where they seized a quantity of provisions and a number of cows, upon which they subsisted. The Kaffirs, seeing that they could not live in peace or safety with the Portuguese as their enemies in such close vicinity, feigned to make peace with them and to communicate with them in a friendly manner, with the intention of assuring them of their good will, in order afterwards to kill them by treachery, which they did. After some time had passed in this pretended friendship they came to them and said that as they were their friends they would disclose to them the locality of the silver mines, which they so much desired to know, at which our men were well pleased, thinking that the difficulties and hunger they had gone through in the discovery of the mines would be well rewarded.

The day upon which they were to go upon this discovery being settled, forty men were left to guard the fort, and the others, being now one hundred and fifty in number, set out with their arms to accompany the Kaffirs as far as the mountain in which were the mines, which they pretended was about a league from that place. In this way they all proceeded onward until they entered some dense thickets, where three thousand armed Kaffirs were lying hidden in ambush, and as soon as our men had entered the pass, the Kaffirs rushed out and fell upon them with great violence, killing and wounding as many as they could; and although the Portuguese killed a number of them, yet as they were surrounded by bushes and were attacked on all sides by the enemy, and could not fight in proper order, they were nearly all killed. Only a few escaped to the fort, to which the Kaffirs

laid siege, resolving to starve them to death. Thus they remained several months besieged, suffering much from hunger, and seeing that they were in want of everything and without hope of succour, they determined to sally out and seize some provisions by force of arms, or die like gallant men and not like sheep penned in.

This resolution they carried out, falling upon the Kaffirs with such violence that they put them to flight and killed great numbers of them. But when they wished to return the number of Kaffirs who arrived from every side increased so greatly that in the pursuit all were killed, not one escaping; and so they died, selling their lives for the lives of the enemy, of whom they killed great numbers.

The governor commanded the stones of silver to be melted, and in this process three parts were found to be fine silver and only one part dross, from which we may infer that these are the richest mines and the finest silver known to the present time.

There are many mines of silver and gold in this Eastern Ethiopia, such as those of the kingdom of Gorage and those of the kingdom of Conche seen by Dom João Bermudez, patriarch of Alexandria, as stated by him in his book upon Prester John; and many others. Besides the silver and gold mines in these lands of Mocaranga, much iron is also found and of such good quality that some Portuguese took it from these parts to India for the manufacture of guns. There is also an abundance of copper. These metals the Kaffirs extract from the earth and smelt them. With the iron they make hoes, arrows, assagai heads, swords, small axes, and other implements that they require. With the copper they make bracelets, which both men and women wear round their arms and legs.

## CHAPTER XV.

Of Monomotapa and his royal insignia, and of the kingdoms lying between Cape das Correntes and Mozambique.

We have already stated that Monomotapa was anciently a much more powerful king, before the states of Quiteve, Tshikanga, and Sedanda revolted from him, and although even at the present time he is a great lord, he has no other kings as his

vassals and tributaries than various great lords of his kingdom, who are the same as noblemen of title in Portugal, who possess lands and vassals, and they are not called kings by the Kaffirs, but Encosses or Fumos.

This has led to the errors made by certain writers in various descriptions they have given of the situation of these lands and the customs of Monomotapa, such as João Botero, the Italian, in his general account of Africa, and Luis de Guzman. These writers in their description follow in everything the statements of Osorius and others who first wrote upon these matters, and who must have done so upon very incorrect information, because had they known the truth concerning the customs of this king they would not have said that the other kings of this coast paid tribute to Monomotapa, and that the sons of these kings were brought up and resided at his court to learn there the laws and customs of his kingdom, the contrary being an absolute certainty, first because the kingdom of Monomotapa does not extend along the coast, but is situated in the interior, in the centre of Kaffraria, the only part of it which is on the coast being a tongue of land, as we have already stated, and this sea coast is so distant from his court that even his own vassals who reside there do not obey him, but live almost as people having no king. The incorrect information possessed by the said Luis de Guzman is also clearly proved in the description and division he gives of Ethiopia, as he says that the kingdom of Inhambane is situated in Western Ethiopia, bordering on the kingdom of Monomotapa, and that both these kingdoms are between Sofala and Mozambique, and not that these kingdoms are both in Eastern Ethiopia, as Osorius states, and at a great distance from each other, as the kingdom of Inhambane is near Cape das Correntes, extending towards the Cape of Good Hope, and from the river Inhambane towards the side of India lies another kingdom called Botonga, which terminates close to the river Sabi, of which Sedanda is king, whose kingdom extends nearly to Sofala, and at Sofala commences the kingdom of Quiteve, which reaches to the river Tendanculo, and thence the kingdom of Monomotapa extends to the river Luabo, from this river Luabo to Mozambique being one hundred and thirty leagues along the coast.

In these lands are many kings of different Kaffir races and tribes, and none of these, or any of those of whom we have



spoken, pay tribute or do homage to Monomotapa, but on the contrary they are all free and independent, and some of them make war with Monomotapa as we have already stated.

From this it is clearly seen that the kingdoms of Inhambane and Monomotapa do not adjoin each other and extend from Sofala to Mozambique, but are at a great distance from each other, nor are the kings spoken of vassals of Monomotapa, nor do they pay him tribute, nor do their sons reside at his court. And if at any time any of these things were as thus described, which I greatly doubt, at the present day not even the memory of them remains, but on the contrary Monomotapa's suite is very limited and he uses little pomp, and is served in the same way as Quiteve, king of the river of Sofala, as we have previously stated, to which reference may be made.

Further, Felippo Pigafetta, an Italian, writing upon the coast between the Cape of Good Hope and the Red sea, from the information of a Portuguese named Duarte Lopes, who had resided in Congo, gives a description of the lands and matters of this Ethiopia, in which he substitutes some rivers for others and kingdoms for other kingdoms, putting everything out of its place and adding many other incorrect statements concerning these lands. And in particular, speaking of the kingdom of Monomotapa, he says that the Amazons live there, concerning whom he makes a long discourse, whereas there are no such women in these lands, nor any tradition of what he says. From this is seen the incorrect information he possessed when writing about such matters.

These writers further say that the insignia used by Monomotapa are a golden hoe with an ivory handle, as a sign that he is a cultivator of the land, and two arrows signifying the rigour of his justice, that he may be feared, and that he is always accompanied by soldiers; but in this they are mistaken. As to the Kaffirs going about with bows and arrows, it is as common with them as with the Portuguese it is to wear a sword in the girdle, and no Kaffir ever leaves his house without these arms. In the same manner Monomotapa when he goes out carries his bow and arrows in his hand, as do the Kaffirs who accompany him, according to their custom, and not because they are warriors. A Kaffir precedes him beating his thigh with his hand, to let people know that the king follows him. When Monomotapa

does not carry his bow, another Kaffir carries it, who is appointed to this office, and is called Mafocarira, who is similar to a valet, and the king carries in his hand an assagai of black wood with the point made of solid gold similar to the point of a lance, or three slender carved pieces of wood about an ell in length, which they call *fimbos*. And when he is talking to a Kaffir whom he wishes to kill, he lets one of these three *fimbos* fall from his hand, and his executioners, called *infices*, who are present, take him away and kill him with their assagais in the same manner as all condemned persons, for in this country there is no gallows.

Monomotapa has many wives. His chief wife, called Mazarira, whom he dearly loves, is his full sister. She is very friendly to the Portuguese, and she speaks for them and takes their part with the king, for which reason when they give the *curva* to the king they also give this wife a present of cloth. No person speaks to the king or to this wife without offering a present. The Portuguese take him cloth, the Kaffirs a cow or a goat, or some pieces of cloth. And when they are so poor that they have nothing to offer him, they take him a sack of earth in acknowledgment of their vassalage, or a bundle of straw to thatch his houses, as all the houses in this Kaffraria are thatched with straw.

The reigning Monomotapa is called Mambo. His vassals, when desiring to confirm a statement, swear by his life, saying *Xe Mambo*. And when they speak to him they say *Xédico*, as one would say your Highness. The king's sons are called *Manambo*. This Monomotapa admitted our religious into his kingdom, and gave them leave to build churches and establish Christianity there, as they at present do, and they have already built three churches in the principal places of his kingdom, in Masapa, Luanze, and Bucutu, where many Portuguese reside, and we trust in God that Christianity is increasing and that our religious in this kingdom will reap a good harvest of souls.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Concerning other customs and insignia of Monomotapa and of his vassals.

Monomotapa and all his vassals are *Mocarangas*, a name given to them as inhabitants of the lands of Mocaranga, and they speak

a language called Mocaranga, which is the best and most polished of all the Kaffir tongues that I have heard spoken throughout this Ethiopia, as it is the softest, and their manner of speaking is better; for instance, the Moors of Africa and Arabia speak from the throat, as though they were vomiting and dragging their words from it, but on the contrary the Mocarangas speak and enunciate their words with the point of the tongue and with the lips in such a way that they pronounce many words almost whistling, which is very pleasing. So I have heard various Kaffirs from the courts of Quiteve and Monomotapa speak, where the most polished Mocaranga is used. They speak in metaphors with very just comparisons, used most appropriately for their purpose and interest, to which all their designs are directed.

Monomotapa and the Mocarangas his vassals wear a white shell on the forehead, hanging from the hair as an ornament, and Monomotapa wears another large shell on his breast. These shells they call andoros, and they are looked upon with hatred by Quiteve, as they are insignia of his enemy Monomotapa, and therefore neither Quiteve nor his vassals wear andoros, although they are all of them Mocarangas.

No Kaffir cuts his beard or hair, nevertheless there are very few with long beards, as their hair grows but little, and it does not turn white until they are of a great age. It is common among these Kaffirs to live to ninety and a hundred years of age. They are sorcerers and cast lots to predict the future, and frequently the devil speaks through these, usually lying as is his wont, but even this is not sufficient to shake their confidence in him, or to make them cease giving credit to his lies.

It is related of this Monomotapa that he has a house where he commands bodies of men who have died at the hands of the law to be hung up, and where thus hanging all the humidity of their bodies falls into vases placed underneath, and when all has dropped from them and they shrink and dry up he commands them to be taken down and buried, and with the fat and moisture in the vases they say he makes ointments with which he anoints himself in order to enjoy long life—which is his belief—and also to be proof against receiving harm from sorcerers. Others say that with this moisture he makes charms.

They have many such superstitions and abuses. Dom Jorge de Meneses when captain of Mozambique sent a very beautiful

greyhound to Monomotapa, which he had received from Portugal. This animal was much liked by Monomotapa, who always kept it with him and trusted the care of it to no one but himself. Shortly afterwards this king died, and before his decease he commanded his people, as though by a will, to kill his greyhound immediately after he had drawn his last breath, as he loved it dearly ; and also a very tame sheep that he had brought up himself, as he wished to make use of them in the other world and have them with him for his pleasure and amusement. This was carried out as soon as the king died, and his chief wife also drank poison and died with her husband, which is their custom.

The Chinese in their burials follow the same errors as these Kaffirs, according to the statement of Father Mendoca, religious of St. Augustine, in his book on China, in which he states that the noblemen when they die leave commands for the wives and servants that they have loved most in this life to be killed, that they may make use of them in the other world, where they believe they will live in eternal pleasure and pastimes, never to die again. For this reason such servants and wives do not shrink from the death prepared for them, but receive it joyfully.

The other customs of this Monomotapa, and of his wives, officers, service, dealings, and laws, as well as other details touching his government and mode of life, and his vassals, are very similar, and almost exactly the same as what I have related of Quiteve, king of Sofala, in the first book, from the fifth to the sixteenth chapter, which I shall not repeat here for the sake of brevity, and there one may see whatever might be further related concerning Monomotapa.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Concerning the Kaffirs in the vicinity of Tete, and the Mumbos who are cannibals.

There are eleven kraals round the fort of Tete in a circuit of two or three leagues, in each of which resides a Kaffir captain and governor, who is called an encosse. All these Kaffirs are subjects and vassals of the captain of Tete, to whom they refer their suits and quarrels, in which he judges and gives sentence when the encosse (chief) is unable to decide and settle them.

The jurisdiction of the captain of Tete is so complete over these Kaffirs that he has authority even over the chiefs themselves, and can remove them from office when they do anything they should not; and when one of them dies, by his own authority he appoints another whom he thinks qualified to discharge the office, without encountering any opposition from the Kaffirs who are to be his subordinates.

Whenever the captain of Tete requires the assistance of these Kaffirs, either for war, or the service of the fort, or some other necessary work for the public good of his jurisdiction, he sends a message to all these eleven chiefs, who come forthwith with their men armed with bows, arrows, assagais, hoes, axes, and everything else that is required, according to the service for which they are summoned. Being arranged in order, each captain with his men, drums, trumpets, and banners, they enter the town of Tete and present themselves before the captain of the fort; and among them all they number more than two thousand Kaffir warriors, most valiant and warlike men. Upon these the captain of Tete can always rely when he requires them for any purpose.

These Kaffirs and many others who live along the river Zambesi were some time ago vanquished by Monomotapa, who made war upon them, and after conquering them, as they were at a great distance from his empire, he divided the government and dominion over them among some Kaffirs, his vassals and friends. In this division he gave the government and jurisdiction of these eleven kraals to the captain of Tete who was then in office and to all who should succeed him in the captaincy, and from that time to the present the Kaffirs show the same obedience to the captain of Tete as if he was their king, and thus they undertake nothing in their lands without his permission, such as planting the ground or gathering the harvests, and when they go to ask his leave to do any of these things the chief of the kraal is accompanied by some Kaffirs, and takes a present to the captain, without which no requests are made to him.

Facing Tete on the other side of the river in the territory extending into the interior to the north-east and east there are two tribes of Kaffirs who eat human flesh, one called the Mumbos and the other the Zimbos or Muzimbos, who not only eat all the men they kill in war, but also their captives when they are old and no longer fit for work, and they are not content with eating

what is necessary for their maintenance, but the surplus they sell in the market, as though it was the flesh of oxen or sheep, there being no one to disapprove of this or prevent it.

One year it happened that a captain of Tete crossed to the other side of the river in company with the Portuguese residing in the country, taking also with him the eleven chiefs, vassals of the fort, and all together they proceeded on their journey to a place called Chicarongo, which is ten leagues from Tete. The purpose of this journey was to succour a Kaffir who was our friend against another Kaffir, a Mumbo named Quizura, who had made war upon him and laid waste a great part of his lands, and had fortified himself in Chicarongo, where he held many of his subjects in captivity.

Upon arriving at this place the Portuguese with the other fighting men fell upon the Mumbos with their cry of Santiago, and after a very fierce combat on both sides they killed all the enemy, not one of the six hundred warriors, who were most valiant men, escaping. When this victory was gained the captain of Tete restored the land once more to its owner, who was present in the engagement, and after resting there for a few days he returned with his men to Tete, taking with him as captives all the women of the enemy in the place.

In this village the Mumbos had established a slaughter house, where each day they killed some of their captives, close to which the Portuguese found many negroes and negresses bound hand and foot, who were destined to be killed and eaten that day. These they unbound and set free, besides many others whom they found that had been made prisoners for the same purpose.

This robber Quizura had all the ground of the enclosure or courtyard which was the entrance to his house paved with the skulls of men whom he had killed in this war, and everyone entering or leaving the house passed over this pavement of skulls. He looked upon this as a sign of great majesty, but the Portuguese who fought with him paid him for such great cruelty by taking his life and the lives of all his people.

These Kaffir vassals of Tete are very much addicted to war, and if it depended upon them they would be always fighting, for the sake of the spoil which they obtain; and they say they would rather fight than dig, as those who die in battle end their labour and the survivors become rich with the spoils. For this reason

they respond joyfully whenever the captain of Tete summons them to take part in war.

When I was in Tete I prevailed upon the captain, who was then Pedro Fernandes de Chaves, to have doors made for the church, which was without them, and as the doorway was very big, large and thick planks were required for the purpose. The captain had neither planks nor timber to make them, so he pretended that he wished to attack certain Kaffirs who had offered various insults to the fort of Tete, and sent a message to the eleven chiefs, his vassals, to come with their men for this war, and they came immediately. When the captain had them there assembled, he sallied out of Tete with them and with some Portuguese who were aware of the plan, and they marched about half a league to some forests where there was big timber, and there he formed his camp and took counsel with the chiefs and the Portuguese, and said that it would be more prudent to postpone the war to another time, for certain reasons which he set before them. This decision was approved by all, although the Kaffirs were greatly disappointed at not going to war, because of the spoils they hoped to win. After this the captain said to the chiefs that as they were there in that forest each of them with his men should cut two very thick planks and carry them to Tete, which they did. And in this way the doors of the church were made. I have related this story to show the readiness of these Kaffirs to assemble for war.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Concerning a war between the Portuguese and the Muzimbas, and the ill success thereof.

Opposite the fort of Sena, on the other side of the river, live some Kaffirs, lords of those lands, good neighbours and friends of the Portuguese, and always most loyal to them. It so happened at the time I was there that the Muzimba Kaffirs, of whom I previously made mention, who eat human flesh, invaded this territory and made war upon one of these friendly Kaffirs, and by force of arms took from him the kraal in which he resided and a great part of his land, besides which they killed and ate a number of his people. The Kaffir, seeing himself thus routed

and his power destroyed, proceeded to Sena to lay his trouble before the captain, who was then André de Santiago, and to beg for assistance in driving out of his house the enemy who had taken possession of it. The captain, upon hearing his pitiful request, determined to assist him, both because he was very friendly to us and because he did not wish to have so near to Sena a neighbour as wicked as the Muzimba.

Therefore, having made all necessary preparations for this war, he set out, taking with him a great number of the Portuguese of Sena with their guns and two pieces of heavy cannon from the fort. On arriving at the place where the Muzimbas were, they found them within a strong double palisade of wood, with its ramparts and loopholes for arrows, surrounded by a very deep and wide trench, within which the enemy were most defiant. André de Santiago, seeing that the enterprise was much more formidable than he had anticipated and that he had brought with him but few men to attack so strong an enemy and his fortress, fixed his camp on the bank of a rivulet which ran by the place, and sent a message to the captain of Tete, Pedro Fernandes de Chaves, to come to his assistance with the Portuguese of Tete and as many Kaffir vassals of his fort as he could bring.

Pedro Fernandes de Chaves immediately prepared to go to the assistance of André de Santiago, and assembled more than a hundred men with their guns, Portuguese and half-castes, and the eleven vassal chiefs. They all crossed to the other side of the river and proceeded by land until they were near the place where the Muzimbas had fortified themselves. These had information of their approach, and greatly feared their arrival. For this reason they sent out spies secretly upon the road, that when they approached they might see them, and report concerning the men who were coming. And learning from these spies that the Portuguese were in front of the Kaffirs in palanquins and hammocks and not disposed in order of battle, they sallied out of their fortress by night secretly, without being heard by André de Santiago, and proceeded to conceal themselves in a dense thicket at about half a league's distance, through which the men of Tete would have to pass. When they were thus stationed the Portuguese came up nearly half a league in advance of the Kaffirs of their company, quite unsuspecting of what might befall them in



the thicket. Just as they were entering it the Muzimbas fell upon them suddenly with such violence that in a short time they were all killed, not one surviving, and when they were dead the Muzimbas cut off their legs and arms, which they carried away on their backs with all the baggage and arms they had brought with them, after which they returned secretly to their fortress. When the chiefs reached the thicket and found all the Portuguese and their captain dead, they immediately turned back from the place and retreated to Tete, where they related the lamentable event that had occurred.

At the time that preparations for this war were being made there was a friar of St. Dominic preaching at Tete, named Nicolau do Rosario, a native of Pedrogão, a man who had reached perfection in many virtues. The captain Pedro Fernandes and the Portuguese of Tete begged this friar to accompany them on the expedition, to receive confessions and administer the sacraments to those who required them. To this the father acceded, thinking that in doing so he was serving our Lord and showing friendship to the Portuguese, and therefore he accompanied them. In the ambush he was severely wounded, and seizing him yet alive the Muzimbas carried him away with them to put him to death more cruelly afterwards, which they did upon arriving at their fortress, where they bound him hand and foot to a tree and killed him with their arrows in the most cruel manner. This they did to him rather than to others because he was a priest and head of the Christians, as they called him, laying all the blame for the war upon him and saying that Christians did nothing without the leave and counsel of their cacis. And in this manner the father met his death with great constancy, never ceasing to preach in a loud voice and profess the faith of Christ, as I shall relate more in detail in another place.

These Zimbas, or Muzimbas, do not adore idols or recognise any God, but instead they venerate and honour their king, whom they regard as a divinity, and they say he is the greatest and best in the world. And the said king says of himself that he alone is god of the earth, for which reason if it rains when he does not wish it to do so, or is too hot, he shoots arrows at the sky for not obeying him; and although all these people eat human flesh, the king does not, to seem different from his vassals.

All these Kaffirs as a rule are tall, well-proportioned, and very robust. The arms they carry are battle-axes, arrows, assagais, and large shields with which they entirely cover themselves. These shields are made of light wood covered with the skins of wild animals which they kill and eat. They are in the habit of eating the men they kill in war, and drinking out of their skulls, showing themselves in this boastful and ferocious. If any of the Kaffirs of their tribe fall ill or are severely wounded in war, to save themselves the trouble of tending them they kill and eat them. They are addicted to many other brutalities similar to these, which I leave for the sake of brevity.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Of the death of André de Santiago, captain of Sena, and of his companions, and of what befell Dom Pedro de Sousa with the Zimbás.

After the Zimbás had put Father Nicolau to death they rested during the remainder of that sad day, and on the night that followed they celebrated their victory and success, playing upon many cornets and drums, and the next day at dawn they all sallied out of their fortress, the chief clothed in the chasuble that the father had brought with him to say mass, carrying the golden chalice in his left hand and an assagai in his right, all the other Zimbás carrying on their backs the limbs of the Portuguese, with the head of the captain of Tete on the point of a long lance, and beating a drum they had taken from him. In this manner, with loud shouts and cries they came within sight of André de Santiago and all the Portuguese who were with him, and showed them all these things. After this they retired within their fortress, saying that what they had done to the men of Tete who had come to help their enemies, they would do to them, and that it was the flesh of those men that they were about to eat.

André de Santiago, who was waiting for Pedro Fernandes de Chaves with much anxiety, and who knew nothing of what had taken place, was greatly shocked, as also were all the other Portuguese, at this most horrible and pitiful spectacle, for which reason they decided to retreat as soon as night came on. In carrying this decision into execution they were in so great a

hurry to reach the other side of the river that they were heard by the Muzimbas, who sallied out of their fortress and falling upon them with great violence killed many of them on the bank of the river. Among the slain was André de Santiago, who died as the valiant man he was, because it being within his power to escape he did not do so, but remained fighting and defending his companions on the bank, where he killed a great number of the Muzimbas before he was killed by them.

Thus these robbers and fierce Muzimbas killed one hundred and thirty Portuguese and half-castes of Tete and Sena and the two captains of these forts. This they accomplished with very little loss on their side, with their usual cunning, as they always took the Portuguese unawares, when they were unable to fight. This took place in the year 1592.

Great sorrow was felt at the death of Father Nicolau, whom all looked upon as a saint, and for all the Portuguese who lost their lives in this most disastrous war, both because some of them were married and left wives and children at these rivers, and because the Zimbas were victorious, more insolent than before, and were within fortifications close to Sena, where with greater audacity they might in the future do much damage to the Portuguese who passed up and down these rivers with their merchandise. For these reasons Dom Pedro de Sousa, captain of Mozambique, determined to chastise these Zimbas, conquer them, and drive them from the vicinity of Sena. To do this he proceeded to the rivers of Cuama from Mozambique in the following year, 1593, accompanied by some soldiers from the said fortress, with whom he reached Sena.

After obtaining information of the condition of the Zimbas, he commanded all the necessary preparations to be made for this war, and assembled nearly two hundred Portuguese and fifteen hundred Kaffirs, with whom he crossed to the other side of the Zambesi and proceeded by land to the fortress of the Zimbas, where he formed a camp at the same place that André de Santiago had formed his. Then he commanded that the various pieces of artillery which he had taken with him for the purpose should be fired against the wall of the fortress, but this had no effect upon it, as it was made of large wood, strengthened within by a strong and wide rampart which the Zimbas had constructed with the earth from the trench.

Dom Pedro, seeing that his artillery had no effect upon the enemy's wall, determined to enter the fortress and take it by assault, and for this purpose he commanded part of the trench to be filled up, which was done with great difficulty and danger to our men, as the Zimbabwes from the top of the wall wounded and killed some of them with arrows. When this part of the trench was filled up, a number of men crossed over with axes in their hands to the foot of the palisade, which they began to cut down, but the Zimbabwes from the top of the wall poured so great a quantity of boiling fat and water upon them that nearly all were scalded and badly wounded, especially the naked Kaffirs, so that no one dared go near the palisade, because they were afraid of the boiling fat and through fear of certain iron hooks similar to long harpoons, which the Zimbabwes thrust through the loopholes in the wall and with which they wounded and caught hold of all who came near and pulled from within with such force that they drew them to the apertures, where they wounded them mortally. For this reason the captain commanded all the men to be recalled to the camp to rest, and the remainder of that day was spent in tending the wounded and the scalded.

The following day the captain commanded a quantity of wood and branches of trees to be collected, with which huge wicker-work frames were made, as high as and higher than the enemy's palisade, and he commanded them to be placed in front of the wall and filled with earth that the soldiers might fight on them with their guns, and the Zimbabwes would not dare to appear on the wall or be able to pour boiling fat upon the men cutting down the palisade. When this stratagem of war was almost in readiness, another peaceful or cowardly device was planned in the following manner. The war had lasted two months, for which reason the residents of these rivers, who were there rather by force than of their own free will, being away from their homes and trade, which is their profession, and not war, pretended to have received letters from their wives in Sena relating the danger they were in from a rebel Kaffir who they said was coming with a number of men to rob Sena, knowing that the Portuguese were absent, for which reason they ought immediately to return home. This false information was spread through the camp, and the residents of Sena went to the captain and begged him to abandon the siege of the Zimbabwes and attend to what was

of greater importance, as otherwise they would be compelled to return to their homes and leave him.

Dom Pedro, seeing their determination and believing the information said to be given in the letters to be true, abandoned the siege and commanded the men to pass by night to the other side of the river and return to Sena, but this retreat could not be effected with such secrecy as to be unknown to the Zimbas, who sallied out of their fortress with great cries, fell upon the camp, killed some men who were still there, and seized the greater part of the baggage and artillery, that had not been taken away.

With this defeat and disappointment the captain returned to Sena, and thence to Mozambique, without accomplishing what he desired; and the Zimba's position was improved and he became more insolent than before. Nevertheless he offered peace to the Portuguese of Sena, saying that he never wished to be at war with them, and always desired their friendship and commerce, but that the Portuguese had unjustly made war upon him, without his having done them any injury, and that he had killed them in just defence, as he was compelled to do. Peace was conceded to him, I fancy, on account of the benefit that would result from it to the Portuguese of this river. The affairs of the country were in this condition when I left it to proceed to Mozambique.

## CHAPTER XX.

Of the army of the Zimbas which overran a great part of Kaffraria destroying and devouring all they came across, and of how they entered the island of Kilwa and destroyed it.

A Muzimba Kaffir of the tribe of which I spoke in the last chapter, who was lord of a little kraal and had a few vassals, but who was most ambitious of human honour, meditating upon the means by which he might become a great lord and renowned in the world, decided that for this purpose it would be expedient to sally out of his country with an armed force and destroy, rob, and eat every living thing that came in his way. This his diabolical intention he made known to his vassals and other Muzimbas of the same tribe, to whom his design did not appear

objectionable, because as they are usually addicted to idleness, robbery, and cannibalism, by it they had an opportunity offered to them of satisfying their cruel and depraved inclination. Their course of action having been decided upon and arranged, they sallied forth from their country and commenced expending their fury upon their neighbours; and they traversed all the kingdoms of Kaffraria, proceeding constantly towards the east. Through these lands they marched, destroying and plundering all they found, and devouring every living thing, not only men, women, and children, but cattle, dogs, cats, rats, snakes, and lizards, sparing none except Kaffirs who came to them and wished to accompany them on this expedition, whom they admitted into their army. In this manner they assembled more than fifteen thousand warriors, with whom they laid waste all the lands they traversed, so that they appeared to be a cruel scourge and punishment that God chose to send to Kaffraria.

Having reached the island of Kilwa, which is close to the mainland and peopled by Moors, they saw that they could not enter it because of the sea by which it was surrounded. They therefore formed a camp upon the mainland, opposite the island, and besieged it for several months, devouring all the animals and crops that the Moors possessed upon the mainland, so that nothing from it could reach the island.

Meantime a Moor of the said island, moved by greed and ambitious of honour, proceeded secretly one night to the mainland, where the Muzimbas were stationed, by a ford, well known to him, where one could cross at low tide. On reaching the camp, he informed the Kaffirs who met him that he came from the island and wished to speak to the chief captain of the army upon a matter of great importance. Being taken by them and presented to the captain, he said: "Powerful captain, you must know that I am a native of this land and a resident of the island of Kilwa that you are besieging, and I know for certain that very soon you will be lord of it and will punish the people for not recognising you as the great lord that you are, and obeying you as is right. I, knowing this, have come to offer you the obedience that is your due, and further I wish to lead you into the island of Kilwa with all your army, by the ford by which I have come, which is well known to me, upon condition that you will spare the lives of my relatives who are in the place and divide with me

the spoils and riches which you seize in the island, and also that you will bestow upon me the lands there that I shall point out to you, as this is of little consequence to you and of great importance to me." The Zimba replied that he was well pleased, and that if he would lead him into the island with all his men, as he said he would do, he promised to perform what he desired.

Upon this all were disposed in order to cross the ford, and the Moor led them to it, going in front to show them the way. Thus they all reached the island after midnight, and seized the Moors who were asleep and unsuspecting of the treachery being enacted or of what was about to happen. The Muzimbas killed the greater number without any resistance, and the remainder they took prisoners and ate gradually while they remained there, so that they killed and ate more than three thousand Moors, men and women, among whom many were very beautiful and delicate; and they plundered the whole town of Kilwa, in which they found great spoils and riches. Of the Moors only those escaped who had time to flee to the thickets on the island, where they remained in hiding until the Muzimbas returned to the mainland, after which they went back to the town, which in former years was a most noble one, the residence of the kings of all that coast, and even at the present time the ruins of the vast and sumptuous mosques and dwelling-houses give proof of its former grandeur.

When the Muzimbas had nothing more to do in the island their captain sent for the Moor who had conducted them to it by the ford, who was yet alive with all his relatives, as the captain had commanded them to be guarded, not wishing any of them to be put to death as the others had been. When they were all assembled before him he turned to the Moor and said: "I do not wish, nor am I satisfied, that a creature as wicked as thou art should live any longer, as thou wert so cruel that for thy own interest thou deliveredst thy country and thy compatriots into the hands of their enemies." And turning to the Kaffirs he said: "Take this wicked man and all his family who are here present and bind them hand and foot and throw them into the sea to be eaten by the fishes, as it is not proper that any one belonging to so wicked a race should live, nor do I wish you to eat them, as their flesh must be poisonous." This command was forthwith carried into execution, a sentence which surely was not

that of a barbarian such as this man was, but of a wise man, and which shows with what reason Alexander the Great said that he profited by the treachery of those who delivered cities to him, but that he hated the traitors.

When this war of Kilwa was thus concluded the Muzimba returned to the mainland by the same ford by which he had entered the island when he was guided by the Moor.

## CHAPTER XXI.

How the Zimbabwas entered Mombasa and destroyed it, after which they proceeded to Melinde, where they were defeated.

After Kilwa was destroyed, the Zimba continued his journey along the coast until he reached that part of the mainland which is opposite the island of Mombasa, where he fixed his camp on the shore and determined to enter the island as he had entered Kilwa, but he could not immediately do so, as at the same time four Turkish galleys from the straits of Mecca, of which I shall give more detailed information later on, had put in there. These Turks defended the entrance of the island against him and fought with him on many occasions, killing a number of men with their artillery fired from two galleys that they had stationed in the passage by which the Zimba wished to enter.

This contest was continued for several days, until it happened that Thomé de Sousa arrived from India with a powerful fleet to oppose these same galleys, and finding them in this strait he fought with them and captured them with all that they carried, taking the Turks who were in them prisoners, and also ravaged the island of Mombasa. All this was accomplished in sight of the Muzimbabwas who were on the mainland, who marvelled much to see the wonders performed by the Portuguese, for which reason the Muzimbaba chief said that the Portuguese were the gods of the sea and he god of the land, and forthwith sent an ambassador to Thomé de Sousa to say that he was a friend of the Portuguese and did not wish to be at war with them, and that as they had completed their work with such honour he also wished to perform his, which had already occupied him a long time, and which was to enter the island and kill and eat every living thing he should find in it. This design he immediately carried into execution with the consent of the Portuguese, and entering the island he



searched all the palm groves and thickets in it, where he found many Moors hiding, who had escaped from the town, of whom he killed and ate all he could seize. When this was done Thomé de Sousa with his fleet returned victorious to India, as I shall relate farther on, and the Zimba returned to the mainland and proceeded on his journey, marching with his army towards Melinde.

The king of Melinde was greatly alarmed by the intelligence he received of the approach of the Muzimbas, knowing the ruin they had caused in Kilwa and Mombasa; nevertheless he placed great confidence in the valour of Matheus Mendez de Vasconcellos, who was then captain of this coast, and was at the time in Melinde with only thirty Portuguese soldiers and merchants, who were prepared to defend the town until they died in combat. The Zimbas reached Melinde with great insolence and boastfulness, as men who had never feared any nation, and attacked the town with great fury. Although our soldiers killed many of them with their guns, some of them succeeded in entering at different parts of the wall, which was low, and were already almost masters of a rampart, while a fierce combat was raging on all sides. At this moment more than three thousand Kaffirs called Mosseguejos, friends of the king, came to the succour of Melinde. These Kaffirs, knowing how hard pressed their friend the king of Melinde was by the arrival of the Muzimbas, had come to succour and assist him.

These Mosseguejos are most valiant men, who love war, of whom I shall give more detailed information farther on.

Arriving then at this point of the combat, they attacked the Muzimbas in the rear with such courage and force that in a short time they assisted in defeating and putting them to flight. And as these Muzimbas were strangers and had committed so many barbarities and killed so great a number of people upon the roads and in the countries through which they had passed, the same was done to them in their flight, all that were found being put to death; only the chief and about one hundred men escaped, and these returned the same way they had come, keeping in one body, without again separating, until they were once more in their own country.

Thus was destroyed in the town of Melinde, by the help of the Mosseguejos, the host of Muzimbas that had sallied out of the

land which extends along the river of Sena, and reached Melinde, which is a journey of about three hundred leagues, without encountering any resistance or finding any who could meet them in battle, but on the contrary the kraals and lands were abandoned when it was known that this cruel army of cannibals was about to pass through them.

What I have said here concerning the Kaffirs who inhabit the interior appears to me sufficient for the present. And as we began by describing the peculiarities of the river of Luabo, we should follow the river Quilimane until we reach the shore of the sea, saying something of its inhabitants, which I shall do in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Of the rivers of Quilimane and Loranga, and of the customs of their inhabitants.

The Quilimane is an arm of the Zambesi, a beautiful and pleasant river of little depth, as we have already stated. Its mouth is rather more than a league wide, and its bar has only three fathoms of water, for which reason it is not navigable by large vessels, which was the cause of the wreck of the *S. Luis*, as I shall relate farther on.

The land extending along its banks is flat, without any eminences whatever. From the bar upward about two leagues it possesses a well sheltered port, in a flat country, where are situated the houses, palm grove, and garden belonging to a Portuguese named Francisco Brochado, of whom I have previously spoken, who was captain of these rivers. This port is the resort of all who navigate the river, as in these houses Christians, especially the Portuguese, find gracious entertainment, and here they rest, sleep, and take shelter from the great heat of these lands. Close to these houses is a little kraal, inhabited by heathen Kaffirs and poor Moors, who live here under the protection of the Portuguese who come and go upon this river, and where the sailors, who are usually Moors, also find shelter and entertainment to refresh themselves after the labours of the sea, and some of them have their wives in this place.

The remainder of the country in the interior is populated by Macua Kaffirs, subjects of a Kaffir named Gallo, who has the title of king, but his dominions are small. He has few vassals

and less property. This king has a brother named Sapata, who became a Moor when he came to this place, and for this reason he is hated by all the Kaffirs, because although these lands swarm with Moors who live there as natives, our Lord wills that no Kaffir ever becomes a Moor, as they have but little respect for them and say that they are a low race, and that they themselves are of more honourable blood than the Moors. Therefore it is very rarely that a Kaffir becomes a Moor, and I never met with a case in these parts; but converts to Christianity are made every day, as they look upon the Christians as noble and honourable men, and therefore they commonly call the Portuguese Musungos, which means lords. These Kaffirs are black, with woolly hair. They are heathens, but do not adore idols. They are friends of the Portuguese and are well disposed.

On the borders of these Kaffirs are others who inhabit the lands extending along the banks of a river called Loranga, the mouth of which is five leagues distant from Quilimane, more to the eastward, running along the coast towards Mozambique. This river is very pleasant, and has a fine bay and bar, which the pangayos enter and leave with ease, and which abound in fish. These are not caught by the natives of the country, as they dare not leave the river in their canoes to fish, as these are small, and they only catch fish in weirs that they construct in the river and creeks that run into it, where they catch small fish.

The territory of Loranga is inhabited by Macua Kaffirs, heathens, black, with woolly hair. The greater number wear horns made with their hair, and many of them tattoo their bodies and have their lips pierced for show, as the Macuas of Mozambique, of whom I shall give more detailed information later on. Among them live some black Moors, most of whom are poor and almost similar to the Kaffirs in their manner of living.

All this territory is subject to a Kaffir named Bano and his brothers, who live in different villages dispersed throughout it. They are all as a rule well disposed and inclined to good. Their commerce with the Portuguese is principally in ivory, rice, millet, panicle, yams, and many other kinds of vegetables which the country produces in great abundance. The Portuguese supply them with cloth, tin, and earthenware beads of various colours, with which the Kaffirs adorn themselves.

The products of this country are crops of the different kinds of

food I have mentioned. These are cultivated by the women with as much and more care than among us the men bestow upon them, as the women clear the ground, dig, plant, and gather in the harvest. The men roam about, converse with each other, fish, and hunt, and live merrily, from which it results that the women of these lands are sparing and the men liberal.

In this country there are palm groves, but the Kaffirs do not know how to obtain wine or any other advantages from them except the cocoa nuts which they eat. Although the land is fertile and has large pastures, there are very few cattle, as these Kaffirs are not fond of work, and are more given to dancing and feasting than to husbandry, contenting themselves with the usual food, which consists of rice or millet and vegetables. They also eat rats, snakes, and lizards, and jeer at those who do not. In this land there are numerous tigers, panthers, lions, elephants, buffaloes, gnus, deer, antelopes, many civet cats, and an infinite number of apes and baboons, and the Kaffirs hunt all these animals and eat their flesh.

In the fields and woods there is an abundance of basil, honey-suckle, musk, and jasmine of sweet perfume.

As regards religion these Kaffirs adore only one God, who is in heaven ; they believe in the immortality of the soul, do not deny divine providence, acknowledge the existence of devils and that they are wicked, and admit that all good comes from God ; nevertheless they are great blasphemers, because when the harvests are not as good as they desire or things do not turn out to their liking, they speak evil of God and say that He does not do what He should do, and make other similar assertions.

To this country came Father Thomas Pinto of the order of preachers, Inquisitor of India, when he was saved from the wreck of the ship *Santiago*, and in this place one of his nephews who accompanied him died, for which reason some of the principal Kaffirs of the land came to visit him, and wishing to console him in his affliction they said that God had treated him very badly in sending him so many troubles when shipwrecked and now in the death of his nephew, and that he should not therefore put trust in Him, as He was wicked ; but the father being careful for the honour of God made them a fitting reply on this subject, and easily convinced them, as they are men who have not much facility in answering or arguing.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the marriages and feasts, and the superstitions of the Macuas of the river Loranga with respect to their burials.

Most of these Macuas of Loranga have two wives, and some of the noblest and richest, besides the wives, have concubines; but the children of the latter have no inheritance in the house and property of their father as have the children of the two legitimate wives. On the day of a wedding, at early morning two or three Kaffir women commence singing, playing upon instruments and dancing outside the bride's door, and others gradually join them, so that by noon all the people of the village are assembled there, rejoicing and dancing, in which enjoyment they spend the remainder of the day. All who go to the wedding take offerings to the bride of rice, millet, beans, panicle, figs, and flour, all striving to be the first to make their offering, and of all that they offer they first throw a handful over the musicians and dancers, and also cover one cheek and the left eye with flour. This feast is concluded at sunset, as then the bridegroom takes the bride to his house, accompanied by the people, and thenceforward she is looked upon as his legitimate wife without further ceremony.

They have many feast days upon which they observe certain superstitious practices, such as not eating anything but drinking all day and the following night a certain wine, which they make from millet and from a fruit that they call *putó*, which when green is sour and appetising, and when ripe is very sweet and delicious. They drink of these two wines which they make for these feast days so that they are never for a moment sober. They dance, play upon instruments, fight with one another, and make so many grimaces, covering themselves with flour, and decking themselves with leaves, that they appear to be ministers of the devil or soldiers of Bacchus when he triumphed over India.

These people have great faith in their magicians and in the lots which they cast to predict what they desire to know. When they wish to discover any stolen property a number of Kaffirs assemble, and all begin to dance. At the same time they sing

certain songs, and continue singing and dancing until they are worked into a diabolical fury, when they seem to be either mad or possessed by the devil, and then the devil enters into one of them and exposes the stolen article.

The government of these people is very simple. In each village there is a chief who governs them, who is called a fumo. He gives verbal sentence in their differences, which are few; and when the fumo is unable to decide, Bano, lord of the country, settles the question with the advice of the other fumos, who assemble for this purpose on a terrace at the door of the house of the said Bano. They are men much given to ceremony, which in visiting they use to such an extent that before beginning to speak of the business which brings them much time is wasted in courtesies on both sides. This comes from their being idle and unoccupied. They are of a kind-hearted disposition.

When one of these Kaffirs dies, the first thing done after his death is that one of his nearest relatives goes outside the house of the deceased and bemoans him in a loud voice, upon which all the people of the village assemble and together they commence a most sorrowful lamentation, chanting in so pitiful a tone that it moves anyone hearing it to compassion. This lamentation lasts about an hour. The deceased is buried almost in the same way as with us, wrapped in a black cloth tied with a number of strips of the same material. They bury with him his bow, arrows, assagais, and other arms, and also some millet, rice, beans, and other vegetables. They put the bed or mat upon which he slept and the three-legged stool upon which he sat on the top of the grave. After the interment they burn the thatched house in which he resided with all it contains, so that no one may possess anything that the deceased made use of during his lifetime, or may even touch it, and if it so happens that some one touches any thing belonging to the deceased he does not enter his house until he has washed in the river. The ashes of the burnt house with any pieces of wood not quite consumed they put on the top of the grave.

The deceased is mourned for during eight consecutive days. Commencing at midnight a Kaffir intones the lamentation, the other people of the village join their voices to his, and so they continue the mourning in the manner before stated for the space of one or two hours. At dawn they proceed to the grave of the deceased,

and pronouncing certain words they throw upon it millet, beans, and rice flour, with which they also powder one cheek and an eye, and go about without washing their faces until the flour has entirely disappeared. By this ceremony they say that they recommend their crops to the deceased, and they believe that in this their souls can be of use to them and grant good harvests.

Here we will end this second book, and of the remainder of the coast which extends to Cape Delgado I shall treat in the next book.

### BOOK III.—CHAPTER I.

Of the Macua Kaffirs of the mainland of Mozambique, of their customs, and how they conquered the said country.

Along the coast which extends from the rivers of Cuama to the island of Mozambique, a distance of one hundred and thirty leagues, there are no great and powerful kings such as those I have described in the first and second books. And although there are many lords who have vassals, yet none of them have the title of king except some Moors who reside on the coast in small towns, who call themselves kings of the towns in which they live, and have the same standing which Zufe, king of Sofala, formerly enjoyed, who was killed by Pedro d'Anhaya, having little property and few vassals. But in the interior of this country live several great and powerful kings, heathen Kaffirs with woolly hair, of whom the greater number belong to the Macua nation. One of these who comes to my mind, with whom the residents of Mozambique have commerce and are friendly, is Maurusa, of whom I think it is fitting here to give some information.

