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**RECORDS OF SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.**



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BY  
GEORGE McCALL THEAL, LL.D.,  
HISTORIOGRAPHER TO THE CAPE GOVERNMENT.

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# RECORDS OF SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.

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## EXTRACTOS

DA

## CHRONICA DO FELICISSIMO REI DOM EMANUEL DA GLORIOSA MEMORIA.

POR DAMIÃO DE GOES.

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[Damião de Goes, a member of a noble Portuguese family, was born at Alemquer in 1501. He was brought up in the court of King Emanuel, and was present when that monarch died. Subsequently he occupied important diplomatic posts in Poland, Sweden, and Denmark, and then for many years resided in the Low Countries. At an early age he displayed a strong attachment to literature. When abroad he formed friendships everywhere with men of learning, and among others was intimate with the celebrated Dutch scholar Erasmus. In 1546 he returned to Lisbon to fill the office of Keeper of the Archives, which was entirely to his taste, and shortly afterwards received from King John the third the additional appointment of Chief Chronicler of the kingdom. These offices he held until 1571, when he was sentenced to a heavy punishment by the Inquisition on a charge of heresy, and was consequently dismissed in disgrace. The king modified the punishment to imprisonment in the monastery of Batalha, and there about two years later he ended his life, as reported from apoplexy, but as generally believed from assassination. The works of Damião de Goes are numerous. Several are written in Latin, but the majority in Portuguese. The most important of all is the one from which the following extracts are taken, as it is based upon the official documents under his care, and records events that transpired during his boyhood. It was published at Lisbon in 1566, and again in 1619, as a quarto volume of six hundred and ninety-seven pages.—G. M. T.]

## PRIMEIRA PARTE.—CAPITULO XXIII.

*De quomo el Rei mandou Vasquo da Gama por capitam de tres naos, pera proseguir no que ja era descuberto, ate ver se podia chegar á India.*

Na Chronica do Principe dom Ioão declarei asaz per extenso quam vigilante, & studioso ho Infante dō Hêrique filho del Rei dō Ioã da boa memoria, primeiro do nome foi no descobrimento da costa de Africa, & quãtas despesas sobrisso fez, cõtinnando neste negocio cõ muita gloria, & exalçamento do nome de Deos, & louuor seu, ate ho anno de nossa saluação de mil, & quatrocentos, & sesenta, em q̄ faleceo no mes de Nouêbro, na villa de Sagres, em idade de sesenta, & sete annos, com já ter recebido fructo de muita honra, & proueito de todos estes seus trabalhos, & proseguindo eu nesta materia per modo de cõpendio, escreui no começo da mesma Chronica, ho q̄ achei ser mais importãte a estas nauegações, ate ho nascimento do dicto Principe dō Ioão, que foi no anno do Senhor de Mccclv, & dahi por diãte trato tudo ho q̄ toca a estes descobrimêtos, per ordê dos annos em que cada hũa das taes cousas acõteceo, ate q̄ Deos se houue por seruido chamar pera sim el Rei dō Afonso quinto seu pai, q̄ faleceo no anno de mil quatrocentos, & oitenta & hum a quem ho Principe soccedeo no Regno, ho qual depois de regnar procedeo nestes descobrimentos de calidade, que a elle sem, tirar gloria, nem louuor a pessoa nenhũa se pode disso dar boa parte da palma, e triũpho, nos quaes ho mòr trabalho, & difficuldade esteue no achar do cabo de boa Sperança, & passalo, ho q̄ se fez em seu tẽpo, correndo hos nossos muito mais alê delle pela costa de Guinë ate chegarẽ quasi aos limites, & termos de Çofala, & Moçãbique, terras habitadas de gente, cõ quem tinhão trato pelo mar, & negocio hos da costa de Melinde & Mõbaça, & da Ilha de S. Lourço. Has quaes viagês todas se fezerão per mauda do deste inuenciuel Rei dō Ioão, cõ muito trabalho seu, & despesa de sua fazêda, nauegação já esquecida de todo ho genero humano, per tãto spaço de tẽpo, quãto se pode ver em hũ discurso, q̄ disso fiz na mesma Chronica do Principe dō Ioã, que cõpus de nouo em lingoagem Portuguesa, & assi em hũ liuro q̄ fiz em lingoã latina do sitio, & antiguidade da cidade de Lisboa, nos quaes dous discursos declarei quantas, & quaes pessoas, muito antes fezeram esta viagem da India, pelo