The Kaffirs of the mainland of Mozambique are Macuas, heathens, very barbarous, and great thieves. Their king is called Maurusa. This tribe of Macuas, of whom I have already spoken several times, is the most barbarous and the most evilly inclined of all the Kaffir tribes of this coast that I have seen. Their mode of speaking is in a loud and harsh voice as though they were disputing, and thus the first time I heard them talking I thought they were quarrelling. As a rule they all file their lower and upper teeth so that they are as sharp as needles. They mark the whole of their bodies with a sharp

piece of iron, with which they cut into their flesh. They pierce their cheeks on both sides from the ear almost to the mouth with three or four holes on either side large enough to put one's finger in, and through these their gums and teeth can be seen, and the moisture and spittle from the mouth usually run out of these apertures. For this reason, and also for ornament, they put stoppers of wood or lead in these holes, which they make round for the purpose, and those that use lead are the wealthy and are treated with greater respect, as lead is very dear among them. They also have two holes in their lips. Through that of the upper lip they put a thin piece of wood like a hen's quill about as long as a finger, sticking straight out like a nail, and in the lower lip they wear a big lead stopper in a case, so heavy that it drags the lip down till it almost touches the chin. In this manner they always go about showing their gums and filed teeth, which makes them look like devils. They always have their ears bored all round with many holes. Through these they put thin pieces of wood about the length of a finger similar to darning needles, which gives them the appearance of porcupines. All this they do for ornament and in times of rejoicing, as when they are vexed or sad they neglect these matters and leave all the holes unstopped. They are a very robust and hard-working people.

They all, both men and women, go about naked, and when well dressed they wear the skin of an ape or some other animal round the waist to the knee.

In all their other customs, dealings, manner of living, food, and habitations, they are very similar to the Kaffirs of Loranga, of whom I have already given an account, and I will not repeat this here for the sake of brevity. These customs of which I have spoken are those of nearly all the Kaffirs of this coast, who live in the thickets, and more particularly of these Macuas, in whom greater brutality is found.

It is related of the Macuas of the river Quizungo that when a young maid is to be married she leaves the kraal in which she lives and goes to the woods, where she remains a whole month as though in banishment, bewailing and lamenting the virginity she is about to lose, a very different lamentation from that of the daughter of Jephthah, who knowing that her father intended to sacrifice her in fulfilment of the vow he had made, asked



permission to go to the mountains for two months, where she wept for her virginity with her companions, but she wept because she was to die childless, which by the Jewish law was held in hatred, and the Kaffirs say they bemoan the virginity they are about to lose. During the thirty days that the Kaffir women are occupied in this lamentation, they may be visited by their female friends and relatives, and every night they can return to their homes to sleep, and in the morning they recommence their seclusion until the new moon appears. This day the bride and her friends and relations spend in feasting and dancing, and on the following day the marriage takes place, when the bride is given to her husband without further ceremony.

These Kaffirs of Quizungo are those who captured and held in their power Father Thomas Pinto, religious of the order of the preachers, previously inquisitor of India, who came to this river with his companions who were saved from the wreck of the ship *Santiago*, which ran on the shoals of India, as I shall relate more in detail later on.

To return to Maurusa and his Macua vassals who inhabit the lands opposite Mozambique, it must be known that they were strangers in former times who made war upon the inhabitants of these lands, also Macuas, and by force of arms took their country from them and kept possession of it. This they did with little difficulty, because of their most cruel custom of eating the flesh of the Kaffirs whom they killed in battle, and even of those whom they captured alive, for which reason the natives abandoned the greater part of the land to them and trembled to hear the name of Maurusa mentioned. So eager were these Macuas for bloodshed and robbery that they did nothing else but plunder, kill, and devour all they came across, and only a few cultivated the lands which they had tyrannically occupied, as they are all indolent by nature—although robust and capable of hard work—and given to idleness, which is the chief cause of the evils they commit.

In this idleness and butchery they continued several years, until in the year of our Lord 1585, when Nuno Velho Pereira was captain of Mozambique, they became more unruly and so audacious that they frequently came to the coast of the mainland where the Portuguese of Mozambique have their palm groves, gardens, and plantations, which form the riches of the

land, and committed many thefts and acts of violence, and killed many persons, so that the Portuguese almost lost and abandoned their estates. The least evil these Kaffirs were guilty of was to come to the houses and ask for cloth, food, and drink, and if this was refused them they took it by force, and frequently they burnt the houses and cut down the palm trees. Owing to this the Portuguese were not masters of their estates, and those who wished to preserve them in spite of these difficulties lost more than they gained, and also ran the risk of being killed and eaten by the Kaffirs.

## CHAPTER II.

Of the war between the Portuguese of Mozambique and Maurusa, and of the ill success thereof.

Nuno Velho Pereira, seeing the daring and lawlessness of the Macuas, determined to be revenged upon them, to destroy their power, and burn the kraal in which Maurusa resided, which was three or four leagues in the interior. For this purpose he sent forty Portuguese, some of whom were soldiers of the fortress and others married men of Mozambique possessing property on the mainland, who having suffered violence and loss at the hands of the Macuas, offered themselves with good will for this enterprise, and took with them their slaves and a number of other people of the country, making a total of nearly four hundred men; and as captain he sent his subordinate Antonio Pinto, also a married man of the fortress. This decision having been taken and the necessary preparations made for the war, the party passed with great secrecy from the island to the mainland one day at sunset, without saying where they were going, their intention being to march by night, and at dawn to fall upon Maurusa while he suspected nothing. This project was carried into execution, as they reached the kraal of Maurusa at dawn and found all the people off their guard, whereupon they killed a great number without encountering any resistance, so that with little difficulty they destroyed the kraal and set fire to it.

All the Macuas who could do so escaped to the thickets which surrounded the kraal, and afterwards collected together and proceeded to a forest through which the Portuguese would have

to pass on their return to Mozambique, with the intention of revenging themselves upon them if possible.

The Portuguese, on the other hand, seeing that there was nothing more to be done at the kraal, since it was burnt down and the Kaffirs who had lived in it had either escaped or were killed, thinking there was no further danger, gave their guns to their slaves to carry and got in their hammocks which other slaves bore on their shoulders, and in this manner they set out for Mozambique, separated one from the other, and without any order, as though they were travelling in security. But the Kaffirs, who were awaiting them in better order and with greater caution, as soon as they were within easy distance fell upon them with such impetus and fury that all were killed except two or three Portuguese and a few Kaffirs who escaped to the woods, where they lay in hiding three days and then returned to Mozambique with intelligence of the misfortune which had befallen their companions, who were killed and eaten by the Macuas of Maurusa.

Many other similar catastrophes have befallen the Portuguese, because of the great confidence they have in themselves in these lands, and the contempt with which they look upon the Kaffirs.

For some time Maurusa continued to carry on war fiercely against the Portuguese of Mozambique, destroying their estates on the mainland, as has been stated. This was during the first years that he was in this country, living as an insurgent and outlaw, but when he had settled in the lands and had commenced their cultivation he saw that he would require to carry on commerce and have dealings with the Portuguese residents of Mozambique, because of the advantages he would gain therefrom, whereupon he made peace with them, and in ratification thereof he commanded that no Macua should offer any further violence to the Portuguese or commit any thefts of their property, or eat human flesh, but that all of them should cultivate the land and carry on commerce with the people of Mozambique, buying and selling merchandise in a friendly and trustworthy manner. For many years these orders were badly kept, as the Kaffirs always disregarded them and gave way to their usual cruel habits, and it was more by force and through fear of Maurusa than of their own will that they were induced to observe laws contrary to their evil inclinations. As to not eating human flesh, they no longer

do so publicly, but privately they eat it whenever they have an opportunity, as will be seen by the cases related in the following chapter.

### CHAPTER III.

Concerning some strange events which occurred in Mozambique.

During the time that the chief ensign of Portugal, Dom Jorge de Meneses, was captain of Mozambique, which was in the year of our Lord 1586, it happened that two Macua Kaffirs came to the Portuguese to sell a negress, whom they must have stolen as is their custom. Upon their arrival at a grove of palms among those situated on the coast of the mainland, they found there a woman who was mistress of the estate, to whom they offered the negress for sale. The price they asked for her was ten pieces of cloth, which were worth one thousand five hundred reis, and as she did not wish to give more than five the Macuas replied that they would rather eat the negress than sell her at so cheap a rate. And seeing that neither she nor any one else would give for the negress the price they asked, they proceeded to a thicket that was close by and killed the negress, and remained there three or four days eating her flesh boiled and roasted.

The captain of Mozambique heard of this occurrence, and ordered the mistress of the palm grove to be seized and inflicted severe punishment upon her for refusing to buy the negress and becoming thus the cause of her being killed and eaten by the Kaffirs. He also punished several of the heathen Kaffirs who resided in these palm groves, as he learned that they had assisted in eating the said negress.

In the year of our Lord 1596 the following case occurred in Mozambique. A Portuguese named Francisco Leitão lived in this island, and was married to a half caste who had been a widow and was rich. She possessed estates and palm groves on the mainland, where she had her slaves, who attended to the property. It happened that this Francisco Leitão had evil suspicions of his wife, because of various evidences suggested to him by the devil, for which reason he killed her, and immediately fled to the mainland in a boat which he had in readiness on the shore with its crew, and proceeded to his palm grove. Upon reaching it the negroes who were there learned the cause of his

flight and that he had left their mistress dead. For this reason they were so overcome with indignation against him that they killed him with their arrows and assagais, saying that they were avenging the death of their mistress, who was innocent. After killing him they took refuge with Maurusa, and thus the master and mistress were killed within about an hour.

Information of what had occurred and of the slaves' daring reached Mozambique, and the judge sent to Maurusa and requested them to be surrendered in exchange for pieces of cloth which he forwarded to him at the cost of the property of the deceased. Maurusa at sight of the cloth coveted its possession and delivered the murderers, who were four in number, to justice. They were imprisoned and sentenced to death. Two of them were tortured and had their hands cut off, after which they were hanged and quartered in the island of Mozambique. The other two had their hands cut off in the pillory, after which they were placed in a boat and taken to the mainland, I and another father accompanying them to confess and console them. After reaching the shore one of them was hanged on a tree at the place where they had killed their master, after which he was quartered and the four parts were hung on trees. The other Kaffir was put to death with arrows. He was dressed in a white garment and securely tied to a tree, where he was left dead, pierced by more than twenty arrows. But next day neither the quarters of the negro who was hanged nor the body of the one who was put to death with arrows could be seen, as that night the Kaffirs of the mainland carried them off and ate them, as was afterwards learned. Therefore these Macua Kaffirs of Maurusa eat human flesh secretly, whenever they have an opportunity, and they say that it is more tender and better than any other kind of meat.

#### CHAPTER IV.

Of the island and fortress of Mozambique and its villages and productions.

The island on which is the fortress of Mozambique, situated on this coast in 15 degrees south latitude, is more than half a league in length and in the widest part is about a quarter of a league across. On a point of this island, at the entrance to the harbour, stands the fortress, in which the captain always resides,

with Portuguese soldiers as a garrison, who keep guard night and day. In the daytime they are stationed at the gate of the fortress with their arms, and at night on the curtains and bastions of the wall, of which there are four of great strength, two on the side of the sea, and two towards the island, from which also the sea may be seen on both sides. They are furnished with many pieces of large and good artillery, among which are *esperas*, *camellos*, and culverins.

Within the fortress is a cistern holding two thousand pipes of rain water conducted into it from the roofs and walls. Within it also are magazines of powder and necessary stores for its defence, including supplies of rice and millet, with which it is always well provided. In the centre of the court of this fortress is a new church, not yet finished, which is to serve as a cathedral, and close by is another church belonging to the Misericordia.

This fortress is one of the strongest in India. It was designed, as was also that of Damão, by an architect who was a nephew of the holy archbishop of Braga, Dom Frei Bartholomeu dos Martyres, of the order of preachers. This architect when a boy went to Flanders, whence he returned very skilful in the art, after which he was sent to India by the queen Dona Catherina, when she governed this kingdom, to construct these fortresses. This was in the year of our Lord 1558, when Dom Constantino went as viceroy to India. Upon returning from India, this architect went to Castile, where he took the habit of the order of St. Jerome, and was welcomed by King Philip II; and many parts of the Escorial were built from his designs.

Outside the fortress of Mozambique, at the extremity of the island, is a hermitage called our Lady of the Bastion, which name was given to it because formerly this church was a bastion, where the artillery was placed to defend the entrance before the fortress was built. This church is a favourite pilgrimage, not only of the residents of the island but also of the sailors from Portugal and India who touch at this coast. Adjoining this fortress towards the interior of the island is a very fine square about the length of a good musket shot and of the same width, at the extremity of which is the convent of St. Dominic, newly built and very beautiful. There is no other house on it except the hermitage of St. Gabriel on the sea shore, in front of which is the anchoring place for ships coming from Portugal and India.

Beyond the convent of St. Dominic lies the town in which reside the Portuguese and other Christians of the island, numbering about two thousand persons. In this town is the old fortress containing the ancient cathedral and the house of mercy which is used at the present day. In one of the curtains of the wall of this old fortress is a fine tower of two stories, with other dwelling houses close by where the chief factor and alcaide of Mozambique resides while he holds office. Flanking this tower is a good cistern, and in the lower part of it is the public prison. Close to this old fortress is a hospital, where all those who fall sick in the country are tended, as well as those who come from abroad to this port, both from India and Portugal. This work is carried on with great charity and diligence. The procurator and brothers of the Misericordia have the care of this hospital, but its expenses are charged to the king, who commands the captain of the fortress to make this payment as superintendent of his treasury in Mozambique. Close to this hospital is a hermitage dedicated to the Holy Ghost, and at the extremity of the island is another to St. Anthony, which is a favourite place of pilgrimage and devotion. Both are situated on the sea shore.

In this island there is also another village inhabited by Moors, about two gun shots distant from that of the Christians. This village is inhabited by a small number of Moors, most of whom are sailors, poor and wretched, and as a rule usually in the service of the captain and of the Portuguese, with whom they are friendly and to whom they show loyalty, either through fear or because they are always dependent upon them.

This island is very dry. It contains neither fresh water to drink nor wood to burn. Its supply of water is brought by sea from a fountain which is at a distance of three leagues, situated in a bay called Titangone, well known to all the sailors of the Indian navigation because of the good quality of its water and because all the ships from Portugal and India take in water there. Close to this fountain in former times there was a village of Moors, who were subjected and brought to obey the fortress of Mozambique by Antonio Galvão, who came from the island of Querimba, where he had also subjected the Moors who resided there. This was in the year of our Lord 1522, but at the present day this village is composed of only a few huts of poor fishermen.

The supply of firewood for the island comes from the mainland

which is opposite to it, in some places at the distance of a league and more, and in other places less than half a league.

At this part of the mainland, and also on the said island, there are many very rich and profitable palm groves, which yield a quantity of wine and cocoa nuts. There are some gardens producing vegetables, oranges, citrons, many and good lemons, pomegranates, Portuguese and Indian fig trees, vines, many pineapples, and various kinds of wild fruit, which are very good.

In the forests on the mainland there are a number of trees of black wood which the residents of Mozambique cut down in great quantities and sell to people going to India and Portugal.

On this part of the mainland, and also on the island, there are many swine, goats, and fowls, with which the ships of this kingdom replenish their stores when they put in there, and with all kinds of vegetables and other provisions of the country, and also with Kaffirs, who are sold cheap in this place. The island is supplied with wines, different kinds of oil, cheese, olives, preserves, and other wares sent from Portugal to India. All its other supplies of provisions are sent yearly from India, and from it are forwarded to other parts of this coast, such as different kinds of flour, cloth, beads, clothing, shoes, and all the other merchandise and necessaries which are not produced in these lands.

This island in the commencement when first peopled by the Portuguese was extremely sickly, and many thousands of them are buried here, but at the present day by God's mercy it is healthier.

## CHAPTER XII.

Concerning four general scourges which occurred in this Ethiopia during our times, and of three kinds of sickness very prevalent along this coast.

There have been four chastisements or general scourges on this coast during our times. The first was the war with the Zimbas, of which I have already spoken. This tribe in the year 1589 traversed a great part of these lands, killing and eating all that they came across, both human beings and animals, without sparing a living thing, so that one may say these barbarians were a fire burning and consuming Central Ethiopia.

The second chastisement, which occurred in these lands at the



same time, was a cruel plague of very large locusts that passed through them in such numbers that they covered the ground, and when they rose in the air they formed so dense a cloud that the land was darkened. The damage caused by them was great, as they devoured all the crops, gardens, and palm groves through which they passed, leaving them dried and burnt up as though consumed by fire, so that for the next two years they produced no fruits, and therefore during this time there was great sterility and famine, of which numbers died.

This famine was the third chastisement of this Ethiopia, because there was so great a scarcity of provisions that the Kaffirs came to sell themselves as slaves merely to obtain food, and exchanged their children for an alqueire of millet, and those who could not avail themselves of this remedy perished of hunger, so that at this time a great number of the inhabitants of these lands died.

The fourth affliction and trouble that overtook this Kaffraria was a severe outbreak of small-pox, of which a great number of people died. This disease along the whole of the coast is like a subtle pestilence, as it kills everyone in a house where it appears, men, women, and children alike, and very few escape who are attacked by it, as they do not know of a cure. Those who are bled freely die, and also those who will not be bled, but the most certain remedy is to be bled immediately the malady shows itself. This small-pox is not infectious to Portuguese, except to children of tender age, even though they hold intercourse with Kaffirs suffering from it.

From all these parts of the East the plague is absent, nor is it known that it ever has appeared at any time. The cause of this must be that the climate is very hot, and consumes the vapours and bad air from which this pestilence is usually engendered. However, in its place there is the small-pox, which is very common and as contagious as the plague. Sometimes this disease is milder and less dangerous, so that it does not cause death.

There is another disease prevalent in all these lands of Sofala, rivers of Cuama, and Mozambique, which is most infectious to men. It is caused by the negresses of the country, many of whom, especially the slaves of the Portuguese, conceive, and not wishing the child to live, they drink a beverage made of the juice of a certain herb which causes abortion. After this their

system is so poisoned that if they cannot give the disease to some man through the medium of intercourse, they dry up and are consumed little by little until they die. For this reason immediately after the abortion they seek some man to give the disease to him, and so are cured, and the man becomes so corrupt that he rarely escapes death, as he is instantly seized with such severe pains in the groin that he dies thereof in a few days ; and it has happened that some of these women upon performing this wicked act have also died. This disease is called entaca, and there is only one remedy for it, which is to drink the juice of another herb which acts as an antidote to that of the one which the negresses drink to cause abortion. This beverage saves those affected from death, but to benefit by it it must be taken the same day that the disease is contracted, because if there is any delay in curing it the poison works up to the heart, and then no remedy is of any avail. There is an abundance of both these herbs growing on the mainland of Mozambique, which are well known to all.

Another kind of illness is only prevalent in Mozambique. It attacks a number of persons, no one knowing how it originates. This illness is blindness at night-time, and it attacks not only the Portuguese but the Kaffirs also. It causes no pain, but merely prevents them seeing at night, as blindness comes on at sunset and continues until sunrise, during which time they can see nothing, even though there be a bright light, and they become as blind as though they had been born so. But as soon as the sun rises they see perfectly, and their vision is good during the day, even though the sun be obscured.

Some say that the intestines of the sea lamprey, roasted at a fire and eaten, cure this illness ; others say that washing the eyes in the drinking water of pigeons also cures it ; others again assert that persons suffering from this disease, if they leave Mozambique and go to any other country, are cured, and see at night as they did previously.

When the Kaffirs suffer from stomach ache they take a cord or a thong made of the bark of a tree, such as spurge flax, which they tie tightly round their stomachs, and when they have a headache they do the same, tying one of these thongs tightly round the forehead, as they say that this relieves the pain and they are more quickly cured ; and in this they have great faith.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Concerning the elephants of Kaffraria, and how the Kaffirs kill them.

Throughout this Kaffraria there are many very large and wild elephants, that cause great damage to the plantations of millet and rice, which they eat and tread under foot to the loss of the Kaffirs. Besides this they do much harm to the palm groves by pulling down the trees to eat the small leaves. The Kaffirs hunt them in many ways. The principal, most common, and least dangerous to the hunters is by digging pits along the thickets, very long, wide, and deep, covered with branches and grass overlaid with earth, so that the cavity is not visible, and when the elephants fall in they cannot extricate themselves and are killed without difficulty.

They have another way of hunting elephants, and that is when they are sleeping, which is easily known, as the elephant when asleep makes so loud a noise in snoring that it can be heard at a great distance, and they sleep so soundly that the Kaffirs approach quietly without being heard, and pierce their entrails with an assagai, the iron point of which is half a span broad, like a hunting spear, and two spans in length, the point being very sharp and adapted for cutting, the weapon being only made for this manner of hunting elephants. After piercing the elephant, they run away with great agility through the thickets until they reach their houses. The wounded elephant is awakened by the pain, and rising with great fury he forces the assagai deep into his entrails by leaning upon it when getting up, and the blood begins to gush out. In this manner he rushes through the thickets screaming until all his blood has run out, and he dies.

On the following day the hunters return to the place where they wounded him, and follow him by the traces of blood until they find him either dead or so weakened that he can no longer move, upon which they kill him. This method is more dangerous than the other for the hunters, as sometimes they find the elephants slightly wounded, and are killed by them. The Kaffirs usually hunt in this way on moonlight nights, so that they can watch the elephants and follow them until they stretch themselves out to sleep, as is their habit, and also that they

may see in what way they can approach the elephants to wound them.

When the hunters have killed an elephant they call all their family, relations, and friends together, who proceed to the place where the dead animal is lying, and there they eat its flesh boiled and roasted, doing nothing else all the time, and although after three days the stench of the elephant becomes intolerable, this does not prevent them from eating it until nothing remains, like dogs feeding upon carrion.

The principal reason why the Kaffirs hunt elephants and kill them is to obtain the flesh for food, and secondly to sell the tusks, that is the ivory from which all the articles of taste and trinkets are made which come to Portugal from India, and it forms the principal trade of this coast, more than three thousand arrobas being sent every year to India. When I was in the fortress of Sofala, one year I saw the captain, who was then Garcia de Mello, forward to the chief ensign, captain of Mozambique, his brother-in-law, one hundred bars of ivory, each weighing sixteen arrobas, from which one may obtain an idea of the remainder of this article exported from the coast, where a large trade in it is carried on at the river of Lourenço Marques, Cape das Correntes, the river Inhambane, the islands of Angoxa, the rivers of Cuama, the coast of Querimba, and the coast of Melinde. This clearly shows the great number of elephants existing in Ethiopia, and the multitude killed every year, as only two tusks are obtained from each.

These two tusks are the eye teeth, with which they work and fight. They are fixed in the lower jaw more than three-quarters of a yard deep and protrude as far or farther from the mouth. Some of these tusks are very thick and much larger than I have stated above, especially those of an old elephant. Garcia de Mello, of whom I have just spoken, had two tusks in his factory, both from the same elephant, that weighed a bar, that is sixteen arrobas, each tusk weighing eight. These I saw, and also many others almost as large.

All these elephants stretch themselves on the ground and sleep in this manner, making a great noise in snoring, as I have stated. This clearly shows the mistake made by those persons who say that elephants do not stretch themselves on the ground, but sleep leaning against trees, and that to kill them they saw

half through the trees in forests frequented by elephants, leaving them standing, so that when the animals lean against them to sleep the trees give way and they fall to the ground with them, and being very heavy and unable to rise they are easily killed. This is an error, because although the elephants are very large and appear unwieldy, they have great strength in moving about and can run fast, as I have seen them do frequently.

The elephants of Ceylon, according to what is said, are smaller in body than those of other parts, but they are more noble looking animals, and more majestic and stronger than any others, for which reason other elephants give way to them and fear them, which has been experienced in some parts of India where they have brought different kinds together.

It is said that the king of Camboja formerly possessed a white elephant. Others say it belonged to the king of Siam, and that a great war was carried on with the king of Pegu upon the question of its ownership, each one pretending that it was his, because such an animal had never been seen before.

The Kaffirs say that elephants live three hundred years, and that they never breed or give birth to young until they are a hundred years of age and upwards, as before that time they are not full grown. The elephant produces one young at each birth, which it rears at two teats similar to those of cows.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Of the whales and sword-fish found along all the coast of Ethiopia.

On this coast of Ethiopia there are many whales and sword-fish which are almost as large. These two species of fish fight fiercely whenever they meet, and most frequently on the surface of the water, the reason for this being that in fighting, to be better able to wound the whale the sword-fish springs into the air and descends head downward on the whale, wounding it with the sword with which its upper jaw is furnished, and which is full of very strong sharp teeth similar to a saw. This sword is formed of very hard bone, and is more than three-quarters of a yard in length and upwards of half a span wide. From the shore we have frequently seen them fighting in the sea of Mozambique,

and the ships from India coming and going upon this coast often pass them fighting in this manner.

On the mainland of Mozambique, among some shoals on the bar, which are called Luxaca, a whale was thrown up, and another on the coast of Sofala at a place called Masamzane, during the time that I was in these lands, but I did not see either of them whole, because when we heard they had been thrown up and went to see them, we found that the Kaffirs had already almost cut them up and carried away the greater part of the flesh, which is very fatty, and with it they make much oil, melting it down in pots as they do with hogs' fat. The Kaffirs eat the parts left over, and use the oil for lighting purposes and mixing with their millet. This oil has an offensive smell, but is good for lighting. With the bones of the spine they make three-legged stools, upon which a person can sit comfortably.

The whales on this coast are so numerous that they are frequently seen in groups, especially among the islands of Mozambique situated on the bar, where one afternoon I saw five whales one after the other enter the strait, pass by the fortress in the middle of the channel, swim round the bay which lies between the mainland and the island, and then go out of the strait as they had entered.

There is no ambergris in the whale's stomach, as I have heard some persons in this kingdom who possess but little information upon the subject say. The truth is that the Moorish fishermen of this coast say that the whales eat it and vomit it very black, soft as dough, and having an offensive smell; but I do not know what authority or experience they have for saying this, only that they believe that the black ambergris which they frequently find upon the coast, which is clammy and of a bad smell, has been vomited by whales.

Pangayos that encounter whales at sea run great risk, as the whales pursue them to fight as they do with the sword-fish, believing, it would seem, that they are large fish swimming about, for which reason they attack boats and give them blows. This has happened occasionally, especially in the case of a boat which was coming laden from the rivers of Cuama to Mozambique, in which Dom Fernando de Monroy, who was then captain of the fortress, was a passenger. This boat met with a whale close to the islands of Angoxa, which followed it nearly a whole

day and twice attacked the boat, upon one occasion striking it a blow which carried away the helm, and nearly overturned it. Seeing that they were in danger, the men in the boat feared that if the whale struck it again it would sink, and therefore stood towards the land to escape, having determined to run the boat ashore if the whale did not leave it. With one voice they gave great cries, and also beat upon a copper basin and upon the poop of the pangayo with iron instruments. This noise prevented the whale from again attacking them, but it continued to follow them at a distance for more than two hours.

A fish was thrown upon the coast of the island of Mozambique, in front of the gate of the garden of our Dominican convent, and at low tide it was left upon dry ground. The slaves of the house immediately approached, and seeing the fish called the religious, who went to look at it as it was of monstrous size and of a kind never seen before. This fish was nineteen spans in length and eight spans round the thickest part of the body. These measurements we caused to be taken with a cord before cutting up the fish, as we were among the first to arrive at the place where it was lying. After this a number of the residents of the island assembled, and all began to cut up the fish and carry pieces away to their houses, and I fancy there were but few people on the island who did not carry away their share.

This fish resembled a sea lamprey or sword-fish, but it had no sword on the upper jaw, nor was it a young whale, as these have a blacker skin, a different-shaped head, and a much larger mouth. Thus there was neither fisherman nor sailor who could say what species of fish this was.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Concerning the turtles caught on this coast as far as Cape Delgado.

Along the whole of this coast of Mozambique as far as Cape Delgado are numerous turtles closely resembling tortoises, about the size of a large shield. These animals come out of the sea at certain times to lay eggs upon the desert and uninhabited islands, where they make a hole in the sand of the shore with their claws, and at one sitting lay thirty to forty eggs in it. They then fill the hole again with sand, and return to the water.

The eggs are the size of those of a hen, but round. They have no shell, but only a hard thick skin. The yolk is the same as that of a hen's egg, but the white is transparent and liquid, and runs like water. These eggs remain buried a certain time, during which the turtles are hatched by the power of the sun, without further help from the mother who laid them; and when born they come out of the sand themselves, and go into the sea, where they grow big.

The natives of these countries know the time when the turtles come out of the sea to lay their eggs on the land, and they go to the shore to watch and lie in wait for them, and when they see them upon the land they run to them and turn those they can catch over on their backs so that they cannot move, and then kill them and take out the flesh to eat, and carry away only the shells from the back, which they clean and sell. From these the boxes and ornaments are made in India that are sent to this kingdom.

The fishermen kill turtles at sea in a different and strange manner. First they catch in certain parts of the sea among the rocks near the coast a kind of fish two spans in length, called by the Moors *sapi*, which is as much the enemy of the turtle as the ferret is of rabbits. The *sapi* has a very dark grey skin inclining to black, and a long thin head ending in a snout similar to that of a pig. Its neck is about half a span long, on the back of which is a shell of the same length and three fingers wide, which is formed of hard and porous furrowed skin with which it clings to the stones as leeches do, and it has the same faculty of sucking blood. For this reason when it meets a turtle it attacks it and wounds it in the neck or legs with this shell, and sucks its blood until it is satiated, leaving the turtle nearly dead, it being unable to resist or get away, as it is large and unwieldy and the *sapi* very nimble.

When the fishermen have caught some of these *sapis* they put them in a basin of salt water and take them in the boat with them. They tie a long line to their tails, and then put out to sea in search of turtles, which usually swim on the surface of the water. When they catch sight of a turtle they throw out the fish fastened by the tail, as one who lets loose a ferret in a leash after a rabbit, and the fish immediately attacks the turtle with as great force as if it was free and had received no harm from the hook



with which it was caught, or as if it was not itself a prisoner. When it reaches the turtle it fastens on it so tightly that it never loosens its hold, and as soon as the fishermen feel that it has done so they pull in the line and draw it over the water without its loosening its hold, and the turtle, although very big and heavy, is so dominated and tormented by the fish that it does not fight with it, but lets itself be carried off easily because of the pain it suffers while they are pulling it in, as at that time the fish grips it much tighter. Thus the turtle is brought to the side of the boat, when the fishermen quickly seize it in their hands and lift it in, and the fish they put back into its basin. In this manner they catch a number of turtles.

In the same way another kind of fishing is carried on in China by means of cormorants, which the king causes to be reared for this purpose in all his seaports in coops like those for hens, as Father Gaspar da Cruz states in his book on China. This manner of fishing is as follows: they fasten a long piece of cord under the wings of these birds and throw them into the sea, the lower parts of their throats being tied to prevent them from swallowing the fish that they catch. The birds dive under the water and catch as many little fish as their beaks and throats will hold, and coming to the surface of the water they fly to the boat where the fishermen are, and bring up the fish they have caught, after which they go back into the sea to catch more. After they have caught many fish, the men untie the cord round their throats, that they may fish for themselves and eat until they are satiated. These small fish the men put into tubs of water which they carry in the boats for the purpose, and then they take them ashore and keep them in ponds made for the purpose until they grow big, when they sell them. Owing to this there is always an abundance of fresh fish throughout China.

There are two species of turtles found on this coast. One kind has only a single shell, similar to that of a tortoise, black and ugly. Nothing is made of this shell except bowls, but the flesh of this species of turtle is the best. Other turtles have two shells. That next the flesh is entire, and soft like thick leather. They have another shell outside this, very beautiful and marked with yellow and black colours. It is divided into eleven pieces, each about a span in size, which are close to each other and are attached to the soft shell so that they appear to be but one.

The outer covering is taken off, and with it all the tortoise-shell articles we see are made, such as coffers, spoons, and other curious and valuable articles which, as we know, are held in great estimation.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the sharks of Mozambique and of all the ocean, and of other kinds of fish of this sea.

There are many large and most voracious sharks in this ocean, those which frequent the Mozambique sea being especially fierce. They come to the shores of the island to lie in wait for the Kaffirs who bathe in the sea, many of whom have been seized by them in these places. For this reason no one dares to go into the sea to bathe or to swim, as the sharks wait near the shore, keeping so close to the ground under the water that they are not seen until they suddenly seize their prey and carry it off.

On one of the shores of this island, close to St. Gabriel, some boys were playing at the edge of the water, having only their feet in it and believing themselves to be quite safe; but misfortune befell them, as a shark seized one, carried him off, and devoured him.

Another shark seized a slave belonging to our Dominican convent at Mozambique, who with other slaves of the same house was launching a boat that was ashore, Father João Madeira, then vicar of the said house, being present and having ordered this to be done. The shark seized the man's leg with such force as to bite it off above the knee, as though it had been severed with a hatchet, and the slave putting out his hand to save himself the shark bit it off also with half the arm, and would have carried him away altogether had not the other slaves gone to his assistance and dragged him ashore, where he died shortly afterwards.

These sharks are called by seamen *marraxos*. There is another kind that is more fierce and does more damage than these: it is called *tintureiras*. These are much bigger and longer, their skin is a darker grey, and they have many rows of teeth. Both kinds are most gluttonous: they swallow everything that is thrown into the sea if they can get hold of it.

When I was going to India the crew of one of the ships of our company caught a shark, and in its stomach they found a silver

fork which must have fallen from one of these ships or from some other. Father *Mendoça* says that the Spaniards in the navigation of the West Indies came across very large sharks with many rows of teeth, and having caught some of them they found in their stomachs all the refuse thrown from the ships. In one they found the head of a sheep entire with its horns, which had fallen into the sea from one of the ships.

Those that we saw were following the ship, eating all the salt meat that the sailors and soldiers lowered into the sea tied to cords to extract the salt. So gluttonous and ravenous were they that they even ate the shirts that were thrown into the sea to be washed, tied in the same manner. They seized and swallowed them whole, biting off the cords with which they were tied. For this reason the sailors prepared large hooks that they carried for the purpose, baiting them with meat, and fastening them to iron chains about two spans long to prevent the sharks from biting the line with their teeth. In this manner they caught a number, upon which they executed justice, cutting open their stomachs, in which they frequently found the shirts that had been swallowed and the pieces of meat still whole. After this they put their eyes out and cut off two spans of the tail, but even that did not kill them. Then they threw them back into the sea, where they continued to swim until they disappeared.

During this voyage in many places we came across shoals of fish which followed the ship, such as dolphins, porpoises, and albacores, numbers of which were caught. The catching of this fish was carried on while the ship was sailing by means of hooks attached to a line long enough to reach the surface of the water. Pieces of calico or cock's feathers were attached to the hook, which now and again touched the water, and these the fish darted forward to catch, mistaking them for flying fish, and thus they swallowed these false baits together with the hook and were caught, when they remained hanging to the line until drawn into the ship.

In some parts we saw an infinite number of flying fish, which closely resemble herrings, and are of the same size. They have two pectoral fins as long and wide as bats' wings, by means of which they fly high in the air for a long distance like birds when they see themselves pursued by large fish to catch and eat them. This fish, it appears to me, is the most persecuted of all those in

the sea, as the big fish always pursue it to eat it, and when to escape them it flies into the air it is pursued by the birds that also seek it for food. Therefore if it flies from the sea, persecuted by the fishes, in the air it finds itself in the claws of the birds. Although these flying fish are so persecuted and in this manner perish in great numbers, they are so numerous that in many places they cover the sky, flying like birds in flocks.

In the sea round the islands of Querimba on this coast of which I am speaking there is such a quantity of mullet that from being so plentiful they are not esteemed. There is also another fish called mordixins, which closely resemble bogas or river picões. This is the best and most wholesome fish found in these parts. There is another called saw fish, similar to big corvinas, but it is much better and can be preserved. When cured it is very similar to ham, and in this form it is much esteemed.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Of the vessels, sailors, navigation, and merchandise of all this coast.

All the vessels employed in navigation along this coast from Cape das Correntes to the straits of Mecca are made of wood, which the Moors cut down in the forests. They split the log down the middle with an axe, and then dress the pieces with an adze held in both hands after the manner of a pickaxe. Thus from each log they make only two planks, whereas they might make a good many if they were to use a saw, but this is an implement not used on this coast. With the planks they make vessels fastened with coir cord and nailed with wooden pins, and with coir they make all the cordage and the cables. The big vessels are called navetas, the medium-sized pangayos, and the small ones luzios or almadias. The sails of all of these are mats made of the leaves of palm or wild date trees.

The sailors of all these vessels are Moors, most of them black. They are barbarians, and very fond of wine; and are only Moors in name and in the practice of circumcision, as they neither know nor keep the creed of Mohamed that they profess. The principal observance in which they are most exact is in celebrating with great feasting every new moon, upon which occasions

they usually all get intoxicated, though their creed forbids them to take wine.

They are very superstitious when at sea. In a storm, although the boat may be overladen they will not lighten it, saying that the sea swallows up all that is thrown into it and is never satiated, and the more one throws into it the rougher it becomes, and its waves never subside until everything in the boat has been cast out.

In navigating, when the wind fails these sailors flog their vessels with cords on the poop and on the sides until they themselves are tired and perspire, shouting all the time and abusing them as though they had intelligence to understand what they say and do to them, or stopped sailing through their own fault, which is what they attribute to them, as they say that even the boats become lazy and are tired of sailing, and that the wind seeing them thus takes pity on them and ceases blowing to let them repose, and when they are rested it blows again as before. Some of these sailors believe so firmly in this superstition that there is no dissuading them from it.

Twice I saw this done by sailors of the islands of Querimba when going to Mozambique, and on my reproving them for beating the boats which could not feel, they made fun of me, saying that I did not know the custom of these pangayos, because as they were neglectful it was necessary to rouse them, and that I would see the wind return immediately, but I did not see this until such was God's will. The pilot of these vessels is called Malemo, the master Mocadão.

The merchandise which the traders of this coast give in exchange for all the goods sold by the Kaffirs is cloth of all kinds, especially of black cotton, and small glazed clay beads of every colour, which are sent yearly from India to Mozambique. The captain of the fortress sends a vessel every year with these wares to the island of Inhaca, which is situated in the river Lourenço Marques, to trade, whence he obtains ambergris, ivory, slaves, honey, butter, horns and hoofs of the rhinoceros, and tusks and hoofs of the hippopotamus. Another ship or pangayo he sends every year to Cape das Correntes and the river Inhambane, whence he obtains the same wares. Every six months he sends a pangayo, and frequently two, to Sofala with the same merchandise, whence he receives ambergris, ivory, seed pearl and

pearls obtained in the sea round the islands of Bocicas, teeth of the woman-fish, honey, butter, rice, a number of slaves, and a large quantity of gold in dust, plates, and nuggets. Every six months he despatches three or four pangayos with these wares to the rivers of Cuama. Thence he obtains a large quantity of gold in dust, plates, and nuggets, ivory, tusks of the hippopotamus, honey, butter, rice, and a number of slaves. He despatches a pangayo to the islands of Angoxa every six months, whence he obtains ivory, some ambergris, a number of slaves, very fine straw mats, and straw coverings for the head, which are generally worn on this coast. Every year he despatches a ship or large vessel to the island of Madagascar, whence he obtains a number of cows, goats of a good kind which give birth to young ones twice a year, producing two or three kids on each occasion, ambergris, slaves, and very good and fine cloth, which the negroes of the island weave of rushes, of which the Portuguese make mats for lounging places and with which some of the negroes, especially those of the island, clothe themselves. Every year he sends a captain to the islands of Querimba, whose jurisdiction extends to Cape Delgado. He lays in a supply from all these islands of millet and rice for the provision of the fortress of Mozambique, a number of cows, goats, some ivory which is sent from the mainland to be sold in the islands, some ambergris, much manna, a quantity of tortoiseshell, and a great number of slaves.

The jurisdiction of the captain of Mozambique extends from the island of Inhaca to Cape Delgado, that is over more than three hundred leagues of coast.

The slaves of these countries of which I have spoken, or the greater number of them, are not natives thereof, but these Kaffirs are such great thieves that they steal children and lure adults into coming to these shores, where they sell them to the Portuguese, or to the Moors, or to other Kaffir traders who carry on this traffic, saying that they are their captives. Others of these slaves are sold by their fathers in times of necessity and famine; others are made prisoners by the kings for crimes they have committed, and are sold by their order; others again are taken prisoners in wars which the Kaffirs usually wage against each other, and the conquerors sell the captives whom they make.

As I have already in this third book treated of the island and fortress of Mozambique, I shall therefore give an account here, which has just reached me from India, of its siege by the Dutch, and the war they carried on against it last year, 1607, which account may be seen in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER XX.

Which gives a short account of the war which the Dutch made upon the fortress of Mozambique, and their siege of it in the year 1607.

In this year, 1608, the ships from India reached this kingdom, of which Dom Hieronymo Coutinho was commander in chief, and brought information of the attack made upon the fortress of Mozambique by the Dutch, and as in this third book of Eastern Ethiopia I have treated of this island and fortress, before proceeding further it appears to me that I should give a short account of what occurred in this war and siege, which is as follows:—

On the 29th of March in the year of our Lord 1607 eight Dutch ships arrived at the port of Mozambique, Dom Estevão d'Ataide, a gentleman of most noble family, being captain of the fortress. At the sight of these ships the residents of the island retired into the fortress, as they had already prepared to do, having received from India information of the sailing of these ships, for which reason they had stored within it their most valuable goods, money, other articles, and the furniture of their houses. As soon as these ships reached the port on the inner side of the two islands S. Jorge and Santiago, about a league from the fortress, they anchored close together, and at once hoisted a flag of battle, so that no doubt remained as to their being enemies, and they immediately got out a number of boats which they carried on board.

On the following day, which was Saturday, as soon as the tide began to rise the flag ship weighed anchor, and with the others following in a line crossed the bar of Mozambique with as much audacity as though the fortress—and that one of the strongest in India—was not there, which at the time was firing upon them with its abundant and heavy artillery, from which they received great damage. Whilst effecting this entrance one of the eight

ships ran on a reef, of which there are two most perilous to vessels on this bar. There she lay nearly on her beam ends and almost wrecked, but the Dutch with great haste went to her assistance in their boats, and by means of ropes which they threw to her towed her into the channel and brought her in in company with the others, with as much skill as if they had been pilots of this bar all their lives and knew the features of the channel and bay. They anchored in the bay at a place where the artillery of the fortress could not harm them, and on the morning of the following Sunday they landed five hundred musketeers and made themselves masters of the place, as the men in the fortress were few in comparison with the enemy and were not strong enough to prevent them from disembarking. At this time there were not more than one hundred and forty-five men, both young and old, in the fortress. On the same Sunday they brought some pieces of artillery from their ships and placed them in the Dominican convent, where they fortified themselves and where all of them took up their quarters, as it faced the fortress. Finding that from this place the artillery was at too great a distance, they commenced to make trenches from the convent to the hermitage of St. Gabriel, and thence others to within a short distance of the fortress, where they constructed three batteries with bags and casks filled with earth, as strong as though built of stone and mortar, and on them they placed nine pieces of heavy artillery with which they battered the fortress so continuously that they fired each day eighty shots and upwards. Among this artillery was a great cannon discharging fifty-two-pound balls, with which they did great damage to the fortress. This contest was carried on for two months, during which time they held the fortress in siege.

In addition to the batteries they constructed mantelets of timber on wooden supports, and under cover of these they reached a rampart called St. Gabriel with the design of undermining it, but the garrison of the fortress did them so much damage with big stones hurled from the walls that they were compelled to abandon the enterprise and stratagem they had planned, and a number of the Dutch were killed. All these designs the Dutch carried out at night, to escape the great loss they sustained from the fire of our men stationed on the walls of the fortress.