mesmo caminho, que ha nòs agora fazemos, ho q̄ fiz por acodir ao erro em que cairão algũs scriptores Portugueses, q̄ trataram destes negocios, dizendo q̄ so a nação Portuguesa fora ha q̄ nauegando pelo mar Oceano, primeiro que nenhũa outra viera ter ao mar da India, do qual erro se lhes pode em parte releuar ha culpa, por por vêtura cuidarem, q̄ atrebuindo esta gloria à sua propria naçam, lhe acrescentauão louuor, aos muitos q̄ se lhes deu pelas milagrosas victorias, q̄ aquellas partes em diuersos têpos, & lugares houueram. Assi que falecido el Rei dom Ião, soccedeo no Regno el Rei dõ Emanuel, ho qual quomo herdeiro vniuersal de toda ha machina, & peso destas nauegações, não contente do q̄ já era descuberto, mas antes muito desejoso de passar adiante, logo no começo de seu regnado, no mes de Dezêbro de Mccccxcv teue em Monte mór ho nouo sobre isso cõselho, no qual algũs forão de opinião, que se não proseguisse mais nesta viagẽ, alem do q̄ já era descuberto, porq̄ hauia de ser muito enuejada de todos Reis, & republicas da Europa, & assi do Soldam de Babylonia, & dos mesmos Reis, & senhores da India, do q̄ se hauiam de seguir grandes trabalhos, & despesas a estes Regnos, q̄ abastaua ho pacifico trato de Guinè, & ha honrosa conquista dos lugares Dafrica, pera ganho dos mercadores, & proueito das rendas do Regno & exercicio da nobreza d'elle, mas el Rei foi do voto daquelles a quẽ isto pareceo ao contrario, mandando logo aparelhar naos, no que se passou mais de hũ anno. No têpo em q̄ se faziã prestes estas naos teue el Rei conselho sobre quẽ mãdaria por capitam dellas, & assentou, que fosse Vasquo da Gama, fidalgo de sua casa, natural da villa de Sinès, homẽ solteiro, & de idade pera poder sofrer os trabalhos de hũa tal viagem, pelo q̄ ho mãdou chamar, estando em Estremoz no mes de Janeiro de mil, & quatrocentos, & nouẽta, & sete, & lhe deu ha capitania dellas, cõ palauras de muita cõfiança, pôdo diante ho peso de tamanho negocio consistir não na despesa, q̄ se nelle podia fazer, nẽ no q̄ se nisso auenturaua, se nam no seruiço de Deos, & bẽ de seus Regnos, ho que tudo se podia conseguir, se passando elle a diante do q̄ já era descuberto, podesse chegar à India, & daquellas partes lhe trazer ho primeiro fructo de totalas despesas, que seus antecessores nisso tinhão feitas, & dos perigos q̄ ha nação Portuguesa tanto têpo hauia, q̄ nestas nauegações tinha passados, do q̄ se lhe podia seguir tanta hõra, louuor, quanta elle bem podia cuidar, ao q̄ se ajuntarião muitas merces, q̄ lhe speraua fazer em galardão

de todos os trabalhos, q̄ nesta viagem passasse, ao que Vasco da Gama respondendo cõ palavras de bõ caualleiro, prudente, & leal vassallo, lhe beijou ha mão pola merce q̄ lhe fazia, & cõfiãça q̄ delle tinha ajuntando a isto q̄ hũa das partes que ho cõuidauão a este trabalho, depois do seruiço, que nisso speraua fazer a Deos, & a sua Alteza, era parecer lhe, q̄ tinha algũa aução nesta viagem, polla el Rei dõ Ioão pouco antes que falecesse, ter dada a seu pai Esteuão da Gama, q̄ já també era defuncto, em cujo lugar, & por sua lèbrança lhe pedia q̄ houesse por bê nesta viagem se querer també seruir de Paulo da Gama seu irmão, porque cõ tal, & tam fiel cõpanheiro speraua vir ao fim della, sem differenças, nẽ cautellas q̄ poderião caber, & acontecer entre outras pessoas, que não fossem tam conjũtos em sangue quomo elles eram, ho q̄ lhe elRei muito agardeceo, & houue logo por bê ser Paulo da Gama, hũ dos que houesse de mãdar em sua cõpanhia. Depois del Rei ter isto assentado se foi Destremoz a Euora, & dali despedio Vasco da Gama, & seu irmão Paulo da Gama, dando lhes por cõpanheiro Nicolao Coelho, caualleiro de sua casa, hos quaes partiram do porto de Bethelém aos dous dias do mes de Julho do mesmo anno de mil, & quatrocentos & nouenta, & sete, do que agora não direi mais, por ser necessario fallar nos negocios do Regno, em quanto elles fazẽ sua viagem.

#### CAPITULO XXXV.

*Do que Vasco da Gama passou em sua viagem, ate chegar a aguoadã de Sam Bras.*

Vasco da Gama partio de Lisboa, quomo atras fica dito, hũ sabado viij dias de Julho do anno do Senhor de Mccccxviij, & com elle seu irmão Paulo da Gama, & Nicolao Coelho cõ outra nao, q̄ leuaua mantimẽtos de q̄ era capitão Gõçalo Nunez. Ho Piloto desta armada se chamaua Pero Dãlãquer, homẽ mui experto nas cousas do mar, & per cuja industria Lopo Infante, & Bartholomeu Diaz chegarão ate ho rio do Infante, quando per mandado del Rei dom Ioão foram a descobrir, ho qual Pero Dãlanquer hia na nao capitania. Estas quatro naos despachou em Lisboa Fernão Lourenço feitor da casa da Mina, q̄ foi hũ dos magnificos homẽs daquelle tẽpo, & q̄ do seu fuudou de nouo hos paços de

Sanctos ho velho, q̄ depois el Rei dō Emanuel houue delle, per escãibo de bês da Coroa, q̄ lhe deu. Assi que seguindo Vasquo da Gama sua viajê passou a vistas das Ilhas de Canarea, & dahi foi ter ao porto de Sancta Maria na Ilha de Sanctiago, aos xxviii dias do mes de Iulho, dōde seguindo seu regimêto começou de cortar a leste em busca do cabo de boa Sperãça, no q̄ andou hos meses de Agosto, Septêbro, & Outubro, cō muitas tormêtas, & tēpos contrario, ate que Deos se houue por seruido lhe mostrar terra, q̄ foi aos quatro dias do mes de Nouembro, ha qual forão demandar cō muita alegria, & acharão ser hũa terra baixa, em q̄ hà hũa grande baia, a que poserão nome ha Angra de Sancta Helena. Estãdo Vasquo da Gama alli surto, por quanto na Angra se nam metia rio, nê regato, nê menos achauão fontes, nê poços de q̄ podessem tomar agoa, mandou a Nicolao Coelho, que no seu batel fosse por diãte ao longo da praia buscar algũ rio, ho qual indo sempre apegado com terra, a quatro legoas da Angra foi dar em hũ rio fresco, & de boas agoas, a que pos nome de Sanctiago, onde todos fezerão agoada, lenha, & carnagê de lobos marinhos, de que naquella parajê hà muitos, & delles tamanhos, quomo grandes caualllos. Nesta Angra foi Vasquo da Gama cō outros tres homês ferido, & ho negocio se armou desta maneira. Ao dia seguinte, q̄ ha frota alli chegou, por nam verem gête na praia, sahio elle em terra cō hos outros capitães pera mais à sua vôtade tomarê ha altura do sol, & verem se hauia algũas pouoações, ou se era deserta. Andãdo assi espalhados em magotes de hũa parte pera ha outra, forão dar cō dous homês pretos, de cabelo reuolto, quomo hos de Guinë, hũ pouco mais baços, q̄ estauam apanhando mel ao pè de hũa mouteira, com cada hũ seu tiçao na mão, pera hos quaes se forão chegando a passo largo, & posto q̄ ambos cō espãto, & medo de verem gente tam desacostumada se possessem em fugida, tomãram hos nossos hum delles, & ho trouxerão a Vasquo da Gama, com q̄ se recolheo alegre às naos, cuidando q̄ se entenderia cō algũa das lingoas, q̄ leuaua, mas em toda ha frota não houue pessoa, q̄ ho podesse entêder se não per acenos, & sem medo, nem receo comeo, & bebeo de totalas iguarias, q̄ lhe derão, cō dous grumetes, a quê Vasquo da Gama mandou, que lhe fizessem boa companhia. E porq̄ era já tarde quãdo se recolheram, ho negro ficou aquella noite na nao, & ao outro dia pela manhã ho mandou vestir de panos de cores, & poer em terra, despedindose elle dos nossos

mui ledô, & contentê da boa cõpanhia, q̄ lhe fizeram, & sobretudo dalgũs cascaueis, cõtinhas de cristallino, & outros brincos, q̄ leuaua. Estes arreos com q̄ este homê sahio em terra fezerão enueja aos q̄ ho virão, porq̄ ao outro dia vieram à praia quinze, ou vinte delles. Pelo q̄ mandou logo Vasquo da Gama poiar gente nos bateis, com q̄ se veô a terra, trazendo cõsigo mostra despeciarias, ouro, & aljofar, seda, ho q̄ hos negros estimarão pouco por não saberê ho q̄ era : então lhes mandou dar cascaueis. ceptis. & aneis destanho, & outras cousas desta calidade, ho q̄ tomarão mui alegres, specialmente hos cascaueis pelo som q̄ fazião, & dalli por diante começaram de vir à praia seguramente, & dar dos mantimentos, q̄ hauia na terra, atroquo de outras cousas. Cõ esta familiaridade hũ homê hõrado per nome Fernão Veloso desejou de em cõpanhia dalguns destes negros, a que se já fezera familiar ir ver suas habitações, & modo q̄ tinhão em suas casas, & pera isso houue licença da Vasquo da Gama, hos quaes mostrãdo nisso cõtentamento ho leuaram consigo & de caminho tomaram hũ Lobo marinho cõ que ho festejaram, & quomo nê ho guisado do lobo, nê ho modo da terra satisfizessem muito a Fernam Veloso acabado ho banquete começou de caminhar pera onde has naos estauão. Hos negros, q̄ por ventura faziam conta de ho trazerem consigo mais tẽpo pera ho feitejarê ao seu modo, vendo ho tornar tão de subito, se vieram com elle atte praia, mandando aos moços da aldea, que hos seguissem cõ suas armas, que sam dardos & azagais, guarnecidos nos cabos de ossos, & põtã de cornos de alimarias, com que ferê, quomo se fossem de verdadeiro aço tẽperado. Isto parece q̄ denia ser pera se defenderem, se Fernão Veloso se aqueixasse da companhia q̄ lhe fizeram, & hos nossos lhes quisessem por isso fazer mal. Chegãdo Fernão Veloso à praia começou a bradar, q̄ lhe acodissem, mas por elle ser mui rebolam, assomado, & fallar sempre valêtias nam se deram hos nossos muita pressa, nem hos negros lhe faziam mal, nê entendiam, que pedia socorro contra elles, cõ tudo quomo Vasquo da Gama, q̄ à mesma hora estaua ceãdo, soube ho q̄ passaua, mandou fazer sinal aos capitães, pera ho seguirê, hos negros vendo hos bateis vir cõ muita gête recolheramse pera onde hos moços estauam escondidos cõ has armas, deixando Fernam Veloso na praia, sem lhe fazerê nenhum mal, Vasquo da Gama cuidãdo, que erũo todos já idos, sahio cõ ha gente em terra descuidado do q̄ hauia de ser, porq̄ hos negros