On our part also there was no lack of stratagems to meet and



prevent the success of those of the Dutch. Our men lit up the ground in front of the fortress by means of burning naphtha in pots fastened to long staffs fixed upon the wall, so that the Dutch dared not approach the fortress through fear of being seen by our men watching on the walls and being killed with their guns. Thus the one hundred and forty-five men in the fortress always got the better of the enemy, who numbered about two thousand, and always succeeded in preventing the execution of their stratagems. They came to have so little fear of them that one night twenty men sallied out of the fortress and fell upon them, killing a great number without our people receiving any damage, and during the course of the siege more than three hundred of the enemy were killed and only two Portuguese. This in great part was owing to the good government and prudence of the captain of the fortress, who in this contest conducted himself not only as a wise captain but also as a valiant soldier, being foremost in watching and in fighting, thereby greatly encouraging his soldiers.

The enemy seeing the little result obtained from the incessant war they had waged, and the number of their men killed by the garrison of the fortress, and also fearing that our ships from this kingdom would come to that port, according to their custom, and find them there without means of escape, sent all their artillery on board their ships again, and when they were ready to sail directed a letter to the captain of the fortress, in which they said that if he desired to ransom the churches, houses, and palm groves of the island, and the farms of the mainland, he could send two men to treat of the subject with them, and if not they would break down and set fire to everything. To this was answered that they desired no treaty or dealings with them except those of war, upon which the Dutch set fire to the town with naphtha, causing such great destruction that neither house nor church remained standing. This is a matter much to be lamented, but what they did to the images and altars more so, as they broke them all and destroyed them. Besides this they cut down all the palm trees on the island, which were very numerous and valuable, and they also burnt two ships that were in the port, one of which was half laden with merchandise, having arrived from India but a few days previously; and on land they made prize of a great deal of merchandise that had not been

stored in the fortress for want of time. Further they carried away a galiot belonging to the captain of the fortress, which had recently arrived from Cape das Correntes. Thus the loss was general, and was estimated at over one hundred thousand cruzados.

Having completed this work they sailed over the bar, but not as safely as they had anticipated, for a number of their men were killed by the artillery of the fortress, which was incessantly discharged against them, and one of their ships in crossing the bar ran on one of the reefs in the channel, where she remained stranded.

The Dutch sailed to the islands of Comoro, which are seventy leagues from Mozambique, to seek provisions, as was afterwards learned.

A few days after their departure Dom Hieronimo Coutinho arrived at the port of Mozambique on his way from this kingdom to India as commander in chief of three ships, and crossing the bar he anchored close to the fortress at the usual place. Here he remained taking in water and refreshments and waiting for favourable weather to set out for India, until the 5th of August, on which day the Dutch returned and cast anchor off the inner side of the island of St. Jorge. Upon their arrival the men of the island of Mozambique again took refuge in the fortress, and Dom Hieronimo with his people went on board his ships, and thus all made ready to fight the Dutch if they should attempt to enter the channel of Mozambique. This they dared not attempt, but remained at the aforesaid anchoring place and from it made various sallies in their boats, in one of which they encountered our boats, and a combat took place with muskets until they retreated to their ships. On another occasion they sallied out and landed on the mainland, where they captured a Moor of the island, and learning from him that Dom Hieronimo had with him two thousand fighting men, they resolved to proceed to India, which they did, leaving the port of Mozambique on the 26th of August.

Dom Hieronimo Coutinho, seeing that the Dutch had left and that there was yet time for him to proceed to India, completed the necessary arrangements for his voyage, and leaving one hundred soldiers from his ships and thirty muskets in the fortress, he set sail, but in passing the bar one of his ships, the

*S. Francisco*, ran on one of the reefs in the channel and heeled over on her side, but they immediately went to her assistance and discharged the cargo she carried without losing any part of it, and when relieved of her cargo the ship floated. She leaked so much, however, that she was left at Mozambique with part of her cargo, the remainder being divided between the other two ships and taken to India.

The affairs of the island and fortress of Mozambique were left in this state, but at the present day it is well provided with soldiers, munitions of war, and provisions.

## SECOND PART.—BOOK II.—CHAPTER VIII.

Of the foundation of the house of Saint Dominic of Mozambique.

After the religious of the order of Preachers had planted the faith of Christ in several parts of India, as has been related, desiring to spread it through other parts of the East they passed into Eastern Ethiopia, there to cultivate the wild and untrained thicket of heathendom. They were the fathers Jeronymo do Couto and Pedro Usus Maris, who founded a house in the island of Mozambique, in which six or seven religious usually dwelt. This was at the time when the count of Atouguia, Dom Luiz d'Ataide, was at that island, when he came out as viceroy of India for the second time, which was in the year 1577.

These fathers came there from India, instructed to go to the island of Madagascar, which was then ordered to be explored and conquered, there to preach and found houses in which religious of their order were to reside for the same purpose. These orders could not be carried out at that time, this conquest not being effected, and the State of India not being sufficiently powerful to bear the expenses and costs necessary for such an undertaking. Therefore the said count viceroy left the fathers in Mozambique, giving them orders to make a first settlement in the said island, himself in person choosing the site for the convent, which the Dutch destroyed, as has been stated. This house was to be the foundation and seminary of all that Christian mission, from which the fathers might go to every part: to the island of Madagascar when it was conquered, as well as to all

the coast of the mainland from Cape Delgado to Cape Correntes, to preach the holy gospel.

These just and prudent intentions of the viceroy were not ill-formed, on the contrary they were all accomplished and put into practice; for from that same house the fathers of Saint Dominic carried on the Christian mission and preaching of the gospel throughout all those parts. Some went to the island of Madagascar, as we shall relate hereafter, others went to the islands of Cape Delgado and induced Diogo Rodrigues Correa, lord of the island of Querimba, to build a church in that island. He built a very beautiful one, dedicated to our Lady of the Rosary, and bestowed it upon the order of Saint Dominic with the lands and palm groves which surround it, with the obligation of saying two low masses a week. The fathers of Saint Dominic accepted this church with the said obligation, and have resided there until the present time, converting thousands to Christianity. I was in this church for two years, and shall speak of the Christians that I made there in the proper place.

Other religious of this house of Mozambique were sent to the rivers of Cuama, where the Christians of those parts lived as if they were unbelievers and did not profess to keep the law of God, always eating meat on Fridays, on Saturdays, and in Lent, some because they did not know when it was fish day or flesh day, and there was no one to remind them; others because they did not wish to know these things to which they were under obligation. Such was the carelessness of these people that the inhabitants of Sena in a chapel in that country had a picture above the altar in which the Roman Lucretia was painted naked, as she usually is, her breast pierced by a sword, and to this picture they recommended themselves, thinking it was Saint Catherine the martyr. The first fathers of that sacred order who went thither were deeply grieved to see Christian people in such carelessness and ignorance in matters relating to Christianity. Therefore they went about reprovng, admonishing, and preaching to the inhabitants of those parts, reclaiming them little by little from the bad habits in which they were rooted, until they were brought to a knowledge of the errors in which they lived and to the observance of the law which they professed as God-fearing Christians. Thus in all matters relating to the Christian religion these lands do not differ in any way from

those in the very heart of Christendom. These same fathers immediately built a church at Sena, dedicated to Saint Catherine of Sena, with two other confraternities, one of our Lady of the Rosary and the other of Jesus, with very devotional and well painted pictures of them, which the fathers ordered from India.

Besides this they built a church at Tete, dedicated to Saint James, and in it established two confraternities, one of the Conception of our Lady and the other of Saint Anthony of Padua. These churches were decorated with many ornaments and things necessary for divine worship. In this way they made many thousands of Christians from among the heathens of the country, among whom they baptized several kings, neighbours of Sena and Tete. The inhabitants of these rivers publicly confessed that the Christianity of these parts was completely owing to the labour and vigilance of the Dominican fathers. I was also a year in these churches, and the missionary work which I accomplished there I shall relate hereafter.

From the house in Mozambique religious of the said order went several times to visit all that coast, that of Sofala and the rivers of Cuama as well as that of the islands of Querimba and the coast of Melinde, with powers of visitation from the archbishops of Goa, in whose archbishopric the whole of that coast is included. One of these visitors was Father Jeronymo of Saint Augustine, brother of Father Antonio of Saint Dominic, of the said order, ex-professor of the first chair of theology in the university of Coimbra. Another was Father Diogo Cornejo, a native of India, of the city of Chaul. Another was the father Estevão of the Assumption, who had taken university degrees. Another was Father Manuel Pinto. All were religious of great authority, prudence, and virtue. In the course of these visitations, which they performed each in turn, and some twice or more, they rendered great service to God, reforming many vices, and denouncing many public sins and evil customs prevalent in all these parts. Thus the house of Saint Dominic in Mozambique is a seminary from which all the Christian missions of Ethiopia that I have mentioned are provided, where great service is rendered to God and to our lord the king.

## CHAPTER IX.

Which treats of Father Nicolau do Rosario, Father João de S. Thomaz, and Father João da Piedade, who were put to death by the infidels while working in the Christian missions of Ethiopia.

Extracts :—

Another father of the same order, named Friar Nicolau do Rosario, went from this house of Mozambique to preach in the rivers of Cuama, in the year of our Lord 1592. He was a very great preacher, and endowed with high virtue, being so esteemed not only by the people of these rivers, but also by all those who knew and conversed with him, especially by those who were wrecked in the ship *S. Thomé*, in which he was proceeding from India to Portugal. In all the hardships of this wreck, which were infinite, he bore himself as a true servant of God, enduring everything with much patience and great constancy, and encouraging others by his example and exhortations that they might not lose heart. This exterior plainly showed the quality of his inward virtues.

This father after the shipwreck went to these rivers, as has been said, preaching and doing the office of an apostolic minister. At this time a war broke out between the Portuguese of these rivers and a Kaffir tribe called Zimbaz, very barbarous and cruel, who ate human flesh and performed many evil deeds, and were expected to commit still greater crimes. Therefore the captain of Tete, who was then Pedro Fernandes de Chaves, with most of the Portuguese in the country determined to drive out these Kaffirs from the kraals which they had taken by force from the Kaffirs near the rivers, and to restore them again to their owners. When the expedition was ready to set out the captain pressed Father Nicolau to go with him, to administer the sacraments to the men of his company. He assented with great pleasure, for it seemed to him that he might render great service to God and the Portuguese by this.

But nearly all perished on the way by the arrows of the Kaffirs, who laid an ambuscade for them, as before related in detail, and Father Nicolau, who was still alive, though badly wounded, was taken prisoner and carried to their village, where they bound him hand and foot to a stake and cruelly finished

putting him to death with their arrows, because he was a religious, which they call a *caciz*, saying that the Portuguese undertook this war only by his advice, for Christians never did such things except upon the counsel and opinion of their *cacizes*. Thus perished this religious like another Saint Sebastian, pierced with arrows, still preaching and confessing the faith of Christ for which he died. After his death the Kaffirs cut him in pieces, divided him among them, and boiled and devoured him. But his soul has surely already received the reward of his labours and of the death he suffered for the love of God.

From the house of Mozambique Father João da Piedade was sent to the church of Sena, where he busied himself in the service of that mission. It happened at that time that a heathen Kaffir named Sanapache, lord of certain lands of the rivers of Cuama, being oppressed by his enemies fled to Sena, to seek the shelter and protection of the Portuguese; and in order to bind them to him and induce them to take his part, he became a Christian and was catechized and baptized by Father João da Piedade. But as this Kaffir was converted rather because of the necessity in which he found himself than from a desire of salvation, he fled back to his own lands when an opportunity offered, and rose against the Portuguese, declaring himself their enemy and doing them all the harm he could. Under these circumstances, as Father João was proceeding in a vessel up the river, this Kaffir came out to meet him and cruelly murdered him as a reward for having made him a Christian and given him the knowledge of God. To this peril and death our religious who labour for the increase and spread of this Christian mission are generally exposed.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Of twenty-four religious of the order of Preachers who went from Portugal, having offered themselves to serve in the Christian missions of Solor and Eastern Ethiopia.

We have already stated that in the year of our Lord 1585 letters came from India from the bishop of Malacca, Dom João Gayo Ribeiro, to Cardinal Albert, who then governed this kingdom of Portugal, and to the provincial of the order of Preachers of this kingdom. These letters made known the great

Christian missions which the fathers of the said order had founded in the islands of Solor, Timor, and Ende, and the great increase which they had brought about there; and that those employed in this ministry did not suffice, and thus the opportunity of making many Christians was lost, because the harvest was great and the labourers too few to attend to so much. Therefore he entreated and earnestly begged that fathers of the said order should be sent from Portugal to assist in this necessity. These letters, through the neglect of those who brought them, were delayed until two days before Christmas, and were then given to the cardinal and to our provincial, who was at that time Father Jeronymo Correa.

Having seen these letters, they commanded them to be read in the chapter to the religious of the convent of Saint Dominic of Lisbon. Five fathers immediately offered themselves to embark in the galleon *Reis Magos*, which was to leave for Malacca the following day, which was Christmas eve. These five fathers were Father Thomaz de Brito, a very learned man who was then professor of theology in the convent of Saint Dominic of Lisbon, the learned Father Francisco de Mattos, who was very skilful and was professor of arts in the said convent, Father Luiz de Brito, Father Francisco da Cunha and Father Gaspar Teixeira, all learned men and preachers of great parts and promise. Their president was Father Thomaz de Brito, who received many favours and privileges from the cardinal.

Having embarked in the said galleon, the captain of which was João Gayo d'Andrade, the pilot André Lopes, and the master Antonio Correa, they were not able to leave Lisbon harbour before the eve of Twelfth night of the year 1586. They had a very unpleasant voyage, in the course of which they met with many misfortunes from contrary weather as well as from English robbers. They fought with two ships of these, and there was such a cruel battle that the galleon grappled with the ships and they fought with swords for about two hours, and there were dead and wounded on both sides. The robbers, seeing what little hope they had of getting the better of our people, freed themselves from the galleon and made off in another direction, while the galleon proceeded on her way. She was six months reaching Mozambique, on account of contrary winds.

When these five religious were gone, the letters of the bishop



of Malacca were sent to our convents throughout the province of Portugal, and read to the religious thereof. Many immediately offered themselves for this new enterprise, particularly in the college of Coimbra, from which several collegians of great ability came to Lisbon to embark in the ships which were preparing to go to India. Nineteen in all embarked in company with Father Jeronimo de São Thomaz, who went to India that year as vicar-general of the congregation of Friars Preachers. These religious were accommodated in two ships, which were the *Reliquias* and *São Thomé*, the flag-ship, whose chief captain was Dom Jeronimo Coutinho, the pilot Alvaro de Villasboas, and the master Antonio Negão.

The vicar general embarked in this ship with thirteen religious, namely Father João da Piedade, now bishop of China, the presentado Father Jeronimo de São Domingos, who after being thirteen years in India was elected vicar general of the congregation of the said order, Father Domingos da Visitação, a virtuous and learned religious who as soon as he reached India became professor of arts and afterwards of theology, Father Serafino de Christo, Father Cosmo Carreira, Father João Lopez, Father João de São Paulo, of Flemish nationality, Father João Frausto, Father Diogo, Father Pantaleão da Silva, and the lay brother, Friar Domingos. I also was of the company, it being my good fortune to go with these great and virtuous religious on this voyage, and I kept this journal in remembrance of the many great mercies we received from God in this long pilgrimage. There embarked in the ship *Reliquias* Fathers Domingos Gomes, Francisco da Silva, Diogo Barreira, Jeronimo Lopez, Miguel dos Anjos, and Friar Antonio de São Jorge, lay brother.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Of what befel us on our voyage from Portugal to the Cape of Good Hope.

We left Lisbon harbour on the 13th of April 1586 with a fleet of five ships, the *São Thomé*, flag ship, the *Curanja*, *São Philippe*, *Salvador*, and *Reliquias*. On the second day of our voyage we reached a part of the sea which navigators call Val das Egoas, where we met with high winds and heavy seas, through which we navigated for five days. On the 20th of April we reached the

island of Madeira. From Porto Santo a fishing boat came to our ship and gave us some fish, and also took ashore several seasick soldiers who wished to be left there.

On the 10th of May we reached the equinoctial line, and here we encountered many calms, thunderstorms, and heavy falls of rain, which did us great damage and broke our sprit-sail twice. On another occasion there was a violent thunderstorm in the night, which carried away our main topsail. During this thunderstorm all the ships, which till that time had kept together, were separated, and each one went her own way, so that when it was morning not one could see the other, and they did not join company again until they reached Mozambique. Finally after eight days, during which we remained there in great vexation, the trade wind began to blow, and we crossed the equator from north to south on the 18th of May. In this latitude most of our provisions went bad.

On the 3rd of June we saw a desert island, in 23° south latitude, composed of very high mountains thickly wooded. It was more than a league in length and half a league in width. We passed close to it one morning, without its being recognised by the pilot or the sailors. When we had passed this island we had a few days calm, and then a great tempest of furious winds, during which we sailed upon a taut bowline, with great difficulty. The tempest was such that it snapped the yard of the mainmast in the middle, and tore the mainsail to shreds. But God was pleased that no further harm should befall us, and everything was repaired when the storm was over and we continued upon our way.

We reached the Cape of Good Hope, which is in 34½° south latitude, on the 1st of July, and here the wind failed us. In the afternoon of that day, all night, and part of the following day the sailors were fishing, and took great quantities of whiting, roach, dog-fish, and other fish of different kinds, which to a great extent relieved the hunger, annoyances, and hardships of the sea.

The following day in the afternoon we had a good wind astern, and went on our way towards Mozambique with great joy and contentment.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Of the corposant which we saw, and what further befel us on the way to Mozambique.

Extracts:—

On the 10th of August we came in sight of the mainland and the islands of Angosha, which are thirty leagues from Mozambique, where we met the galleon of Malacca which had left Portugal three months before us, and in which were the five fathers of Saint Dominic, of whom I have already spoken, for the Christian mission of Solor. They had left Mozambique the day before, where they had remained for a few days resting from the fatigue and annoyances of the sea, and taking in the provisions and water required until they should reach Malacca. And as the currents are very strong in that part, and the wind failed, the galleon lost the thirty leagues which are between Mozambique and Angosha, where we came upon her. But the favourable wind returning, they continued their voyage until they arrived safely at the fortress of Malacca. There they re-embarked for the islands of Solor and Timor, where they arrived after suffering many misfortunes and perils on their voyage. In those islands they remained, rendering good service to God by the increase of Christianity and conversion of the heathen who dwelt there.

After we had lost sight of this galleon of Malacca, the next day, which was the 13th of August, we reached Mozambique, where we found that the ships *Caranjá* and *Reliquias* of our company had arrived two days before. And the *Salvador*, also of our company, arrived after us on the 14th.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Of what befel the fathers who went to India in this fleet.

As soon as the religious of this our company reached India, the vicar general began to distribute them and employ them in the Christian ministry, in order to fulfil the purpose for which they had left Portugal, which was to preach the gospel and convert the infidels. Therefore he sent some of them to the islands of Solor and Timor, where they reaped a large harvest of

souls, converting and baptizing many heathens and rendering many other services to God.

Others he sent to the forts of Sena and Tete, which are in the rivers of Cuama, where fathers of the same order had been serving the Christian missions for many years. Father Jeronymo Lopes went to the church of Sena, where he built a beautiful new church, the old one being in great disrepair. After this he went to Tete to build another, at the request of the inhabitants. He made many Christians at Sena, and occupied himself in rendering other services to God during the three years and a half that he was vicar there.

Father João Frausto went to the church at Tete, where he remained for three years and a half. During that time he made many Christians and went on several occasions into the kingdom of Monomotapa to confess and administer the sacraments to the Christians scattered about that kingdom, engaged in trade, Portuguese and half breeds as well as natives of that country.

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Our vicar general sent me to the fortress of Sofala, where Father João Madeira, an old and honourable religious of the same order, then was, that we might both serve that Christian mission, and console and assist each other in lands so distant and remote from India. And of what befel us there I shall treat in the following book.

### BOOK III.—CHAPTER I.

Of the first voyage which I made from Mozambique to the fortress of Sofala.

Obedience kept me at Mozambique, to pass from that place to the Christian mission of Sofala, a voyage of a hundred and sixty leagues. Having purchased everything which we required for the said mission, we set out on the 1st of November 1586, with very favourable weather, which continued until the hour of vespers. We reached the shoals of Muginquale, which are fifteen leagues from Mozambique, and through the pilot's fault we struck on them, without hope of salvation. Being in this danger, all stripped and awaiting shipwreck, our Lord was pleased that a great wave should come and raise the vessel, which on this coast is called a pangayo, lifting it off the rocks where it was being

beaten to pieces and launching it in one of the channels which are among these shoals, by which we made our way out of the reef without touching any of the numerous other rocks which were before us. Finally, on the next day we put into port at the islands of Angosha. Here the pangayo was repaired, for it was leaking, rudderless, broken, and almost swamped, to the great damage of the merchandise it carried.

The Angosha group consists of seven or eight small islands, some a league and others half a league or less in size; they are thirty leagues from Mozambique. Three of them only are peopled by poor and low class Moors, who are good workmen in weaving mats of very fine straw, white or of many beautiful colours, which are used upon the daises of women of quality, and also to sleep on during the sultry weather which in these countries is very common and severe. They make also many fine straw hats, which are much used by the Portuguese in these parts. Among these islands the ship *Nossa Senhora do Castello* went ashore and was wrecked, but nearly all the people were saved and also a great part of the merchandise.

We left these islands after the pangayo was repaired, which took fifteen days. But on the second day of our voyage we were forced to enter the river Quilimane on account of a thunderstorm which came from the south-east, which is a contrary wind upon this coast, and we were almost wrecked upon the bar of this river, as the negro pilot missed the entrance in such a way that we went in over the shoals for more than a league, they being all under water because of the huge waves. But it pleased God that we should not perish, and we entered without striking upon any rock whatever.

The ship *São Luiz* was lost on the bar of this river in the year 1582. She was bound from Portugal to India, and one day at dawn found herself in front of this river in such shallow water that it was necessary to cut down the masts, for the wind was blowing from the sea, and she could not turn back on account of it nor avoid the shoals which lay before. But even this did not prevent the ship from drifting towards the coast and breaking the cables of the two anchors which were cast out. At last she struck the rocks and went to pieces, many persons being drowned, and others escaping in the boat and the skiff belonging to the ship, in which they reached the shore; but on landing they were

robbed by the Kaffirs of all they had saved, and thence they went up the river to the fort of Sena.

We were eight days in this harbour, at the end of which we sailed for the river Luabo, where we were to leave certain merchandise which we carried in our pangayo. But before we reached that river a contrary wind blew violently from the south, through which we entered the river of Old Cuama, which is five leagues from Luabo, where we remained one night. The next day we set out for the river Luabo, entering a strait which divides the mainland from the island of Luabo, which is five leagues in width and as many, more or less, in length; and because of this island the arm is called the river Luabo, which is the most important of the rivers of Cuama. We were five days in this river, during which we landed the merchandise destined for that place, and after this we set out for Sofala, where we arrived in safety on the 5th of December of the said year.

At this fortress I was received with great joy both by Father João Madeira, my companion, and by the captain of the fortress, who was then Garcia de Mello, a noble and honourable gentleman, brother-in-law of the chief ensign of Portugal, Dom Jorge de Menezes, who was then captain of Mozambique.

## CHAPTER II.

Of several voyages which I made in this sea of Sofala for the service of the Christian mission, and of the perils which I suffered therein.

While I was in this Christian mission of Sofala it was many times necessary for me to cross to an island called Inhansato, which is on the other side of the river, because of the Christians who dwell there, sometimes to confess them and administer the sacraments when they were sick, and at other times to say mass. In crossing the river, which is very dangerous and wide, I was often almost lost through the bad weather and thunderstorms which overtook me.

Upon one occasion especially, returning from the island to Sofala, when we were in the middle of the river at sunset a dense fog arose with a sudden storm of wind and rain, in which I was completely lost, therefore I gave orders to row to what appeared

to be the nearest land, which proved to be covered with a thicket, that we reached with difficulty, leaving the boat swamped upon the shore. Thence to the fortress of Sofala the distance was a league, without roads, through woods full of swollen rivulets, among which we were more lost than ever, because of the great darkness which prevented us from seeing where we were going. At length we reached the fortress near midnight, our feet, hands, and faces torn by the thickets, drenched with water, and in a most miserable condition. This exertion caused me a most serious attack of fever, which lasted six months.

On the 5th of November of the year 1588 two honourable married men of Sofala and myself went to a desert island which is in the river Bango, seven leagues from Sofala, to remain there some days cutting timber, which is very fine in that island, to repair the mother church, that was ready to fall. Setting out at dawn one morning with a land breeze blowing, before sunrise there arose one of the greatest storms I have ever seen; but it pleased God that its fury should come upon us when we were near the island; however, it lasted three days and three nights. All this time we were eight persons on the said island, with nothing to eat or drink, for the boat which was to bring the beds and provisions necessary for all the time we were to remain there did not dare to leave Sofala, neither did the weather allow of it till after three days.

At the end of that time it arrived at the island, where we were found very weak from hunger, thirst, the hardships we had endured from the furious winds which blew, and the want of shelter on the island, for the greater part of it was under water, and when the tide was high we were forced to climb the trees, day and night, until it ebbed again. But our chief torment was numberless mosquitos, which stung our eyes, we being unable to escape or resist them. We were all ill for a long time from these hardships, and it was a great mercy of God that they did not last longer, for in two days more we should all have died there; but as we were engaged in the service of God and His temple He took pity upon us, and the weather cleared so that we took back the necessary timber with us and repaired the church to perfection.

The following year it was necessary that I should go to Mozambique upon certain business of importance to the further-

ance of the Christianity at Sofala. For this purpose I embarked in a pangayo, and coming out of the harbour we were nearly lost, for the sea ran so high that the yard of our mast was broken by the rolling of the ship, and the sail was torn to pieces. In the meanwhile the waves were carrying us towards the rocks, upon which we must inevitably have been lost if we struck upon them. But it pleased God that the tide should turn, and it carried the vessel to sea beyond the rocks, where it was calmer, and the waves allowed us time to repair the yard and sail, upon which we set forward again with fair wind and weather.

But on the second day there was a gale from the south-east, with frequent thunder, lightning, and heavy rain at the hour of midnight, very dark and awful, in which we thought ourselves so surely lost that we steered for land, intending to run ashore and at most save our lives. To this end we sailed all the rest of the night and until ten o'clock next morning, when we came in sight of land and steered straight towards it, all stripped and ready to swim as soon as the ship touched ground. In the meanwhile we recited the litanies in unison, asking mercy of God. And we received it from Him, for when we reached the land we saw a small river called Inhagea, which we entered without any danger whatever, and there remained for some days awaiting fair weather to continue our journey; but we could not do so, the west winds being now over and the east winds set in, these being the two winds which usually blow upon that coast, and therefore we returned to Sofala after a month's voyage.

Many times in the service of the Christianity of Sofala I journeyed through the woods by which the fortress is surrounded, in which there are many elephants, wild buffaloes, and other animals, which I often chanced to meet; but by the mercy of God they never did me any harm, and thus He always delivered me from peril by land and sea, for which I give Him great thanks. I relate these things that it may be seen to what dangers our religious are exposed in these parts for the increase of Christianity.



## CHAPTER VII.

Of a mosque which the Moors of Sofala raised in honour of a rich Moor, and in which they revered him as a saint, to which I set fire.

Opposite the fortress of Sofala is an island on the other side of the river, called Inhansato, as has been stated. The former lord of this island was a very rich Moor, named Muynhe Mohamed, who was very friendly to the Portuguese inhabitants of Sofala, so much so that he would often eat and drink in their houses, partaking of everything, even though it might be pork, a thing strictly forbidden by his law, and he was particularly fond of ham and pork sausages, and still more so of wine, which is also prohibited by the said law. Thus he made a mockery of his law in this and many other things, and he said that Mohamed never forbade wine or pork to the Moors, in proof of which he told a story which I have often heard in this kingdom in disparagement of Mohamed, to the effect that before he was rich and honoured he was one of those wine vendors who go about the fields selling wine to the labourers, and one day when he was leading an ass laden with wine, a wild boar came out of the wood and ran furiously across the road on which he was travelling. Thereupon the ass took fright and ran away, and in his terror threw the load of wine upon the ground, and the jars were broken and the wine spilt; that upon this Mohamed cursed his life and said that he would drink no more wine and eat no more pork, but that by this he meant the flesh of the boar which had fled and the wine which was spilt, not such pork and wine as we have at present.

When this Moor died, the Moors of Sofala made him a mosque in the island of Inhansato, in which they held his tomb in great veneration and respect, simply because he was a rich and honoured Moor, and these barbarous Moors considered these qualities sufficient ground for holding and honouring him as a saint, he being a Moor in name only. This mosque was all hung with painted calico, the stones of the sepulchre were anointed with fragrant sandal, and around it were many braziers in which they threw incense to perfume the mosque. Above his grave quantities of rice and millet were strewn by the Moors, who petitioned him for prosperous harvests in return for this

offering. Opposite the door of the mosque was a half mast fixed in the ground. In this were many nails, upon which the Moorish sailors before undertaking any voyage hung pieces of oars, pulleys, or any cordage from their vessel, that this Moor might grant them a prosperous voyage, so that they offered him petitions and prayed to him as though he were a saint.

Knowing this, I ardently desired to see this mosque, in order to do it the honours which it deserved. I did in fact see it when I went one day pleasuring to the said island with the owner thereof, who was then a noble and honourable Portuguese named Pedro Lobo, and when we were on the island I called two of our young men in secret and one of Pedro Lobo's who knew where the mosque was, and asked him to lead me to it, because I wished to see it very much. They led me about a quarter of a league into the island to the spot where the mosque stood in a large open space, surrounded by thick woods.

After examining it well, I set fire to it with a piece of gun-match which I bade one of the young men bring with him alight, not telling him for what purpose it was required, for had I done so, or had they imagined what I was about, they would not have accompanied me, as they have a great fear of offending the dead, and much more such a one as this, whom the Moors regarded as a saint. As soon as I set fire to the mosque, which was of wood, thatched with straw, as are all the houses in Sofala, it burned with all the hangings which were in it, and nothing escaped. The fire was so great that it brought to the spot most of the Moors on the island, and seeing the mosque burnt to the ground and reduced to glowing embers (a good picture of the fire in which Mohamed was burning), they were amazed and grieved, and would have taken vengeance on me if it had not been for their fear of the Portuguese and their veneration and respect for our religious, but one and all called down a thousand curses upon me among themselves, and augured that a thousand evils and punishments would fall upon me from the hand of Mohamed, because of the insult I had offered to his tomb. This was said not only by the Moors, but also by some of the Christians of the country, who thought me rash, and the least they expected was that I should die for this excess of zeal.

A few days after this it happened that I had a running from one of my eyes, and the Moors on hearing of it held great

rejoicings, saying that Mohamed had already begun to punish me and I would lose my eyes. But it pleased God whom I served to give me perfect health, by which the hopes of the Moors were frustrated. I relate this story that it may be seen what little foundation all these Moors have for the veneration of their saints, since they take the wicked for the just, as in the case of this Moor, who was a Moor in name only, as I have said, simply because he was rich and honoured in his lifetime.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Christianity we made in the lands of Sofala, and how we left that place and went to the rivers of Cuama, and of some notable things we saw in this journey.

We were in that fortress of Sofala, Father João Madeira and myself, four years. During the first year we repaired the churches in that land, which were more like badly kept Moorish mosques than Christian churches. We also built two new chapels, one dedicated to our Lady of the Rosary, in the house in which we lived, and another dedicated to the mother of God, outside the village in a palm-grove belonging to us, which is the best road out of Sofala, and the chapel is a great place of pilgrimage and devotion. We kept the churches very clean and neat, and well furnished with vestments and whatever is most necessary for divine worship. We did much to increase and preserve Christianity in these lands, which by the goodness and mercy of God spread greatly both among the heathens and the Moors, many being converted to our holy faith by our preaching as well as by the processions and divine offices which they saw us perform. We laboured constantly in this, the people of this country being very barbarous and difficult to convert and bring to a knowledge of their errors. Of these people Father João Madeira baptized more than a thousand, and I baptized six hundred and ninety-four.

At the end of the four years during which we served this mission, which was until July 1590, we received a message from India from our vicar general, bidding us return to Mozambique where there were other things of great importance for the service of God to be attended to. The inhabitants of Sofala were greatly grieved at being thus left without any of the religious of Saint

Dominic. But obedience forced us to submit, therefore we delivered our churches to the vicar of the country with all their ornaments, begging him earnestly to preserve and treat them with the cleanliness and care with which we had adorned them, until other religious of our order should return to them. Then we resolved to set out for Mozambique, but as the ship in which we were to go remained in the river Luabo and was unable to reach Sofala because of the contrary winds, we were forced to make our way to her by land, in order to embark for Mozambique.

Everything being arranged for our departure, on the 13th of July we set out through the lands of the Kaffirs with two guides, who led us to the rivers of Cuama over thirty leagues of rough and difficult roads, most of the country being without people and full of woods and wild forests, in which there are many elephants, tigers, panthers, lions, wild buffaloes, and other creatures and wild animals, some of which we saw from afar, and met with others, which caused us great peril and terror. But none of them dared to attack us, because we had with us fourteen slaves belonging to some of our friends in Sofala, who lent them to us for this journey, all of whom were armed with bows and arrows and assagais.

All these lands belong to the kingdom of Quiteve, lord of the river of Sofala, and our friend. Therefore at all the Kaffir kraals which we reached, the head of the kraal, whom they call an encosse, received and made much of us, on hearing that we were the fathers of Sofala whom they call cacizes, and sent us presents of fowls, yams, and bread of millet, which is their ordinary food. At the same time they ordered all the musicians of the country to assemble with their drums and other instruments before our door, where they made such discordant music and such inharmonious sounds that we were stunned by it; and thus they played, sang, and danced all night, so that their rejoicings in our honour were very troublesome to us, but we did not dare tell them to keep quiet for fear of offending them. In the morning we gave each of these musicians a handful of beads, worth about ten reis (a thing highly prized among them), and to the encosse we gave a cloth worth about five pence, with which they were all well satisfied and contented. In this way we passed through all the kraals until we reached the river Tendankulu.

After we had passed these Kaffirs and were already entering the lands which belong to Monomotapa, we slept one night in a deserted forest, where nearly all through the night we heard great hissing in very loud and awful tones like that of a man when he frightens birds from wheat. We were much alarmed by these noises, for it seemed to us that Kaffir thieves were pursuing us to rob and kill us. Therefore we did not dare speak to each other, for fear of being heard or perceived, but remained quiet in the trees which we had already climbed on account of the wild beasts and other animals to be found in these forests. Thus we remained in great tribulation, keeping watch until the morning. When morning came, which we hailed with great joy, we continued our journey, meeting no one. At the first Kaffir kraal which we reached we related what had occurred, and the Kaffirs told us that the cries we had heard in the night proceeded from very large birds, bigger than cocks, which remained hidden in the daytime and only came out at night to hunt other birds upon which they preyed, and therefore they made this noise to frighten them out of the bushes and trees in which they were sleeping, and as soon as they came out they were pursued and devoured. Francisco Brochado, of whom I have previously spoken, and who was on the river of Luabo, twelve leagues from the place where we found these birds, also confirmed this report.

## CHAPTER IX.

Of an aquatic animal which we saw upon this journey, of some very large birds, and what further befel us.

As soon as we had passed the river Tendankulu, as we were travelling along the shore of the ocean in the lands of Monomotapa we found a dead animal, badly wounded by arrows and assagais, which had been killed the day before by the Kaffirs of that country as they were fishing at the mouth of the river upon some reefs that lie along the shore. They said the animal came there as if bewildered, and got caught among the rocks: instead of swimming out to sea it came farther ashore, and they killed it when it was almost on dry land.

This animal was covered with ash-coloured hair upon the back and white on the belly, like the hair of an ox, but very much

coarser; the head and mouth were like those of a tiger, with huge teeth; it had white whiskers a span in length and as thick as the cord used by cobblers. It was more than ten spans in length, and was larger in girth than a big man. It had a very thick tail, a span long, ears like a dog, and arms like a man, smooth and perfectly free from hair, with large fins at the elbow like those of a fish. Near the tail it had two short feet, flat like those of a large monkey, but it had no legs. It had five toes upon its back and fore feet, joined by a web like the foot of a goose, but when this web was stripped off there remained separate toes, a good span in length. In the middle of the toes of the back feet only, on the upper side it had white nails, very large and sharp like those of a tiger. It had a male organ near the tail, the entrails, lungs, and liver were like those of a pig.

We ordered the slaves we had with us to skin this animal upon the shore where we found it lying dead, and its hide was thicker than that of an ox. While we were thus employed several Kaffirs of the country came to speak to us, and we enquired of them, through the interpreter, why they did not eat the flesh of this animal since it was so red and fat, and they ate snakes, lizards, rats, and all kinds of flesh which they find. They replied that they had never seen such an animal before, in the sea or on the land, and they thought it was a child of the devil, because when they killed it its roars were so loud that they were all terrified, and the noise was heard at their kraal (which was about half a league distant), and therefore they were afraid to eat it. But when they saw our slaves take the liver, put it on a large wooden spit, and roast and feed upon it, they fell upon the animal and carried it off in pieces to eat it, not leaving even the hide.

We spent eighteen days on this journey, and it took us so long because sometimes we were delayed upon the banks of rivers and great pools of water which we came across until we could learn where they might best be forded, and some we crossed with great difficulty with the water up to our necks. Besides this we had often to endure hunger and exposure, sleeping many nights upon the ground, and sometimes when there were no inhabitants we slept in the trees, to which we tied ourselves for fear of falling in our sleep, and we did this because of the wild beasts which prowl about there day and night. But through all these hardships we

had always the calmness and consolation of knowing that they were endured for the sake of Christianity, for which we had offered ourselves. Many other things happened to and were seen by us on this journey, of which I have treated in the description of these lands, as aforesaid.

We reached the river of Luabo on the 1st day of August 1590, where we were well received and entertained by the captain of the rivers of Cuama, who was there, named Francisco Brochado, of whom I have already spoken several times. Here we found the pangayo in which we were to go to Mozambique, awaiting us. We embarked the day after our arrival and cast anchor upon the bar of the said river, in order to sail when the weather should serve. But the wind was so contrary that we could not get out of the river, and we remained there eight days.

During that time some of the sailors went ashore to seek wood and fruit in the thickets which lie along the beach. They brought back two young birds still covered with white down, which they had found in a nest. They closely resembled eagles in the talons, eyes, and beak, but their bodies were much bigger than those of the largest eagles. They measured nine palms from the tip of one wing to the other, for I ordered them to be measured to settle the question. The sailors killed them, as they could not be reared without the mother, and made a large stew of their flesh, which they ate. It may clearly be inferred from this that these birds when full grown must be of an amazing size. They say that there are other very large birds in this country, of which I have already treated in the description of Sofala.

While we were on the bar awaiting favourable weather the pangayo began to leak so badly that we must have foundered before finding the opening, and it was by the mercy of God that we lacked wind for our navigation, for if we had put out to sea as soon as the pangayo began to move it would have been completely open to the water, and must have been lost and ourselves with it; but our Lord willed to favour us, so that the danger was discovered in time, and we returned to the river, where the vessel was drawn up on shore to be repaired. For this reason we could not make the voyage that monsoon, and we remained this year in the rivers.

## CHAPTER X.

How we went up the river Luabo and resided in the churches of Sena and Tete.

We remained twelve days in this island of Luabo, at the end of which, seeing that we could not proceed to Mozambique, we left for Sena in company with the captain of the rivers. In the centre of this river there are many large sandbanks where we slept, and we only navigated by day on account of the numerous currents and shoals. The Kaffirs who live upon the shores, as soon as they saw our vessel, came out to it in very small canoes, which they call *almadias*, bringing for sale fruit, vegetables, fowls, and fish, all of which we purchased at a low price.

One day as we were going up this river we saw a few Kaffirs on the bank shouting and rejoicing. The captain thereupon ordered the pilot, whom they call here *malemo*, to steer along the shore that we might see what was the cause of their joy. On drawing near we found that they had killed and dragged out of the river an enormous crocodile, and were beginning to cut it up in order to eat it. I marvelled greatly at this, because the Kaffirs of Sofala do not kill or take crocodiles out of the river, as their king has forbidden them to do so under penalty of death. The reason of this is that the liver of the crocodile is said to be the most subtle poison known, and the king will not have them killed in case this poison should be used.

We reached the fort of Sena on the 22nd day of August of the same year, and were well received by the inhabitants of the country and the captain of the fort, who was then *Gonçalo de Beja*, who took us to his house and entertained us with great charity. The next day we began to attend to the service of the church and mission, for there was not a priest in these rivers to administer the sacraments except one who lay very sick at Tete, and was therefore unable to serve, so that both the churches were without ministers, and the Christians of this country suffered great spiritual need. Thereupon we began to administer the sacraments, say mass, and confess and baptize them with great zeal. We continued doing so for thirty-two days, at the end of which the inhabitants of Tete sent a vessel with a letter beseeching and demanding in the name of God that one of us should go to them, since God had brought us to these rivers at



a time when their souls suffered such necessity, for it was more than four months since they had heard mass or had any one to administer the sacraments to them, and several persons had died without them. Therefore they sent this vessel provided with all that was necessary, bidding us come as promptly as possible. The reasons being so just, I set out the next day for Tete, leaving Father João Madeira in the church at Sena.

On the way from Sena to Tete, sixty leagues up the river, we found many dangerous currents, in one of which—in Lupata, where there are great and high mountains, of which I have already spoken—we were nearly lost; for this current which we endeavoured to stem with oars and sails was so violent that it carried our vessel sideways, and almost capsized, more than a musket-shot down the river until we struck upon some rocks, upon which many vessels have been lost, and ours was in danger of the same fate; but God did not permit it, and the vessel miraculously righted and went down the river with the current without danger, until we reached the other bank of the river, although we had gone a good half league out of our way.

Thence we continued our journey to the fort of Tete, where we arrived in safety, after seven days voyaging, on the 21st of September. The captain and most of the population awaited me on the shore and received me with delight and joy, as if I had been sent from heaven, saying that now they clearly saw that God had not forgotten them and that our father Saint Dominic remembered the Christians whom his religious had made in those parts, since at a time of such necessity the religious who had founded the mission returned to succour and maintain it. I was greatly edified by this, seeing how the people grieved at their lack of the sacraments, so important for their salvation. The next day, which was Saturday, I said the mass of our Lady, at which all the people attended as if it had been a holiday; and I continued to say mass and administer the sacraments as long as I remained there.

## CHAPTER XI.

Of certain witches of Tete whom I caused to be banished from that village.

While I was in this fort of Santiago of Tete, there were two heathen women in the country who pretended to be witches.

They lived in the open fields in some mountains which were near the Portuguese settlement. Many persons, both heathens and Christians, secretly had recourse to them by night to consult spells and ask them to discover the authors of thefts from which they had suffered, or to tell by divination how and where they would find things they had lost, and whatever else each one desired to know. Though these witches generally answered nothing to the purpose, but talked any nonsense which happened to occur to them, they had nevertheless acquired such credit with the ignorant people who consulted them that they could not be persuaded that these witches were false liars, but believed that they could speak to the devil and he would tell them all they wished to know. They well knew how to make a pretence of this, speaking to the devil publicly and pretending that he answered them in a voice which was heard by all present, to their great amazement; and they managed this in the following manner:—

Each of these witches had a gourd containing teeth of men, tigers, monkeys, elephants' dung, hair of white men and Kaffirs, bits of cloth, and the stones of certain fruit, the whole mixed with ashes. At the mouth of these gourds they had a large bunch of cock's-tail feathers. When one of the witches wished to consult the devil, she placed the gourd upon a tripod and spoke to it with loving words and soothing phrases, by which she pretended to call the devil and induce him to enter the gourd and speak to her from it. After this pretence, when she wished to finish her trick, she would say that the devil had come, and receive him with a great show of courtesy, saying "Welcome, my lord." Then approaching the gourd, she would conceal her face in the feathers so that it was completely hidden; then with her mouth to that of the gourd she would speak very softly, asking him how he was and why he delayed so long when she had so great a longing for him, and sometimes she would laugh, pretending that the devil was joking with her. All these things they did before those who went to consult them, and that they might believe more firmly in these witches they used the following diabolical artifice, which no one could detect.