parecêdo lhe q̄ hos nossos vinham cõ mà tençam, se descobriram dos matos em q̄ estauão embrenhados, & deram tam de subito nos nossos, que às azagaiadas os fezerão todos recolher aos bateis mais de pressa do que se desembarcaram. Nesta briga foi ferido Vasquo da Gama em hum pè, & outros tres da cõpanhia, assi q̄ per azo deste Fernam Veloso ficaram hos da terra aleuãtados, & Vasquo da Gama se fez à vela a hũa quinta feira xvj dias de Nouêbro, & aos xx dobrou ho cabo de boa Sperça, a què hos marinheiros por ser muito espantoso chamam das tormentas nauegando ao longo da costa cõ muito prazer, folias, & tocar de trombetas, & polo tẽpo ser bonança, hião tam junto da terra q̄ vião alem da frescura della, muitas criações de gado grosso, & meudo. Ha gête desta prouincia he baça, de cabello reuolto, quomo hos da Angra de Sancta Helena, pequenos de corpo feos, quando fallam parece q̄ saluçam, & andam vestidos de pelles. Suas casas sam de adobes, terra, & madeira, cubertas de colmo, tẽ musica, ainda q̄ nam quomo ha nosso, cõ tudo tanjem frautas pastoris acordadas, ho som das quaes nam pareceo mal aos nossos. Ao Domingo seguinte, q̄ dobrarão ho cabo, dia de Sãcta Catherina xxv de Nouembro chegarão à auguada de S. Bras, q̄ he sessenta legoas do cabo, na qual parajê hà muitos & grandes Elephãtes, & muitos bois mansos & gordos, hos quaes hos negros trazê cõ hũas albardilhas de feiçam das castelhanas, feitas de tabua, & se seruê delles, quomo nos dos caualllos, dos quaes se ha armada prouco, atroquo doutras cousas, q̄ dauão aos negros por elles, & por carneiros de q̄ ahi ha muitos grandes, & gordos. Iũto desta Angra estã hũ ilheo em q̄ hos nossos viram juntos mais de tres mil lobos marinhos, tão brauos, q̄ remetião à gête quomo touros, ahi hũas aues a q̄ chamão Sotilicairos, tamanhas quomo patos brauos, q̄ nam voam, por não terê penas nas asas, somente has tem cubertas de couro, da cor, & pello de morcegos. Nesta auguada de Sam Bras fez Vasquo da Gama queimar ha nao dos mãtimetos, de q̄ era capitam Gonçalo Nunez, por della nam hauer necessidade, donde feita auguada, & carnagê se fez à vela, hauendo já treze dias q̄ alli chegãra, & estiuera mais se nã succederam descõcertos, & brigas entre hos nossos, & hos negros, polo q̄ antes da armada partir daquella parajem a vista da frota, hos negros derribarão hum padrã, com hũa Cruz, q̄ Vasquo da Gama mandara poer sobre hum comaro, junto da praia, dos quaes leuaua muitos, em q̄ hiam has armas do regno

talhas, pera hos poer nos portos, & lugares que lhe parecesse necessario, quomo leuaua per regimento.

### CAPITULO XXXVI.

*Do que Vasquo da Gama passou ate chegar á ilha de Moçâbique.*

Desta auguada de S. Bras partio ha frota dia da Concepção de nossa Senhora, oito dias de Dezêbro, & nauegando ao longo da costa lhe deu hü temporal, q̄ ha fez engolfar, ho qual acabado, tornou a buscar ha terra, & aos xvj dias chegou a vista de hūs ilheos chãos, q̄ estão sessenta legoas da auguada de Sam Bras, & cinco alê do ilheo da Cruz, onde Bartholomeu Diaz posera ho derradeiro padrão, dos quaes ilheos ao rio do Infante, q̄ Lopo Infante descobrio hà quinze legoas, toda terra muita graciosa, de grandes aruoredos, prados, & muitas criações de gado, ho q̄ tudo se via da frota, por irem muito perto da praia, & lhes dar a isso lugar ho bõ fundo q̄ achauam, & tempo galerno, cõ que em dia de Natal acharam, q̄ tinham nauegado setenta legoas a leste, q̄ era ho rumo a que havião de ir buscar ha India, quomo ho leuaua Vasquo da Gama por regimento, & indo todos mui ledos, por terem passado adiante do q̄ descobrirão Bartholomeu Diaz, & Lopo Infante: virã aos x dias de Ianeiro de Mccccxviij andar ao longo da praia muitos homês, & molheres grãdes de corpo, da mesma cor dos que deixaram atras, & porq̄ lhes ja faltaua agua, mandou Vasquo da Gama surgir, deseioso de saber, que gente aquella era, ao q̄ mandou no batel hum Martim Afonso, homem q̄ sabia muitas lingoas barbaras, & cõ elle hü cõpanheiro, hos quaes foram bem recebidos daquella gente, & do senhor delles que hos veo sperar à praia, ho q̄ sabendo Vasquo da Gama, lhe mãdou pela mesma lingua que se entêdeo cõ algũs delles (q̄ deuião ser estrãgeiros das partes de Guinë) hũa jaqueta, calças, & carapuça, de seda vermelha, & outras peças, ho q̄ lhe mandou agradecer, mandãdolhe muitas galinhas em presente, & outras cousas da terra, cõ muitos offerecimentos, pedindolhe que deixasse ir cõsigo Martim Afonso pera ho festejar em sua casa, ho que assi fez cõ galinhas, & outras aues, & por pão papas de milho. Hos habitadores desta terra são ja mais polidos q̄ hos do cabo de boa Sperança, porq̄ trazem nos braços manilhas de

cobre, & pedaços delle atados nos cabellos da cabeça, & barba, vsão punhaes guarnecidos destanho cõ bainhas de marfim. Hũa das cousas que mais estimarão, das que lhe hos nossos mostrauão, foi panno de linho, tanto que dauão por pouca cãtidade delle, muita de cobre que he sinal q̄ ho deue de hauer naquella terra, ou nas vezinhas. Por esta gête ser muito domestica, & fazer muito seruiço a todollos darma, Vasquo da Gama lhe pos nome ha terra da boa gente, & hum Rio onde fez auguada ho Rio do cobre alli deixou dous dos degradados que leuaua pera tomarẽ enformação da terra, & saberẽ della has particularidades, dandolhes tẽpo assinado em q̄ se achassẽ naquelle lugar, pera da torna viajẽ hos recolher, destes leuaua dez ou doze que foram presos per casos de morte, aos quaes el Rei perdoou has culpas pera se delles servir nesta viajẽ, auenturãdo os quomo pessoas cõ quem em lhes alõgar ha vida per qualquer modo que fosse, vsaua graça, & misericordia. Desta terra da boa gête partio ha armada aos quinze dias de Janeiro, & aos vinte, & cinco, dia conuersam de sam Paulo chegou a boca de hũ rio grãde muito fresco, & de muitas fructas, & aruoredos, onde ancorou ja bem tarde, & longuo pela manhãa viram vir pello rio abaixo algũas almadias a remo cõ gente da mesma calidade, dos do rio do cobre, & antrelles algũs mais baços. Estes homẽs em chegando as naos sẽ nenhũ medo, nẽ receo sobirão pela exarcia tam seguros quomo se tiuerão conhecimẽto, & amizade cõ hos nossos, q̄ vendo ha simpreza delles hos deixaram entrar nas naos, onde foram bẽ festejados, tudo per acenos, & sinaes, por quãto Martim Afonso nẽ hos outros lingoas hos poderam entẽder. Hauendo ja tres dias q̄ alli chegara ha frota vierão quatro senhores dos principaes daquella comarca visitar Vasquo da Gama, & ver has naos, aos quaes fez muita hõra, & elles ha souberão tomar como pessoas de calidade, cujos atauios erão como hos da outra gête, cõ tudo hos panos cõ q̄ cobrião has partes vergonhosas erão maiores, & mais largos q̄ os dos populares, hũ dos quaes trazia na cabeça hũa touqua cõ viuos, & cadilhos de seda, & ho outro hũa carapuça de cetim verde, ho q̄ deu sinal aos nossos de se irem ja chegãdo para India, do q̄ todos forã mui ledos. Vasquo da Gama mãdou vestir estes homẽs de pano de seda de cores, & lhe fez ha melhor cõpanhia q̄ pode, cõ hos quaes vinha hum mancebo de quem per acenos, com algũas palauras q̄ fallaua do Arabigo, poderão hos nossos entẽder q̄ a terra dõde elle vinham naos tamanhas quomo

has nossas, & que nam era muito longe dalli. Ha qual noua foi de grande cõtentamento a todos, & por isso pos Vasquo da Gama nome a este rio, dos bõs sinaes, onde mandou meter hũ padrão em terra a q̄ pos nome S. Raphael, & alli deixou outros dous degradados. Neste rio dos bõs sinaes mandou dar pédor às naos, por disso terem muita necessidade, no q̄ se deteue xxxij dias, cõ lhe adoeçerè muitos dos nossos de diuersas doçças, pela terra ser alagadiça, baixa & lâçar de sim vapores grossos, & maos. Depois q̄ has naos forão prestes, partirã daquelle lugar, aos xxiiij dias de Feuereiro, & ao primeiro de Março houuerão vista de quatro ilhas, de hũa das quaes da nao de Nicolao Coelho viram sair sete, ou oito barcos à vela, a que hos da terra chamão zambuquos, ho q̄ vendo derão hũa grande grita, & cõ ella forão salvar ha capitaina. Pelo q̄ logo Vasquo da Gama mādou a Nicolao Coelho, por ha sua nao ser pequena, q̄ fosse diante sondādo ate aquella ilha dõde hos barcos sairão. Hos dos barcos tâto q̄ viram has naos, se chegaram a ellas, & has foram seguindo ate q̄ ancoraram, tangendo anafis, & outros instrumentos, q̄ se já pareciam mais cõ hos nossos, q̄ hos das outras terras em que tocaram. Ha gête destes barcos era baça, de bõs corpos, vinham vestidos de panos dalgodam listrados, & nas cabeças traziam hũas touquas, foteadas cõ viuos de seda, laurados de fio douro, & terçados mourisquos cingidos, com adargas nos braços, hos quaes em chegādo a bordo das naos, entrarão seguramête nellas, saudādo hos nossos em língoa Arabia, q̄ todos fallauam. Vasquo da Gama, & os outros capitães conhecêdo q̄ eram mouros, estiueram sempre sobre auiso, cõ tudo hos conuidāram cõ fructas q̄ traziam & entre ho bāquetear lhes perguntauão da terra, & ha calidade della, dos quaes souberam quomo aquella ilha se chamaua Moçambique, & q̄ ho Xequê era vassallo delRei de Quiloa, & que dalli perã India, & pera ho màr Darabia hauia trato de muitas mercadorias, & assi o hauia douro em hũa terra, que lhes ficaua atras que se chamaua Çofala, ho q̄ todos ouuindo dauão entre sim graças a Deos pela grande merce, q̄ lhes tinha feita. Esta ilha de Moçambique tem muito bõ porto, jaz em terra baixa alagadiça, & doëtia, hos principaes della eram mouros baços de diuersas nações, q̄ tratauão dalli pera muitas partes, hos naturaes sam negros, assi hos da ilha, quomo da terra firme, viuem em casas de taipa cubertas de palha. Has naos, ou zambuquos, em q̄ nauegauão estes mouros, nẽ tinham cuberta,

nê pregadura, eram liadas cõ cauilhas de pao, & cordas de fio de palma, a que chamão cairo, has velas sam da folha da mesma palma, tecidas quomo esteiras muito tapadas, nanegão com agulhas leuantisquas, quadrantes, & cartas de marear. Acabada ha merenda, cuidando estes homês, que eram hos nossos mouros, & q̄ por serê de muito longe has não entêdiam se despediram muito cõtentes da cõpanhia, & assi das peças, q̄ lhes Vasquo da Gama deu, & mãdou ao Xequê, ou capitão do lugar, q̄ se chamaua Çacoeia.