They took two fruit stones, round like those of cherries and pierced through the middle like beads, and put one of them in each nostril, and so spoke among the feathers that the voice

entered the gourd with a gentle echo, which they drew in through their noses, and because of the pierced stones with which they were stopped the voice seemed different from the first, soft and shrill like a whistle, which sounded like an answer to the witches' question, at which all the bystanders were amazed. In this way the witches gained a living, for no one went to consult them with empty hands, however trifling their question might be, but always paid them according to the remedy they sought. In order that they might be found at night, each would go up a mountain and ring a small bell, the sound of which directed their clients to the place where they were. Thus these witches lived, imposing upon many ignorant people who believed their lies and deceit; but no one saw through the trick of the pierced stones, which was their principal means of getting people to credit their frauds.

Hearing of these witches and how certain Christians had secret recourse to them at night, with such peril to their souls, I persuaded the captain of Tete, who was then Pedro Fernandes de Chaves, to order them to be arrested, punished, and banished from the country, that they might not infect the inhabitants with their diabolical artifices. He consented, and sent his bailiff to find them and bring them prisoners to him. The bailiff acquitted himself zealously, bringing them with their gourds to the captain's house. The next day, in the morning, the captain sent me word that the witches were in his house, and bade me come to him if I wished to see them and consult upon the punishment to be inflicted on them. I immediately went to the captain, and found with him six or seven Portuguese, whom he had summoned for the same purpose.

When we were all assembled, the captain ordered the witches to speak to their gourds, according to their custom, and to call up their devils to converse with them, for we were all present and wished to see their arts and marvels. The eldest and most sagacious of the witches was very downcast, and said that her devil was a long way off, occupied with better things, and she could not call him up just then; but the younger witch, less cautious than the other, said that she would summon her devil to speak to her. We were all delighted to see this farce. She took her gourd and placed it upon a table set in the middle of the room for the purpose, and began to speak lovingly to it,

calling on the devil to come without delay, because her honour and credit were at stake. In a little while she pretended that he had come and was in the gourd, and began to converse with him in the manner described. It appeared to all of us who were present that a second voice answered her from the gourd, but looking closer into the matter we perceived that the witch produced this voice in her nose, and one of the bystanders gave her a blow upon it, so that one of the pierced stones fell out. We saw through the trick immediately, and examining her other nostril found the second stone, she being very disturbed and confused at the exposure of her deceit. Then we broke her gourd, and there fell out of it the teeth, ashes, bits of cloth, and other things above mentioned. We also broke the gourd of the eldest witch, which contained the same things as the other. The captain ordered them to be publicly whipped, and banished them from the lands of Tete for ever.

I relate this story that it may be seen how barbarous these Kaffirs are, and how given to consulting witches, since even those who are not pretend to be, that they may be more feared and esteemed.

## CHAPTER XII.

Of the Christians whom we converted in the rivers of Cuama, and of what befel us on our way thence to Mozambique, where we found a caravel of the company of the galleon *São Lucas*.

I remained eight months in the fort of Tete, serving the people by administering the sacraments, until the end of April 1591, when the vicar of the country, who lay sick there, began to be convalescent. I therefore determined to return to my companion in Sena, because the time was approaching when we were to go to Mozambique. The inhabitants of Tete were greatly grieved at my departure, and endeavoured to prevent it by prayers and tears of sorrow, begging me not to leave them in abandonment, for so they felt without sight of the habit of Saint Dominic, to whom they had great devotion, and without the company of his religious, from whom they had received all the spiritual goods they possessed. They urged that since God had brought me there I should remain with them, and they would maintain me at their own expense and would give good

alms towards the works of the house of Saint Dominic then being built at Mozambique.

But I could not yield to their wishes, being bound by obedience to go to Mozambique. In order to appease and console them, I promised that should God bring me to Mozambique I would persuade the vicar of our house there to send them a few religious (which, in fact, he did), and with these hopes they were pacified and content, and allowed me to return to Sena, giving me a vessel for the purpose, which they had previously refused, that I might not leave them.

Upon this I embarked and left Tete on the 1st of May of the said year. The second day of our voyage we were in great peril on the river below the mountains of Lupata, where a sudden furious squall of wind tore our sail to pieces, and our vessel was in danger of being swamped. These sudden squalls of wind are very common on this river, and generally arise towards the evening and last for half an hour, more or less, with such strength and fury that they tear up huge trees and turn them with the roots upwards, though it would appear impossible for any gust of wind to move them, much less tear them up by the roots.

This wind is very perilous to those who navigate the river, for it rises suddenly when the weather is clear and calm. Therefore those who go this way always keep a sharp look-out towards the shore, where the signs of this wind may be seen a long way off, by the dust, straws, and branches in the air, which it raises in the direction from which it is coming in such quantities that it looks like a cloud. When this sign is seen in the distance, they furl the sails and the vessels make for the shore, if possible, and wait until the squall of wind is over. We did this when we were suddenly overtaken by it without perceiving its approach, as it came from the forest where there was no sand to give us the aforesaid warning. When the tempest was over we mended the sail, and continued navigating down the river to Sena, where we arrived on the 4th of May.

We were a year in the rivers of Cuama serving these churches, during which time Father João Madeira baptized more than two hundred persons in Sena, and made many reconciliations and friendships among the inhabitants of the country, who went about in bands at variance with each other. In the same way

it pleased God that I should be in the fort of Tete serving the people and the cause of Christianity there, where I baptized a hundred and seventeen persons, including the children of Christians and heathens of the country, of whom it appears from the old and new baptismal registers that the number converted and baptized in that mission, from the time our religious entered those rivers until the year 1591, was more than twenty thousand souls. Among these were many encosses, who are the chiefs or heads of the kraals in the neighbourhood of these forts, and several petty kings of the interior. Therefore the inhabitants of these rivers say with good reason that all the Christianity there is due to the religious of the patriarch Saint Dominic.

We were in the village of Sena until the 8th of July of the same year, and from it we set out down the river on our way to Mozambique. But when we had entered the arm of the river which goes to Quilimane we were stranded upon a sandbank in the middle of it, upon which the vessel was carried by the force of the current, and turned upon its side so that we all had the water to our waist. With great difficulty we afterwards righted the vessel and baled out the water, and as soon as the tide rose and the vessel floated we continued our voyage with great damage to everything on board. The next day we reached the port of Quilimane, where we dried ourselves and rested from our past labour.

We remained in this port seven days, and then embarked in one of four pangayos sent thither by the captain of Mozambique, in which was a chest containing a hundred thousand cruzados in gold dust, chips, and nuggets, in payment of the contract made by Dom Jorge de Menezes in these rivers with the governor of India, Manuel de Sousa Coutinho. This gold is generally taken out of the rivers every six months.

Having left Quilimane all together, we reached Mozambique after eight days' voyage on the 1st of August 1591, where we found letters from our vicar general of India, ordering Father João Madeira to remain as vicar of our house of Mozambique, and me to go to the church of the islands of Querimba.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Christians whom we made in the islands of Querimba, whence I returned to Sofala with the bull of the Crusade, and of what befel us upon this journey.

Having purchased in Mozambique what was necessary for the church of Querimba, I reëmbarked, and wind and weather being favourable arrived at Querimba on the 16th of November 1591. Here I completed all the works which were begun, and continued in the service of this church and the Christians of these islands, where I remained two years. During that time I baptized six hundred and ninety-four Christians, both from among heathens and Moors of all these islands, among whom was a nephew of the king of Zanzibar, a son of his deceased brother, a young man of seventeen years, to whom I gave the name of André da Cunha, after his godfather in baptism, the owner of the island of Querimba, whose name it was.

This lad fled from the house of the king, his uncle, where he was, and embarked in the pangayo of a Portuguese secretly by night, and came to me in Querimba to be made a Christian. He was moved to do this by certain messages and admonitions which I sent him secretly by several Portuguese, knowing his good disposition and desire to become a Christian. But the king, his uncle, discovering his flight and that he was in my company and had become a Christian, was very angry and disgusted, and said a time would come when I should pay for this offence against him and for stealing his nephew whom he had brought up as his heir, because he had no sons. The young man remained with me more than a year, during which I provided him with all that was necessary, both because he deserved it and that the Moors in those parts might not say that the converted Moors were badly treated by the Christians. When he was well instructed in the faith and Christian doctrine, I taught him to read and write, which he learned very quickly and well. After this I sent him to our convent in Mozambique, where he remained more than two years, and he was still there when I went from that coast to India.

Our religious converted and baptized in those islands, up to this year 1593, more than sixteen thousand heathens and

several Moors, as appears from the baptismal registers of that mission.

After I had been two years in the islands of Querimba I received a message from our vicar general of India, bidding me return to Sofala as commissioner of the bull of the crusade, of which he was general commissioner for the State of India. I carried out this order on the 23rd of April 1594, leaving Father Manuel Pantoja, of the same order, to replace me in the church of Querimba. We left Querimba, and navigated with such a favourable wind that we did not furl our sails until we reached Mozambique. There I remained awaiting the season of navigation for Sofala. In due time the captain of Mozambique prepared a ship, which was destined for Cape Correntes, and was to put into Sofala on her way, and therefore I embarked in her. The captain of this ship was Manuel Malheiro, an honourable man of a good conscience. On leaving this fortress we met with such favourable winds that we reached Sofala in five days.

Here the ship took in such things as were necessary, and when ready set out again and reached the island of Inhaca in safety. Manuel Malheiro remained at this island nearly a year, trading for ivory. When the ship was half laden to return to Mozambique there came to him certain Kaffirs of the mainland, inhabitants of the river Lourenço Marques, vassals of Manhisa, the Kaffir king of a great part of this country. These Kaffirs, coveting the goods and property of the captain and master of the ship, killed them and plundered their house and ship, giving as the principal cause of this misdeed that they had received provocation from the ship's master, and under this cloak of revenge they committed their customary thefts.

The ancestors of this Kaffir nation were those who robbed and ill-treated Manuel de Sousa and his wife Dona Leonor, and were the cause of her destruction and pitiful death, as may be seen in detail in the history of the wreck of the galleon *São João*, in which is related that these nobles going from India to Portugal, struck upon the coast of Natal. Thence they travelled six months overland, at the end of which they reached this river, where they were stripped and robbed by these Kaffirs. Therefore that honourable lady, seeing herself naked, dug a hole in the sand in that same place and buried herself to the waist, and never rose again, having with her two children of tender age,



her sons, who cried for food and she had none to give them, which doubled her own sufferings. Manuel de Sousa in the meanwhile bewailing their necessity went into the forest in search of fruit for them. On his return he found his wife very weak, both from hunger and from weeping over one of her children who had died for want of food. Seeing himself thus abandoned, he gave thanks to God, and dug a grave in the sand, in which he buried his son. The next day he went again to the forest in search of more fruit, and on his return found his wife and the other child dead. After this piteous spectacle he never spoke again, and could not weep, but like a man distracted approached the dead and, as well as he could, made a grave where they lay, and buried them with the aid of several young female slaves from India who were with the lady. After this he returned to the forest, and was seen no more, whence it is presumed that he was killed and devoured by the lions and tigers which roam about those forests. Thus these nobles perished miserably through the wicked Kaffirs of that country, from whom those who killed Manuel Malheiro are descended.

When the sailors and another Portuguese, who were trading for ivory on the mainland, returned to the island and found their captain and the ship's master murdered and the vessel plundered, they embarked and steered for Mozambique, where they arrived in safety.

When the ship left for the island of Inhaca I remained in our church at Sofala, attending to the matters and business with which I was charged. I also assisted that lent in confessing and administering the sacraments to all the people of that fortress. When I had nothing further to do in Sofala I embarked again for Mozambique, in a pangayo belonging to some Moors, together with four Portuguese traders. And what befel us on that journey I shall relate in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Of my return journey from Sofala to Mozambique, and what occurred therein.

We left Sofala for Mozambique on the 16th of April 1595, with favourable weather which lasted four days, at the end of which, at sunset, there came upon us a terrible tempest from the

south-east, in which we many times gave ourselves up for lost. The night came on so dark and awful that we could not see each other, nor make sure that the sail was properly set to catch the wind, which was our greatest peril. The noise and confusion of the Moors in the pangayo were such that we could not hear each other speak, and he who was steering could not hear the directions from the prow for the management of the helm. Many were embracing and kissing each other's hands, which is their method of farewell at parting, saying that their end was come. The waves burst into spray with such phosphorescence that we seemed to be navigating through billows of flame that covered and set fire to us. This often suggested to me the awful spectacle of hell fire, for it seemed as if all the infernal furies were loose upon the sea.

In the midst of these alarms, of the five Portuguese three were in the prow managing the sail and two at the helm helping the pilot, who was steering, taking care that he should not give up hope and abandon the helm in his fear of the waves which covered us every moment. So that drawing strength from the weakness of our own troubled souls, we strongly encouraged the Moors not to despair, but to work the pump and get the water out of the pangayo, upon which our safety in great measure depended. We passed the night in this way, now beneath and now above the waves, with death before our eyes, and at dawn we found ourselves near the mainland opposite a river called Quizungo, which Father Thomas Pinto, inquisitor of India, went to when he saved himself in the boat of the ship *Santiago*, which was lost upon the shoals of India, as has been related.

We entered this river with much difficulty, on account of the great waves upon the bar, it being low-tide on the coast, so that the waves came swelling and breaking over each other with such fury that the smallest would have been sufficient to destroy many great ships, still more a small frail pangayo like ours. In this peril it seemed to us that we could do nothing but cross our arms and resign ourselves to death, for this was the greatest danger we had encountered. At last it pleased God that we should enter the river, where we cast anchor, almost swamped, and like men who have escaped from the hands of death.

Here we remained thirty-two days, neither wind nor weather serving for our navigation. For this reason we suffered great

famine, because we had consumed the provisions which we had brought for eight days only, which is the time usually required for the journey from Sofala to Mozambique. After this we had no other food than millet boiled in water for nearly twenty days, nor did we dare disembark upon the mainland to seek provisions, not only because there was great famine there, but also because it was then peopled by Zimbabwes, a cruel Kaffir nation who eat human flesh, and therefore the Macuas, the native Kaffirs of the country, fled from it to a desert island, off which we were anchored, and there endured cruel famine. And though all these Kaffirs are very wicked, we gave them of our millet all the time we were there, moved to compassion by seeing them perish.

The day after our arrival, these Macuas, when they were aware of it, came to the shore to speak to us, pretending to be very angry and threatening us with the bows and arrows which they carried, because we had landed on their island without their leave. They seized two of our slaves and made them prisoners, and they did this to oblige us to give them pieces of cloth and provisions. Upon this we arranged matters with them for three pieces of cloth and a little millet, which we gave them. After this they went to the border of a pond from which we drank, and they said that if we wanted water we must pay very well for it, and we gave them two more pieces of cloth for this. Thereafter they were friendly to us, but we would never trust them, knowing that they were very covetous and interested. It was these Kaffirs who captured Father Thomas Pinto and his companions.

Some of our slaves died here, and we very nearly kept them company, because of the famine which we suffered, by which we were so weakened that it seemed to me we must all perish, and therefore I prepared myself for death. Seeing how carelessly they buried those who died, barely covering them with earth, because there were no spades, I ordered a grave to be dug under a thorny tree upon the shore, for my own burial in case I should die there. I carved a cross in the trunk of the tree with a knife, with an inscription beneath it stating my name and that I lay buried there, that in case any of our religious who work in these missions should come there at any time they should remember to recommend me to God. My companions, seeing that I was

occupied in preparing for death, and knowing they were in like peril, did the same, and made full confessions to me with many tears, by which I was much edified and delighted. From that time we spent the days in prayers and litanies until God took mercy upon us.

After we had been there thirty-two days, a favourable wind arose, with which we came out of our purgatory in that river, and with it reached Mozambique on the 26th of May of the said year, for which I render many thanks to God.

## ACCOUNT OF THE PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS

WITHIN THE

## CAPTAINCY OF RIOS DE SENA.

[Written by Senhor Ferão, Captain of Sena, and translated and published by Captain W. F. W. Owen, of His Majesty's ship *Leven*.]

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To the east-south-east of Sofala, at about four hundred yards distance, is situated the Moorish town, where the number of females is much greater than males, in consequence of the latter being merchants principally engaged at Mozambique, whither they carry all their male children, to be initiated into their several occupations. Moorish town is two hundred yards long by eighty broad. The women manufacture earthenware, on the produce of which they subsist, as also by cultivating small patches of rice; but some, who have not the means of purchasing rice from the interior, when their own stock fails, are obliged with their slaves to live on herbs until their next harvest. The only circumstance that distinguishes them from the other inhabitants is refraining from pork, and rejecting all sorts of meat that is not killed by the hands of one of their sect. In their habits, customs, language, superstitions, songs, and dances, they imitate the natives; many, however, speak a corrupt Portuguese.

The character of all the national inhabitants is proud, treacherous, idle, and crafty. The most part are soldiers, and live on their pay; they are, however, bad soldiers, and never wipe off the character I have given of them. The manner in which they are brought up from children among the negroes makes them forget all obedience or subjection to their parents; they are Christians only in name, being ignorant of the first rudiments of their religion, only conforming to the rules of that faith as long as they are soldiers. On purchasing their discharge,

they retire to the interior and live with the negresses, even after having been regularly married in the town to Christians. Many Europeans and Asiatics have also followed the same system, in consequence of which the Portuguese race has greatly degenerated.

I cannot well ascertain what quantity of grain is collected annually from the plantations, because few of the inhabitants have any idea themselves of what their ground produces, for, as soon as the grain springs up, they are continually making use of it, which causes a great waste, and many in consequence are driven to the necessity of subsisting one-third of the year on wild herbs. The slaves have no certain allowance, but live as they can, which is often by robbing their masters. For the purchase of grain in the interior it is necessary every season to send goods in advance, and the prices vary according to the produce. In years of great abundance, the blue dungaree is valued at fourteen cruzados the piece, and other articles at various prices; when the season has not produced very plentifully, they give one quitundo less. The quitundo is different according to the quality of the grain and the productiveness of the harvest; the largest quitundo of maize is two panjas, and the smallest one and a half; of rice, one and a half the largest, and one panja and a quarter the smallest; but the quitundo of wheat never exceeds one panja and a half. There is also some millet, which is gathered in March, and beans; but these last are much more abundant to the southward of this town, as is also millet and amendoim.

The carriage of these articles from the interior is by hired slaves, who are paid one panno for every day's journey. The nearest place from Sofala for the purchase of rice is Chuparo, distant half a day's journey; the next is Rios or Mugova, one day's journey, and the cheapest way to have goods conveyed thence is through Xironde, by the river Bazi; there is, however, more risk, and oftentimes the canoes are lost. If, when this is the case, any of the men perish, their chief immediately commences a lawsuit against the person to whom the goods belonged, by which much expense and trouble is frequently incurred.

The limits of the town do not exceed one league in circumference; and most of the neighbouring country is covered with salt water, which flows not only by the coast, but also by the

rivers that surround it. The only ground in the vicinity that is capable of being cultivated is Inhambe, situated about four hundred yards from the town; but the intermediate country is constantly inundated. The land of Inhambe is divided into five districts, which the senate has granted to five inhabitants of the town. Near Inhambe is Bellangane, and between these two places runs the river Zamboe, which empties itself upon the coast into the sea. Bellangane is three hundred and fifty fathoms long, and is nearly the same breadth; it is the property of the Dominican friars. Here are several low pieces of land which are cropped with rice, and very good water, procured from caverns. Beyond Bellangane is the place called Poco, from which it is divided by one of the small rivers that surround the town of Sofala, which there meets the sea. At Poco there are quarries, whence the stones for the repair of the fort are conveyed in boats by the river Poco. From the entrance of this river the coast runs in a northerly direction as far as Macanzane, which is about six leagues. Beyond Poco is the territory of Pongoe, which belongs to Francisco de Araujo.

The territory of Dendirá follows next, which extends about three leagues up the coast; then comes Chuparo, which extends three leagues north and south, whence comes the best rice on this coast. At these places there are some slaves; but, owing to the total want of energy in the colonists, the latter are little obeyed. The soil is good, and on it grow all sorts of fruit and trees, amongst which are the palm, mango, banana, pineapple, &c., as well as all kinds of pulse and grain, and the woods have timber of various sorts and sizes; but, owing to the want of industry in the colonists, the productions are barely sufficient for their sustenance. At some distance on the coast, near the entrance of the river Bari on the southern side, is the territory of Macanjane, the productions of which are the same as those of Chuparo.

About a league from the palms is Chirara, where all the canoes going up the Bazi stop. On the other side of the river is the eastern point of the territory of Chironda, called Massique; and round the point is a bay, at the bottom of which is another river of fresh water, called Urema. On the other side is seen the territory of Bangoe, in the jurisdiction of Senna, which is divided from Chironda by the said river Urema: so that here is

formed an extensive bay, Dendira and Chuparo being to the southward, and the coast of Bangoe to the northward. The point of Massique, at the bottom of the bay, has on one side the river Bazi, and on the other the Urema. The river Bazi or Zero has its source in the mountains of Quisanga, and, after winding through many leagues of the country of Quiteve, it empties itself at Chironda and Massique. It is about one hundred and twenty yards broad; and six leagues up, at low water, is almost dry. Three days' journey is as far as it is navigable, in consequence of a rock stretching right across, which has an arch, through which the water passes; from this place, called Inhamaliame, no canoes can pass. The river Urema has its rise at Macaia; it, however, receives the waters of the Ruvoe, which runs through Quiteve, and is a branch of the Zambesi, the Ruvoe also joining the Bazi.

In the rainy season, the Bazi overflows its banks, and inundates all the surrounding country, which is often destructive to the plantations of rice. As soon as the river shows the least appearance of this great rise, the Inhamacangos sound the alarm, and the inhabitants retire to the high lands, where they subsist for many days upon the animals that the inundation has destroyed. On the left bank of the river Bazi are the crown lands of Chironde, where is a small fresh water branch of the Urema, called Marena, which divides Xigangoe from Quiteve. Two thirds of this land are unserviceable, being under water during the spring tides; but it has a large lake of fresh water called Inhabue, which has very good stone and plenty of fish; the lands that are cultivated produce good maize, rice, and wheat. This territory belonged to Quiteve, and it came into the possession of the crown through the following circumstance: In 1735, one of the settlers of Sofala, named João Pires, having gone into the interior with goods for traffic, met one of the princes of Quiteve, who was going to wage war upon a chief, through whose territory Pires was to pass; having for some time resisted their attempts to rob him, he was at length abandoned by his slaves, and soon overpowered and killed. As soon as his wife was informed of this tragic event, with the consent of the governor she raised a small army at her own expense, and marched into the country to revenge her husband's death; when, after subduing some of the neighbouring princes, she proceeded towards the



court of Quiteve, at the news of which, the king became so intimidated, that he ordered her husband's murderer to be slain, and sent his head to the injured widow, with an offer of the aforementioned territory of Chironde as a remuneration for her loss.

Near Chironde is the village Xaranga, belonging to Xapuro. Then follows Chupafa village, belonging to the Matire; and again, Inhachango, which belongs to Zingombe, captain of the territory of Bangoe. Finally follows Zomba, which also formerly belonged to Quiteve, and was given by the king Banderenhé, in 1735, to a settler called João da Pinha Soares, and the king's successor, Bandahuma, confirmed the grant. The inhabitants of these places are very numerous, in consequence of the richness of the soil, and it has the same productions as Chironde; a small river called Inhanconda surrounds it, and divides it from Mugova. All the territory belonging to the captaincy of Sofala on this side of the river Bazi may be walked over from north to south in one day, and from east to west in six hours. The region from Chuparo to Uassingoe and Mandeve is called Rivers, or Mungova, and is divided into four different territories.

In Inhajinga, one of these districts, there is a large lake, and near it runs the fresh water branch of the Bazi. Both in the river and lake are many alligators, hippopotami, and fish. All the lands of Mungova belonged formerly to Quiteve, and Sofala did not possess more district than Inhamambe and Belangane. It is about one hundred and fifty years, according to tradition current in the country, since Joze da Fonseca Coutinho, who had governed Senna, settled at Sofala, and bought from the Quiteve the lands of Chuparo and Dendirá. Having afterwards journeyed into the interior with goods for traffic, he was robbed by some of the petty princes, and, returning into the colony, raised a small army to chastise them for the treatment he had received. His successes were so great, that the king of Quiteve, fearing his further incursions, gave him the lands of Mungova and jurisdiction over all the Inhamacangos of Quiteve, as well as the title of May Deca, with all the honours attached to royalty by the Kaffirs, which honours and titles have been handed down to all his successors. Mungova means, literally, a swampy ground without wood, and such is in reality Mungova.

On a branch of the river Chitasa, which has its mouth in the

bay of the port of Sofala, are situated three villages called Maconde, Gangou, Voa, inhabited by Matire, a descendant of Raimundo Pereira de Barros. These lands belonged to the Quiteve, and were given to Barros as a dowry, with one of the daughters of the king of Quiteve. The Inhacuaras are the daughters of the king, who never marry, but are allowed every other liberty. The King of Quiteve gave Barros the title of Matire, and pre-eminence over the native kings and jurisdiction over the Inhamacangos.

One of the daughters of Raimundo was married to a white man at Sofala, but, owing to the promiscuous intercourse of their descendants, they have so degenerated as to be now known only by the name of Muzembo (white men), being negroes in colour, hair, religion, and habits.

The Matire does not pay any tithes to the treasury for his lands, as do the other inhabitants of Sofala. Barros was made captain of the field, and his descendants to this day inherit the title, their duty being to march before the governor whenever he goes upon any expedition. The owners of the before-mentioned lands, Chuparo, Xironde, and Mungova, received tithes of all that was sown on them, but, in consequence of their extreme indolence, they now collect no more than a supo (about a panja) of grain from every colonist, and that only in plentiful seasons.

When any murder is committed, the proprietor of the land may demand a slave for the effusion of blood on his lands; he may also require the same penalty for every person that dies of leprosy, and for all children whose lower jaw protrudes before the upper. For any heinous crime the perpetrators are made slaves; the land-owners of all fish caught in lakes are paid a tax in kind. If an elephant dies a natural death, both the tusks belong to the land-owner, who must remunerate the finder, and also give a present to the Inhamacango near whose territory it was found. If the elephant is killed in the chase, the tusk that falls nearest to the earth belongs to the landholder; the other the hunters may dispose of at pleasure. The hunters must, however, be remunerated for their trouble.

These are the possessions that the crown holds to the northward of the town of Sofala. In the port of Sofala there is a great bay, which has many sandbanks and reefs, and in which are several rivers, the most remarkable being the Chitasse, that

reaches to Chuparo; one of its branches, the Inhamunho, divides Maconde and Xifaronhe from the land of Chengoe. At the bottom of the bay is the river Donda, from which a stream of fresh water branches off and joins the river Chissamba, which empties itself into the river Bazi. The river Donda has its source in Garrabua, and winds round the country of Emparras, which commences opposite to the fort at the place called Matto Groco, or Como, and is surrounded by the small river Inhampapa, which has its entrance to the southward, and empties itself into the same bay. Next to Emparra is Machanga, which extends to the crown-lands of Mambone, on the river Savé.

Four leagues down the coast from this fort, is situated the Island of Buene, which belongs to the territory of Machanger, on which there is a small grove of palm-trees, planted by the Moors, when they were expelled from Sofala in 1765. From this island to the southward, five leagues distant, is situated the island Chiluané, which, in 1806, was dismembered from the territory of Mambone by General Franco de Paulo de Albuquerque. The island extends about six leagues north and south, and the same east and west. It has few inhabitants; but is well supplied with fish. There are two bars north and south, the northern having the most water; it has a deep bay, well sheltered, and a man's voice may be heard from the island to the main land, which is called Ampeta and Xirinda. In a small wood near the northern bar are the remains of a stone house, which the natives affirm to have been the habitation of two Moors, who lived many years on the island and were buried there. A small river runs across the island, and has an entrance at both bars.

With respect to the territories southward of Sofala, by accounts which have been ascertained from tradition among the natives, it appears that of the numerous progeny of Monomotapa, Xangamere, being born of a slave, was looked on with contempt, in consequence of which he left his father's kingdom with some followers, and founded the kingdom of Chinjamira, which is supposed to be forty days' journey from the town of Sofala. It is also affirmed that white men carry goods for traffic there, which leads me to suppose they are merchants from Angola; these accounts are, however, very confused, and as no travellers have been there from hence, we have not been able to confirm them. On the death of Monomotapa, two of his sons, who were

dissatisfied with his successor, left the kingdom with some followers, and proceeded to the kingdom of Chinjamira, to beg assistance in settling themselves, when one settled in Quiteve, the other in Madanda, to the southward of Sofala. Xangamere made Matema king of Quissanga, whose court is at Gaonhé, fifteen days' journey from Sofala.

In Quissanga adultery is punished by depriving the man of both his eyes and confiscating all his property. The people possess much cattle, which is the currency of the country. The men cover themselves with goat-skins, which they tan; their arms are bows and arrows; they have blacksmiths, who make their implements for agriculture, knives, &c.; they possess copper-mines, out of the produce of which they work rings and bangles. Their chief food is nachiny, and it is only near the river Savé that rice is cultivated. The country of Quissanga is mountainous, consequently there are few elephants. The kings of Quissanga are buried on the mountains of Mugoma, their corpses being shrouded in two pieces of samater, and conveyed to the cave on the top of the mountain, where they are deposited with great solemnity. The cave is surrounded by a wood, and at a little distance there is a town, where live the guards of the dead. Every year the reigning king is obliged to make the accustomed offerings at the cave of spice and pomba. Upon the death of any of his subjects, they are buried in the house which they inhabited, without any ceremony being observed, or any apparent demonstrations of grief.

The kingdom of Quiteve is bounded on the north by Chichanja and Manica, on the south by Madanda, on the east by Macai, and on the west by Quissanga. It extends from north to south twenty days' journey, and from east to west twelve. The court was at Ussema formerly, which is three days' journey from Sofala, and the Zamboe\* is still kept there. The last king, called Fica, died in 1803, since which the kingdom has been without a ruler. Ningomanhe is the title given to the first wife, who must be of royal descent, as also the second, who is styled Nemaunga. Both have their Zamboe at Hanganhé, which is in high Quiteve, three days' journey from Ussema and seven from Sofala.

Quiteve has gold mines in the territory of Bandire, and of

\* Zamboe is the place appropriated for the kings, queens, and princes.

the rivers, Mumhingi, Tovas, Massapa, and Missangaji, which is of superior quality; but in Inhamanga the gold, although not so fine, is more abundant. Topazes and rubies have been found on the borders of the rivers Ruvoe and Mapura; and on the mountains of Hanganhe, stones, which on being broken appeared to contain small transparent crystalline stones with pointed edges. There is rock crystal, and it may be inferred that diamonds and other precious stones are to be found there, as also silver. There are iron mines, from which they extract iron to make spades, hatchets, &c., and a species of chalk which the natives call *juw*; there is also a sort of slate, and red ochre is to be found.

In the kingdom of Quissanga are copper mines, and, from the soil in some places having been reduced to a cinder, I imagine it possesses sulphur. In Madanda there are many plains abounding in saltpetre; indigo grows well, and of good quality, especially at Mambone; there are also many pearl-oysters on the shores of Vuhoca, opposite to the Bazaruta Islands, and there they also collect ambergris.

Pitch is made in the following manner by the natives, to sell to the white people: From April to June they collect the resin from the trees, and with some of the bark put it into a kettle, perforated at the bottom, and dig a small hole of the thickness they intend the pitch-sticks to be; they then set fire to it, and it melts into the earth. Honey and wax are collected from the bee-hives, which the natives place on trees in the months of March and April; the wax they make into small cakes about fifteen inches in circumference, and half an inch thick, ten of which are sold for one panno and two flagons of honey for the same. From the bar of Mambone to Vuhoca there are many manna-trees of good quality.

In the woods are various trees, amongst which may be mentioned ebony, box, iron-wood, and a species of white sandal-wood, called *maquissite*.

The gold dug from the earth is never more than at the depth of four or six feet. As the natives are ignorant of the art of mining, the earth is washed in the rivers, by which means collecting the dust is very laborious. They do not know how to work this metal, and never apply it to any purpose, but it is sold to the whites for four pannos the matical, which is one eighth and

a half, or three sixteenths, of an ounce. They make their own scales and weights, the former of brass or iron, and the latter of seixos, or hard stones, graduated to one dogado, or three maticals.

Copper is taken from the mines with the earth, and by being melted is soon separated; it is then again melted and cast into any shape wished, by making holes in the earth. The pearls are not procured by diving, but the natives wade up to the waist in water, and injure the jewel much by roasting the oyster.

Ambergris is found on the beach after storms, in pieces of different magnitude; the natives sell it at about two oxen for a pound weight, which may be valued at twelve pannos. Butter is also made from the month of March to September. The natives make canoes of all sizes, and those that live on the seashore make nets from the tree called mulambeira, and mats from the palm-leaves, and manufacture all sorts of earthenware.

Their lands are dug in October, and never later than November, with small iron spades, about eight inches long by five broad. After the soil is well cleared, and the rubbish burnt on it for manure, the seed is thrown on, and they again dig it over to cover the seed. About two or three months after this the ground is weeded, and where the seed has sprung up too thick, they transplant it to another more convenient space. There are various qualities of rice, called jamuna, which ripens in February; mungon and anaty, in March; chicombe, choneca, and cherozo, in May; and anacuro in June. Of all grain rice is the most difficult to cultivate, because it requires a particular soil; if too damp it rots, and if too dry it will not grow. There is another risk attending the cultivation, which is, the probability of all the ears, as soon as they shoot out, being eaten by locusts. Fine maize ripens in June; naxinhy is gathered with common maize in February and March, the seed of the former resembling mustard. Amendoim which is sown in December, is a creeper, the nuts growing underground; each root contains about sixty or seventy nuts; gerzelim is also gathered at the same time, out of which oil is extracted, as also from amendoim.

Gold-dust from the territory of Bandire is always preferred, as being of the finest quality. This place formerly belonged to the crown, and it was there that our merchants made an annual fair for the purchase of articles from the interior; but since Quiteve has been agitated with civil wars, which caused our merchants

to be robbed, that practice has been discontinued. The queens of Quiteve, Ningomanhe and Nemaunga, who govern the empire on the demise of the king, have been requested to restore the territory again to the crown, which they complied with. I myself was entrusted with this commission; but, owing to the want of energy of the inhabitants, who have not spirit to expend six or eight bars of cloth to form a small corps for the protection of the establishment against any unforeseen insults, and escort the goods down to Sofala, nothing has been determined. If the establishment had been formed a second time, and the agents, if any could have been found trustworthy, had animated and instructed the negroes in the working of the mines, I am confident great advantages would have been derived from it.

There are only three persons in this town who have any credit at Mozambique, and that is very limited. Slaves are not abundant, the greatest number that has been sent in one year from this district being one hundred, or one hundred and twenty, while twelve years back it did not exceed fifty; the price is twelve pannos, male or female, and children from two to four pannos each. When the Batongas possessed the territory called Vuhoca, great quantities of pearls and ambergris were exported from this port. Since they have been driven from the coast by the Lindeens of Inhambane not a pearl or a piece of amber has appeared here. The goods that are best adapted for trade are dungarees and assorted small beads, which will only be received for the purchase of gold and to pay expenses, brandy, and false coral.

There are three noted mountains in Quiteve, which are—Magomo, where is the burial place of the kings and queens of Quiteve, Gembe, and Dombo. In Quiteve they have three titles of distinction; Mambo corresponds with our Highness; Muriga with our Infante; and Mateve, Hidalgo or Lord. The queens of Quiteve name the person who is to accompany the remains of the deceased king to Magomo, who is looked upon as the successor. On being named, he proceeds to the house where the corpse is deposited, and takes charge of it from the hands of some of the grandees. It is then finally wrapped up in a black bull's hide, and is carried in full procession by two men, who must be very careful in not falling, for on the least slip they are instantly slaughtered. Anything that has come from the

mouth of the deceased is carefully preserved and carried in the procession by the queens. The successor or chief mourner follows the procession at some miles' distance, accompanied by a number of the chief men, all armed as for war, preceded by warlike instruments, &c.; every one must shave his head. If, in passing through a village, any of the inhabitants should show themselves, they are killed forthwith. The procession is generally conducted through those towns which are best provided with grain, where the followers cause great destruction, and steal every thing valuable. They proceed in this way until their arrival at the Magomo. The successor approaches, and makes a visit to the cave to see the bones of the former kings; they then kill some of the most esteemed women of the king, his xicundo or secretary, and some of the great people, and then deposit the king's body in the cave appointed for that purpose.

The successor, on being appointed, has a white cloth placed round his head. He fixes a day to distribute a sort of paste to his princes and grandees; after he has eaten some himself, he proceeds home with the Ningomanhe. On the following days, the chiefs come from all quarters to Inhamatar or do homage to the new king, each bringing a present of gold-dust, slaves, oxen, &c.; and in proportion to what they bring the king gives them a dress. This being done, they secretly give orders to some of their principal men to be ready for a march, and before sunrise they suddenly decamp, and exact on their way all the ivory that they meet with, giving a trifling return; and with this they approach the borders of our government and send word to the governor that, having been crowned, they have come with the accustomed *bingo* or present. *Bingo* is a tribute that the kings of Quiteve formerly paid to the crown of Portugal: it consists of gold, ivory, slaves, and productions of industry. It was generally brought by one of the king's sons, to whom in return was given cloth for the king, and some for himself in proportion to his rank.

For nearly eighty years this tribute has not been paid, since which the power of the Quiteves has much decreased, and is now only obeyed by those Inhamacangos that are close to their dominions.

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The fate of the manuscript of which the foregoing is a literal version, is rather singular. It was written by Senhor Ferão at Sofala, when Governor of the Rios de Sena, with the intention of being published at Lisbon; but, in consequence of his assassination, it remained untouched until the arrival of this expedition, when Captain Owen obtained possession of it, and its details are now first given to the world in *London*, and in the English tongue.



ABSTRACT  
OF  
ETHNOGRAPHIC INFORMATION  
CONTAINED IN PORTUGUESE RECORDS  
AND EARLY HISTORIES, ADDED TO PAPERS  
ON THE SAME SUBJECT PUBLISHED SOME YEARS  
AGO BY THE COMPILER OF THESE VOLUMES.



## DESCRIPTION

## OF THE BANTU TRIBES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

OBSERVATIONS made during the sixteenth century by Portuguese missionaries and travellers in South Africa throw much light upon the origin of several customs which to more recent observers of Bantu habits have always been obscure. With the Hottentots or Bushmen the Portuguese rarely came in contact, and of these people they give no information of any value. But with sections of the Bantu they lived in as close intimacy as Dutchmen or Englishmen have ever done, they learned the language of those people, studied their customs, and several of the best informed recorded what they observed. They tell of no golden age of peace and happiness disturbed by the intrusion of white men, but of almost constant strife and cruelty and misery. From them we learn that long before the time of Tshaka despots as clever and as ruthless as he spread desolation over wide tracts of land, that cannibalism as practised in the Lesuto and in Natal during the early years of the nineteenth century was no new custom with sections of the Bantu race. Much besides can be learned from their writings, so that any description of the black tribes south of the Zambesi published in English ten years ago can now be considerably amplified.

South of Cape Negro, the western coast of Africa, being without harbours until Walfish Bay is reached, was never examined with any care by the Portuguese. It is therefore impossible to state with any pretension to accuracy how far the Hottentot race extended along that shore at the beginning of the sixteenth century, or where it was in contact with the widely dissimilar black people of the north. All that can be

said with certainty is that the border line was some distance north of Walfish Bay, and that in the territory now known as Damaraland at some previous period a desperate struggle had taken place between the two peoples, in which at least one black tribe had been conquered and reduced to the lowest state of servitude by the Hottentots. But what became of the conquerors is a mystery that cannot be solved by any evidence now in being. They may have been exterminated, or they may have been driven south, by some powerful Bantu ruler. In tradition they are not known, but their existence at a remote period so far north is certain, as they stamped their language and some of their strangest customs upon the people whom they subjugated there.

On the eastern coast the dividing line between the two races was not far south of the present colony of Natal, fifty years later it was the Umzimvubu river.

In the centre of the country it is most unlikely that the black tribes had then reached the Vaal river, but here there is no other evidence than tradition of a migratory movement from the north at some unknown period, and no native tradition that can be verified extends so far into the past.

It will thus be as close an approximation to the actual condition of things as it is now possible to arrive at, if it be said that north of a line drawn from a point about five and twenty or thirty miles above Walfish Bay on the Atlantic shore to the upper waters of the Vaal river, and thence curving to the mouth of the Umtamvuna, the country was occupied in the year 1500 by the swarthy race now termed Bantu. A few Bushmen were intermixed with them in the wildest parts, but not a Hottentot lived north of that line.

These black people, together with their kindred who possessed a vast extent of Africa north of the Zambesi, are now usually termed the Bantu, in accordance with a proposal of the late Dr. Bleek. They had no word except tribal names to distinguish themselves from other races, *ntu* \* in their language

\* In the dialect of the Tembu, Pondo, Zulu, and other coast tribes: *um-ntu* a person, plural *aba-ntu* people; diminutive *um-ntwana* a child, plural *aba-*

meaning a human being or person of any colour or country; but ethnologists felt the want of a specific designation for them, and adopted this as a convenient one. In the division of mankind thus named are included all those Africans who use a language which is inflected principally by means of prefixes, and which in the construction of sentences follows certain rules depending upon harmony of sound.\*

Tribes occupying for many generations the greater portion of a country of such extent as Africa south of the Zambesi, and not having much intercourse with each other, naturally developed differences, and there were circumstances connected with the Bantu which increased the tendency towards variation. First there was the *hlonipa* custom, by which women were obliged constantly to invent new words, so that each dialect underwent gradual dissimilar changes. Next, and more important still, was an influx of Asiatics at some remote time, who mixed their blood with that of the people on the eastern side of the country, and brought about great improvements in their mental condition.

In a general description, such as this, it will be sufficient to classify the tribes in three groups, though it should be remembered that there are many trifling differences between the various branches of each of these. In the first group can be placed the tribes along the eastern coast south of the Sabi river, and those which in recent times have made their way from that

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*ntwana* children; abstract derivative *ubu-ntu* the qualities of human beings, diminutive *ubu-ntwana* the qualities of children. In the Herero dialect: *omu-ndu* a person, plural *ova-ndu* people. In the dialect of the Basuto: *mo-tho* a person, plural *ba-tho* persons. The pronunciation, however, is nearly the same, the *h* in *batho* being sounded only as an aspirate, and the *o* as *oo*, *baat-hoo*.

\* This definition is of course only a general one, and must be subject to exceptions, because races cannot be grouped by means of language alone. Thus the people called Berg Damaras, who have already been referred to and who live in the tract of country along the western coast north of Walfish Bay, are Bantu by blood, though they speak a Hottentot dialect, and resemble Bushmen in their habits. After their subjugation in remote times, they were forced to adopt the language of their conquerors. This may also have been the case with tribes in other parts of the continent.

part of the country into the highlands of the interior. The best known of these are the Amaxosa, the Abatembu, the Amampondo, the Amabaca, the Abambo (now broken into numerous fragments), the Amazulu, the Amaswazi, the Amatonga, the Magwamba, the Matshangana, and the Matabele. This group can be termed the coast tribes, though some members of it are now far from the sea.

The second group can include the tribes that at the beginning of the nineteenth century occupied the great interior plain and came down to the ocean between the Zambesi and Sabi rivers. It will include among many others the Batlapin, the Batlaro, the Barolong, the Bahurutsi, the Bangwaketsi, the Bakwena, the Bamangwato, all the sections of the Makalanga, and the whole of the Basuto, north and south. This group can be termed the interior tribes.

The third will comprise all the Bantu living between the Kalahari and the Atlantic ocean, such as the Ovaherero, the Ovampo, and others. These have no mixture of Asiatic blood. They are blacker in colour, coarser in appearance, and duller in intellect than the others, if an average is taken. The dialects spoken by them are also more primitive. This group has only recently come into contact with Europeans, and has taken no part in South African history. The feuds between its different members, if they could be accurately traced, would be of no interest, and no lessons could be drawn from them. It will be sufficient therefore to say of these western tribes that their language, religion, laws, mode of living, and customs generally were similar to those of their kindred of the interior and the eastern coast, but were in many respects lower in order.