## CAPITULO XXXVII.

*De quomo ho Xequê Çacoeia, cuidando que eram hos nossos turcos, ou mouros, veo ás naos verse cõ Vasquo da Gama, & do que lhe depois aconteeo em Mombaça.*

Este Xequê com ho recado que lhe deram hos mouros q̄ forão à frota, parecêdolge q̄ fossem hos nossos da mesma seita mãdou hũ presente de refresco a Vasquo da Gama, & aos moradores, q̄ leuassem mantimentos às naos & hos vendessem por preços honestos, em retorno do q̄ lhe mandou Vasquo da Gama alguns vestidos, & outras cousas. Esta amizade começada, Çacoeia foi ver Vasquo da Gama à nao acõpanhado de muitas almãdias, & gête bê ordenada, cõ arcos, frechas, & outras armas q̄ vsam, vestidos todos de pãnos dalgodão listrados, & algũs de seda de cores, tangendo muitos anafis, trombetas, buzinas de marfim, & outros instrumentos, q̄ faziam tamanho estrondo, q̄ se não ouuião hũs cõ hos outros, na qual ordem chegarão a bordo da nao de Vasquo da Gama. Çacoeia era homê magro, alto de corpo & bem disposto, de mea idade, trazia vestido hũa cabaia ao modo turquesquo, de pãno branco fino dalgodam, & sobre esta outra desabotoada de veludo de Meca, na cabeça hũa touqua de cores foteada, entresachada de fios douro, na cinta hũ terçado douro, & pedraria, com hũa adaga do mesmo jaez, & nos pès hũas alparcas de veludo. Vasquo da Gama ho veo receber abordo pondo de hũa bãda & da outra per onde auia de passar duas rêques de homês armados, dos mais saõs, & melhor dispostos dãmada, porq̄ hos doentes, & mal vestidos nam quis q̄ apparecessem, & assi a elle, quomo aos q̄ com elle vinhão mandou dar vinho, & fructa do q̄ comeram, & beberam ate se alegrarê. Nesta merenda, entre outras praticas que tiueram perguntou

Çacoeia a Vasquo da Gama se eram turquos, se mouros, & dõde vinham se traziam liuros de sua lei, q̄ lhos mostrasse, & assi has armas que se mais vsauam em sua terra, ao que lhe respondeo, q̄ hos liuros de sua lei lhe mostraria, depois, q̄ quãto às armas erão aquellas cõ q̄ hos seus estauão armados, couraças, lanças, espingardas, & bèstas, cõ algũas das quaes mandou tirar, & tras ellas cõ has bombardas, do q̄ Çacoeia, & hos seus se alegraram muito, no qual tẽpo Vasquo da Gama não cessaua, per meo dos lingoas de se inquirir dos negocios da India, & caminho que hauia de tomar dalli ate Calecut, do que bê informado, pedio a Çacoeia pilotos pera esta viajẽ, hos quaes lhe prometeo, cõ condiçam q̄ hos pagassem bê: nisto passaram hũ pedaço, ate q̄ depois de bem festejados se tornaram pera terra. Dahi a dous dias tornou Çacoeia a visitar Vasquo da Gama cõ refresquo, & dous pilotos, cõ hos quaes, pello leuarem a Calecut, se cõcertou por trinta meticaes douro, peso da terra, q̄ val cada hũ quatrocentos & vinte reaes de nossa moeda. Alem disto lhes deu marlotas, & outros vestidos, de q̄ forão mui satisfeitos, & logo per mandado de Çacoeia ficaram nas naos. Feito este concerto, hanẽdo dambalas partes muita amizade, comunicaçam, vierão hos mouros a saber, que eram hos nossos Christãos, ho que causou tornasse tudo isto em odio, & desejo de hos matarem, & lhes tomarem has naos, ho que hum dos pilotos descobrio a Vasquo da Gama, pelo q̄ se logo fez à vella, & foi surgir junto de hũa ilha a q̄ pos nome de S. George, q̄ estã hũa legoa ala mãr de Moçãbique, auẽdo jã sete dias q̄ alli chegara & porque ho outro piloto lhe ficaua em terra, do q̄ andaua muito agastado, o outro q̄ estaua na nao lhe dixẽ, q̄ nam tomasse por isso paixam, q̄ elle ho leuaria a hũa ilha per nome Quiloa, q̄ era dalli cẽ legoas, pouoada de Christãos, & mouros q̄ sempre tinham guerra, q̄ alli acharia muitos pilotos, q̄ nam viuiam se nam de nauegar perã India. Vasquo da Gama lhe prometeo boas aluisaras ho dia que chegassem a Quiloa, fazendo se logo à vella, que foi hũa terça feira xiiij dias de Março, & cõ calmarias se achou a rẽ da ilha de Moçambique quatro legoas, pelo q̄ tornou a surgir na mesma ilha de S. George, onde depois de surto veo à nao hũ mouro, q̄ trazia consigo hũ moço de doze, ou treze annos seu filho, & pedio a Vasquo da Gama, q̄ ho mãlhasse recolher nas naos, dizendo lhe que era homem do mar, & se queria tornar pera Meca, dõde viera por piloto de hũa nao, de Moçambique,