The individuals who composed the first and second named groups varied in colour from deep bronze to black. Some had features of the lowest negro type: thick projecting lips, broad flat noses, and narrow foreheads; while others had prominent and in rare instances even aquiline noses, well developed foreheads, and lips but little thicker than those of Europeans. Among the eastern tribes these extremes could sometimes be noticed in the same family, but the great majority of the people were of a type



higher than a mean between the two. They were of mixed blood, and the branches of the ancestral stock differed considerably, as one was African and the other Asiatic.

Those who occupied the land along the south-eastern coast were in general large without being corpulent, strong, muscular, erect in bearing, and with all their limbs in perfect symmetry. Many of them were haughty in demeanour, and possessed a large amount of vanity. The men were usually handsomer than the women, owing to the girls being often stunted in growth and hardened in limb by carrying burdens on their heads and toiling in gardens at an early age. The people of the interior were in general somewhat smaller than those of the coast, though they were far from being diminutive specimens of the human race.

Though at times the Bantu presented the appearance of a peaceable, good-natured, indolent people, they were subject to outbursts of great excitement, when the most savage passions had free play. The man who spent a great part of his life gossiping in idleness, not knowing what it was to toil for bread, was hardly recognisable when, plumed and adorned with military trappings, he had worked himself into frenzy with the war dance. The period of excitement was, however, short. In the same way their outbursts of grief were violent, but were soon succeeded by cheerfulness.

They were subject to few diseases, and were capable of undergoing without harm privations and sufferings which the hardiest Europeans would have sunk under. Occasionally there were seasons of famine caused by prolonged drought, when whole tribes were reduced to exist upon nothing else than wild roots, bulbs, mimosa gum, and whatever else unaided nature provided. At such times they became emaciated, but as long as they could procure even the most wretched food they did not actually die, as white people would have done under similar circumstances. Nor did pestilence follow want of sustenance to the same extent as with us.

One cause of their being a strong healthy people was that no weak or deformed children were allowed to live long. There was no law which required an end to be put to the existence of such

infants, but it always happened that they died when very young, and public opinion was opposed to any inquiry into the mode of their death. Every one, even the parents, believed that it was better they should not live, and so they perished from neglect. But owing to the prevalence of this custom in preceding generations, the number of weaklings born was very small indeed. For some reason an exception was occasionally made in the case of albinos, who, though regarded as monstrosities, were not always destroyed in childhood. These hideous individuals, with features like others of their race, were of a pale sickly colour, and had weak pinkish eyes and hair almost white. Very few, however, were to be seen in any tribe, and in some none at all.

Under natural conditions the Bantu were a longer-lived people than Europeans. The friar Dos Santos found several women at Sofala who perfectly remembered events that had taken place eighty years before, and modern observers in other parts of the country have noticed the same circumstance. A man of this race placed beside a white colonist of the same age invariably looks the younger of the two, and in any tribe individuals can be found with personal knowledge extending over the ordinary span of life in Europe or America. They were probably the most prolific people on the face of the earth. All the females were married at an early age, very few women were childless, and in most of the tribes provision was even made by custom for widows to add to the families of their dead husbands. In some parts the brothers of the deceased took them, in others male companions were selected for them by their late husband's friends, in each case the children born thereafter being regarded as those of the dead man.

The language spoken by the Bantu was of a high order, subject to strict grammatical rules, and adequate for the expression of any ideas whatever. Its construction, however, was very different from that of the languages of Europe. It was broken up into many dialects, so that individuals from the western coast, from the interior, and from the eastern coast could not understand each other, though the great majority of the words used by all

were formed from the same roots. In the south-eastern dialects the English sound of the letter *r* was wanting, while in some of the others the sound of our *l* was never heard. In all there were combinations of consonants which it was very difficult for strangers of mature years to master.

There were clicks in only a few dialects of the language spoken by the Bantu family. These were derived in the south from Hottentot, and elsewhere probably from Bushman sources. They were introduced by females who were spared when the hordes to which they belonged were conquered, as is evident not only from tradition, but from the words in which they occur being chiefly those pertaining to the occupations of women. There is this peculiarity in the language, that some of the dialects spoken on the coasts of lower Guinea and the Indian ocean bear a closer resemblance to each other than to those between them. Tribes from one of these coasts seem to have been scattered and forced across the continent by violent convulsions in some long-forgotten time.

The form of government varied from that of a pure despotism, established by a successful military ruler, to a patriarchal system of a simple order. In the former everything centred in the person of one individual, at whose word the lives of any of his subjects were instantly sacrificed, who was the owner of all the property of the tribe, and who appointed officials at his pleasure. He was served by attendants in the most abject attitudes, could only be approached by a subject unarmed and crouching, and arrogated to himself a form of address due to a deity. He was an absolute ruler in every respect, and by his will alone his subjects were guided, though to retain such power for any length of time it was necessary for him not to counteract any strong desire of the warriors of his tribe. This purely despotic form of government was rarely found among the people of the interior, who were in general more peaceably disposed than those of the coast. It ended as a rule when a man of feeble intellect succeeded the one who established it.

The more common system, the one indeed that may be termed normal except when interfered with by a chief possessing great

military genius, was of a milder character. Under it a tribe was composed of a number of sections which may be termed clans, each under its own chief, but all acknowledging the supreme authority of one particular individual. Sometimes the heads of the clans were members of the family of the paramount chief, more or less distantly connected with him by blood, in which case the tribe was a compact body, every individual in it having a common interest with every other; but it often happened that clans broken in war, though retaining their own chiefs, were adopted as vassals by a powerful ruler, and in these cases the cohesion of the different sections, owing to the object of their worship being different, to jealousy, and to rival views, was much less firm.

Among the interior tribes, owing to the misconduct or incompetency of individual chiefs, this system sometimes broke down, when a condition of greater freedom resulted. Here the common people acquired sufficient power to make their wishes respected to some extent, and nothing of importance was undertaken without a general assembly of the men of the tribe being first held, when each one was at liberty to express his views. But even in these cases the opinion of a member of the ruling family was regarded as of vastly greater weight than that of a commoner. Merit was of small account against privilege of blood in the estimation of any branch of the Bantu race.

Among the tribes under the normal system of government the rule of the paramount chief in times of peace was hardly felt beyond his own kraal. Each clan possessed all the machinery of administration, and in general it was only in cases of serious quarrels between them or of appeals from judicial decisions that the tribal head used his authority. In war, however, he issued commands to all, and on important occasions he summoned the minor chiefs to aid him with advice.

The members of the ruling families, even to the most distant branches, were of aristocratic rank, and enjoyed many privileges. Their persons were inviolable, and an indignity offered to one of them was considered a crime of the gravest nature. Even the customs of the people were set aside in favour of the chiefs of

highest rank. A common man of the coast tribes, for instance, could not marry certain relatives by blood, no matter how distant, but a great chief could, though connections nearer than fourth or fifth cousins were very rare. Such a marriage was strictly forbidden to a commoner, but was allowed in the chief's case, in order to obtain a woman of suitable birth to be the mother of the heir in the great line.

Portuguese writers relate that the principal chiefs in the territory between the Sabi and Zambesi rivers took their own sisters and daughters as their wives of highest rank, but perhaps this statement arose from their attaching the European meaning to the words sister and daughter, which when used by people of the Bantu race applied equally to cousins and nieces on the father's side. No marriages with sisters or daughters in the European sense is permitted at the present day, but with cousins—sisters in the Bantu sense—they are common among the interior tribes.\*

With regard to the common people, the theory of the universal

\* The following words in the Xosa dialect will further illustrate the difference between European and Bantu ideas as to relationship. *Bawo* is the word used in addressing father, father's brother, or father's half-brother. Little children say *Tata*. But there are three different words for father, according as a person is speaking of his own father or uncle, of the father or uncle of the person he is speaking to, or of the father or uncle of the person he is speaking of. Speaking of my father, *bawo* is the word used; of your father, *uyihlo*; of his father, *uyise*. *Ma* is the word used in addressing mother, any wife of father, or the sister of any of these. The one we should term mother can only be distinguished from the others, when speaking of her, by describing her as *uma wam kanye*, i.e. my real mother; or *uma ondizalayo*, i.e. the mother who bore me. Speaking of my mother, *ma* is the word used; of your mother, *unyoko*; of his or her mother, *unina*. *Malume* is the brother of any one called mother. A paternal aunt is addressed as *dadebobawo*, i.e. sister of my father, showing a distinction between relatives on the paternal and maternal side. *Mnakwetu* is the word used by females in addressing a brother, half-brother, or male cousin. Males when addressing any of these relations older than themselves, use the word *mkuluwa*; and when addressing one younger than themselves, say *mninawe*. A sister and a female cousin are alike termed *odade wetu*, our sister—the pronoun being always used in the plural form;—though sometimes the word *mza*, an abbreviation of *umzalwana*, i.e. of our family, is applied to a cousin on the mother's side by females older than the one addressed. *Mtakama* is an endearing form of expression, meaning child of my mother.

Bantu law was that they were the property of the rulers, consequently an offence against any of their persons was atoned for by a fine to the chief. Murder and assaults were punished in this manner. When a man died, his nearest relative was required to report the circumstance to the head of the clan, and to take a present of some kind with him as consolation for the loss sustained.

But while the government of all the tribes was thus in theory despotic, the power of the chiefs in those which were not under military rule was usually more or less restrained. In each clan there was a body of councillors—commonly hereditary—whose advice could not always be disregarded. A great deal depended upon the personal character of the chief. If he was a man of resolute will, the councillors were powerless; if he was weak they possessed not only influence, but often real authority. Then there was a custom that a fugitive from one clan was entitled to protection by the chief of another with which he took refuge, so that an arbitrary or unpopular ruler was in constant danger of losing his followers. This custom was an effectual check upon gross and unrestrained tyranny.

The law of succession to the government favoured the formation of new tribes. The first wives of a paramount chief were usually the daughters of some of his father's principal retainers; but as he grew older and increased in power his alliance was courted by great families, and thus it generally happened that his consort of highest rank was taken when he was of advanced age. Usually she was the daughter of a neighbouring ruler and was selected for him by the councillors of the tribe, who provided the cattle required by her relatives. She was termed the great wife, and her eldest son was the principal heir.

Another of his wives was invested at an earlier period of his life, by the advice of his councillors and friends, with the title of wife of the right hand, and to her eldest son some of his father's retainers were given, with whom he formed a new clan. The government of this was entrusted to him as soon as he was full grown, so that while his brother was still a child he had opportunities of increasing his power. If he was the abler ruler of the

two, a quarrel between them arose almost to a certainty as soon as the great heir reached manhood and was also invested with a separate command. If peace was maintained, upon the death of his father the son of the right hand acknowledged his brother as superior in rank, but neither paid him tribute nor admitted his right to interfere in the internal government of the new clan.

In some of the tribes three sons of every chief divided their father's adherents among them. In the latter case the third heir was termed the representative of the ancients or the son of the left hand.

In this manner new tribes, entirely independent of the old ones from which they sprang, were frequently formed. This was especially the case when the adjacent territory was thinly occupied by a weak people like the Hottentots, affording means for the ruler of lower rank without difficulty to remove to a distance from his brother. The disintegrating process was to some extent checked by frequent tribal wars and feuds, which forced chiefs of the same family to make common cause with each other, but whenever there was comparative peace it was in active operation, and so a steady and rapid expansion of the Bantu race towards the south was effected.

With the limitations that have been mentioned, in the life of the people the chief was everything, his wishes were the guide of their conduct, his orders were implicitly obeyed, the best of all they had was at his disposal. To every one else they could tell the grossest falsehoods without disgrace, but to him they told the simple truth, and that in language which could not bear two meanings. They could not even partake of the crops in their own gardens until he gave them leave to do so. In this case, when the millet was ripe the chief appointed a day for a general assembly of the people at his residence, that was known as the great place; he then went through certain rites, among which was the offering of a small quantity of the fresh grain to the spirits of his ancestors, either by laying it on their graves or by casting it into a stream, after which ceremony he gave the people permission to gather and eat.

Every people has its own standard of virtue, which if it does

not live up to, it at least respects. The Bantu had theirs, which consisted in fidelity to the chief. A man might be a thorough scoundrel according to European ideas, cruel, lascivious, intemperate, mean: all this mattered nothing if he was devoted to his chief, in which case in the estimation of his tribe he was virtuous. There was a reason for this, as will presently be seen.

The most solemn oath that a man could take was by either some great legendary ruler or the one then living, though he did not regard even that as binding if he believed that by speaking falsely the interest of the chief would be advanced. Portuguese writers state that the people near the Zambesi swore *by Mambo*, which was rather one of the titles of the head of a great tribe than his proper name, but the individual or his line of ancestors was meant. At present the form of oath varies slightly in different places, the most common expression being I call to witness or I point to, as *Ki supa ka Makatshane*, the usual oath of a Mosuto, I point to Makatshane.

The amount of taxes paid by the people for the maintenance of government was not fixed, as it is in European states. The ordinary revenue of a chief was derived from confiscations of property, fines, and presents, besides which his gardens, that were usually large, were cultivated by the labour of his people. The right of the ruler to the personal service of his subjects was everywhere recognised, and it extended even to his requiring them to serve others for his benefit. The Portuguese engaged carriers from a chief, who took a considerable portion of their earnings, just as the tribal heads at present send their young men to a distance to work for them. Men who would not think of assisting in the cultivation of their own gardens went willingly, when called upon to do so, to labour in those of their chief. The breast of every animal killed, which was regarded as the choicest meat, was sent to him as his right, and certain furs were his alone. When he felt so disposed, he made a tour through his tribe, when each kraal visited provided food for him and his attendants, and if he was in need, made him a present of cattle. The oxen, often from fifty to a hundred, needed to procure his



principal wife—who was to be the mother of the future ruler—were contributed by his retainers.

In some of the tribes the chief might be said to be the owner of everything. Cattle taken in war were his property, and though the cows were distributed among the people, who had the use of the milk, he could demand their restoration at any time. All trade with strangers passed through his hands, and he kept as much of the gains as he chose. Though this system was confined to the military tribes, even in those less highly organised it was usual for the chiefs to exact heavy dues upon commercial transactions between their subjects and others. When, for instance, the first fairs were established by the British authorities on the Xosa border, the chiefs fixed the quantity of beads or other merchandise to be received for every ox or tusk of ivory, and commonly took about half for themselves, without the people raising any objection.

The charges upon the government, except in the case of the military tribes, were limited to the cost of entertainment of attendants and visitors, and of presents to favourites or for services performed. There were no salaries to be paid, and no public works to be provided for. In all the country from the Zambesi to the southern coast there was not so much as a road, nothing better than a footpath, which, though leading towards a fixed point, wound round every obstacle in the way, great or small, for no one cared to remove even a puny boulder to obtain a more direct line. Many of these footpaths were worn deep by constant use for years, but they were never repaired. The simplest bridge over a stream was unknown, nor was there any other public work, if barricades of stones in the approaches to hill tops are excepted.

The religion of the Bantu was based upon the supposition of the existence of spirits that could interfere with the affairs of this world. These spirits were those of their ancestors and their deceased chiefs, the greatest of whom had control over lightning. When the spirits became offended or hungry they sent a plague or disaster until sacrifices were offered and their wrath or hunger was appeased. The head of a family of commoners on such an

occasion killed an animal, and all ate of the meat, as the hungry ghost was supposed to be satisfied with the smell. In case of the chief or the community at large being affected, the sacrifice was performed with much ceremony by the tribal priest, an individual of great influence, who had as other duties to ward off from the ruler the malevolent attacks of wizards and to prepare charms or administer medicine that would make the warriors who conducted themselves properly invulnerable in battle.

An instance may be given to illustrate the operation of this religion. Upon the death of Gwanya, a chief of great celebrity in the Pandomisi tribe, he was buried in a deep pool of the Tina river. The body was fastened to a log of wood, which was sunk in the water and then covered with stones. The sixth in the direct line of descent from this chief, Umhlonhlo by name, to save himself from destruction by an enemy became a British subject at his own request, but in October 1880 treacherously murdered three English officials, and went into rebellion, which resulted in his being obliged afterwards to take shelter in Basutoland. In 1891 one of Umhlonhlo's sons ventured into the district where his father had lived, and there committed an assault, for which he was arrested and sent before a colonial court to be tried. It was a time of intense heat and severe drought, which the tribe declared were caused by the spirit of Gwanya, who in this manner was expressing displeasure at the treatment accorded to his descendant. As a peace-offering therefore, cattle were killed on the banks of the pool containing his grave, and the flesh was thrown into the water, together with new dishes full of beer. The prisoner was sentenced to pay a fine, which was at once collected by the people for him. A few days later rain fell in copious showers, which of course confirmed the belief of the tribe that what was right had been done, and that the spirit of Gwanya was appeased.

The Bantu had no idea of reward or punishment in a world to come for acts committed in this life, and thus there was no other restraint of religion upon their actions than was connected with loyalty to their chiefs dead and living. Except when compelled by circumstances to do so, they thought as little as possible of

their own after fate, and seldom allowed reflection of any kind to disturb them.

A belief in the existence of spirits would seem to have as its consequence a belief in some special place where they resided, but the Bantu power of reasoning in such matters did not extend so far. Their minds in this respect were like those of little children, who are content to credit marvellous things told to them, without attempting to investigate any of the particulars. It is only since European ideas have been disseminated among them that such a question has arisen, and that one has said the spirits resided in the sky, another that their place of abode was a cavern under the earth. They acted as if the ghosts of the dead remained at or near their habitations when in life, and they were constantly fearful of meeting them at night. In all parts of the country there were localities, usually wild or secluded glens, which had the reputation of being haunted, and where no one would venture to appear alone after dusk. This might be said, however, of almost every part of Europe as well, so that in it the Bantu did not differ from the most highly civilised section of mankind.

No man of this race, upon being told of the existence of a single supreme God, ever denies the assertion, and among many of the tribes there is even a name for such a Being, as, for instance, the word *Umkulunkulu*, the Great Great One, used by the Hlubis and others. From this it has been assumed by some investigators that the Bantu are really monotheists, and that the spirits of their ancestors are regarded merely as mediators or intercessors. But such a conclusion is incorrect. The Great Great One was once a man, they all assert, and before our conception of a deity became known to them, he was the most powerful of the ancient chiefs, to whom tradition assigned supernatural knowledge and skill.

When a person was killed by lightning no lamentation was made, as it would have been considered rebellion to mourn for one whom the great chief had sent for. In cases of death within a kraal the relatives and friends of the deceased often exhibited the most passionate symptoms of grief, which, how-

ever, seldom lasted long, though they generally shaved their heads as a sign of mourning. There was an idea that something connected with death attached to the personal effects of the deceased, on which account whatever had belonged to him that could not be placed in the grave, his clothing, mats, head rest, &c., was destroyed by fire. The hut in which he had lived was also burned, and no other was allowed to be built on the spot. If he had been the chief, the whole kraal was removed to another site. Those who touched the corpse or any of the dead man's effects were obliged to go through certain ceremonies, and then to bathe in running water before they could associate again with their companions. Except in cases of persons of rank, however, very few deaths occurred within kraals. As soon as it was seen that any one's end was near, the invalid was carried to a distance and left to die alone, in order to avert the danger of the presence of the dreaded something that could not be explained.

If it happened that a common person died within a kraal, the corpse was dragged to a distance, and there left to be devoured by beasts of prey; but chiefs and great men were interred with much ceremony. A grave was dug, in which the body was placed in a sitting posture, and by it were laid the weapons of war and ornaments used in life. When the grave was closed, such expressions as these were used: Remember us from the place where you are, you have gone to a high abode, cause us to prosper. To prevent desecration of any kind, watchers were then appointed to guard the grave, who for many months never left its neighbourhood. In some instances it was enclosed with a fence large enough to form a fold, within which selected oxen were confined at night. These cattle were thenceforward regarded as sacred, were well cared for, and allowed to die a natural death. The watchers of the grave also were privileged men ever afterwards.

Before the interment of the paramount chief of a powerful tribe, especially of a great military ruler, a number of his attendants were killed, and their bodies were placed around his in the grave in such a way as to keep it from contact with the

earth. The object was to provide him with servants in the spirit world. His principal wives either took poison voluntarily or were killed, to serve him as companions. If he had a favourite dog, ox, or other animal, that was also slaughtered, to give him pleasure. It does not follow that such animals were regarded as immortal, but there was something unexplainable connected with them that the dead chief could enjoy, just as there was with his assagais and his metal bracelets. Afterwards, especially when drought occurred or any disaster overtook the people, sacrifices were offered at the grave, and prayers were made to him for assistance. When a number of chiefs had thus been interred, a tacit selection was made of the one who had been the wisest and most powerful in his day, and the others were neglected and gradually forgotten except by the antiquaries who preserved their names.

The custom of slaughtering wives and attendants upon the death of a great chief was not observed by the less important tribes, nor upon the death of mere chiefs of clans or of other individuals of position; but a practice carried out to the present day shows that it must at one time have been general. When a man of what may be termed aristocratic rank died his widows betook themselves to forests or lonely places, where they lived in seclusion as best they could for a month or longer, according to the time of mourning customary among their people. During this period no one even spoke to them, and when, as sometimes—but not always—happened, they were supplied with food, it was done by leaving a little millet in a place near their haunts where they would probably find it. Death from exposure and starvation was frequently the result of this custom. At the end of the time of mourning the emaciated creatures returned to their kraals, when ceremonies of purification were observed, their clothing and ornaments were burned, and their relatives supplied them with the new articles that they needed. This method of mourning must have been developed from the practice of slaughtering such wives of a man of rank as could not make their escape when he died, in order that they might accompany him to the land of spirits.

The tribe adjoining the Hottentot border on the south-east had a dim belief in the existence of a powerful being, whom they termed Qamata, and to whom they sometimes prayed, though they never offered sacrifices to him. In a time of great danger one of them would exclaim: "O Qamata help me," and when the danger was over he would attribute his deliverance to the same being. But of Qamata nothing more was known than that he was high and mighty, and that though at times he helped individuals, in general he did not interfere with the destinies of men. Recent investigations have shown that this belief did not extend far among the Bantu tribes, and it is now supposed to have been acquired from the Hottentots. Not that the Hottentots venerated a deity thus designated, but that a knowledge of some other object of worship than their own ancestral shades having been obtained through Hottentot females whom they took to themselves, this name was given to the unknown divinity.

The Bantu believed that the spirits of the dead visited their friends and descendants in the form of animals. Each tribe regarded some particular animal as the one selected by the ghosts of its kindred, and therefore looked upon it as sacred. The lion was thus held in veneration by one tribe, the crocodile by another, the python by a third, the bluebuck by a fourth, and so on. When a division of a tribe took place, each section retained the same ancestral animal, and thus a simple method is afforded of ascertaining the wide dispersion of various communities of former times. For instance, at the present day a species of snake is held by people as far south as the mouth of the Fish river and by others near the Zambesi to be the form in which their dead appear.

This belief caused even such destructive animals as the lion and the crocodile to be protected from harm in certain parts of the country. It was not indeed believed that every lion or every crocodile was a disguised spirit, but then any one might be, and so none were molested unless under peculiar circumstances, when it was clearly apparent that the animal was an aggressor and therefore not related to the tribe. Even then, if it could be

driven away it was not killed. A Xosa of the present time will leave his hut if an ancestral snake enters it, permitting the reptile to keep possession, and will shudder at the thought of any one hurting it. The animal thus respected by one tribe was, however, disregarded and killed without scruple by all others.

The great majority of the people of the interior have now lost the ancient belief, but they still hold in veneration the animal that their ancestors regarded as a possible embodied spirit. Most of them take their tribal titles from it, thus the Bakwena are the crocodiles, the Bataung the lions, the Baphuti the little blue antelopes. Each terms the animal whose name it bears its *siboko*, and not only will not kill it or eat its flesh, but will not touch its skin or come in contact with it in any way if that can be avoided. When one stranger meets another and desires to know something about him, he asks "to what do you dance?" and the name of the animal is given in reply. Dos Santos, a Portuguese writer who had excellent opportunities of observation, states that on certain occasions, which must have been frequent, men imitated the actions of their *siboko*; but that custom has now almost died out, at least among the southern tribes.

The people along the south-eastern coast, though separated into distinct communities absolutely independent of each other from a time as far back as their tradition reaches, are of common tribal origin. They all regard the same species of snake as the form in which their ancestral shades appear. Further, their tribal titles, with few exceptions, are derived from the chief who left the parent stock, thus the Amahlubi are the people of Hlubi, the Abatembu the people of Tembu, the Amaxosa the people of Xosa, Hlubi, Tembu, and Xosa being the chiefs under whom they acquired independence. The exceptions are derived from some peculiarity of the people, but in these cases the titles were originally nicknames given by strangers and afterwards adopted by the tribes themselves.

Nearer than the spirits of deceased chiefs or of their own ancestors was a whole host of hobgoblins, water sprites, and malevolent demons, who met the Bantu turn which way they would. There was no beautiful fairyland for them, for all the

beings who haunted the mountains, the plains, and the rivers were ministers of evil. The most feared of these was a large bird that made love to women and incited those who returned its affection to cause the death of those who did not, and a little mischievous imp who was also amorously inclined. Many instances could be gathered from the records of magistrates' courts in recent years of demented women having admitted their acquaintance with these fabulous creatures, as well as of whole communities living in terror of them.

The water spirits were believed to be addicted to claiming human victims, though they were sometimes willing to accept an ox as a ransom. How this belief works practically may be illustrated by facts which have come under the writer's cognizance.

In the summer of 1875 a party of girls went to bathe in a tributary of the Keiskama river. There was a deep hole in the stream, into which one of them got, and she was drowned. The others ran home as fast as they could, and there related that their companion had been lured from their side by a spirit calling her. She was with them, they said, in a shallow part, when suddenly she stood upright and exclaimed "It is calling." She then walked straight into the deep place, and would not allow any of them to touch her. One of them heard her saying "Go and tell my father and my mother that it took me." Upon this, the father collected his cattle as quickly as possible, and went to the stream. The animals were driven into the water, and the man stood on the bank imploring the spirit to take the choicest of them and restore his daughter.

On another occasion a man was trying to cross one of the fords of a river when it was in flood. He was carried away by the current, but succeeded in getting safely to land some quarter of a mile farther down. Eight or ten stout fellows saw him carried off his feet, but not one made the slightest effort to help him. On the contrary, they all rushed away frantically, shouting to the herd boys on the hill sides to drive down the cattle. The escape of the man from the power of the spirit was afterwards attributed to his being in possession of a powerful charm.



Besides these spirits, according to the belief of the Bantu, there are people living under the water, pretty much as those do who are in the upper air. They have houses and furniture, and even cattle, all of their domestic animals being, however, of a dark colour. They are wiser than other people, and from them the witchfinders are supposed to obtain the knowledge of their art. This is not a fancy of children, but the implicit belief of grown-up men and women at the present day. As an instance, in July 1881 a woman came to the writer of this chapter, who was then acting as magistrate of a district in the Cape Colony inhabited by Bantu, and asked for assistance. A child had died in her kraal, and the witchfinder had pointed her out as the person who had caused its death. Her husband was absent, and the result of her being *smelt out* was that no one would enter her hut, share food with her, or so much as speak to her. If she was in a path every one fled out of her way, and even her own children avoided her. Being under British jurisdiction she could not be otherwise punished, but such treatment as this would of itself, in course of time, have made her insane. She denied most emphatically having been concerned in the death of the child, though she did not doubt that some one had caused it by means of witchcraft. The witchfinder was sent for, and, as the matter was considered an important one, a larger number of people than usual appeared at the investigation. On putting the ordinary tests to the witchfinder he failed to meet them, and when he was compelled, reluctantly, to admit that he had never held converse with the people under the water, it was easy to convince the bystanders that he was only an impostor.

Of the origin of life or of the visible universe the Bantu never thought, nor had any one of them ever formed a theory upon the subject. There was indeed a story told in all the tribes of the cause of death, but it is in itself an apt illustration of their want of reasoning power in such matters. The chameleon, so the tale was told, was sent to say that men were to live for ever. After he had gone a long time the little lizard was sent to say that men were to die. The lizard, being fleet of foot, arrived first at his journey's end, and thus death was introduced. But in

whom the power lay of forming these decisions, and of sending the animals with the messages, they did not trouble themselves to inquire, nor did it strike them that the narrative was incomplete without this information until Europeans questioned them concerning it.

Some of the eastern Bantu had a legend that men and animals formerly existed in caverns in the bowels of the earth, but at length found their way to the surface through an opening in a marsh overgrown with reeds. They always pointed to the north as the direction in which this marsh lay. The Ovaherero on the western coast believe that human beings and every kind of animal sprang from a particular kind of large tree in their country, to which on that account they pay such respect that they will not even lop a twig from it, wherever it may be growing. For this reason it is now commonly called by the Europeans in the country the Damara mother tree, Damup, corrupted by the Dutch colonists into Damara, being the Hottentot name of the black people living north of Walfish Bay. But this belief is probably of Hottentot, not of Bantu origin, for the clans that hold it have strangely mixed up the worship of Heitsi-eibib with that of their own ancestral shades. This must have arisen from the predominance of the Hottentot race in remote times in the country now occupied by the Ovaherero.

Dos Santos states that the people of his time in the Zambesi basin observed certain fixed days as holy, and abstained from labour upon them; but this custom was certainly not universal, and very likely the friar was mistaken. At any rate modern observers in that part of the country as well as in the south have noticed that no days or seasons are considered more sacred than others, though there are times marked by particular events when it is considered unlucky to undertake any enterprise, and even movements in war are delayed on such occasions.

Still it must be observed that, though no days were considered holier than others, or were specially dedicated to religious observances, with the Bantu, as probably with all uncivilised people, the time of a new moon was one of special rejoicing. Next to the apparent course of the sun through the sky, the

changes of the moon are those which to every one are most striking. This is particularly so in a country like South Africa, where a moonlit evening, when the winds are lulled and the air is deliciously fresh and cool, is to Europeans the pleasantest part of the twenty-four hours, far more so to people who knew of no other artificial light than that of burning wood. It is no wonder therefore that the new moon was hailed with shouts of joy, that its praises were chanted in set words, and that among some of the tribes dances and other ceremonies took place in its honour. With all this, however, the moon was not regarded as a deity, nor was the evening of rejoicing considered more holy than any other. After the crops were gathered, many of the tribes were accustomed to offer special sacrifices to the spirits of their dead chiefs, though there was no fixed day in every year set apart for the purpose, and indeed they did not even know how to reckon time as we do. A chief who considered that his people, male or female, needed rest, might issue an order that no work was to be done on a particular day, but that did not cause it to be regarded as holy.

Each ruling family had an individual connected with it, one of whose duties can properly be described as that of a priest, for it was he who in times of calamity sacrificed cattle for the tribe to the spirits of the dead chiefs. Another of his duties was by means of charms and incantations to ward off evil influence of every kind from the reigning ruler. When a community was broken in war and compelled to become a vassal clan of some other tribe, it retained its priest until by time or circumstances a thorough incorporation took place. That was a process, however, not usually completed until several generations had passed away.

As a factor in the government of a Bantu tribe religion was more powerful than in any European state, for the fear of offending the spirits of the deceased chiefs, and so bringing evil upon themselves, kept the clans loyal to their head. He was the representative, the descendant in the great line, of those whose wrath they appeased by sacrifices. A tribe all of whose clans were governed by offshoots of the family of the paramount chief

was thus immensely stronger in war than one of equal size made up of clans thrown together by chance. In the one case the religious head was the same as the political, in the other they were separated.

The belief in witchcraft was deep-seated and universal. The theory was that certain evil-disposed persons obtained power from the demons to bewitch others, and so to cause sickness, death, or disaster of some kind. They were believed often to use snakes, baboons, and other animals as their messengers. They could only be discovered by individuals who went through a very severe novitiate, and to whom the necessary knowledge was imparted by people who lived under water. Undoubtedly some of the witchfinders were impostors; but many of them were really monomaniacs, and had the firmest conviction in their ability to do what they professed.

Occasionally a person believed that he had received revelations from the spirit world. If his statements were credited, his power at once became enormous, and his commands were implicitly obeyed. Crafty chiefs sometimes made use of such deranged beings for the purpose of exciting the people to war, or of inducing them to approve of measures which would otherwise have been unpopular.

There were individuals who professed to be able to make rain, and whose services were frequently called into use when any part of the country suffered from drought. If it happened soon afterwards that rain fell they received credit for it, and were amply rewarded, while if the drought continued they asserted that some unknown powerful wizard was working against them, a statement that was in most cases believed. Sometimes, however, the chief and people lost faith in them, when they were pronounced guilty of imposture, and were tied hand and foot and thrown over a precipice or into a stream.

There were also persons who were skilful in the use of herbs as remedies for diseases, and who were well acquainted with different kinds of poison. This knowledge was transmitted in certain families from father to son, and was kept profoundly secret from the mass of the people. Some of their medicines were

beyond doubt of great efficacy, such as those used for the cure of dysentery, for causing virulent sores to heal, and to counteract snake bites.\* But with these, and classified as of equal value, they professed to have medicines that would cause love from a woman, favour from a chief, &c. The writer of this was once so fortunate as to come into possession of the whole stock in trade of a famous Xosa herbalist. Each article in it was afterwards submitted to different practitioners, under exceptionally favourable circumstances for eliciting information, when most of them were at once recognised and their uses pronounced. Some were cures for various diseases, one was a love philter, and one was a piece of wood which was to be burned and the smoke inhaled, when the person using it would find favour in the eyes of his superior. But there were several whose use no one would divulge, their properties being regarded as secrets upon the strictest maintenance of which the fortunes of the herbalist families depended. In every case, in addition to the medicine, charms were made use of, and the one was as much relied upon as the other by the people at large.

It often happened that the three offices of witchfinder, rain-maker, and herbalist were combined in the same person, but this was not always the case, and the occupations were distinct. When practising, these individuals attired themselves fantastically, being painted with various colours, and having the tails of wild animals suspended around them.

Charms were largely depended upon to preserve the wearers against accident or to produce good luck. They were merely bits of wood or bone, which were hung about the neck, and were

\* A valuable pamphlet, in which the botanical, native, and colonial names, and the uses of a great many of these medicinal plants are given, was not long ago prepared and published by the late Andrew Smith, Esqre., M.A., for many years a teacher in the higher department of the Lovedale Missionary Institution, who expended a great deal of time and thought in the investigation of this subject. My friend the reverend Dr. W. A. Soga, a medical missionary with the Bomvanas in the district of Elliotdale, informed me a few years ago that a remedy for one form of cancer was certainly known to some herbalists of his acquaintance, but though he had long been endeavouring to acquire their secret, he had been unable to do so.

regarded just as lucky pennies and fortunate days are by some silly Europeans. But the belief was firm in charms and medicines which gave to an assagai the property of hitting the mark, to an individual the property of winning favour, and such like. The issue of warlike operations was divined by revolting cruelties practised on animals. At the commencement of hostilities, and often before an engagement, two bulls were selected to represent the opposing parties. These were then skinned alive, and success was foretold to the combatant represented by the one that lived longest. By some means, however, each band of warriors was made to believe that the result denoted victory to its side. While this was taking place pieces of flesh were cut from other living bulls, which the warriors devoured raw, in the supposition that by this means their courage in battle would be increased. Cruelty of so dreadful a kind shocked no heart among the spectators, for the Bantu in general were utterly indifferent to the sufferings of animals, except favourites such as a man's own race-ox or his pet dog.

The tribes of the interior were more superstitious than those of the coast, as they were guided in nearly all their actions by the position in which some pieces of bone or wood of the character of dice fell when they were cast on the ground. The largest made of wood were oblong tablets, about six inches in length, two inches in width, and five-eighths of an inch in thickness, but usually those of wood, and almost invariably those of bone, were smaller, the commonest being about two inches and a half long, an inch wide, and an eighth of an inch in thickness. On each tablet a different pattern was carved, and each had a signification different from the others. Sometimes instead of tablets pieces of bone or of ivory carved in various shapes were used, in the manufacture of which a great deal of patient labour was expended. The usual number employed was five, but more were sometimes found in a set. If an ox strayed the *daula* was thrown to ascertain in what direction it had gone, if a hunt was to take place it was consulted to indicate in what quarter game was most readily to be found, in short it was resorted to in every case of doubt. Each individual carried with him a set of these

mystic articles strung on a thong, to be used whenever required. This superstitious practice, just as it was described more than three hundred years ago by the friar Dos Santos, is still prevalent and firmly believed in.

With many of the tribes there was a custom upon the accession of a chief to kill the commoner with the largest head among the people, in order that his skull might be used by the priest as a receptacle for the charms against witchcraft employed in the protection of the ruler. Such a receptacle was regarded as requisite for that particular purpose. Only a generation ago a man was killed with this object by a section of the Xosa tribe that was not then under British rule, but that had been to some extent for many years under European influence. The writer has heard his grandchildren speak of the event without the slightest feeling of horror, with as much indifference, in fact, as if they were relating any ordinary occurrence.

## II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BANTU (*continued*).

THE Bantu had a system of common law and perfectly organised tribunals of justice, which, however, were sometimes set aside by the great military tribes. Their laws came down from a time to which even tradition did not reach, and those which related to ordinary matters were so well known to every member of the community that trials were mere investigations into statements and proofs of occurrences. When complicated cases arose, precedents were sought for, antiquaries were referred to, and celebrated jurists even in other tribes were consulted. If all these means of ascertaining the law failed, and the chief before whom the case was being tried was not a man of generally recognised ability, it often happened that no judgment was given, for fear of establishing a faulty precedent. From the decisions of the minor chiefs there was a right of appeal to the head of the tribe.

The law held every one accused of crime guilty, unless he could prove himself innocent. It made the head of a family responsible for the conduct of all its branches, the kraal collectively in the same manner for each resident in it, and the clan for each of its sub-divisions. Thus if the skin of a stolen ox was found in a kraal, or if the footmarks of the animal were traced to it, the whole of the residents were liable to be fined. There was no such thing as a man's professing ignorance of his neighbour's doings: the law required him to know all about them, or it made him suffer for neglecting a duty which it held he owed to the community. Every individual was not only in theory but in practice a policeman.



A lawsuit among these people was commonly attended by all the men of the kraal where it took place. Nothing was more congenial than to sit and listen to the efforts of the querists to elicit the truth, or for the ablest among them to assist in the investigation. The trial took place in the open air. The person charged with crime or the defendant in a civil suit underwent a rigorous examination, and anything like warning him against criminating himself was held to be perversion of justice.

The accuser or plaintiff or a friend prosecuted, and a friend of the individual on trial conducted the defence; the councillors, who acted as assessors, or any individual of recognised legal ability who happened to be present, put any questions they chose; and the mass of spectators observed the utmost silence and decorum. At the conclusion of the trial, the councillors expressed their opinions, and the chief then pronounced judgment.

There were only two modes of punishment, fines and death, except in cases where an individual was charged with having dealt in witchcraft, when torture, often of a horrible kind, was practised. In this class of trials every one was actuated by fear, and was in a state of strong excitement, so that the formalities required on other occasions were dispensed with. The whole clan was assembled and seated in a circle, the witchfinder, who was fantastically painted and attired, went through certain incantations; and when all were worked into a state of frenzy he pointed to some individual as the one who had by bewitchment caused death or sickness among the people, murrain among cattle, blight in crops, or some other disaster. The result to the person so pointed out was confiscation of property and torture, often causing death. The number of persons who perished on charges of dealing in witchcraft was very great. The victims were usually old women, men of property, persons of eccentric habits, or individuals obnoxious to the chief. Any person in advance of his fellows was specially liable to suspicion, so that progress of any kind towards what we should term higher civilisation was made exceedingly difficult by this belief.

No one except the chief was exempt, however, from being

charged with dealing in witchcraft. The cruelties practised upon the unfortunate individuals believed to be guilty were often horrible, but a single instance, which occurred in July 1892, will be sufficient to exemplify them. A wife of the Pondo chief Sigcawu being ill, a witchfinder was directed to point out the person who caused the malady. He declared that Ma Matiwane, sister of the Pandomisi chief Umhlonhlo and widow of Sigcawu's father, was the guilty person, and that she had a lizard and a mole as her servants in the evil work. By order of Sigcawu, a number of young men then seized Ma Matiwane, stripped her naked, fastened her wrists and ankles to pegs driven in the ground, and covered her with ants irritated by pouring water over them. She suffered this torture for a long time without confessing, so they loosed her, saying that her medicines were too strong for the ants. They then lashed her arms to a pole placed along her shoulders, and taking her by the feet and the ends of the pole, they held her over a fire. Under this torture she confessed that she was guilty, but as she could not produce the lizard and the mole, she was roasted again three times within two days. No European could have survived such a burning; but she was ultimately rescued by an agent of the Cape government, and recovered. This woman had taken care of Sigcawu after the death of his own mother, yet on the mere word of a witchfinder she was thus horribly tortured. And instances of this kind were common events in the olden times.

Frequently, when a great calamity had occurred, or the life of a chief was believed to be in danger, not only the individual pointed out by the witchfinder, but his or her whole family was exterminated, and even entire kraals were sometimes wiped out of existence on such occasions. So strong was the belief in witchcraft and in the power of witchfinders to detect those guilty of practising it that instances were not rare of persons accused admitting that the charge against them must be correct and that they ought to suffer death, because some evil emanation over which they had no control must have gone forth from their bodies and caused the disaster, though they had done nothing directly to produce it.

The Bantu were seen in the most favourable light at ordinary lawsuits before the chiefs and councillors, and in the most unfavourable light at trials for the discovery of wizards and witches. In the one case men were found conducting themselves with the strictest gravity and propriety, in the other case the same people were seen as a panic-stricken horde, deaf to all reason, and ready to perform most atrocious acts of cruelty, even upon persons who just previously were their companions.

The sentences pronounced in ordinary cases were often such as would have seemed unjust to Europeans, but that was because our standard of comparative crime is not the same as theirs, and because with us there is supposed to be no difference of punishment according to the rank of the criminal. With them the ruling families in all their branches had the privilege of doing many things with impunity that commoners were severely punished for. Bribery was not unknown, but in courts as open as theirs, and where there was the utmost freedom of enquiry, it could not be practised to any great extent. When a case was talked out, every one present was usually acquainted with its minutest details.

Among the northern tribes trial by ordeal was resorted to in cases where personal or circumstantial evidence was wanting, and in appeal from decisions of witchfinders. The form of ordeal varied. In some instances the accused person was required to lick or to pick up a piece of red hot iron, and if he was burnt he was condemned as guilty. In other cases he drank the poisonous juice of a certain herb, and if it had effect upon him he was doomed to immediate death. In others again he was forced to drink a huge basin of hot water mixed with a bitter emetic, and if he could not retain it the charge against him was regarded as proved. Yet so confident were innocent persons that no harm would come to them from the iron, the poison, or the emetic, that they accepted the ordeal with alacrity. Among the southern tribes this practice was not common, though it was well known.

The Bantu knew of no other periods in reckoning time than the day and the lunar month, and could describe events only as

happening before or after some remarkable occurrence, such as the death of a chief, a season of famine, or an unusually heavy flood. The rising of the Pleiades shortly after sunset was regarded as indicating the planting season. To this constellation, as well as to several of the prominent stars and planets, they gave expressive names. They formed no theories concerning the nature of the heavenly bodies and their motions, and were not given to thinking of such things. In later times, if questioned by a European, they might venture to remark that the sky was smoke which had risen from fires, but in such cases it would be evident that the effort to find a solution to a query of this kind was new to them.

They had no knowledge of letters or of any signs by which ideas could be expressed. There were old men who professed to be acquainted with the deeds of the past, and who imparted their knowledge to the young, but their accounts of distant times seldom corresponded in details. They touched very lightly upon defeats sustained by their own tribe, but dilated upon all its victories. In the traditions of each independent community a particular chief, usually the second or third in descent from the founder, was invariably represented as having conferred extraordinary benefits upon his people. He was the inventor of iron weapons, the one who decorated them with copper ornaments, and who taught them to use millet for food. Thus among the Barolong at the present day all this is attributed to Noto, son of Morolong; among the Amaxosa to Tshawe, great-grandson of Xosa; among the Abatetwa to Umyambosi, son of Umtetwa. Now it is absolutely certain that long before the time of Morolong, Xosa, and Umtetwa, who founded these modern tribes, iron, copper, and millet were in general use by all sections of the Bantu. But in praise of chiefs who probably gained some important victory, or under whose rule there was unusual prosperity, whatever the succeeding generations could think of as being great improvements was ascribed to their wisdom, and has been handed down as tribal history from one antiquary to another. Thus these narratives convey incorrect impressions, and little is beyond question except the genealogies

of the great chiefs, which have been carefully preserved for ten or twelve generations.

Their folklore was neither of a moral character, nor did it convey any useful lessons. The actors in it were animals which spoke as human beings, persons who were bewitched and compelled to appear as beasts, individuals with magical powers, fantastic creatures, imps, cannibals, young chiefs, girls, etc., etc. There was nothing that led to elevation of thought in any of these stories, though one idea, that might easily be mistaken on a first view for a good one, pervades many of them: the superiority of brain power to physical force. But on looking deeper it is found that brain power was always interpreted as low cunning; it was wiliness, not greatness of mind, that won in the strife against the stupid strong. Such an idea was in full accord with the life of the people, and it may have been on this account that the tales were so much liked. Where force was directed as mercilessly as it is among brutes, it was necessary for the weak to scheme against the strong. The little boy, who lived in constant terror of larger ones, the woman, who was the drudge, not the companion, of her husband, the petty clan, that felt the exactions of a powerful neighbour, all were obliged to scheme, and no people on earth ever learned the art of deception more thoroughly than the Bantu. Thus these traditional tales, which came down from a remote time,—as they were found with little variation among tribes that could have had no intercourse with each other for many centuries,—gave a large amount of pleasure to those among whom they passed current, though to European minds there was nothing amusing or interesting in them.

Many of the proverbs in common use, on the contrary, conveyed excellent practical lessons of prudence and wisdom. The following are a few of those collected by the writer when residing with the Xosas, and they might be extended to fill many pages:—

A brand burns him who stirs it up, equivalent to our English one Let sleeping dogs lie.

Like the marriage feast of Mapasa, used to denote anything unusually grand. The marriage festivities of one of the ancients,

Mapasa by name, are said to have been carried on for a whole year.

Misfortune of soup made of shanks and feet, applied to any person who never does well, but is always getting into trouble. The kind of soup spoken of is very lightly esteemed.

One fly does not provide for another, a saying of the industrious to the idle, meaning that each should work for himself as the flies do.

Bakuba is far away, no person ever reached it. Bakuba is an ideal country. This proverb is used as a warning against undue ambition, or as advice to be content with that which is within reach. It is equivalent to our English saying It is no use building castles in the air.

They have slaughtered at Kukwane, where much meat is obtainable. According to tradition, there was once a very rich chief who lived at Kukwane, and who entertained strangers in a more liberal manner than any who went before or who came after him. This proverb is used to such persons as ask too much from others, as if to say: It was only at Kukwane that such expectations were realised.

It is not every one who is a son of Gaika. Gaika was at the beginning of the nineteenth century the most powerful chief west of the Kei. This proverb signifies that all are not equally fortunate.

He has drunk the juice of the flower of the wild aloe. Said of a dull, sleepy person. This juice when drunk has a stupefying effect, and benumbs the limbs so as to make them powerless for a time.

The walls have come into collision, said of any dispute between persons of consequence.

A person who will not take advice gets knowledge when trouble overtakes him.

You have cast away your own for that which you are not sure of, equivalent to the English proverb A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

He is a buck of an endless forest, a saying applied to a shiftless person, one who never continues long in any occupation.

You are lighting a fire in the wind, said to any one who favours strangers in preference to relatives, or to their disadvantage.

There is no beast that does not roar in its den, meaning that a man recognises no superior in his own establishment. Equivalent to Every cock crows on his own dunghill.

A dog of the wind, a saying applied to any one who has no settled plan of living.

I, the adhesive grass, will stick fast to you. This proverb is used as a warning to any one to avoid a bad habit or an unworthy companion that cannot easily be got rid of.

The sun never sets without fresh news.

They are people of experience who do not sleep at a strange place, said in praise of one who is smart in going a message, or who performs any duty at a distance quickly.

The land is dead, a saying which implies that war has commenced.

One does not become great by claiming greatness, used to incite any one to the performance of noble deeds. It means that a man's actions, not his talk and boasting, are what people judge of his greatness by.

It is the foot of a baboon, a saying denoting a treacherous person.

He has gone in pursuit of the (fabulous) birds of the sea, a saying applied to one whose ambitious aspirations are not likely to be realised.

You are creeping on your knees to the fireplace. Used as a warning to any one who is following a course that must lead to ruin. It is as if one said: You are like an infant crawling towards the fire circle in the middle of the hut, who is sure to get burnt.

It has stuck fast by one of the front legs. This saying is used when any one has committed himself to a matter of importance. An animal cannot extricate itself easily when fast by one of its front legs.

It dies and rises like the moon. Said of any question that springs up again after it is supposed to be settled.

There is no plant that comes into flower and does not wither.  
Descriptive of the life of man.

The crab has stuck fast between the stones at the entrance of its hole. Said of any one who is involved in difficulties of his own creation, or of one who raises an argument and is beaten in it.

To-morrow is also a day. Said to any one who is in undue haste or who is impatient in the execution of a task. It is the proverb most acted upon by men of the Bantu race.

Of poetry they had a fairly rich store, but there was nothing particularly grand in it. It was chanted by individual men on special occasions, and consisted chiefly of adulation of the chiefs, deeds of war, and actions of animals. Thus a favourite ox might have a chant in its praise. The war chants, in certain parts of which the whole of the men present joined, were certainly impressive, but those in ordinary use were monotonous and disagreeable to a European ear. All were distinguished by a note of sadness. These people, though their voices were rich and melodious, had no conception of such vocal music as we are accustomed to: they had neither rhymic hymn, nor song, nor glee. Their musical instruments were of the rudest kind, mostly calculated to make noise rather than melody, those in ordinary use being capable of producing only a monotonous thrumming sound. The best consisted merely of pieces of wood or iron for keys, with calabashes attached to them, arranged on stretched strings, and struck with a small round-headed cane, or of thin iron keys fastened over a gourd or hollow block of wood, and touched by the hand. Of these there were several kinds, but all were constructed on the same principle.

Every chief of highest rank in the military tribes was attended by individuals whose duty was to act as official praisers. These persons were attired in the most fantastic costumes, thus one might have his head and every part of his body covered with the skin of a lion, another with that of a leopard, and so on. On any appearance of the chief, they shouted in a kind of chant a poem in which greatness of every kind was attributed to him, using such terms as great elephant, great despoiler, great



ravisher, great conqueror, and great soothsayer. Very often at the same time drums were beaten and horns were sounded, making a din gratifying to the Bantu ear, but intolerable to that of a European. The chiefs of tribes in the ordinary condition had also their official praisers, who were, however, more modest in their words, and whose chants were seldom accompanied by such a deafening noise of discordant instruments.

The heads of the independent communities along the eastern coast from the Zambesi river to Kosi Bay had dynastic names, which they assumed upon succeeding to the chieftainship, and by which they were afterwards known, just as all the rulers of ancient Egypt were termed Pharaoh. Thus the paramount chiefs of the tribe that occupied the south-eastern shore of Delagoa Bay took the name Nyaka, those of the adjoining tribe to the westward Kapela, those of the tribe living along the lower course of the Limpopo river Manisa, and those of the great Makalanga tribe, that occupied the eastern part of what is now Rhodesia and the adjacent territory to the sea, Mnamatapa. Each of these dynastic names originally had a special signification, and was derived from some occurrence connected with the founder of the ruling family or one of the most distinguished of his descendants. The custom applied only to paramount chiefs. South of Kosi Bay dynastic names were not used, owing probably to the manner in which the tribes were formed and their recent origin.

The names given to children at birth were often changed at a later age, especially in the case of chiefs who performed any noteworthy act, or with a view to flattery, a custom that makes research into their history somewhat difficult. It frequently happened also that a chief was known to his own people by one name, and to neighbouring tribes by another very different. In our own day there are many instances of this custom. Thus a chief of a Barolong clan, Montsiwa as his own people call him, is termed Seyangkabo (meaning intruder in a bad sense) by some of his immediate neighbours, and Motshela oa Maaka (the fountain of lies) by others. Some of the names given to notable persons were very expressive, and of these also there are many

instances at present. Thus Sigcawu (the great spider), the paramount Xosa chief, was so named on account of his supposed cleverness, Dalindyebo (creator of wealth, from roots uku dala to create and indyebo riches), the paramount Tembu chief, on account of his having been born during an exceedingly abundant harvest, Ngonyama (the lion), a Gaika chief, on account of his personal bravery, Uzwinye (one word, from roots izwi a word and nye one), the reverend Mr. Hargreaves, on account of his constantly recommending peace. When a woman is married, her husband's parents give her a new name, by which she is known to his family afterwards. Upon the birth of her first child, whether son or daughter, she is usually called by every one else after the name given to the infant, Ma \*\*, the mother of \*\*.

When about fifteen or sixteen years of age boys in nearly all the tribes were circumcised. The rite was purely civil. By it a youth was enabled to emerge from the society of women and children, and was admitted to the privileges of manhood. Its performance was attended with many ceremonies, some of a harmless, others to European ideas of a criminal nature. At a certain period in every year, unless it was a time of calamity or the chief had a son not yet ready, all the youths of a clan who were old enough were circumcised. Thereafter for a couple of months or longer they lived by themselves, and were distinguished by wearing a peculiar head-dress and a girdle of long grass about the loins, besides having their bodies covered with white clay. During this period they had license to steal freely from their relatives, provided they could do so without being caught in the act. After returning to their homes, they were brought before the old men of the tribe, who lectured them upon the duties and responsibilities which they had taken upon themselves. Presents of cattle and weapons were afterwards made by their friends to give them a start in life, and they could then indulge in immorality without let or hindrance from their elders.

In case a scion of the ruling house was growing up, the performance of the rite of circumcision was generally allowed to stand over for a year or two, so that he might have a large number of companions. These were all supposed to be bound to

him by a very strong tie. In after years they were to be his councillors and attendants, and in case of danger were to form his bodyguard. In modern times no instance has been known of any one who was circumcised at the same time as a chief afterwards proving unfaithful to him, but numerous instances have come under the notice of Europeans where such persons have sacrificed their lives for him.

With some—if not all—of the interior tribes at the time of circumcision the youths were formed into guilds with passwords. The members of these guilds were bound never to give evidence against each other. The rites of initiation were kept as secret as possible, but certain horrible customs connected with them were known. One of these was the infusion of courage, intelligence, and other qualities. Whenever an enemy who had acted bravely was killed, his liver, which was considered the seat of intelligence, the skin of his forehead, which was considered the seat of perseverance, and other members, each of which was supposed to be the seat of some desirable quality, were cut from his body and baked to cinders. The ashes were preserved in the horn of a bull, and during the circumcision ceremonies were mixed with other ingredients into a kind of paste and administered by the tribal priest to the youths, the idea being that the qualities which they represented were communicated to those who swallowed them. This custom, together with that of using other parts of the remains of their enemies for bewitching purposes, led them to mutilate the bodies of all who fell into their hands in war, a practice which infuriated those whose friends were thus treated, and often provoked retaliation of a terrible kind.

Females who arrived at the age of puberty were introduced into the state of womanhood by peculiar ceremonies, which tended to extinguish virtuous feelings within them. Originally, however, among the coast tribes the very worst of the observances on these occasions was a test of discipline. The object of the education of the males was to make them capable of self-restraint. They were required to control themselves so that no trace of their emotions should appear on their faces, they were not to wince when undergoing the most severe punishment. In olden

times a further test was applied, which has now degenerated into the most abominable licentiousness. It will be sufficient to say that the young women who attended the revels on these occasions were allowed to select temporary companions of the other sex, and if they declined to do so, the chief distributed them at his pleasure. As the first edition of this chapter was being prepared, a chief, who was regarded as being more advanced towards civilisation than most of his people, came into legal collision with the European authorities for distributing a large number of girls in this manner in a district within the Cape Colony.

But degrading as this rite was among the Bantu of the coast, among some of those of the interior it was even more vile. All that the most depraved imagination could devise to rouse the lowest passions of the young females was practised. A description is impossible.

The other ceremonies observed on this occasion varied among the tribes, but an account of those of the Amaxosa at the present day will give a general idea of all. When a girl of this tribe arrives at the age of puberty, messengers are sent by her father to all the neighbouring kraals to invite the young women to attend the "ntonjane." The girl in the meantime is kept secluded in the hut of an aunt, or other female relative, and her father does not see her. Soon parties are seen coming from all sides, singing as they march. The first that arrive halt in front of the cattle kraal, where they are joined by those who come later. When the girls are all assembled, the father selects an ox to be slaughtered, and the meat is cooked for a feast. The women then dress the girls for the dance, and when this is done they are ranged in rows in front of the cattle kraal. They are almost naked, having on only a girdle round the waist, and an apron, called *cacawe*, made for the occasion out of the leaves of a certain plant. In their hands they hold assagais, using them as walking sticks.

When all is ready, four of the girls step out of the front row and dance, the rest singing; and when these are tired four others step out, and so on, until all the girls present have danced. The

spectators then applaud the best dancer, or if they do not at once fix upon the same person, the girls dance until all present agree. The girls then give room to the men and women that in the mean time have arrived, who form themselves in lines in the same manner, and dance until it is decided which of them surpass the others. The dancing is continued until sunset, when the men and women return home, leaving the party of girls, called the *jaka*, who remain overnight. Next day dancing is resumed in the same order, the guests usually arriving very early in the morning.

If the girl's father is a rich man three oxen are slaughtered, and the *ntonjane* is kept up for twelve days. On the thirteenth day the young woman comes out of the house where she has all the time been living apart from her family. If the girl is a chief's daughter the *ntonjane* is kept up for twenty-four days. All the councillors send oxen to be slaughtered, that there may be plenty for the guests to eat.

The following ceremony takes place on the occasion of a chief's daughter coming out of the house in which she was concealed during the twenty-four days:—

A son of her father's chief councillor puts on his head the two wings of a blue crane (the *indwe*), which are regarded as an emblem of bravery only to be worn on this occasion and by veterans in times of war. He goes into the hut where she is, and when he comes out she follows him. They march towards the kraal where the dancing took place, the girl's mother, the *jaka* or party of young women, the girl's father, and his councillors, forming a procession. More cattle are slaughtered for the *indwe*, and then dancing is renewed, after which the girl drinks milk for the first time since the day when she was concealed in the hut. Large skin bags containing milk are sent from different kraals to the place where the *ntonjane* is held. Some milk is put into a small vessel made of rushes, a little of it is poured on the fire-place, the aunt or other female relative in whose charge the girl was takes the first mouthful, then she gives the milk to the girl, who, after having drunk, is taken to her mother's house. The people then disperse, and the *ntonjane* is over.

This ceremony acts as an advertisement to people far and wide that the girl can now be applied for in marriage.

The Bantu were polygamists, and women occupied a lower position than men in their society. Marriage was an arrangement, without any religious ceremony, by which in return for a girl cattle were transferred to her relatives by the husband or his friends. It did not make of a woman a slave who could be sold from hand to hand, nor did it give her husband power to maim her. In its best aspect this method of marriage was a protection to a woman against ill usage. If her husband maimed her, or treated her with undue severity, she could return to her father or guardian, who was allowed in such cases to retain both the woman and the cattle. In its worst aspect it permitted a parent or guardian to give a girl in marriage to the man who offered most for her, without the slightest reference to her inclinations. A woman was a drudge, upon whom the cultivation of the ground and other severe labour fell, she could inherit nothing, and she was liable to moderate castigation from her husband, such as a parent is at liberty to inflict upon a child, without protection from the law. Wealth was estimated by the number of wives and cattle that a man possessed, and the one was always made use of to increase the other. The husband was head or lord of the establishment, and the wives were required to provide all the food except meat and milk. Each had a hut of her own, which she and her children occupied, and the husband used his caprice as to which of them he associated with at any time.

Though the transfer of cattle alone made a marriage binding, it was customary to engage in festivities in connection with it. Those ordinarily observed in the Xosa tribe at the present day are fairly typical of all. Among these people the whole of the marriage ceremonies are included in the term *umdudo*, a word derived from the verb *uku dudu*, which means to dance by springing up and down, as *uku xentsa* means to dance by moving the upper parts of the body. The dance at a marriage is considered of more importance than any of the others, and is therefore frequently practised until skill in its performance is attained.

The marriage of a young woman is arranged by her father or guardian, and she is not legally supposed to be consulted in the choice of a husband. In point of fact, however, matches arising from mutual love are not uncommon. In such cases, if any difficulties are raised by the guardians on either side, the young people do not scruple to run away together, after which their relatives usually come to an arrangement. Yet instances are not wanting of girls being compelled against their wishes to marry old men, who have already perhaps five or six wives. In practice the *umdudo* is often deferred to a convenient season, but the woman is considered not less a wife, and her children not less legal, provided always that the transfer of cattle has taken place according to agreement.

Marriage proposals may come from the father or guardian of the young woman, or they may first be made by the man himself or the relatives of the man who wishes to take a wife. The father of a young man frequently selects a bride for him, and intimates his wish by sending a messenger to make proposals to the girl's father or guardian. In this case the messenger takes some cattle with him, when, if the advances are favourably received, an *assagai* is sent back, after which the relatives of the young people discuss and finally arrange the terms of the marriage. If the proposal comes from the girl's father, he sends an *assagai*, which is accepted if the suit is agreeable, or returned if it is not.

When the preliminary arrangements are concluded, unless, as sometimes happens, it is considered expedient to permit the marriage at once to take place, but to postpone the festivities to a more convenient season, a bridal procession is formed at the young woman's kraal, to escort her to her future home. It consists of her relatives and all the young people of both sexes who can get away. It leaves at such a time as to arrive at its destination after dark, and endeavours to reach the place without attracting notice. The bridal party takes with it a cow, given by the bride's father or guardian to confer fortune upon her, and hence called the *inqakwe*. This cow is afterwards well taken care of by the husband. The party has also an ox provided by the

same person, as his contribution towards the marriage feast. On the following morning at daylight the ox is killed, when a portion of the meat is taken by the bride's party, and the remainder is left for the people of the kraal. The bridegroom's friends then send messengers to invite the people of the neighbourhood to the feast, and as soon as these arrive the dancing commences.

In the dance the men stand in lines three, four, or more rows in depth, according to their number, and at a little distance behind the women stand in the same order. The men stand with their heads erect and their arms locked together. They are nearly naked, but wear ornaments of brass around their waists. The trappings of the war dance are altogether wanting. The women are, however, in full dress, for their part consists only in singing. When all are ready, a man who has been selected for the purpose commences to sing, the others immediately join in, and at a certain note the whole of the men rise together from the ground. The dance consists merely in springing straight up and coming down with a quivering of the body; but when the men warm to it, it gives them great satisfaction. The song is very monotonous, the same note occurring at every rise from the ground. This dancing, with intervals of rest and feasting, continues as long as the bridegroom's relatives supply oxen for slaughter. A day suffices for a poor man, but a rich man's marriage festivities may last a week or upwards.

On the closing day the bridegroom and his friends march from one hut, while the bride and her party march from another, so as to meet in front of the entrance to the cattle kraal. The bride carries an assagai in her hand, which she throws so as to stick in the ground inside the kraal in an upright position. This is the last of the ceremonies, and the guests immediately begin to disperse, each man taking home the milk-sack which he had brought with him. In olden times ox-racing usually took place on the closing day, but this custom has of late years fallen into neglect.

There were different restrictions with regard to the females whom a man was at liberty to marry. No man of any coast tribe would marry a girl whose relationship by blood to himself on his father's side could be traced, no matter how distantly connected



they might be. So scrupulous was he in this respect that he would not even marry a girl who belonged to another tribe, if she had the same family name as himself, though the relationship could not be traced. A man, for instance, whose family title was the Amanywabe, might belong to the Dushane clan of the Xosa tribe. Among the Tembus, the Pondos, the Zulus, and many other distinct communities, are people with this same family title. They cannot trace any relationship with each other, but wherever they are found they have ceremonies peculiar to themselves. Thus the customs observed at the birth of a child are exactly the same in every part of the country among people of the same family title, though they may never have heard of each other, while neighbours of the same clan, but of different family titles, have these customs altogether dissimilar. This indicates that the tribes and clans of the present day are combinations of others that were dispersed before their traditional history commenced. No marriage between the Amanywabe is permissible.

In some tribes, as at present in the Pondos, Tembus, and Xosas, the same rule was applied to relatives by blood on the mother's side also. Children take the family title of the father, and can thus marry those of the same family title as the mother, provided their blood relationship cannot be traced. Every man of a coast tribe regarded himself as the protector of those females whom we would call his cousins, second cousins, third cousins, and so forth, on the father's side, while some had a similar feeling towards the same relatives on the mother's side as well, and classified them all as sisters. Immorality with one of them would have been considered incestuous, something horrible, something unutterably disgraceful. Of old it was punished by the death of the male, and even now a heavy fine is inflicted upon him, while the guilt of the female must be atoned by a sacrifice performed with due ceremony by the tribal priest, or it is believed a curse will rest upon her and her issue.

Of late years this feeling has become less operative than formerly among those Bantu of the coast belt who have long been in contact with Europeans, still immorality between persons

related to each other as above described is extremely rare. It is still more so among those who have learned little or nothing from white men. Shortly after the annexation of Pondoland to the Cape Colony the principal chief of the western division of that territory instituted an inquiry into one such case, which he reported to a magistrate, and wished the usual punishment to be inflicted. The common ancestor was found on investigation to be seven generations back, still in public opinion the crime was enormous.

In contrast to this prohibition the native of the interior almost as a rule married the daughter of his father's brother, in order, as he said, to keep property from being lost to his family. This custom more than anything else created a disgust and contempt for them by the people of the coast, who term such intermarriages the union of dogs, and attribute to them the insanity and idiocy which in recent times has become prevalent among the inland tribes.\*

In no section of the Bantu was there any restriction in regard to marrying a wife's blood relatives. Thus a man might marry two sisters, though not at the same time, and of course two brothers might marry two sisters. Sometimes it happened that a man and his wife could not agree and that he could bring some substantial charge against her, when, if she had a young unmarried sister, an arrangement was usually made by which she returned to her parents and her sister took her place, on the husband's making a small addition to the cattle that had been transferred on the first occasion.

This was also the case when, as sometimes happened, a woman was childless. Such a person finds little favour in Bantu society, so that on becoming a mother a wife who has been married some

\* Among the tribes within the Cape Colony at the present time the differences are as follows:—

Xosas, Tembus, and Pondos: marry no relative by blood, however distant, on either father's or mother's side.

Hlubis and others commonly called Fingos: may marry the daughter of mother's brother and other relatives on that side, but not on father's side.

Basuto, Batlaro, Batlapin, and Barolong: very frequently marry cousins on father's side, and know of no restrictions beyond actual sisters.

time may say from the bottom of her heart, with Elizabeth of old, that "her reproach is taken away from among men." A childless woman is usually exchanged for a marriageable sister, but the husband is required first to perform a ceremony which can be illustrated by a case tried before the writer when acting as a border magistrate in 1881. A sued B to recover the value of a heifer supplied to him two years before under these circumstances. B's wife, who was distantly related to A, had been married more than a year without bearing a child. B thereupon applied to him for a heifer, the hair of the tail of which was needed by the doctor of the clan to make a charm to put round the woman's neck. He had supplied one for the purpose, and now wanted payment for it. The defence was that A, being the woman's nearest relative who had cattle, was bound to furnish a heifer for the purpose. The hair of the tail was needed, the doctor had made a charm of it and hung it round the woman's neck, and she had thereafter given birth to a son. The heifer could not be returned after being so used. In this case, if the plaintiff had been so nearly related to defendant's wife as to have participated in the benefit of the cattle given by her husband for her, he could not have justified his claim under Bantu law; but as he was very distantly connected, he got judgment. The feeling entertained by the spectators in court in this instance was that B had acted very ungratefully towards A, who had not even been present at the woman's marriage feast, but who had cheerfully acted in conformity with the custom which requires that a charm must be made out of the hair of the tail of a heifer belonging to a relative of a childless wife, in order to cause her to bear children.

Far the greater number of lawsuits among the Bantu arose from their marriage customs. The cattle to be transferred to the family of a woman were seldom or never fully paid until long after the union, and in the meantime if the husband died disputes were almost sure to arise as to what family the widow and her children belonged, whether she had a right to return to her parents, if so whether she could take any of her offspring with her, and so on. The nearest relative of the deceased man had

it in his power to settle the matter at once by paying the cattle still due, but he did not always follow that course. If there were any daughters, an arrangement was possible that of the cattle to be received for them when they should marry the number due on account of the mother should be paid. But even in this case disputes were sure to arise. One party would fix the number very differently from the other, and then the case would have to be tried, when every little particular from first to last was entered into, and the utmost patience was needed before a decision could be arrived at. Sometimes these cases depended upon the payment or non-payment of cattle three generations back, for in Bantu opinion if a grandmother had not been fully incorporated into the family of her husband, that is if the full number of cattle had not been transferred for her, the position of her descendants was doubtful, two distinct families having claims upon them. In their expressive way of speaking, such cases did not die.

Chastity in married life was exceedingly rare among the coast tribes. By custom every wife of a polygamist had a lover, and no woman sank in the esteem of her companions on this becoming publicly known. The law allowed the husband a fine from the male offender, and permitted him to chastise the woman, provided he did not maim her; but in the opinion of the females the offence was venial and was not attended with disgrace. Favoured guests had female companions—who were, however, generally widows—allotted to them. Still, chastity had a value in the estimation of the men, as was proved by the care with which the harems of a few of the most powerful chiefs were guarded. It might be thought that the framework of society would fall to pieces if domestic life were more immoral than this, but in point of fact a kraal on the coast was a scene of purity when compared with one in some parts of the interior.

There it was a common occurrence for a chief to secure the services and adherence of a young man by the loan of one of his inferior wives either temporarily or permanently. In either case the children belonged to the chief, who was regarded by the law as their father. Another revolting custom among them was that of polyandrous marriages. A man who had not the requisite

number of cattle to procure a wife, and whose father was too poor to help him, obtained assistance from a wealthy individual on condition of having joint marital rights.

In some of the tribes women were obliged to invent for many purposes different words from those used by every one around them, and it sometimes happened that these newly formed words supplanted the old ones. This arose from a custom which prohibited females from pronouncing the names of any of their husband's male relatives in the ascending line, or any words whatever in which the principal syllables of such names occurred. If a traveller came to a kraal and happened to ask a woman who was its headman, if that individual was her husband's father or uncle or elder brother she could not reply, but was obliged to call some one else to give the required information. The violation of this custom was considered as showing a want of respect for connections by marriage. Women avoided meeting their husband's male relatives in the ascending line, whenever it was possible to do so, and never sat down in their presence.

## III.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BANTU (*continued*).

THE Bantu were agriculturists. Millet of several varieties, all now called by Europeans kaffir-corn, was the grain exclusively grown. They raised large quantities of this, which they used either boiled or bruised into paste from which a very insipid kind of bread was made. In good seasons much millet was converted into beer. It was steeped in water until it began to sprout, then dried in the sun, and afterwards partly crushed in wooden mortars made by hollowing the end of a block of wood about three feet high. Two women, standing by the mortar, stamped the contents with heavy wooden pestles, keeping time with the strokes and usually lightening their labour by chanting some meaningless words. The malt was then boiled, and leaven mixed with it to cause it to ferment. Sometimes a bitter root was added to flavour it. It could be made so weak as to form a harmless and refreshing beverage, or so strong as to be intoxicating. In the latter case unmalted corn was crushed and mixed with water, which was then boiled, and malt was added afterwards until it was almost as thick as gruel, and to a European palate would have been nauseating. Millet beer was largely consumed at feasts of all kinds. It was used as soon as it ceased fermenting, for it speedily became sour. Some women were reputed to be able to make it much better than others, and on that account their services were largely in demand. In some parts of the country an intoxicating drink was also made from honey, which was plentiful in the season of flowers.

More pernicious was the custom of smoking the dried leaves of wild hemp, which had the effect of producing violent coughing,

followed by stupefaction. The usual pipe was a horn, but sometimes the smoke was inhaled through a clay tube made on the surface of the ground, and sometimes it was drawn through a vessel partly filled with water. A number of men would sit round the smoking apparatus, and each in turn make use of it until all were helpless. Another means of intoxication was afforded by the same leaves of the wild hemp, which, when dried and reduced to powder, were mixed with water and drunk. The practice, however, either of smoking or drinking bangué was confined to a small section of each community, and the baneful plant was only obtainable at certain seasons of the year. In the form of snuff the stalks as well as the leaves and fibres, dried and beaten into powder, could be preserved, and were more generally used.

Among the coast tribes a supply of grain sufficient to last until the next season was preserved from the attacks of weevil by burying it in air-tight pits excavated beneath the cattle-folds. When kept for a long time in these granaries, the grain lost the power of germinating, and acquired a rank taste and smell, but it was in that condition none the less agreeable to the Bantu palate. The interior tribes preserved their grain either in huge earthenware crocks or in enormous baskets, which were perfectly watertight, and which could be exposed to the air without damage to their contents.

Different kinds of gourds, a cane containing saccharine matter in large quantities, and a sort of ground nut were the other products of their gardens. In the country between the lower Zambesi and Sabi rivers rice and various foreign vegetables had been introduced by the Arabs long before the beginning of the sixteenth century, but the cultivation of these had not extended to the interior or the southern tribes. Everywhere wild bulbs and plants, the pith of certain shrubs, and different kinds of indigenous fruit formed no inconsiderable part of the vegetable diet of the people. Children at a very early age were taught to look for edible plants, and soon acquired such extensive knowledge in this respect that they were able to support themselves easily where Europeans would have perished.

As food they had also milk and occasionally flesh, though domestic cattle were seldom slaughtered except for sacrifices and feasts. The flesh of all that otherwise died was, however, eaten without hesitation. Milk was kept in skin bags, where it fermented and acquired a sharp acid taste. As it was drawn off for use by the master of the household, who was the only one permitted to touch the bag, new milk was added, for it was only in the fermented state that it was used. Amasi, or fermented milk, was exceedingly nutritious, and at the present day is relished by most Europeans. In warm weather, especially, it is a pleasant and wholesome beverage. The art of making butter and cheese was unknown.

Fish was consumed only by the tribes living along the large rivers in the interior and those on the eastern coast from Delagoa Bay northward. South of Delagoa Bay it was not used, except by offshoots from the northern tribes that had settled at a few places along the sea shore, possibly because in ancient times it may have been regarded as connected with the snake in whose form the ancestral spirits appeared. This, however, is mere conjecture, as the people themselves at the present day can give no other reason for not eating fish than that their fathers did not do so.

Occasionally large quantities of meat were obtained by means of the chase. The chief would select a day, and give instructions for all his people to assist in the hunt. A tract of country many square miles in extent would then be surrounded, and the game would be driven towards a large and deep pit, with a strong hedge extending some distance on each side of it. The pit was made in such a way that no animal forced into it by pressure of the herd behind could escape until it was full. By the warlike tribes the pit was often disdained as a means of capturing such game as antelopes and zebras, and they preferred gradually to contract the circle of hunters and drive the animals towards the centre, killing with their assagais all that could not break through the ring. After one of these hunts feasting was continued until not a particle of meat was left, as the palates of the people did not reject what Europeans would regard as carrion.



Very large animals, such as the elephant, the hippopotamus, and the rhinoceros were generally captured either by means of snares that caused a heavily weighted spear to fall upon them as they passed under a tree, or by means of carefully covered pits with sharp stakes in them, made in the beaten tracks of the animals towards water. Sometimes, however, men were found sufficiently courageous to lie in ambush beside the paths and hamstring the animals as they went by, when their destruction was easy. North of the Sabi river the tusks of the elephant and the hippopotamus were always saleable to the Mohamedan traders along the coast, and everywhere among the Bantu ivory arm rings were esteemed as ornaments. The flesh of all these animals was much prized, especially that of the hippopotamus.

Another occasional article of food was dried locusts. Swarms of these destructive creatures sometimes appeared, when every one engaged in capturing and preserving them, the legs, when dried, being regarded as not only nutritious, but pleasant to the taste. By the people of the interior a species of caterpillar was considered a special dainty, and the little field mouse was eagerly sought for as another. Boys before being circumcised were permitted to eat any kind of meat, even wild cats and other carnivora, but after that ceremony was performed the flesh of animals of prey was usually rejected.

Ordinarily two meals were eaten every day: a slight breakfast in the morning, and a substantial repast at sunset. Anyone passing by at that time, friend or stranger, provided only that he was not inferior in rank, sat down without invitation or ceremony, and shared in the meal. So great was the hospitality of the people to equals and superiors that food could almost have been termed common property.

When reduced to great extremity of want by the ravages of enemies, sections of the Bantu sometimes resorted to cannibalism, but the horrible practice was by no means common. Portuguese writers indeed mention tribes whose habitual food was human flesh, still everything related concerning them shows that they were war-stricken hordes driven from their ancestral homes and wandering about with their hands against every man and every

man's hands against them. In just the same manner in the early years of the nineteenth century parties of absolutely destitute people in the Lesuto and in Natal, driven into the forests and mountains by the devastations of Tshaka, preyed upon their fellows, whom they pursued as game; but as soon as a condition of comparative peace was restored, most of them returned to their normal way of living. A few indeed, who had acquired a taste for human flesh, though they were held in execration by all others, continued to exist as cannibals until they died out or were exterminated. It must have been the same in olden times with the tribes along the Zambesi of whom information is given by Dos Santos and other Portuguese writers: it was the direst necessity, not by any means their own choice, that led them to adopt a mode of maintaining life so different from that of their race in general. They may have continued longer in that condition than those in the south in the days of Tshaka, but it is certain that no tribe depended permanently upon human flesh for its subsistence.

The Bantu had an admirable system of land tenure. The chief apportioned to each head of a family sufficient ground for a garden according to his needs, and it remained in that individual's possession as long as it was cultivated. He could even remove for years, with the consent of the chief, and resume occupation upon his return. He could not lend, much less alienate it. But if he ceased to make use of it, or went away for a long time without the chief's permission, he lost his right. Under the same conditions he had possession of the ground upon which his huts stood, and of a yard about them. All other ground was common pasture, but the chief had power to direct that portions of it should be used in particular seasons only. No taxes of any kind were paid for land, air, or water.

The gardens were not enclosed by hedges or fences, and they were very irregular in outline, as were also the different cultivated plots within them, for the eyes of the women were indifferent as to straight rows of plants. If the crops were damaged by cattle at night, the owner of the cattle was required by law to make good the loss, because he should have seen that

his herds were either confined in a fold or guarded on a pasture so distant that they could do no harm. But if the damage was done in the daytime there was no redress, because some member of the family of the owner of the garden was then supposed to be watching it. So sensible and practical was the common law of these people.

Kraals were usually built in situations commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country, and always on ground with good natural drainage. The brow of a hill, with a clear flowing stream at its base and fertile garden ground beyond, was the site most favoured. Sanitary arrangements, even of the simplest kind, were unknown and uncared for, as the sense of smell was much duller with these people than with Europeans, and an impure atmosphere did not affect their health. Their superstition too required them to remove their residences whenever a man of importance died, so that kraals seldom remained many years on the same site.

Clans exposed to sudden attack by powerful enemies had naturally little or no choice in selecting sites for kraals. They were under the necessity of constructing their habitations in the best possible defensive position, which was usually the crown of a steep hill difficult of approach. Such hills are found in different parts of the country, often with sides so precipitous that the top can be reached by only one or two paths. When these were barricaded with rough stone walls, the space above became a fortress, impregnable or nearly so. Such sites for kraals were, however, only resorted to as a last means of defence, on account of the occupants being cut off from gardens and pasture for their cattle as well as from easy access to water. Along the Zambesi some clans lived in stockaded enclosures, but these were unknown farther south.

The huts of the tribes along the coast were shaped like domes or beehives, and were formed of strong frames, thatched with reeds or grass. They were proof against rain or wind. The largest were about twenty-five feet in diameter, and seven or eight feet in height at the centre. They were entered by a low, narrow aperture, which was the only opening in the structure. A

hard and smooth floor was made of antheaps, moistened with water and then kneaded with a round stone. When this had set, it was painted with a mixture of cowdung and water, which was the material used afterwards for keeping it in good order. In the centre of the floor a fireplace was made, by raising a band an inch or two in height and three or four feet in diameter, and slightly hollowing the enclosed space. Many women bestowed a great deal of attention upon their fire-circles, often enclosing them with three bands, a large one in the centre and a smaller one on each side of it, differently coloured, and resembling a coil of large rope lying between concentric coils of less thickness. Against the wall of the hut were ranged various utensils in common use, the space around the fire-circle being reserved for sleeping on. Here in the evening mats were spread, upon which the inmates lay down to rest, each one's feet being towards the centre. Above their heads the roof was glossy with soot, and vermin swarmed on every side. It was only in cold or stormy weather that huts were occupied during the day, for the people spent the greater portion of their waking hours in the open air.

The habitations of the people of the interior were much better than those of the people of the coast. With them the hut had perpendicular walls, and consisted of a central circular room, with three or four small apartments outside, each being a segment of a circle. It was surrounded with an enclosed courtyard, but was destitute of chimney or window. On the coast no effort was made to secure privacy.

Horned cattle constituted the principal wealth of the Bantu, and formed a convenient medium of exchange throughout the country. Great care was taken of them, and much skill was exhibited in their training. They were taught to obey signals, as, for instance, to run home upon a certain call or whistle being given. Every man of note had his racing oxen, and prided himself upon their good qualities as much as an English squire did upon his blood horses. The horns of the animals were trained into the most fantastic shapes, and were often divided into two, three, or more parts, which was effected by slitting them as soon as they appeared on the young animal. The

intelligence displayed by some of these oxen was as wonderful as the patience and skill shown by their trainers. They were taught to lie down at an order, to run in a circle, or to dance in rows. Ox racing was connected with all kinds of festivities. The care of cattle was considered the most honourable employment, and fell entirely to the men. They milked the cows, took sole charge of the dairy, and would not permit a woman so much as to touch a milksack.

The other domestic animals were goats, dogs, and barnyard poultry everywhere, and in the north sheep of the large-tailed hair-covered breed.

The descent of property was regulated in the same manner as the succession to the chieftainship, and disputes could not easily arise concerning it. Every head of cattle a man acquired was immediately assigned to a particular branch of his family, that is either to the house of his great wife, to that of his wife of the right hand, or to that of his wife of the left hand. If he had more wives than three, the remainder were in a subordinate position in one or other of these houses. When he died, the eldest son of each of the three principal wives inherited everything that belonged to his mother's house. But the distribution of wealth was more equal than in any European society, for each married man had a plot of garden ground, and younger brothers had a recognised claim upon the heirs of their father for assistance in setting them up in life.

The Bantu of the coast were more warlike in disposition and braver in the field than those of the interior. The universal weapons of offence were wooden clubs with heavy heads and assagais or javelins, and shields made of ox-hide were carried, which varied in size and pattern among the tribes. The assagai was a slender wooden shaft or rod, with a long, thin, iron head, having both edges sharp, attached to it. Poising this first in his uplifted hand, and imparting to it a quivering motion, the warrior hurled it forth with great force and accuracy of aim. The club was used at close quarters, and could also be thrown to a considerable distance. Boys were trained from an early age to the use of both these weapons. To those above named the

northern tribes added the battle axe and bow and arrow, which, though known to, were not used by the men of the south.

In the most warlike of the Bantu communities the men were formed into regiments, and were trained to act in concert and to go through various simple military evolutions, but in the others the warrior knew nothing but the use of his weapons. With these a battle was a series of individual engagements, in which it sometimes happened that a man would challenge a noted adversary by name, and a duel would take place in presence of the others on both sides as mere spectators. In such cases the victor was presented by his chief with a crane's feather to be worn on his head, and he was thereafter a man of note among his people. A classification thus arose of the plumed and the unplumed in the following of a chief, though the former did not thereby become leaders or officers, that distinction being reserved exclusively for members of the ruling house. It was a custom for a man to be marked, usually with a scar from a gash or a brand, for every adversary slain, and warriors prided themselves relatively upon the number of these.

Among the military tribes reviews in presence of the chiefs and mock combats were of frequent occurrence. The warriors were in full dress on such occasions, with their kilts of animals' tails around them, and their ornaments on their persons. Everything was conducted with as much order and ceremony as were observed by our own ancestors in their tournaments. At the command of the chief one regiment would be pitted against another, and each would attack, retreat, skirmish, and go through all the evolutions of a real battle until the weaker side became exhausted, when the other was pronounced the conqueror. Or it might be a general skirmish of the whole army against an imaginary enemy, or an attack upon a hill supposed to be fortified, or simply a march of the regiments past the commander in chief. Sometimes oxen were brought to take part in the manœuvres and to prove the skill of their trainers. A feast and a dance invariably followed, but often jealousies had been roused by the events of the day which led afterwards to engagements in real earnest between different regiments.

The dress of the people between the lower Zambesi and Sabi rivers at the beginning of the sixteenth century was partly composed of skins of animals and partly of cloth either obtained in barter or manufactured by themselves of wild cotton or the fibres of a certain bark. The home made cloth was coarse but strong, and was woven in the simplest manner in squares large enough to be fastened round the loins. The art of weaving, though not much more difficult than mat making, was not practised by all the clans, but by certain of them who traded with their productions. At a much earlier date the Arabs and Persians had introduced Indian calico, and squares of this material, obtained in exchange for ivory and gold, were in common use in that part of the country.

Elsewhere the ordinary dress of men when the air was chilly was composed of skins of wild animals formed into a square mantle the size of a large blanket, which they wrapped about their persons. The skin of the leopard was reserved for chiefs and their principal councillors, but any other could be used by common people. Married women wore a leather wrapper like a petticoat at all times, and big girls at least an apron of leather strings, usually much more. In warm weather men and little children commonly went quite naked.

They were fond of decorating their persons with ornaments, such as necklaces of shells and teeth of animals, arm-rings of copper and ivory, head bands, etc. They rubbed themselves from head to foot with fat and red ochre, which made them look like polished bronze. Their clothing was greased and coloured in the same manner.

Many of them worked lines and simple patterns on different parts of their bodies—chiefly the breasts, shoulders, cheeks, and stomachs—by raising the skin in little knobs with a sharp iron awl and burning it, a process that to European eyes disfigured them much more than tattooing would have done, but which they regarded as ornamental. Each community that adhered to this custom favoured a form of cicatrice different from that of its neighbours, but there were numerous tribes that were without such markings. So with the front teeth: some clans filed them

to a point, a few removed the two upper, but most allowed them to remain in their natural state. The hideous boring and plugging the lips and cheeks, so common north of the Zambesi, was not practised south of that river.

More attention was bestowed upon the hair than upon any other part of the body. Each tribe had its own fashion of wearing it, so that at first sight the nationality of an individual was known. Some worked it with wax and strings into imitations of horns, others into arches, others into circles, and so on. This necessitated the use of a peculiar head rest when sleeping, to prevent the hair from becoming disordered. The rest was made of a single piece of wood, according to the fancy of its owner. Some were eighteen inches long, two or three inches wide, and as many deep, with a slightly concave surface. Others were only six to eight inches long, four to eight inches high, and two to three inches wide, with a deep concave surface for the head to lie in. Some of these were beautifully carved out of a block of hard wood, and were highly polished by being frequently rubbed with grease. In no other manufacture of wood was so much ingenuity displayed in designing patterns. An elaborate head rest used by a chief, for instance, might be a carved band supported by two, three, four, or even six columns standing on an oval or oblong base, each column fluted or otherwise decorated, and the base covered with little knobs or marked with a herring bone pattern. Or it might be of almost any conceivable design between that and a plain block of wood of the requisite shape. It was never more than three or four inches wide, because it was necessary for the head to project beyond it, in order that the horns or other forms into which the woolly hair was trained might remain undisturbed.