Vasquo da Gama ho recolheo de boa vontade na sua mesma nao, pera delle tomar informaçam das cousas do màr de Arabia. Com este piloto, & com ho q̄ lhe deu Çacoeia, & cõ outro q̄ Paulo da Gama tomou em hũa briga, q̄ hos nossos houueram cõ hos da terra, se partio dalli ao primeiro Dabril em busca da ilha de Quiloa, a qual escoreo, & passando adiante chegou hũ sabbado vespera de Ramos, sete dias do mesmo mes à ilha de Mombaça, q̄ he muito fresca, & à nella muitas fructas, & hortaliças quomo às de Portugal, de muito bõs ares, agoas, trigo, & criações: has casas sam de pedra, & cal, & cantaria, pintadas, & forradas quomo has nossas. E porque hos pilotos mouros lhe deram a entêder, q̄ naquella ilha habitauam tambẽ Christãos, em pouoações separadas dos mouros (ho q̄ era falso) ancorou mui cõtente, cuidando de hos achar, & per seu meo auer has cousas que lhe fossem necessarias pera sua viajẽ & curar hos doentes q̄ leuaua, porque já quando alli chegou lhe Morrera quasi ametade da gẽte, & da q̄ escapara, ha mais era dõete. Surtas has naos vieram cẽ homẽs em hũa grande almadia a bordo da capitaina, vestidos à turquesqua, cõ terçados, & escudos, entre os quaes vinham quatro q̄ pareciam hos principaes, q̄ em chegando quiseram subir à nao, assi armados quomo estauam, cõ algũs da cõpanhia, ho q̄ lhes Vasquo da Gama nam cõsentio, se nam q̄ elles sós, & sem armas entrassem na nao, aos quaes quomo foram dentro mãdou banquetear, desculpandosse de lhe nam cõsentir has armas, ho q̄ elles tomaram bem, dizendo lhe, q̄ assi o deuia fazer sempre, pois estaua em terra estranha, onde não sabia de quem se auia de guardar. Estes lhe dixeram, q̄ el Rei de Mombaça hãuiã já dias q̄ sabia de sua vinda, & por ter muito desejo de ho ver, pela informaçam q̄ delle tinhão, estauu determinado de ao outro dia ho vir visitar em pessoa, ho q̄ tudo eram enganos, porque sua tençam era tomar has naos, & matar todos. Acabada ha merẽda hos mouros se despedirão de Vasquo da Gama cõ mostras de grande amizade & logo ao outro dia, q̄ era Domingo de Ramos, mãdou el Rei de Mombaça visitar Vasquo da Gama com hũ presente de fructa, & carneiros, pedindolhe q̄ entrasse pera dẽtro do porto, q̄ alli ho iria visitar, q̄ naquella cidade acharia todalas speciarías, & mercadorias, que hãuiã na Índia, em tanta abũdancia, q̄ poderia carregar has naos dellas, sem ter necessidade de passar adiante, nẽ se auenturar aos trabalhos, & desastres daquella nauegaçam, q̄ era hũa das

mais perigosas de todas aquellas partes. Aos q̄ trouxerão este recado mandou, q̄ dissimulassem serê Christãos, & dixessê q̄ na terra auia muitos delles, ho q̄ elles souberam mui bem cõtrafazer, pelo q̄ lhes Vasquo da Gama fez muito gasalhado, & deu algũas peças & mandou outras a el Rei, despedindo hos de sim cõ recado, q̄ ao outro dia entraria pera dentro, & pera mòr cõfirmaçam, mandou cõ elles dous degradados, dos q̄ consigo trazia, hos quaes el Rei recebeo bê, & lhes mandou amostrar ha cidade, ha qual he grãde, situada sobre pedra viuua, em hum alto, onde bate ho màr & na boca do porto tem hũa torre com artelharía, & guarda de gente, chamase Mombaça, do nome da mesma ilha. Depois destes degradados, terê andado per toda ha cidade, hos tornaram a leuar a el Rei, q̄ por anegaça lhes deu pimêta, crauo, canella, gingiure, nozes noscadas, maças, ambar, marfim, q̄ leuassem per mostra a Vasquo da Gama, & assi hos despeio, e cõ elles lhe mandou recado q̄ de tudo aquillo lhe daria carga per às naos, de q̄ elle ficou mui ledo, & logo ao outro dia mãdou leuar ancora, cõ tençam de entrar no porto, & porque ha sua nao cõ ha corrente hía já quasi sobre hũ baixo, mandou surgir, & ho mesmo fezerão has outras naos, pelo que algũs mouros dos da cidade q̄ trouxeram mantimêtos às nossas naos, & algũas mercadorias, se recolherão aos barcos encaminhãdo perà cidade, & passando hũ delles per popa da capitania, hos pilotos q̄ trouxera de Moçambique se lançaram ao màr, hos quaes hos do barco recolherão sem hos quererê tornar à nao, posto q̄ Vasquo da Gama lhes fezesse bradar, do q̄ logo tomou suspeita, q̄ el Rei tinha armada treijam, & por disso saber ha verdade mandou meter a tormento dous mouros que Paulo da Gama captiuara na briga de Moçambique, de quê soube q̄ hos pilotos se lançaram ao mar, cuidando quãdo mãdou surgir, q̄ fora por algum auiso, q̄ tiuesse da treijam, que lhes estaua ordenada, quer a tomarê lhas naos, & meterê nos todos à espada. Vasquo da Gama, & todolos da frota derão muitas graças a Deos de hos liurar do perigo, que lhes estaua aparelhado, & receosos q̄ os mouros viessem de noite às naos cortarlhes has amarras, se vigiauum cõ mais tento de q̄ ho dantes fazião, nê foi de balde ho que cuidauam, porq̄ em duas noites que alli depois estiueram, em ambas vieram muitos da terra anado com terçados, & machadinhas, pera picarê has amarras, o que tudo faziam cõ tanto silencio, q̄ se nam fora ha muita vigilancia, q̄ se sobre isso tinha, os nossos se viram em

perigo. Vendo Vasquo da Gama ho  $\bar{q}$  passaua, sesta feira de Indulgências se fez à vela, sem leuar outro piloto,  $\bar{q}$  ho que em Moçambique se metera na sua nao, ho qual ho esforçou, prometdolhe de ho leuar à cidade de Melinde, onde acharia quãtos pilotos quisesse perã India. Neste caminho tomou hũ zambuquo cõ quatorze mouros, entre os quaes hũ delles parecia ho senhor de todos, homẽ prudente, natural da mesma cidade, de quem se informou dos negocios da India, & daquella costa, & em special do regno, & cidade de Melinde, diãte da qual foi surgir dia de Pascoa de Resurreição pela manhãa, com muyta alegria, assi pelo dia que era como prosperar que acharia alli melhor recado, do  $\bar{q}$  fez em Mombaça, pelas boas nouas  $\bar{q}$  tinha do Rei, & senhor  $\bar{q}$  nella entam regnaua.