Their manufactures, however, were not of a very high order when judged by a European standard of the present day. Foremost among them must be reckoned metallic wares, which included implements of war and husbandry and ornaments for the person. In many parts of the country iron ore was abundant, and this they smelted in a simple manner. Forming a furnace of clay or a boulder with a hollow surface, out of which a groove was



made to allow the liquid metal to escape, and into which a hole was pierced for the purpose of introducing a current of air, they piled up a heap of charcoal and virgin ore, which they afterwards covered in such a way as to prevent the escape of heat. The bellows by which air was introduced were made of skins drawn from the animal with as little cutting as possible. These were inflated by opening the ends, which were then closed, when the air was pressed through horns of large antelopes tightly fixed at the other extremities. Two skins were worked by one man, using his hands alternately, and thus a continuous current was kept up. The molten iron, escaping from the crude yet effective furnace, ran into clay moulds prepared to receive it, which were as nearly as possible of the same dimensions as the implements they wished to make. These were never of great size, the largest being the picks or heavy hoes required for gardening.

The smith, using a boulder for an anvil and a hammer of stone, next proceeded to shape the lump of metal into an assagai head, an axe, a pick, or whatever was wanted. The occupation of the worker in iron was hereditary in certain families, and was carried on with a good deal of mystery, the common belief being that it was necessary to employ charms unknown to those not initiated. But the arts of the founder and the blacksmith had not advanced beyond the elementary stage. Instead of an opening for inserting a handle in the hoe, it terminated in a spike which was driven into a hole burnt through the knob of a heavy shaft of wood. The assagai was everywhere in use, and in addition the interior tribes made crescent-shaped battle-axes, which were fastened to handles in the same manner as the hoes. On these implements of war they bestowed all their skill, and really produced neatly finished articles. They worked the metal cold, and were unable to weld two pieces together.

Knives, or more properly daggers, for the ends were pointed and both edges were sharp, were also made of iron. The handles, which were of wood, bone, horn, or even occasionally of ivory, were frequently ornamented, as were also the sheaths of wood or bone in which they were carried. The amount of labour

required to make one of these implements and its sheath was very considerable, so that its value relatively to other articles was high, and it was not every man who was so fortunate as to possess a knife. It was carried about by means of a thong round the neck, and lay on the chest a little lower than the charms and strings of teeth and other ornaments, so that it was always ready for use. It was not regarded as a weapon of war, and indeed was unfit for much real service in combat.

Copper was found in several parts of the country, and was distributed over it by means of barter. It was used only for making such ornaments for the person as large beads, earrings, and armlets. Much less skill was employed in working this metal than in manufacturing iron implements, the articles produced being of a very rough kind, not to be compared in point of finish with a battle-axe or an assagai. The armlet was a mere bar bent until its ends met, and the earring was of no better workmanship. The beads were nothing more than drilled lumps of metal globular in shape, and were strung with bits of wood and teeth of animals on a thong. The neater ornaments of copper and brass wire now in use, and exhibited in various museums as specimens of Bantu industry, are of modern date, made of materials obtained from Europeans.

In the manufacture of wooden articles, such as spoons, bowls, fighting-sticks, mortars, etc., they were tolerably expert. Each article was made of a single block of wood, requiring much time and patience to complete it, and upon it was frequently carved some simple pattern or the figure of an animal. Standing on the handle of a spoon might be seen a lizard, an ox, or an elephant, though always stiff in attitude, encircling the fighting stick might be seen two or three snakes with spots burnt upon them to make them resemble the living reptiles.

The tribes bordering on some of the rivers of the interior and along the eastern coast north of Delagoa Bay were able to construct canoes out of the trunk of a single tree, and knew how to propel them with paddles, but this simple art was not practised elsewhere. No means for crossing a swollen river, other than carrying a stone under each arm if the water was not too deep,

had been devised by the Bantu of the coast below Delagoa Bay, and ocean navigation was of course unthought of.

A product of some ingenuity was a little vase used for various purposes. It was made of the scrapings of skins, which when soft were spread over clay moulds, and when dry became solid cases. The clay was then taken out with an *isilanda*, or large iron pin which every man carried about with him to extract thorns from his feet, and the vessel was ready for use. Some were in the shape of animals, others of gourds, or whatever else the moulders desired. Usually while the gluey matter was still soft it was creased, or raised in ridges, or pricked all over with a sharp piece of wood, which greatly improved its appearance. Some of these articles, especially those in the form of European vases or decanters, were really extremely neat and pretty.

Skins for clothing, when the fur was preserved, were prepared by scraping them carefully and then thumping them with the hand and rubbing them for a length of time with a very smooth stone, by which means they were made nearly as soft and pliable as cloth. The interior tribes excelled in the art of dressing skins, and were able to make beautiful fur robes, which they stitched with sinews by the help of an awl. When the hair was removed from skins to make wrappers for women the process of preparing them was different. They were steeped in water, scraped on both sides, then dried, and afterwards beaten and rubbed with grease till they were soft. Finally they were cut into shape and sewed with sinews to the required size, when the wrapper was coloured with red ochre and was ready for use.

In one comparatively small district of South Africa,—the territory between the lower courses of the Zambesi and Sabi rivers,—men were sometimes engaged in an occupation altogether unknown to their kindred elsewhere. This was the collection of gold. The chiefs were induced by the Mohamedan traders of the coast to employ bands of their subjects in searching for the precious metal, principally by alluvial washing in the rainy season, though sometimes by mining and extracting quartz from reefs by the aid of fire. The quartz when brought to the surface

was crushed, and the gold was then obtained by washing. This gold was inferior to the other in quality, and was known by a different name. According to Dos Santos the diggers were termed *botonghi*, which is evidently an approximation to the Sekalanga word for gatherers, from the root *uku buta*, to collect or gather. This industry must have come down from very remote times, when it was practised to a much greater extent than at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The industries above mentioned were confined to males, but in other departments the women were equally skilful. Earthenware vessels containing from half a pint to fifty gallons were constructed by them, some of which were almost as perfect in form as if they had been turned on a wheel. Though they were frequently not more than an eighth of an inch in thickness, they were so finely tempered that the most intense heat did not damage them. These vessels were used for beer pots, grain jars, and cooking utensils. The potter's art has now become nearly if not wholly lost by the Bantu of South Africa, owing to the cheapness of importations from abroad. The women have found by experience that with much less labour they can earn sufficient money to purchase earthenware crocks, iron pots, and wooden kegs, and so contact with civilisation has had the effect in this respect of diminishing their former skill.

Baskets for holding corn, rush mats for sleeping on, small mats used like plates to serve food on, and grass bags were made by the women. The bags were so carefully and strongly woven that they were used to hold water or any other liquid. In general none of these articles were dyed, nor was any attempt made to ornament them, though by a few of the people of the interior simple patterns were worked with materials of different colour.

Of the use of stone for building purposes, the coast tribes knew nothing, and the interior tribes very little. None of them ever dressed a block, but the cattle-folds, which along the coast were constructed of branches of trees, in parts of the interior were made of round stones roughly laid together to form a wall. The quern, or handmill for grinding corn, which was in common

use, consisted of untrimmed stones, one flat or hollow and the other round or oval.

When not engaged in the industries that have been mentioned, the men were habitual idlers. A great portion of their time was passed in visiting and gossip, of which they were exceedingly fond. They spent days together engaged in small talk, and were perfect masters of that kind of argument which consists in parrying a question by putting another. Though not pilferers, they were inveterate cattle thieves. According to their ideas, cattle stealing except from people of their own clan was not so much a crime as a civil offence, and no disgrace was attached to it, though if it was proved against a man the law compelled him to make ample restitution. But any one detected in the act of lifting cattle might be killed with impunity by the owner, and a chief punished with death any of his subjects whose conduct as a robber from other clans had a tendency to involve his own people in war.

The interior tribes were the more advanced in skill in such handicrafts as were common to them all. Their males sometimes aided the females in agriculture, though the hardest and most constant labour was by them also left to the women. But with these exceptions, all comparisons between the tribes must be favourable to those of the coast. The Bantu of the interior were smaller in stature and less handsome in appearance than the splendidly formed men who lived on the terraces facing the sea. In all that is comprised in the word manliness they were vastly lower.

Truth is not a virtue of barbarian life. In general if a man could extricate himself from a difficulty, escape punishment, or gain any other advantage by telling a falsehood, and did not do so, he was regarded as a fool. Many of the chiefs of the coast tribes, however, prided themselves on adhering faithfully to their promises; but the word of an interior chief was seldom worth anything.

The deceptive power of all these people was great. But there was one member which the coast native could not entirely control, and while with a countenance otherwise devoid of

expression he related the grossest falsehood or the most tragic event, his lively eye often betrayed the passions he was feeling. When falsehood was brought home to him unanswerably, he cast his glances to the ground or around him, but did not meet the eye of the man he had been attempting to deceive. The native of the interior, on the contrary, had no conception whatever of shame attached to falsehood, and his comparatively listless eye was seldom allowed to betray him.

The native of the coast was brave in the field: his inland kinsman was in general an arrant coward. The one was modest when speaking of his exploits, the other was an intolerable boaster. The difference between them in this respect was great, and was shown in many ways, but a single illustration from an occurrence of the present generation will give an idea of it. Faku, son of Gungushe, chief of the Pondos, by no means the best specimen of a coast native, once wished to show his regard for a white man who was residing with him. He collected a large herd of cattle, which he presented with this expression: "You have no food to eat, and we desire to show our good will towards you, take this basket of corn from the children of Gungushe." An inland chief about the same time presented a half-starved old goat to his guest, with the expression "Behold an ox!"\*

Among the coast tribes the institution of slavery did not exist, but there could be no more heartless slave-owners in the world than some of the people of the interior. Their bondsmen were the descendants of those who had been scattered by war, and

\* This was unquestionably the case when Europeans first came into contact with the different tribes and placed on record the peculiarities of each, but it is not so in all instances at the present day. The chief of our time who possesses the highest moral qualities of any in South Africa is Khama, ruler of the Bamangwato. Bathoen, chief of the Bangwaketsi, and Sebele, chief of the Bakwena, are also superior to most of the other Bantu rulers. All of these are heads of interior tribes. It is not only from the observations of others, but from personal experience, that the writer of these pages is able to state that the chiefs here named are capable of acting with such generosity and good feeling as would do credit to any European. But they are exceptions to the general rule, and unfortunately few of their followers come up to their standard.

who had lost everything but life. They could not own so much as the skin of an antelope, and upon any caprice of their masters they were put to death with as little compunction as if they were vermin.

In a state of society in which women were drudges performing all the severest labour, in which a man carrying only an assagai and a knobbed stick walked in front of his wives and daughters all bearing heavy burdens on their heads, it might be supposed that the females were unhappy. Such a supposition, however, would be erroneous. Freedom from care to anything like the extent that is common to most individuals of our own race tended to make Bantu females as well as males far happier on the whole than white people.

The women were quite as cheerful as the men, and knew as well as Europeans how to make their influence felt. In times of peace, after working in her garden a great part of the day, towards evening a woman collected a bundle of sticks, and with it on her head and a child on her back, 'trudged homeward. Having made a fire, she then proceeded to grind some soaked millet upon a quern, humming a monotonous tune as she worked the stone. When sufficient was ground, it was made into a roll, and placed in the hot ashes to bake. Meantime curdled milk was drawn by the head of the household from the skin bags in which it was kept, and the bags were refilled with milk just taken from the cows. The men made a hearty meal of the milk and the bread, with sometimes the flesh of game and different vegetable products, and after they had finished the women and children partook of what was left. Then the men gathered round the fire and chatted together, and the young people sat and listened to the stories told by some old woman till the time for sleep arrived. Different games were also played occasionally, but as the only artificial light was that of burning wood, they were usually carried on in the daytime.

At a very early age boys commenced trials of skill against each other in throwing knobbed sticks and imitation assagais. They enjoyed this exercise in little groups, those of the same age keeping together, for there was no greater tyrant in the

world than a big lad over his younger fellows. Commencing with an ant-heap at a distance of ten or fifteen yards for a target, they gradually became so perfect that they could hit an object a foot square twice or even three times as far off. The knobbed stick and the imitation assagai were thrown in different ways, the object with the first being to inflict a heavy blow upon the mark aimed at, while that with the last was to pierce it. This exercise strengthened the muscles of the arms and gave expansion to the chest. The result was that when the boys were grown up they were able to use their weapons without any further training. When practising, they kept up a continual noise, and if an unusually successful hit was made the thrower uttered a cry of exultation.

Boys above the age of nine or ten years were fond of sham fighting with sticks. They stood in couples, each with a foot advanced to meet that of his antagonist, and with a cudgel elevated in the right hand. Each fixed his eye upon the eye of his opponent, and sought to ward off blows as well as to inflict them. In these contests pretty hard strokes were sometimes given and received with the utmost good humour.

A game of which they were very fond was an imitation hunt. In this, one of them represented a wild animal of some kind, a second acted as a hunter, and the others took the part of dogs in pursuit. A space was marked off, within which the one chased was allowed to take breath, when he was said to be in the bush. He tried to imitate as closely as possible the animal he was representing. Thus if he was an antelope he simply ran, but if he was a lion he stood and fought.

The calves of the kraal were under the care of the boys, and a good deal of time was passed in training them to run and to obey signals made by whistling. The boys mounted them when they were eighteen months or two years old, and raced about upon their backs. When the boys were engaged in any sport, one of the number was selected by lot to tend the calves. As many blades of grass as there were boys were taken, and a knot was made on the end of one of them. The biggest boy held the blades between the fingers and thumb of his closed



hand, and whoever drew the blade with the knot had to act as herd.

They had also a simple game called hide and look for, exactly like our own. As a training for the eye and hand nothing could be better than their method of playing with little round pebbles. Each boy had a certain number, which he threw into the air one after another, catching them on his hand by turns as they fell, and throwing them up again before any touched the ground. He who could keep the whole longest in the air was the winner. Or they would try who could keep the greatest number in the air at once.

If they chanced to be disinclined for active exercise, they amused themselves by moulding clay into little images of cattle, or by making puzzles with strings. Some of them were skilful in forming knots with thongs and pieces of wood, which taxed the ingenuity of others to undo. The cleverest of them sometimes practised tricks of deception with pebbles. They were so sharp that although one was sure that he actually saw the pebble taken into the right hand, that hand when opened would be found empty, and it would be contained in the left, or perhaps it would be exhibited somewhere else.

The above comprised the common outdoor sports of boys up to the age of fourteen or fifteen years. At that time of life they usually began to practise the different dances which they would be required to take part in when they became men. These dances differed from one another almost as much as those practised by Europeans.

The commonest indoor game of the extreme southern tribes at the present time is the *iceya*, but this is of Hottentot origin, so need not be described here. A game of Bantu children everywhere was the *imfumba*. One of the players took a pebble or any other small substance in his hands, and pretended to place it in the hands of the others, who were seated in a circle around him. He might really give it to one of them, or he might keep it himself. One after another then guessed in whose possession it was. A variation of this game was played by men in rows of holes in the ground, but it was much more complicated.

Another common indoor game of children was called *cumbulele*. Three or four little ones stood with their closed hands on top of each other, so as to form a column. They sang *cumbulele*, *cumbulele*, *pangalala*, and at the last *la* they drew their hands back sharply, each one pinching with his thumb nail the hand above.

Toys as playthings were few in number, and were almost confined to clay oxen, wooden darts, bows and arrows, and the *nodiwu*. This was a piece of wood about six or eight inches long, an inch and a half or two inches wide, and an eighth or a quarter of an inch thick in the middle. Towards the edges it was bevelled off, so that the surface was convex, or consisted of two inclined planes. At one end it had a thong attached to it by which it was whirled rapidly round. The other end of the thong was usually fastened to a small round piece of wood used as a handle. The *nodiwu*, when whirled round, gave forth a noise that could be heard at a considerable distance. Besides the use which it was put to by the lads, when a little child was crying inside a hut, its mother or nurse would sometimes get a boy to make a noise with it outside, and then induce the child to be still by pretending that a monster was coming to devour it. There was a kind of superstition connected with the *nodiwu*, that playing with it invited a gale of wind. Men would, on that account, often prevent boys from using it when they desired calm weather for any purpose. It was much in evidence when the millet crops were ripening, and women and children were engaged from early dawn until darkness set in keeping the birds away. Little stages were then erected in the gardens, and on the appearance of a flock of finches each watcher shouted, clapped hands, whirled a *nodiwu*, or otherwise made as much noise as possible.

The form of greeting when people met varied greatly among the tribes. In the north clapping hands was the commonest form, accompanied by prostration of an inferior before a superior. "I see you" was the expression used by others on the coast. Among some of the interior tribes one person on meeting another asked the question "what are you eating?" and received as a conventional reply "nothing at all." In the south, on meeting a

chief the salutation was ah! There was no general custom observed in this respect by all the branches of the race.

This was the condition of the Bantu at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Europeans became acquainted with a section of the race, and it is the condition of the great majority of them to-day, except where their customs have been modified by the authority or influence of white people. The opinion of those who have most to do with them now—four hundred years after their first contact with Caucasian civilisation—is that an occasional individual is capable of rising to a high standard, but that the great mass shows little aptitude for European culture. In mission schools children of early age are found to keep pace with those of white parents. In some respects, indeed, they are the higher of the two. Deprived of all extraneous aid, a Bantu child is able to devise means for supporting life at a much earlier age than a European child. But while the European youth is still developing his powers, the Bantu youth in most instances is found unable to make further progress. His intellect has become sluggish, and he exhibits a decided repugnance, if not an incapacity, to learn anything more. The growth of his mind, which at first promised so much, has ceased just at that stage when the mind of the European begins to display the greatest vigour.

Numerous individuals, however, have emerged from the mass, and have shown abilities of no mean order. A score of ministers of religion might now be named as earnest, intelligent, and devoted to their calling as average Europeans. Masters of primary schools, clerks, and interpreters, fairly well qualified for their duties, are by no means rare. One individual of this race has translated Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* into the dialect of the Xosa tribe, and the translation is as faithful and expressive as any that have been made in the languages of Europe. Plaintive tunes, such as the converts at mission stations love to sing, have been composed by another for a considerable number of hymns and songs in the same dialect. Still another edits a newspaper, and shows that he has an intelligent grasp of political questions.

As mechanics they do not succeed so well, though an individual here and there shows an aptitude for working with iron. No one among them has invented or improved a useful implement since white men first became acquainted with them. And the strong desire of much the greater number is to live as closely like their ancestors as the altered circumstances of the country will permit, to make use of a few of the white man's simplest conveniences and of his protection against their enemies, but to avoid his habits and shut out his ideas. Compared with Europeans, their adults are commonly children in imagination and in simplicity of belief, though not unfrequently one may have the mental faculties of a full-grown man.



TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY DIFFERENT RACES IN SOUTH AFRICA IN 1500,  
 AS ACCURATELY AS CAN BE ASCERTAINED.

[MUST BE REGARDED AS ONLY APPROXIMATE.]



## IV.

## ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.

AT some unknown period in the past, probably many centuries before the commencement of the Christian era, people more civilised than the Bantu, but still very far from reaching the level of modern Europeans, made their appearance on the central tableland of Africa south of the Zambesi. They were Asiatics, but of what nationality is uncertain. It is indeed possible, if not probable, that they came from the great commercial city of Tyre on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean sea, and that in holy scripture there is an account of them. The conditions mentioned of those fleets that went down the Red sea to Ophir in the time of Solomon are perfectly applicable to voyages to the mouths of the Zambesi or to Sofala, and the articles—gold, silver, precious stones, almug trees, ivory, apes, and peacocks—with which they returned are all found in South-Eastern Africa, if by almug trees ebony or some other very hard wood is meant, by precious stones pearls, and by peacocks the bustards that to-day are called wilde pauwen (wild peacocks) by the Dutch colonists.\*

Mr. J. Theodore Bent, an eminent archæologist, who spent a portion of the year 1891 in examining the ruins of massive buildings in the country, came to the opinion, however, that

\* The name of the bird given in the Bible is said, however, to be of Tamil origin, and to be used for the peacock (*pavo cristatus*) at the present day in Ceylon. This appears to be the greatest impediment to the supposition that the Ophir of scripture is the Rhodesia of to-day, unless there was intercourse between Eastern Africa and Southern India in those early times, in which case an African bird might have received from strangers a Dravidian name.

the men who constructed them were probably Sabæans from Southern Arabia.\* Be that as it may, the intruders must have come down in vessels to some part of the coast, and then gone inland, for no traces of them have been found north of the Zambesi.

They erected buildings of dressed stone without cement or mortar, some of considerable size, the ruins of which excite the wonder of all who see them. From their position and form there can be no doubt that most of the buildings were constructed as forts, by means of which the foreigners could dominate the earlier inhabitants of the country. At least one, however, is pronounced by Mr. Bent to have been exclusively a temple, and several others appear to have been combined fortresses and places of worship. The temple at the place now termed the Great Zimbabwe, in latitude  $20^{\circ} 16' 30''$  south, longitude  $31^{\circ} 10' 10''$  east, fourteen miles from the present township of Victoria, was elliptical in form, two hundred and eighty feet in its greatest length, and was built of granite blocks dressed to about double the size of ordinary bricks. The greatest height of the wall still standing is thirty-five feet, and its thickness varies from sixteen feet two inches to five feet. The only ornamentation consists of two courses of stone laid in oblique positions in contrary directions along a fourth part of the wall, but in some other structures courses of outer stones were laid about two inches apart for the same purpose. These ornamentations are always on the south-eastern faces of the buildings, and lines drawn from the centres of the structures through the entrances point to the sun rising or setting at the time of the solstices.

The labour required for the erection of such a building as the temple at Great Zimbabwe, or of the fortress on the hill beside it, would be enormous at the present day; what then must it have been at a time when mechanical appliances such as are now in common use were unknown? But this was

\* See his very interesting volume *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland, with a Chapter on the Orientation and Mensuration of the Temples* by R. M. W. Swan, published in London in 1892, with several subsequent editions.



only one of a very large number of sites similarly, though not so massively, built upon over the whole extent of country between the Zambesi and Limpopo rivers.

The civilisation of the builders was not of a high order, however, for these structures were not perfectly regular in form, nor were any of the walls absolutely perpendicular or of equal thickness throughout. The architects were not sufficiently refined to appreciate mathematical correctness of shape or finish. The masonry in some of the buildings, which are believed to be the oldest, was much superior to that in others, the courses being far more regular. This shows that decadence took place, which is easily accounted for by the supposition, amounting almost to a certainty, that a mixture of blood with that of the Bantu was in progress from the outset.

A large solid tower in the temple at Great Zimbabwe, supposed to have been a phallus when perfect, and numerous stone phalli found in the ruins show the nature of at least one branch of the religion of the intruders, while from peculiarities in the buildings sidereal worship is supposed to have formed another. There is no trace of either of these systems in the religion of the Bantu now, from which circumstance it might be concluded that the blood of the Asiatic immigrants does not flow in the veins of the present inhabitants of the country, if it was not certain that ancestor worship has in another instance to be related elsewhere entirely driven out a foreign creed adopted for a time by a section of the people.

Figures of birds and other animals, rudely carved in a soapstone which when quarried was almost as soft as moistened clay but which hardened upon exposure to the air, exhibit the extent of the knowledge possessed by these people of the art of sculpture. Smelting furnaces, an ingot mould, crucibles, fragments of soapstone bowls, bits of excellent pottery, and beads, tacks, and thin plates of gold have been found in the soil at the ruins. The thin plates or leaves of gold in little squares of uniform size were intended to overlay wood, perhaps the ceilings and ornaments of grand buildings in the ancient world, and the wedge shaped tacks were for fastening them on.

The object of the intrusion of the Asiatics was to obtain gold, and for this purpose they carried on mining operations over an immense tract of country. They were sufficiently skilful to be able to sink pits and run underground galleries along reefs, but they were obliged to cease operations when water was reached, as they had no means except buckets and human labour for keeping the excavations dry. The quantity of a reef that could be removed depended thus entirely upon its position, and where drainage was good considerable depths were reached.

With the appliances at their disposal there was only one way in which this kind of mining could be carried on profitably, for a vast amount of labour needed to be expended in bringing the gold bearing rock to the surface of the ground, there crushing it to powder, and then washing the dust to obtain less than an ounce of metal from a ton of quartz, though the value of that metal relatively to other articles must then have been very much greater than it is now. With the Bantu population reduced to a condition of slavery, the men employed in extracting and crushing ore and the women in raising food, it was possible to make gold mining profitable, and it may be taken for certain that this was the condition of things in those far-off times in the territory called Eastern Rhodesia to-day.

As little as possible was left by the enterprising immigrants to chance. Dry seasons were guarded against by a system of irrigation pronounced by competent authorities from its remains to have been almost as perfect as could be devised at the present day, so that abundance of grain could always be relied upon, for here, as everywhere else in the country, only water was needed to make the soil as productive as any in the world. At first sight it might seem that to conserve it nothing more was necessary than to construct dams across the courses of streams, but so violent were the floods in the rainy season that unless the dams were immensely strong they would certainly be swept away. Under such circumstances artificial reservoirs were requisite, into which water could be led when the streams were full, and from which it could be drawn into furrows for

irrigating purposes when dry weather set in. Such reservoirs required skill and much labour to construct and afterwards to preserve in order. This part of Africa must therefore have presented a scene of industry in building, mining, and cultivation of the soil that is not easy to picture by those who know it at the beginning of the twentieth century of the Christian era. It is possible, however, that the whole of the vast territory from the Zambesi to the Limpopo was not occupied at the same time, but that sections of it were successively brought under the dominion of the Asiatic rulers.

How long a connection was kept open between the country from which the strangers came and that into which they had made their way there are no means of determining, but from the vast extent of their building and mining operations it seems likely to have extended over many centuries. From the first the intruders, being unaccompanied by females of their own race, would have taken to themselves harems of native women, and thus gradually a considerable class of mixed breeds must have arisen. These, as in all such cases, would have been lower in intellect, enterprise, and morality than their fathers, but they would have been unable to form a perfectly separate caste, because connection with one or other of the races from which they sprang was needed to create a balance of blood on one side, without which they must have died out. Half-breeds of negroes and Europeans or negroes and Asiatics are incapable of producing offspring among themselves alone for many generations. The males most likely would ally themselves with the Bantu, and the females with the ruling people, as is usual at present under similar conditions farther north on the coast. At last something occurred to prevent the arrival of any more foreigners, communication by sea with the country they had come from ceased, and then a complete fusion of blood between those in South Africa and the Bantu took place. This is of course largely conjectural, but everything that can be observed in connection with the subject points in that direction.

Gold mining was not carried on to any large extent after

the cessation of intercourse with the country from which the promoters of it had come, but the art was never entirely lost, and quartz crushing continued on a small scale down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Far the greater portion of the valuable metal obtained during the traditional and historical period, however, has been obtained from alluvial washing. When the massive buildings were abandoned, material accumulated within their walls, in which at length great trees sprang up and helped to complete the ruin. The pits by which the mines were reached became filled, and the irrigation works were all but completely obliterated. The Bantu, though improved by the mixture of foreign blood, when left to themselves without control or guidance reverted to their normal condition.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when South-Eastern Africa was first visited by the Portuguese, all traditions concerning the ancient builders and miners had died out, and other Asiatics who had arrived at a much later period were in possession of the trade of the country, though not of its soil, or of dominion over its inhabitants. From the Moors, as they termed these people, the Portuguese learned of the existence of extensive ruins inland, which they do not appear at any time to have visited themselves, for the descriptions given by their writers are very far from being correct. Thus the temple at Great Zimbabwe, according to their accounts, was a square building, not circular as it really is, and they stated that there was an inscription over one of its doors which no Arabic scholar could decipher, whereas not only is there no such inscription now, but no indication of a stone having been removed on which one could have been displayed at any time.

The Asiatics who were found trading and occupying various stations along the coast were Arabs and Persians, and as they possessed a literature and preserved records of their original settlements and subsequent transactions, the Portuguese writers into whose hands these records came were able to give a very clear account, not only of their condition in the early years of the sixteenth century, but of their previous history and

dealings with the Bantu inhabitants. That history was as follows:—

A certain man named Zaide, great-grandson of Ali, nephew and son-in-law of Mohamed, maintained religious opinions that were not in accordance with the koran as interpreted by the Arabian teachers, and was therefore banished from his home. With his adherents, who from him were termed the Emozaidi, he passed over to the African coast, and formed some temporary settlements of no great importance along it. These people were of a roving disposition, and gradually moved southward, avoiding conflicts with the natives but incorporating many of them, until in course of time they became hardly distinguishable from Africans except by the profession of a form of the Mohamedan creed and a somewhat higher way of living. The trading instinct of the Arabs led them, however, to carry on a petty commerce in gold and probably in other productions of the country. How far south the Emozaidi eventually wandered cannot be ascertained with precision, but some of them appear to have reached the equator before the next stream of immigration set in.

This was from Central Arabia, and consisted of a number of families driven out by the oppression of a neighbouring sheik. In three vessels they crossed over to the African coast, and founded first the town of Magadosho, and subsequently that of Brava, both not far north of the equator. In time Magadosho became a place of importance, various subordinate settlements were made to the southward, and its trade grew to large proportions. The Emozaidi, who were regarded as heretics by these later immigrants, would not submit to their authority, and were driven inland and forced into still closer connection than before with the natives of Africa. They became the wandering traders of the interior, the people who collected the products of the country and conveyed them to the coast for sale.

A vessel belonging to Magadosho, having been driven from her course by a storm, put into the port of Sofala, where her crew learned that gold was to be obtained in trade. This led

to a small settlement of Arabs at that place, and to a knowledge of the coast as far as Cape Correntes.

Rather more than seventy years elapsed after the founding of Magadosho and Brava when, towards the close of the fourth century of the Mohamedan era, that is about the time of the Norman conquest of England, another band of strangers settled on the East African seaboard. A ruler of Shiraz in Persia died, leaving seven sons, one of whom, named Ali, was despised by his brothers on account of his mother having been an Abyssinian slave. He was a man of energy and ability, however, so to avoid insult and wrong he resolved to remove to some distant land. With his family and a few followers he embarked in two vessels at the island of Ormuz, and sailed to Magadosho. The Persians and the Arabs were alike followers of the creed of Mohamed, and professed to hold the koran as their guide, but they formed rival sects, and at that time regarded each other with great bitterness. Ali could not settle at or near Magadosho therefore, so he steered down the coast in search of a place where he could build a town of his own, free of the control of every one else.

Such a place he found at Kilwa, the Quiloa of the Portuguese. The island was occupied by blacks, but they were willing to sell their right to it, which Ali purchased for a quantity of cloth, when they removed to the mainland. He then formed a settlement, and constructed fortifications sufficiently strong for defence against the African natives and the Arabs higher up the coast who were unfriendly towards him. Whether the island had a name before is not known: he called it Kilwa. Admirably situated for commerce, the settlement attracted immigrants and grew rapidly, so that even in Ali's lifetime it was able to send out a colony to occupy the island of Mafia not far to the northward. Successively different settlements were formed or those founded by the Arabs were conquered, until in course of time Kilwa, notwithstanding various civil wars, became not only the most important commercial station, but the ruling town on the East African coast.

At first the houses were built of wood and clay, but these

were afterwards replaced by others of stone and mortar, with flat roofs or terraces which could be used for the same purposes as stoeps in the Cape Colony in our day. The streets between the rows of houses were very narrow, mere alleys in fact, but in the outskirts were large gardens planted with various kinds of vegetables, in which grew also palms and different trees of the orange species. In front of the town, close to the harbour, was the residence of the ruler, which was built to serve also as a fortress, and was ornamented with towers and turrets. The mosques were adorned with minarets, so that, as looked upon from the sea, Kilwa presented the appearance of a beautiful and stately eastern town.

There were now three distinct communities of Asiatic origin on the East African coast: the Emozaidi, deemed by both the others to be heretics, the orthodox Arabs, holding one form of the Mohamedan faith, and the Persians, holding another. They were all at variance, and strife between them was constant. This is the key to their easy conquest by the Portuguese in later times. They termed the Bantu inhabitants of the mainland Kaffirs, that is infidels, an epithet adopted by modern Europeans and still in use. None of them, however, scrupled to take women of that race into their harems, and thus at all their settlements the number of mixed breeds was large. At the commencement of the sixteenth century the majority of those who called themselves Arabs, including the descendants of the Persian immigrants, were undistinguishable in colour and features from the ordinary Bantu. It followed that while those in whom the Asiatic blood was predominant were strict Mohamedans, the others were almost indifferent in matters concerning that religion.

Sofala was wrested from Magadosho by the people of Kilwa in the time of Soleiman, ninth successor of Ali, and with it a trade in ivory and gold was secured which greatly enriched the conquerors and enabled them to extend their power. In the zenith of its prosperity Kilwa was mistress of Melinde and Sofala on the mainland, the islands of Mombasa, Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia, Comoro, Mozambique, and many others of less

note, various stations on the coast of Madagascar, and numerous small trading posts along the African shore as far south as Cape Correntes, beyond which no vessel in those times ever passed. But owing to internal strife and perpetual feuds among the different communities, all of these places except Mozambique were lost before the beginning of the sixteenth century, and each of the others had become a petty but sovereign state.

The forty-third ruler of Kilwa after Ali was named Abraham,\* and it was he who held the government when the Portuguese arrived on the coast. He did not rule, however, by right of descent; but had seized the supreme authority under pretence of keeping it in trust for an absent heir. On this account he was conceded no higher title than that of Emir. When he thus usurped the administration of Kilwa a man named Isuf† was governor of Sofala, having received that appointment many years before. This Isuf was held in high esteem for ability and valour, and as he did not choose to acknowledge Emir Abraham as a superior, he made himself independent and opened his port to the trade of Melinde and other towns on the coast.

The Asiatic communities on the African seaboard existed almost entirely by commerce. Except at Pemba, Zanzibar, and one or two other places they did not carry on agriculture to any large extent, though they introduced various fruit-trees and the cultivation of rice and probably a few foreign vegetables among the Bantu. The small islands were not adapted for the growth of grain, and the supplies of food needed by the inhabitants of such towns as Kilwa and Mombasa could be obtained without difficulty in exchange for such wares as they had to barter. One product of the ground, however, they paid particular attention to. That was the cocoa palm, without which they could not have existed as they did. From its fruit they obtained not only an agreeable article of diet, but a fibre of the greatest utility; from its leaves material for mats and thatching; and from its trunk timber for the habitations of

\* Habrahemo according to Barros, Abraemo according to De Goes.

† Yçuf according to Barros, Çufe according to Castanheda and De Goes.



the poorer classes, masts and spars for their vessels, and wood for a great variety of other purposes. There was no part of this valuable tree of which some use could not be made.

They built vessels adapted for the navigation of the upper part of the Indian sea, where the monsoons blow regularly at different periods of the year from the east and from the west, though in them they could not venture on such stormy waters as those south of Cape Correntes. In these vessels no iron was used, the planks being fastened to the timbers with wooden treenails, and all the parts sewed or bound together with cord of coir. As they did not use saws, the planks were formed by splitting the trunks of trees down the centre, and then trimming each block with an axe, a tedious and clumsy process, in which much timber was lost. The sails were of close and strong matting, and the standing and running gear alike was made of coir. The largest of these vessels—now called dows—were used for crossing over to the coasts of Arabia, Persia, and Hindostan; those next in size—which were called pangayos by the first Europeans who saw them—for the most important part of the home trade; and the smallest—termed zambucos and luzios—for communicating between the settlements, conveying cargoes up and down the mouths of the Zambesi, and other purposes where heavy tonnage was not needed. The zambucos and luzios, indeed, were nothing more than large boats, half decked, and commonly provided with awnings. In shallow places, as in rivers, they were propelled with poles.

The pilots, called malemos, who conducted the vessels to foreign ports, were remarkably expert. Steering across to the coast of Hindostan, for instance, they seldom failed to make the land within a very few miles of the place they were bound to. They determined the latitude by means of measuring the angular altitude of certain stars when on the meridian, for which purpose they used an instrument which they regarded as superior to that by which the first Portuguese navigators in those seas found their way. Of any other method of determining longitudes than by dead reckoning, however, they were as ignorant as all the rest of the world at that time.

The commerce carried on by these people with distant lands was indeed small when compared with that which passed from India either up the Persian gulf and thence by caravans to the shore of the Mediterranean, or up the Red sea, then overland to Cairo, and down the Nile to Alexandria, where the produce of the East was obtained by the Venetians to be distributed over Europe; but for Africa it was considerable, and it was not subject to much fluctuation.

From India they obtained silks, spices, and other articles of luxury for the use of their own people of pure or nearly pure Asiatic blood, and cotton cloth and beads for trade with the Bantu; from Arabia and Persia rich fabrics, dates, scimitars, large sheathed daggers, and various other kinds of merchandise. Every man, no matter how black, who claimed to be a Mohamedan, wore at least a turban and a loin cloth, and carried a weapon of some kind on his person. The men of rank and wealth, who were of lighter colour, dressed in gorgeous robes of velvet, silk, or cotton, had sandals on their feet, and at their sides ornamented scimitars of finely tempered steel. The women naturally were clothed more or less richly according to the position of their parents and husbands, and they were particularly fond of trinkets. Every article of dress or adornment, all glassware, the best of the furniture of every description, the choicest weapons, and various luxuries of diet were imported from abroad.

With pieces of calico to be used as loin-cloths, beads, and ornaments of trifling value, the traders went among the Bantu on the mainland. Ingratiating themselves with the chiefs by means of presents, they induced those despots to send out men, here to hunt elephants, there to wash the soil for gold, and so forth. Time was to them of less importance than to Europeans, and their mode of living was so nearly like that of the native Africans that they could reside or travel about without discomfort where white men could hardly have existed. Thus the trade that they carried on was much greater in quantity than that of their Portuguese successors, though its exact amount cannot be ascertained. Upon their wares they

obtained enormous profits. They received in exchange gold, ivory, pearls from the oyster beds at the Bazaruta islands, strips of hippopotamus hide, gum, and ambergris washed up on the coast, with which they carried on their foreign commerce; and millet, rice, cattle, poultry, and honey, which they needed for home consumption.

Commerce was open to any one who chose to engage in it, but practically was confined to the pure Asiatics, who employed the mixed breeds as their agents in conducting the inland barter, working the vessels, and performing the rough labour of every kind. The governments, Arab, Persian, and Bantu alike, derived a revenue from the trade that to-day seems extortionate. When an elephant was killed, the tusk next the ground belonged to the chief, and when the upper one was sold he took about half the proceeds. On all other articles disposed of by his subjects, his share was about the same proportion, besides which the traders on the other side were obliged to make him large presents before commencing to barter. When Mombasa after the independence of Isuf was able to trade with Sofala, an export duty of rather over fifty per cent. was levied on the merchandise for the benefit of the government of that town. At Kilwa any one desiring to trade with Sofala was obliged to pay about seventy per cent. of the value of the goods before leaving the port, and on arrival at his destination one-seventh of what was left. Upon his return he paid a duty of five per cent. of the gold he had acquired. The duty on ivory brought to Kilwa was very heavy, so that in fact the government obtained a large proportion of the profits on commerce.

On the islands the governments of the Asiatics were not only independent, but all other authority was excluded, and on some of them fortifications were erected, as well as mosques and houses of stone. But on the mainland south of Kilwa, it was different. Here the mixed breeds were permitted by Bantu chiefs to reside for purposes of trade, but they were by no means lords of the country. The sheiks ruled their own people, but no others, like native clans which are often

found intermingled, whose idea of government is tribal rather than territorial. They were obliged to make the Bantu rulers large presents every year for the privilege of living and trading in the country, which presents may be regarded rather as rent for the ground and license fees than as tribute. Under these circumstances they did not construct any buildings of stone.

The pure Asiatic settlers on the African coast were grave and dignified, though courteous in demeanour. They were as hospitable as any people in the world, but they were attached to their ancestral customs, and keenly resented anything like an affront. They were enterprising, though so conservative in their ideas that they were incapable of making what Europeans would term rapid progress in civilisation. As superstitious as their Bantu neighbours, they especially regarded dreams as figuratively foreshowing events, and he was regarded as wise who pretended to be able to interpret them. The tombs of men celebrated for piety were places of ordinary pilgrimage, but every one endeavoured when in the prime of life to visit the city of Mecca in Arabia, thereby to obtain the highly honoured title of hadji.

The mixed breeds, who formed the great bulk of the nominally Mohamedan population, had all the superstitions of both the races from which they were descended. They would not venture to sea on a coasting voyage if one among them had an adverse dream, or without making an offering, if only of a shred of calico or a piece of coir cord, at the tomb of some holy man. They believed that the winds could be charmed to rise or fall, that the pangayos were subject to bewitchment, that even the creatures of the sea could be laid under spells. They lived in short in the atmosphere of the *Arabian Nights*, darkened by the gloom of Bantu fear of malignant sorcery.

Coming down the eastern coast of Africa in the year 1500, the principal Mohamedan settlements and trading stations were in geographical order as follows:—

Magadosho,\* in latitude 2° 2' north of the equator. The

\* Various spelt in books and on charts at present as well as in olden times Magadoxo, Magadaxo, Magadosho, Mogdishu, and Mukdeesha.

town was on the coast of the mainland, partly built upon an eminence rising to a height of about forty feet above a sandy plain. It contained several mosques and many stone houses with flat roofs. In front, at no great distance from the shore and parallel with it, was a coral reef four or five miles in length, which protected the channel within from the fury of the sea. At low spring tides the water in the channel was only two fathoms in depth, but that was sufficient for the dows used in the Indian trade. There was no other port.

Brava, in latitude  $1^{\circ} 7'$  north, was also built on the coast of the mainland. It stood on an eminence about a hundred feet above the beach, and was enclosed with a wall. The town was well built, and was governed as an aristocratic republic, the only one of the kind on the coast. The port somewhat resembled that of Magadosho, being a channel along the shore partly protected by islets and reefs, but was more exposed to heavy rollers from the sea.

Melinde,\* in latitude  $3^{\circ} 15'$  south of the equator, situated on the coast of the mainland, was also a well-built town. Adjoining it was an extensive and fertile plain, covered with beautiful gardens and groves, in which flourished fruit trees of various kinds, principally orange and lemon. To gain this advantage the town was built some distance from the nearest anchorage, which itself was far from safe, being a roadstead protected to some extent by a reef, but made dangerous by numerous shoals. It possessed, however, in a narrow rocky peninsula extending into the sea an excellent natural pier for landing cargo from boats.

Mombasa, on a coral island about three miles long by two broad, was situated in the estuary of the Barretté river, in latitude  $4^{\circ} 4'$  south. The island was like a huge fortress, standing from forty to sixty feet out of the water and presenting steep cliffs of madrepora on the seaward side. It possessed one of the best natural harbours in the world, easily accessible at all times. On each side the passage between the island and the banks of the estuary was broad and deep, though winding, and when in

\* Various spelt Melinde, Melinda, Maleenda, and Malindi.

them or in the fine sheet of water to which they led a vessel was perfectly sheltered. This sheet of water could only be reached by large vessels through the northern strait, because a submerged reef stretched across the inner end of the other, and at low tide formed a ford to the mainland. The town was built along the steep shore of the northern passage, not far from the sea, and was next to Kilwa the most celebrated on the coast. The houses were of stone, so well constructed that the first Europeans who saw them compared them favourably with residences in Spain. Mombasa, owing to its excellent site and to the prevalence of sea breezes, was less troubled with fever than any other settlement on that part of the coast.

Pemba, a coral island, rising in the highest part to three hundred feet above the level of the sea, was thirty-eight miles in extreme length by thirteen in width. It was about eighteen miles from the mainland, with a clear passage for ships inside, though coral reefs abounded near the shore. The island was fertile, and produced large quantities of provisions, particularly rice, for exportation. The principal Arab settlement on it was in latitude  $5^{\circ} 25'$  south.

Zanzibar, not far south of Pemba, was an island similar in every respect, though larger, being forty-seven miles in extreme length by twenty miles in breadth. It rose to a height of four hundred and forty feet above the level of the sea. The principal Arab town, from which the island took its name, was on the western side, in latitude  $6^{\circ} 3'$  south. The anchorage in front of it was good and capacious, and there were many secure harbours among the islets and reefs in the channel between it and the mainland. Here were built the greater number of the vessels used in the Indian and the coasting trade, and from the island considerable quantities of provisions were exported.

Mafia,\* a coral island rising abruptly from a great depth of water, lay about nine miles from the mainland. This island was about twenty-seven miles in length by nine in extreme breadth, between  $7^{\circ} 38'$  and  $8^{\circ}$  south latitude. It was of much less importance than either Zanzibar or Pemba.

\* Written also Monfia and Monfeea.

Kilwa, a low coral island, rather over four miles in length by two in breadth, rising on the northern side to forty-five feet above the sea level, was set like an arrow in a drawn bow in the estuary of the Mavudyi river. It lay in latitude  $8^{\circ} 57'$  south. With the sea in front, a strait on each side, and a sheet of water extending ten or twelve miles beyond its inner extremity, it was a very strong position. As at Mombasa, the southern strait was crossed at its far end by a reef, along which access to the mainland could be had at low water. This strait was interspersed with islets, and made a capacious harbour, admirably adapted for shipping, but that on the northern side of the island was difficult to navigate on account of its containing numerous reefs and sand banks.

Passing south of Cape Delgado, in latitude  $10^{\circ} 40'$ , a chain of coral islets and reefs parallel to the coast at a distance of eight to thirteen miles, and extending one hundred and seventeen miles along it, was to be seen. The principal islet was termed Kerimba, or Querimba, and from it the whole group was named. Next in importance was Ibo. Most of the others were uninhabited, being mere rocks rising from the sea. Along the strait within were numerous harbours for ships.

The northern extremity of the Mozambique channel has now been reached, and halfway across it lay the Comoro islands, all of volcanic origin. The principal of these were named Comoro, Johanna, Mohilla, and Mayotta, but there were many smaller in size. These islands were also possessed by the Arabs, who made use of them as convenient stopping places on their way to the great Island of the Moon, which we term Madagascar.

Keeping down the African coast, an inlet about five miles and a half across and six in depth was reached, in latitude  $15^{\circ}$  south. Into its inner end ran three streamlets, but of inconsiderable size. Lying across the centre of the mouth of the inlet, within a line joining its two outer points, was a low coral island, about a mile and a half in length and four hundred yards in breadth, named Mozambique. About three miles farther out in the sea were two others, similar in formation, then uninhabited, one of which is now called Saint George and the other

Saint Jago. Behind Mozambique was a spacious harbour, easily accessible and perfectly sheltered. At long intervals indeed a furious cyclone would sweep over it and cause great destruction, but the same could be said of any part of that coast and sea. Such a position as the island of Mozambique could not escape the observation of the Mohamedans, though it had not the advantages of Kilwa or Mombasa. The island itself produced nothing, not even drinking water. On the northern shore of the inlet, since termed Cabaceira, the ground was fertile, but it was exposed to irruptions of the Bantu inhabitants, who were generally hostile. So Mozambique never rose to be more than a dependency of Kilwa, a mere halfway station for vessels bound up or down the coast. Its Mohamedan occupants had their gardens and cocoa nut groves on the mainland, but could not always depend upon gathering their produce.

The Angosha\* islands lay off the mouth of the Angosha river, between latitude  $16^{\circ}$  and  $16^{\circ} 40'$  south. The river was three miles wide at the bar, and could be ascended by boats nearly one hundred and fifty miles, which circumstance gave to the six coral islets off its entrance a value they would not have had in another position. There was a good roadstead between the bar of the river and the island Mafamede, which was a mere crown of sand on a coral reef seven or eight feet above sea level.

The Primeiras islands were nothing more than a row of coral hummocks extending northward from latitude  $17^{\circ} 18'$  in a line parallel with the coast. In the channel between them and the mainland there were places where a pangayo could find shelter.

At Mozambique the direction of the coast line had changed from nearly north and south to north-east and south-west, and the aspect of the land had altered also. Thence to Cape Correntes as far as the eye could reach nothing was visible but a low flat tract, bordered along the sea by sand hills from fifty to six hundred feet high, with here and there a dark-coloured rock. In latitude  $18^{\circ}$  south the mouth of the Kilimane, or Quilimane, river was reached. This was the northernmost of the several outlets of the great river Zambesi, which therefore

\* Spelt also Angoxa, Angozha, and Angoche.



bounded the delta on that side. The other large outlets were the Luabo and the Kuama, but there were many smaller ones; a distance of a hundred miles separating the extreme southern from the extreme northern mouth, while the inland extremity of the delta, where the river began to fork, was over fifty miles in a straight line from the sea. In later years this whole tract of land and water was termed by the Portuguese the Rivers of Kuama, the largest of the islands in the delta bearing that name.

If an accurate survey of the delta and its streams had been made in any one year, in the next it would have been imperfect, and in a decade misleading, for two causes were constantly operating to alter the features of land and water. In the rainy season the Zambesi, which stretched nearly across the continent, poured down a flood bearing sand, soil, and gravel, which spread over great areas, blocked up old channels, tore away huge fragments of islands, and opened new passages in every direction. When the flood subsided, former landmarks were gone, and where vessels had sailed the year before sandflats alone were seen. The Kilimane arm in the year 1500 was the best entrance into the Zambesi during six months of the year, in 1900 its upper course is many feet higher than the bed of the great river farther inland, of which it is no longer regarded as an outlet. The other cause of change was the mangrove. This tree, with its gloomy dark-green foliage, grew only on the confines of land and water, where it spread out its roots like gigantic snakes, intertwining and retaining in their folds the ooze and slime that would otherwise have been borne away. Sand was blown up by the wind or deposited when the currents were gentle, vegetable mould accumulated, the inner line of the swamp became soil on which grass and herbs could grow, and the mangrove spread farther out to reclaim ever more and more land from the shallow water. So the floods washed away and reformed, and the mangrove bound together and extended, in the ever varying scene.

How far up the Zambesi the Mohamedans were accustomed to go cannot be ascertained with precision. They had a small settlement on its southern bank where the Portuguese village of

Sena now stands, about one hundred and forty miles from the sea, but it is doubtful whether they had any fixed post farther inland, though travelling traders probably penetrated the country to a great distance. About two hundred and thirty-five miles from the sea the great river passed through the Lupata gorge, a narrow cleft in the range that separates the interior plain from the coast belt, where the rapids were so strong that they may not have cared to go beyond them with their boats, though the Portuguese afterwards navigated the stream up to the Kebrabasa rapids, about twenty miles above Tete, or three hundred and twenty miles from the sea.

At the mouth of the Pungwe river, where Beira now stands, there was a very small Mohamedan trading settlement, perhaps not a permanent one, and only at best an outpost of Sofala.

Sofala, the most important station south of Kilwa, was in latitude  $20^{\circ} 10'$ . It was at the mouth of an estuary a mile and three quarters wide from the northern bank to an island named Inyansata, between which and the southern bank there was only a narrow and shallow stream when the tide was low. Across the entrance of the estuary was a shifting bar of sand, which prevented large vessels from crossing, and inside there were so many shoals that navigation was at all times dangerous. The land to a great distance was low and swampy, and the banks of the estuary were fringed with belts of mangrove, so that the place was a hotbed of fever and dysentery. Farther in the interior the stream was of no great size, but it was always bringing down material to add to the deposits of sand and mud above the bar. The sole redeeming feature was a high rise of tide, often nearly twenty feet at full moon, so that when the wind was fair it was accessible for any vessels then used in the Indian trade. Along the coast was a great shoal or bank like a submerged terrace, extending far into the sea, upon which the waves ran so high at times and the currents were so strong that the locality was greatly dreaded by the mariners of olden days. But all these drawbacks were disregarded in view of the fact that gold was to be obtained here in exchange for merchandise of little value.

At Sofala there were two villages: one close to the sea, on a sand flat forming the north-eastern point, contained about four hundred inhabitants; the other, a couple of miles higher up the bank of the estuary, also contained about four hundred residents. The sheik lived in the last named. His dwelling house was constructed of poles planted in the ground, between which wattles were woven and then plastered with clay. It was thatched, and contained several apartments, one of considerable size which could be used as a hall of state. The floor, like that of Bantu huts, was made of antheaps moistened and stamped. It was covered with mats, and the room occupied by the sheik was hung with silk, but was poorly furnished according to modern European ideas. This was the grandest dwelling house in Africa south of the Zambesi, indeed the only one of its size and form, in the first year of the sixteenth century.

The island of Chiloane\* lay partly in the mouth of the Ingomiamo river, in latitude  $20^{\circ} 37'$  south. The island was about six miles long by three wide, but a great part of it was a mangrove swamp. The channel into the Ingomiamo on the northern side of the island, now called Port Singune, was used as a harbour by an occasional pangayo or zambuco that put in to trade.

The Bazaruta islands were of much greater importance, for there were the pearl-oyster beds which yielded gems as much coveted by the Arabs and Persians as by the people of Europe and India. There were five islands in this group, stretching over thirty miles along the coast northward from the cape now called Saint Sebastian, which is in latitude  $22^{\circ} 5'$  south. The principal island, from which the group takes its name, is eighteen miles in length.

The last place to the southward frequented by the Mohamedans was the river Nyambana, or Inhambane, the mouth of which is in latitude  $23^{\circ} 45'$  south. They had a small settlement where the Portuguese village now stands, fourteen miles by the channel, though only eight in a direct line, above the bar. The river was easy of access, and formed an excellent harbour. It

\* Variously spelt Chiluán, Chilwan, Chulawan, Kiloane, &c.

was navigable for boats about five miles farther up than the settlement, which formed a good centre for collecting ivory, an article always in demand in India. This place was reputed to be the healthiest on the whole coast.

Beyond Cape Correntes, in latitude  $24^{\circ} 4'$  south, the Arabs and Persians did not venture in their coir-sewn vessels. Here the Mozambique current, from which the cape has its present name, ran southward with great velocity, usually from one to three miles an hour, according to the force and direction of the wind, but often much faster. The cape had the reputation also of being a place of storms, where the regular monsoons of the north could no longer be depended upon, and where violent gusts from every quarter would almost surely destroy the mariners who should be so foolhardy as to brave them. The vivid Arab imagination further pictured danger of another kind, for this was the chosen home of those mermaids—believed in also by the Greeks of old—who lured unfortunate men to their doom. So Cape Correntes, with its real and fictitious perils, was the terminus of Mohamedan enterprise to the south, though there were men in Kilwa who sometimes wondered what was beyond it and half made up their minds to go over land and see.





## V.

## INTERCOURSE OF THE PORTUGUESE WITH THE BANTU.

WHEN the European fort and trading station at Sofala was formed in 1505 the predominant people in the country between the rivers Sabi and Zambesi were the Mocaranga as termed by the Portuguese, or Makalanga as pronounced by themselves, a word which means the people of the sun. This tribe occupied territory extending from the shore of the Indian ocean to the interior of the continent far to the west, but just how far it is impossible to say. Along the southern bank of the Zambesi and scattered here and there on the sea coast were clans who were not Makalanga by blood, and who were independent of each other. South of the Sabi river lived a tribe named the Batonga, whose outposts extended beyond Cape Correntes.

There are people of this name in various parts of South Africa still, but it does not follow that they are descended from the Batonga of the sixteenth century. The country has often been swept by war since that time, and of the ancient communities many have been absolutely destroyed, while others have been dispersed and reorganised quite differently. There is not a single tribe in South Africa to-day that bears the same title, has the same relative power, and occupies the same ground, as its ancestors three hundred years ago. The people we call Mashona are indeed descended from the Makalanga of early Portuguese days, and they preserve their old name and part of their old country, but the contrast between their condition and that of the tribe in the period of its greatness is striking. Discord, subjection, and merciless treatment from conquerors have destroyed most of what was good in their forefathers.

This tribe—the Makalanga—was the one with which the Portuguese had most to do. Its paramount chief was called by them the monomotapa, which word, their writers state, meant emperor, but in reality it was only one of the hereditary titles originally given by the official praisers to the great chief, and meant either master of the mountain or master of the mines. The Portuguese were not very careful in the orthography of Bantu names, and in those early days they had not discovered the rules which govern the construction of the language, so that probably monomotapa does not represent the exact sound as spoken by the natives, though most likely it approximates closely to it. About the first part of the word there is no uncertainty. In one of the existing dialects *mong* means master or chief, in another *omuhona* has the same meaning. The plural of *mong* is *beng*, and one of the Portuguese writers gives the word as *benomotapa*, evidently from having heard it used by natives in a plural form. Another Portuguese writer, in relating the exploits of a chief named Munhamonge, says that word meant master of the world, and his statement is perfectly correct. Thus monomotapa (more likely mnamatapa) meant chief of something, but what that something was is not so certain.

It seems on analysing it to be chief of the mountain, and there are other reasons for believing that to be its correct signification. The great place, or residence of the monomotapa, was close to the mountain Fura, which he would never permit a Portuguese to ascend, probably from some superstition connected with it, though they believed it was because he did not wish them to have a view over as much of his country as could be seen from its top. The natives, when going to the great place, most likely used the expression going to the mountain, for the Portuguese soon began to employ the words *á serra* in that sense, without specially defining what mountain was meant. In our own time one of the titles given by the official praisers to the Basuto chief Moshesh was chief of the mountain, owing to his possession of Thaba Bosigo, and the Kalanga chief probably had his title of monomotapa from his possession of Fura.



But there is another possible explanation of the word, which would give it a much more romantic origin. It may have meant chief of the mines, for the termination, slightly altered in form, in one of the Bantu dialects signifies a large hole in the ground. In this case the title may have come down from a very remote period, and may have originated with the ancient gold-workers who mixed their blood with the ancestors of the Kalanga people. This is just possible, but it is so unlikely that it is almost safe to translate the word *monomotapa*, *manamotupa*, *manomotapa*,—as different Portuguese writers spelt it,—chief of the mountain. In any case it signified the paramount or great chief of the Kalanga tribe, and was applied to all who in succession held that office.

Some interest is attached to this word *Monomotapa*, inasmuch as it was placed on maps of the day as if it was the name of a territory, not the title of a ruler, and soon it was applied to the entire region from the Zambesi to the mouth of the Fish river. Geographers, who knew nothing of the country, wrote the word upon their charts, and one copied another until the belief became general that a people far advanced in civilisation, and governed by a mighty emperor, occupied the whole of South-Eastern Africa.

Then towns were marked on the chart, and rivers were traced upon it, and men of the highest standing in science lent their names to the fraud, believing it to be true, until a standard map of the middle of the seventeenth century was as misleading as it was possible to make it. Readers of Portuguese histories must have known this, but no one rectified the error, because no one could substitute what was really correct. And even in recent years educated men have asked what has become of the mysterious empire of *Monomotapa*, a question that can be so easily answered by reading the books of De Barros, De Couto, and Dos Santos, and analysing the *Sekalanga* words which they repeat. Such an empire never existed. The foundation upon which imagination constructed it was nothing more than a Bantu tribe. The error arose mainly from the use of the words emperor, king, and prince to represent African chiefs, a mistake,

however, which was not confined to the Portuguese, for it pervades a good deal of English literature of the nineteenth century, where it has done infinitely more to mislead readers than those expressions ever did in times gone by.

The Kalanga tribe was larger and occupied a much greater extent of territory than any now existing in South Africa. It was held together by the same means as the others, that is principally by the religious awe with which the paramount chief was regarded, as representing in his person the mighty spirits that were feared and worshipped. There was always the danger of a disputed succession, however, when it might not be certain which of two or more individuals was nearest to the line of descent and therefore the one to whom fealty was due. How long the tribe had existed before the Portuguese became acquainted with it, and whether it had attained its greatness by growth or by conquest, cannot be ascertained, but very shortly afterwards it was broken into several independent communities.

The tribe belonged to that section of the Bantu family which in general occupies the interior of the country. It was divided into a great number of clans, each under its own chief, and though all of these acknowledged the monomotapa as their superior in rank, the distant clans, even with the religious bond of union in full force, were very loosely connected with the central government. Thus those near the coast were found by the Portuguese making war on their own account, and acting otherwise in a manner that among Europeans would be regarded as indicating perfect independence. There was one peculiar custom, however, that prevented them from forgetting their dependence upon the paramount chief, a custom that most likely had a foreign origin. Every year at a certain stage of the crops a command was sent throughout the country that when the next new moon appeared all the fires were to be put out, and they could only be lit again from the spreading of one kindled by the monomotapa himself.

The Makalanga had developed their religious system and their industries more highly than any of the other tribes of

Southern or Eastern Africa. Of all the Bantu they had the largest proportion of Asiatic blood in their veins, which will account for their mental and mechanical superiority. Almost at first sight the Europeans observed that they were in every respect more intelligent than the blacker tribes along the Mozambique coast. But they were neither so robust nor so courageous as many of their neighbours. Like their near kindred the Basuto and Bapedi of to-day, they were capable of making a vigorous defence in mountain strongholds, but were disinclined to carry on aggressive warfare, and could not stand against an equal number of men of a coast tribe in the open field. Their language was regarded by the Christians as being pleasanter than Arabic to the ear. The residence of each important chief was called his zimbabwe, which the Portuguese writers say meant the place where the court was held, though the buildings were merely thatched huts with wattled walls covered with clay. The word was equivalent to "the great place" as now used, though the roots from which it was derived are not absolutely certain.

When the Portuguese in 1505 first came in close contact with the Makalanga, the tribe had been engaged in civil war for twelve or thirteen years, and was in a very unsettled condition. A monomotapa, Mokomba by name, had made a favourite of the chief Tshikanga, one of his distant relatives, who was hereditary head of the powerful clan which occupied the district of Manika. Some other chiefs became jealous of the privileges conferred upon this man, and took advantage of his absence on one occasion to instil in the monomotapa's mind that he was a sorcerer and was compassing the death of his benefactor. Thereupon the monomotapa sent him some poison to drink, but instead of obeying, he made an offer of a large number of cattle for his life. The offer was declined, and then in despair he collected his followers, made a quick march to the great place, surprised Mokomba, and killed him.

Tshikanga then assumed the government of the tribe. He endeavoured to exterminate the family of his predecessor, and actually put twenty-one of Mokomba's children to death.

Only one young man escaped. After four years' exile, this one, whose name is variously given as Kesarinuto or Kesarimyo, returned and collected a force which defeated the usurping monomotapa's army. Tshikanga then took the field himself, adherents gathered on both sides, and a battle was fought which continued for three days and a half. On the fourth day Tshikanga was killed, when his army dispersed, and Kesarimyo became monomotapa. But Tolwa, Tshikanga's son, would not submit, and with his ancestral clan kept possession of the Manika district, and carried on the war. To this circumstance the Portuguese attributed the small quantity of gold that was brought to Sofala for sale. In course of time the war was reduced to a permanent feud, Tolwa's clan became an independent tribe, and Manika was lost to the monomotapa for ever.

For many years after their occupation of Sofala the Portuguese lived on fairly good terms with the Makalanga, and after the failure to drive them from the fort in Isuf's time no attempt was made to expel them from the country. They paid subsidies in the form of presents to the nearest chiefs of note, and so secured their good will and freedom for trade. These presents usually consisted of beads, bangles, pieces of coarse calico, and other inexpensive articles, so that the value of the whole was trifling. In return the chiefs sent a tusk or two of ivory, which was often worth as much as what they received.

But even after the employment of the Mohamedans as agents to collect gold and ivory, the amount of commerce carried on was very far short of the earlier anticipations of the Europeans. Their next effort to increase it was by stationing individuals at outposts on the Zambesi, which at first were quite unprotected, and existed entirely by the favour of the people in whose lands they were situated. After various ineffectual attempts by other officials, in 1531 Vicente Pegado, the ablest and most enterprising of all the early captains of Mozambique and Sofala, who had then resided a year in the country, succeeded in establishing a fair at the place afterwards known as Sena, where there was a small Mohamedan village. The particulars of this event are

not now on record in manuscript that can be found, and the historians of the time were so deeply engrossed with the stirring deeds of their countrymen in India that they altogether neglected transactions of comparatively little importance in South Africa, but no imagination is needed to understand how it must have taken place. The Bantu would certainly not object to the presence of unarmed traders, and the Mohamedans, who at an earlier date would have acted either as open or secret enemies, were then in a condition of dependence upon the Portuguese. The contraband trade, as the Europeans termed it, had been almost completely suppressed. There was but one place where foreign merchandise could be obtained, and that was the king's warehouse at Sofala. The factor there, acting under instructions from his government, fixed the price of everything and required an enormous profit on whatever he bought or sold, but a portion of the retail bartering with the Bantu was again in the hands of those who had once enjoyed a monopoly of it. So the Mohamedans at Sena would not object to getting their supplies at home, instead of going to Sofala for them, and besides it was to their interest not to offend their employers. Thus the fair or trading-post of Sena came into existence, and the quantity of ivory and gold obtained was so much increased that the captain Vicente Pegado was rewarded for his exertions by being retained in office for the unusual term of eight years.

The exact date of the formation of a similar outstation at Tete cannot be ascertained, but it was not long after the establishment of the fair farther down the river. At both these places for many years white men lived in the same precarious manner as the first English traders in the Xosa country three centuries later. Favoured by the chief one day, abused and robbed by him the next, nothing but the prospect of considerable gain could induce any others than missionaries to exist in such a condition. Those at Sena and Tete were of the class that accommodates itself readily to barbarian habits, and in morals at least were little above the Bantu with whom they associated.

In 1544 the factory of Quilimane was founded on the northern bank of the river of Good Tokens, about fifteen miles from the

sea. The object was partly to carry on commerce with the Bantu in the neighbourhood, but principally to command the route to the interior by that stream, which was then more used during several months of the year than the other outlets of the Zambesi. The station is still in existence, but as it is beyond the territorial limits dealt with in this narrative, it will not be referred to again.

In the same year the captain of Sofala and Mozambique sent two men named Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira in a pangayo on an exploring voyage to the southward. They inspected the lower course of the Limpopo river, and ascertained that copper in considerable quantities was to be obtained there from the natives. They then examined the great bay which before that time had been obscurely known as Da Lagoa. Three large rivers flowing from different directions,—known now to British geographers as the Maputa, the English, and the Manisa,—discharge their waters into this bay, and it was believed that the central one of these, or rather the central one of the streams now called the Tembe, the Umbelosi, and the Matola, which have as their estuary the English river, had its source in a great lake far in the interior, hence the Umbelosi and the English were named Rio da Lagoa, and the bay Bahia da Lagoa.

On the banks of the Umbelosi the explorers saw a great number of elephants, and purchased tusks of ivory from the natives at the rate of a few beads for each. In the neighbourhood of the Maputa river, which they next visited, elephants were also seen, and ivory was plentiful. The chief of the tribe that occupied the country between this river and the sea, whose hereditary title was Inyaka, was very friendly to his European visitors. Though quite black, he was a fine looking old man, with a white beard, and as Marques and Caldeira fancied his features bore some resemblance to those of Garcia de Sá, then captain of Malacca, who was subsequently—1548-9—captain general and governor of India, and one of whose daughters, Dona Leonor, wife of Manuel de Sousa de Sepulveda, in 1552 perished in a most pitiable manner on the shore of this very bay, they gave him that official's name. We shall meet him again,

particularly in the account of the wreck of the galleon *São João*, and shall find that his friendship for white people was not a mere passing whim.

The inspection of the country around the bay was followed by a change of names. The Umbelosi—with its estuary the English river—was thereafter termed by the Portuguese Rio de Lourenço Marques, though geographers of other nations continued to call it the river De Lagoa, until the restoration in recent years of its Bantu name. The bay—previously Bahia da Lagoa—now took the name among the Portuguese of Bahia de Lourenço Marques, though to all other Europeans it remained known as Delagoa Bay, and it is still so called.

In 1546 King João III issued instructions that Lourenço Marques should be provided with a suitable vessel to complete the exploration of the coast and to open up a trade with the residents on the shores of the great inlet. This was done, and thereafter a pangayo was usually sent every year or every second year from Mozambique to obtain ivory. While they were engaged in bartering by means of boats manned by mixed breeds or Mohamedans that went up the different rivers, the traders resided on one of the islands Inyaka—so called by the Portuguese from the title of the chief Garcia de Sá,—Elephant, or Shefina, where some rough huts were built for their accommodation, and as soon as all the tusks that had been collected by the natives were purchased, they returned to Mozambique. No permanent factory or fort was built at this place until a much later date. Lourenço Marques probably remained some years in charge of the trade at the bay which bore his name, as in 1557, in reward for his services there, he was appointed intendant at Cochin.

At Inhambane, or Nyambana as termed by the natives, which is about two hundred and thirty miles farther up the coast, a similar trade was carried on from this time forward by means of a pangayo sent every year or two from Mozambique. Temporary huts were erected on the site of the present village, off which the pangayo lay at anchor until the traders were ready to return. Neither here nor at Delagoa Bay, any more than at Sena or Tete,

did the Portuguese authorities attempt to exercise the slightest control over the Bantu inhabitants. Their object at all these places was simply and solely to carry on commerce, and not by any means to involve themselves in difficulties. At times indeed the traders were subject to gross ill treatment from barbarous chiefs, which they were obliged to endure patiently, without any effort being made to retaliate or redress their wrongs.

After trade at these places was opened, from thirty to thirty-six tons of ivory were usually collected at Mozambique and sent from that island to India every year until 1551, when only a little more than five tons was obtained. The quantity subsequently rose again, but fluctuated greatly according to the condition of the country as regarded peace or war.

The Portuguese, whether soldiers or traders, were in South Africa so circumstanced that they degenerated rapidly. A European female was very rarely seen, and nearly every white man consorted with native women. Fever, when it did not kill them outright, deprived them of energy, and there was nothing to stimulate them to exertion. Cut off from all society but that of barbarians, often until towards the close of the sixteenth century without the ministrations of the church, sunk in sloth, and suffering from excessive heat and deadly malaria, no lives led by Europeans anywhere could be more miserable than theirs.

The natives termed them *Bazunga*,—singular *Mozunga*,—and were generally well disposed towards them. Individual white men often gained the confidence of chiefs, and exercised great influence over them. Instances were not wanting of such persons abandoning their former associates, and going to reside permanently either on tracts of land presented to them, where they became petty rulers, or at native *kraals*, where they held authority of some kind under the chiefs. Thereafter they were regarded as renegades, though their mode of living was little worse than that of many of their countrymen at the fort and trading stations.

This was the condition of affairs in South-Eastern Africa during the reign of King João III, a period far less glorious in



the history of Portugal than that in which his father Manuel the Fortunate sat upon the throne. To outward appearance the country exhibited every mark of prosperity, and its commerce and wealth were the wonder of Europe, but the zenith of its greatness was passed before the sixteenth century had run half its course. The king had many sons, but all died in childhood except the youngest, Dom João, who married the infanta Joana, daughter of the emperor Charles V. He died in early manhood, on the 2nd of January 1554, eighteen days before his widow gave birth to a boy, who received the name Sebastião. On the 16th of June 1557 this child of little more than three years of age became by his grandfather's death sovereign of Portugal, and as his mother had retired to Spain, his grandmother, Dona Catharina, daughter of Philippe I of Castile and widow of the deceased monarch, became regent of the kingdom.

Corruption had by this time become so general among the Portuguese in India that even a virtuous viceroy such as Dom João de Castro was powerless to check it. They retained indeed the daring spirit of their fathers, so that military prowess was conspicuous still, but beyond that avarice had become their ruling passion. To collect wealth, whether honestly or dishonestly hardly mattered, had become the great object of their lives, and as power was theirs, under such circumstances good government was impossible. Even at this early period the rapacity of the officials was preparing Portuguese India for the fate that overtook it as soon as a rival European power dealt it a puny blow. Eastern Africa was included in India, and if a course of spoliation was not practised there, the reason was that no weak peoples other than the Mohamedans existed sufficiently wealthy to be despoiled.

Before 1545 Mozambique had been without other protection than the slight defensive works constructed when the island was first occupied. In that year Dom João de Castro put in there on his way to Goa to assume the government of India, and was struck with the weakness of a place of such importance. In his opinion the position of the so-called fort was not only bad in a military point of view, but was insanitary as well. He selected

another site, gathered some materials, and during his short stay constructed a small outwork for temporary use. Upon his report of the condition of the island reaching Lisbon, the king gave order for larger and better defensive works to be built, but the death of the eminent viceroy followed soon afterwards, and the matter was then allowed to fall out of sight.

The power that Portugal had to contend with now in the eastern seas was the Grand Turk, in the zenith of his pride, and aided always openly or secretly by one or other Mohamedan state. To put a fleet upon the waters of the Indian ocean, every part of the material, wood, iron, cordage, and canvas, had to be conveyed up the Nile to Cairo, and thence on the backs of camels to the shipyards of Suez, a seemingly impossible task. Yet that it could be done had been proved by the sultan Soleiman II in 1527, and still more conspicuously in 1538. On the 22nd of June of this year the faithless and ferocious pasha Soleiman, who had governed Egypt for the sultan at Constantinople, sailed from Suez with a great fleet built of materials so transported from European Turkey, having with him a powerful force of janizaries. His siege of the fort of Diu—4th September to 5th November 1538—and its heroic defence by Antonio da Silveira with only six hundred men, most of whom lost their lives before Soleiman withdrew discomfited to commit suicide rather than be put to death by his master for having failed in the enterprise, must be regarded as among the most memorable events in the history of India. This Antonio da Silveira who, with only forty men left capable of bearing arms, with his ammunition exhausted and his provisions consumed, saw from his battered and half destroyed fort the remnant of the Turkish fleet sail away, had been captain of Sofala and Mozambique from 1524 to 1527, but had there no opportunity of distinguishing himself in any way.

From the time of the pasha Soleiman's defeat onward Turkish subjects in smaller force were encountered, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, allied with Indian princes; and it was apprehended that an attempt to secure the eastern commerce might again be made by them with a very powerful

armament. To be prepared for such an occurrence, in 1558 among other measures the regent Dona Catharina resolved to construct a fortress of the first class at Mozambique, and to make the island the residence of the highest official in authority on the African coast. Previously there had been no permanent garrison, and the captain had resided during the greater part of the year at Sofala, which was regarded as the more important place of the two. Henceforth each was to have a captain, but the one at Sofala was to be subordinate to the one at Mozambique.

To plan the new fortress, an engineer architect was sent out who was a nephew of the archbishop of Braga, and had learned his profession in Flanders. He selected as the best site the eastern extremity of the island, off which ships passed to and from the anchorage, and there on the margin of the sea he laid the foundations of the massive walls that afterwards arose. The fortress was quadrilateral in form, with a bastion at each angle, and was so large that from eighty to a hundred guns could be mounted on its ramparts. The whole structure was termed Fort São Sebastião, but the outwork at each angle had its own name, the one first passed when coming in from sea being called Nossa Senhora, the one nearest the anchorage São João, the landward one on the inner side of the island São Gabriel, and the landward one on the outer side Santo Antonio. The walls were of great height, which subsequent experience proved to be disadvantageous. A work of such magnitude, though the heaviest labour was performed by slaves, required many skilled artisans, and could only be slowly carried on. The political condition of Portugal also retarded progress, so that the sixteenth century was nearly ended before the walls and the numerous buildings they enclosed were fully finished. The want of fresh water was at first regarded as its principal defect, but this was remedied in course of time by the construction of enormous cisterns, which contained an ample supply to last from one rainy season to another.

After laying out the fortress at Mozambique and preparing plans for carrying on the work, the architect proceeded to

Daman to perform a similar duty there. After that was done he returned to Europe and entered a religious order, when he was favoured by Philippe II of Spain, and from his designs parts of the Escorial were constructed. Thus in Fort São Sebastião there exists a specimen of the highest skill of the sixteenth century.

The conversion of the heathen to Christianity was from the very beginning of the Portuguese explorations and settlements in Africa and India kept constantly in view by the king and by the authorities of the Roman catholic church, but the far East offered the most promising field to the Franciscans, Dominicans, and other long established religious orders, and there were no men to spare for the enlightenment of the barbarous tribes between the Zambesi and the bay of Lourenço Marques. The whole territory east of the Cape of Good Hope to Japan had formed a single see since March 1539, when Dom João d'Albuquerque assumed duty at Goa as first bishop of India. But even the Portuguese themselves were neglected in Africa, for the garrison of Sofala was seldom provided with a chaplain, and Sena and Tete were left altogether without one.

On the 27th of September 1540, however, a bull was issued by Pope Paul III, approving of the order founded by Ignatius Loyola, and the Company of Jesus, the greatest and most zealous of all the missionary associations of the Roman catholic church, came into existence. Within seven months, on the 7th of April 1541, the celebrated Francisco Xavier sailed from Lisbon for India, and he was soon followed by others into various parts of the heathen world. The first college of the order was founded at Coimbra by João III of Portugal in 1542, and speedily attracted within its walls many of the most religious and most energetic of the youth of the kingdom. Into this college in 1543 a young man of noble parentage, named Gonçalo da Silveira, a native of Almeirim on the Tagus, sought admission for the purpose of completing his education. Shortly afterwards he entered the order, and in 1556 was sent to Goa. There he became conspicuous for his zeal and general ability, and it was mainly owing to his exertions that the magnificent

church of São Thomé was built in the capital of Portuguese India.

On one of the voyages of the little vessel that went occasionally from Mozambique to Inhambane to purchase ivory, a son of a chief of some importance was induced to return in her. It was the custom to treat such persons with much attention, in order to secure their friendship, and the young chief was greatly pleased with the favours that he received. In course of time he professed his belief in Christianity, and was baptized with all the pomp that was possible in the church of São Gabriel, the captain of Sofala and Mozambique being one of his godfathers. When the vessel made her next voyage he returned to Inhambane, and induced his father to send a request to the Portuguese captain that he might be supplied with missionaries. This request was forwarded to Goa, where it was referred to the provincial of the Jesuits, with the result that the fathers Gonçalo da Silveira and André Fernandes, with the lay brother André da Costa, were directed to proceed to South-Eastern Africa, and attempt to convert the natives there to Christianity. Dom Gonçalo was the head of the party, and was entrusted by the viceroy Dom Constantino de Bragança with friendly messages and presents for the chief who had made the application and for the paramount ruler of the Makalanga tribe.

On the 2nd of January 1560 the missionaries sailed from Chaul, and after a pleasant passage reached Mozambique on the 4th of February, where they found a trading vessel nearly ready to sail for Inhambane. She was only a zambuco, with so little accommodation that, as one of them wrote, they could neither lie down comfortably, stand erect, or exercise their legs in her, but on the 12th of February they embarked, together with two Portuguese—one of whom was to be their guide—and a native who was well acquainted with the coast. The zambuco was to touch at Sofala on the way. At this place they arrived after a passage of twenty-seven days, and here they secured the service of a halfbreed born at the fort, named João Raposo, who spoke Portuguese and Sekalanga with equal fluency, and who was a handy man in other respects, as he had travelled much in the

country. After five days' stay at Sofala, the zambuco sailed again, and eight days later reached Inhambane, where five Portuguese were found trading for ivory.

Dom Gonçalo and the lay brother were suffering severely from fever, and landed in such a debilitated condition that for a time their lives were despaired of. Their countrymen, however, took such care of them that shortly they began to mend, and as soon as they were out of danger the father André Fernandes was sent in advance to the kraal of the chief who had applied for missionaries, to announce their arrival and to request that carriers might be provided to convey the others in hammocks. The distance of the kraal from Inhambane is stated to have been thirty leagues, but as the father André Fernandes and those with him traversed it on foot in three days and a half, it can hardly have been so far. The name of the place is given by the missionaries as Otongwe, and of the chief as Gamba. He was the head of a clan of Makalanga that had been driven from its own country in a war with its neighbours, and had taken refuge in territory occupied by the Batonga, where it had acquired a right of possession by force of arms. This condition of things at once accounts for its desire to secure the friendship of the Portuguese. Father André Fernandes and João Raposo, who was with him, were provided with a hut to live in, and carriers were despatched who brought up the others seventeen days later. Dom Gonçalo and André da Costa arrived so weak that they could hardly stand, but the father soon became stronger, and the lay brother was sent back to the coast for a time to recuperate.

Shortly after their arrival the mission party—the first in South Africa—witnessed a striking instance of the nature of the heathenism they had come to destroy. A son of the chief had just died, and the witchfinder had pointed out an individual as guilty of having caused his death by treading in his footprints, whereupon the man accused was tortured and killed. They found, too, people in the last stages of sickness abandoned by every one, even their nearest relatives, who feared that death—the invisible destroyer—might seize them as well as the decrepit, if they were close at hand when he came.

Having delivered the complimentary message of the viceroy and his present, the missionaries were very well treated. Huts were given to them to live in, and they were supplied with abundance of food. They commenced therefore without delay to exhort the people to become Christians. There is a custom of the Bantu, with which they were of course unacquainted, not to dispute with honoured guests, but to profess agreement with whatever is stated. This is regarded by those people as politeness, and it is carried to such an absurd extent that it is often difficult to obtain correct information from them. Thus if one asks a man, is it far to such a place? politeness requires him to reply it is far, though it may be close by. The questioner, by using the word far, is supposed to be under the impression that it is at a distance, and it would be rudeness to correct him. They express their thanks for whatever is told to them, whether the intelligence is pleasing or not, and whether they believe it or not. Then, too, no one of them ever denies the existence of a Supreme Being, but admits it without hesitation as soon as he is told of it, though he may not once have thought of the subject before.

The missionaries must have been deceived by these habits of the people, for they were convinced that their words had taken deep root, and within a very short time they baptized about four hundred individuals at the kraal, including the chief and his family. The chief received the name Constantino, his principal wife Isabel, and his sons and councillors the names of leading Portuguese nobles. It is not easy to analyse the thoughts of those uncultivated barbarians, but certainly what they understood by this ceremony must have been something very different from what the missionaries understood by it.

After a sojourn of only seven weeks at Otongwe, Dom Gonçalo da Silveira returned to Inhambane, leaving behind him the other members of the mission and what he believed to be an infant Christian community. The little vessel had taken in the cargo obtained in barter, and the Portuguese traders, who were ready to go on board, were waiting for him. The missionary embarked with them, the sails were set, and he proceeded to Mozambique to prepare for a visit to the monomotapa.

Having made his arrangements with the assistance of the captain Pantaleão de Sá, on the 18th of September 1560 he left the island again with the Kalanga country as his destination. He was accompanied by six Portuguese, one of whom, Antonio Dias by name, was a competent interpreter. The zambuco in which he was a passenger touched at the mouth of the Kilimaue, and then proceeded to the Kuama, up which she made her way to Sena. From ten to fifteen Portuguese and a few Indian Christians were found at this place, living in the most dissolute manner. There was no resident clergyman, so during the two months that he remained here waiting for a reply to a message that he sent to the monomotapa, he pursued his calling and induced some of his countrymen to amend their habits, besides which he baptized about five hundred natives, mostly servants and slaves of the Europeans. At Sena he was joined by a Portuguese resident of Tete, named Gomes Coelho, who was living on terms of friendship with the paramount Kalanga chief, and who was conversant with his language.

At length a reply was received from the monomotapa, inviting the missionary to visit him, so he and his attendants set out over land for Tete, sending their luggage and other goods up the river in boats. At Tete a stay was made only sufficiently long to engage more native carriers, and the party then proceeded onward, forming quite a little caravan. Gomes Coelho remained at the river to attend to any forwarding business that was to be done, as he had ascertained that his presence with Dom Gonçalo would not be needed. The road was long, and food became so scarce that they were glad to get any kind of edible wild plants, but on the 26th of December they reached their destination in safety.

At the kraal of the great chief there was living at this time a Portuguese adventurer named Antonio Caiado, one of a class of men met with then as now, who, while retaining affection for the country of their birth, can make themselves perfectly at home among barbarians. Caiado had ingratiated himself with the monomotapa, and was a councillor of rank and principal military authority in the tribe. He was deputed by the chief to wait



upon the strangers, to bid them welcome as messengers from the viceroy of India, and to offer their leader a present of gold dust, cattle, and female slaves, as a token of friendship. The missionary declined the present, but in such a way as not to give offence, and shortly afterwards the great chief admitted him to an interview. He was received with all possible honour as an ambassador from the viceroy, who, from accounts of previous Portuguese visitors to the great place, was believed to be a potentate of enormous wealth and power. The message of friendship and the present which he brought gave great satisfaction. Food and huts for himself and his retinue were offered and accepted with thanks, but the African chief was surprised when the missionary, so unlike all other white men he had met, courteously declined to accept the gold and female companions pressed upon him.

The same mistake was made here as at Gamba's kraal, the missionary addressed the chief and his assembled people through an interpreter, they professed to believe what he said, and allowed themselves to be baptized. This took place within a month from the date of his arrival. The monomotapa was a mere youth, and one of his half brothers, Tshepute by name, was in revolt against him. The insurgent had taken the title of kiteve, and was in possession of a broad tract of territory along the coast from Sofala to the Tendankulu river, in which he was quite independent. Under these circumstances it was evidently the interest of the monomotapa and his adherents to do nothing to offend any one who offered him friendship, especially one who represented a powerful, though distant ruler. Looking at the matter in this light, there is nothing strange in what occurred. The monomotapa received at his baptism the name Sebastião, and his mother at hers Maria. Some three hundred of his councillors, attendants, and followers were baptized with him.

The chief evidently thought his visitors would not make a long stay, and he was very willing to entertain them for a few weeks and please them to the best of his ability, but shortly after his baptism he began to get weary of their presence. He had no intention whatever of abandoning any of the customs of

his race, and was irritated when the missionary urged him to do so. Some Mohamedan refugees from Mozambique, who were staying with him, took advantage of his growing coldness to persuade him that Silveira was a mighty sorcerer. They reminded him of the loss of the presents which the officials of Sofala had made to his predecessors, and that Dom Gonçalo had been in Tshepute's country, from which they inferred that he had left people behind him there and had come in advance as a spy to ascertain the condition of the land and bewitch the people in it. In the end they so worked upon his credulity and his fear that he resolved if the missionary would not leave to put him to death, with which resolution Dom Gonçalo was made acquainted. He, however, declined to remove, and took no other precautions than to give some articles that he regarded as sacred to Caiado, with an injunction to preserve them from injury. In the belief that he was making converts he was willing to face death, and presently he baptized fifty individuals who expressed a desire to become Christians, probably for the sake of the beads and pieces of calico that he distributed among them. This was regarded by the monomotapa as a defiance of his authority, and in his wrath he issued orders to a party of men, who strangled the missionary during the night of the 16th of March 1561 and cast his dead body into the river Monsengense. The newly baptized narrowly escaped the same fate.

A drought of some duration occurred not long afterwards, and was followed by a great plague of locusts. Caiado and other Portuguese now persuaded the chief that these evils were consequences of the murder of Silveira, so he caused the principal Mohamedans who had poisoned his mind towards the missionary to be put to death.

Father André Fernandes and the lay brother André da Costa had been left by Dom Gonçalo at Gamba's kraal Otongwe. Whether the lay brother died or left the country is unknown: in numerous letters written by Father Fernandes at a little later date neither he nor João Raposo is mentioned, and the father refers to himself as being quite alone. It was truly a wretched condition for a European to be in, especially as it soon became

evident that the supposed converts were altogether indisposed to lay aside their old customs or to submit to ecclesiastical discipline. They would not abandon polygamy, or the belief in charms, or the practice of divination, or punishment of persons charged with dealing in witchcraft, and were greatly offended with the preaching of the missionary against their habits. They had a custom also—which still exists—that when a man died his brothers should take his widows and raise up a family for him, and this the missionary denounced to their great annoyance. At length matters reached a climax. There was a drought in the country, and the chief Gamba, who was also the rainmaker of his clan, went through the ordinary ceremonies to obtain a downpour. For doing this Father Fernandes openly and fearlessly rebuked him before his people, with the result that whatever influence he had before was now at an end. He had nothing left to buy food with, and at times was nearly starved. Neglected, often fever-stricken, regarded as a wizard to be avoided, after a residence of over two years at Otongwe he received instructions from his provincial to return to Goa, and so he left a country in which under the circumstances then existing he must have perished had he remained longer, without a chance of doing any good. Making his way as best he could to Inhambane, he proceeded to Mozambique in the trading vessel, and there embarked in a ship which conveyed him in an extremely debilitated condition to the convent of his order in Goa.

Thus ended the first mission to the Bantu of South Africa. It is possible that some traces of the doctrine of the teachers may have remained, for instance a belief in the existence of the devil; but as far as the introduction of Christian morals is concerned the mission had no result whatever. Without something beyond natural agency it could not have been otherwise among people such as the Makalanga at that time, whose race instinct was exceedingly strong, and whose political and social system was based upon ideas utterly antagonistic to those of Europeans.

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