## CAPITULO XXXVIII.

*Do sitio da cidade de Melinde, & do que Vasquo da Gama passou cõ ho Rei della, & do caminho  $\bar{q}$  fez ate chegar a Calecut.*

Ha cidade de Melinde jaz de longo da praia em hum cãpo raso cercada de palmares, & arequaes, tem muytos pumares, & ortas, cõ noras, de boa ortaliga, & fruita despinho, & outras prumajes, tem ho surgidouro lõge da pouoação, por estar encosta braua. A terra he fertil de mâtimêtos & criações de gado, galinhas, & caça, tudo muito barato, he bem arruada, has casas sam de pedra, & cal, & cantaria, com cirados, muito fermosas da banda de fora, & de muyto riquos lauores, & pinturas por dêtro. Hos naturaes da terra sam gentios baços, de cabello reuolto, bem dispostos, hos estrangeiros sam Mouros Arabios, andam nus da cinta pera riba, & pera baixo cingidos com pãncos de seda, & dalgodam. Hos nobres hos vsão sobraçados, nas cabeças trazê fotas cõ cadilhos de seda, & ouro, suas armas sam terçados, lâças, adargas arcos, & frechas, tratãse muito bê, tem grande opinião de caualleiros, cõ tudo naquellas partes quando se quer dar louuor ao melhor de cada Cidade, dizem caualleiros de Mombaça & damas de Melinde, por serẽ fermosas, cortesãs, & bem ataiadas. Hos mais dos mercadores, que viuem nesta Cidade de sam Guzarates do Regno de Cambaia: na terra ha ouro, ambar, marfim, breu, & cera: ho Rei he Mouro, seruesse com muitas cerimonias, & tem assaz bom estado. Aquelle dia em

que as naos surgiram que era de Pascoa, nenhum dos da Cidade veu a ellas, porque ja tinham auiso do que hos nossos passaram em Mombaça, & arreceauam o mesmo ho que suspeitando Vasquo da Gama a segunda feira foi lançar ancora a mea legoa della, nem se quiz mais chegar, por ho porto ter hum arresice perigoso, ho mouro que tomara no zambuquo entêdendo, ho negocio, lhe pedio que ho deixasse ir a terra so, que elle lhe negociaria pilotos perà India, & tudo ho que lhe cõprissee, & que naquelle porto estauão quatro naos de Christãos Indios prestes pera se tornarem, que podia ser que lhe fizessem cõpanhia, por serem todos de hũa lei, Vasquo da Gama posto que lhe desse, pouca fê vendo que ganhaua muito se lhe tratasse verdade, ho mandou poer em hũa ilheta, que esta muito perto da Cidade, da qual em se ho batel afastando logo da terra vieram por elle em hũa almadia, & ho leuaram a el Rei, do qual se informou do modo dos nossos, & sabendo que ho Capitão queria com elle paz, & amizade, lhe mandou por elle hum presente de carneiros, & fructa da terra, Vasquo da Gama lhe mandou pelo mesmo outro de cousas do Regno, & com elle hum degradado com que el Rei folgou muito. Nestes recados andarão ha segũda, & terça feira, & ja seguro de lhe parecer q̃ nada do que sentrelles trataua era fingido, a quarta derradeira octaua pela manhã se chegou mais a terra, & foi surgir junto das quatro naos dos Christãos, que eram de Crangalor, homẽs baços, de cabello cõprido, vestidos ao modo Persio, dos quaes foram os nossos festejados, recebendo delles prestimo, amizade, & auisos das cousas da terra, dizendolhe q̃ se fiasse del Rei quomo de mouro, & q̃ de todos da cidade fizesse ha mesma conta. El Rei de Melinde era muito velho, & doête, & posto que desejasse de ir ver has naos, ha mà disposiçam lho estoruaua, cõ tudo seu filho mais velho, herdeiro do regno, que já regia por elle, has veu ver no mesmo dia depois de jentar, em hũa almãdia grãde, acompanhado de gente nobre, muito bem atauiaada. Vinha assentado em hũa cadeira despaldas darame, & no assento della hũa almofada de veludo, & aos pês outra: trazia vestido hũa cabaia de damasquo cramisim, forrada de cetim verde, & hũa touqua foteada. Tomaua hum homem ho sol, com hum sombreiro de cetim cramesim, a modo de sobreceo desparauel, posto em hũa aste de pao dourada. Iunto delle hia assentado outro homem velho que lhe leuaua hũ terçado guardado douro, & prata anilada: na mesma almãdia vinham

homens, que tangiam anafis, & bozinas de marfim tam concertado q̄ parecia mais musica doutros instrumētos, que daquelles barbaros. Vasquo da Gama quomo soube da vinda do Principe mandou toldar & embandeirar o batel, & cõ doze homēs dos melhor vistosos, ho veo receber antes que chegasse às naos. Ho Principe quomo vinha desejoso de ver os nossos de perto, em chegando ao batel se lançou dentro, & foi logo abraçar Vasquo da Gama, sem pejo, nē cerimonias, perguntandolhe depois que se assentaram muitas cousas, quomo homem prudente, no que despenderam hum bom pedaço, de tempo, andando ao redor das naos, has quaes elle olhaua, & assi ho trajó, & modo dos nossos com muito espanto. Vasquo da Gama mandou, que lhe trouxessem da ão hos mouros, que tomãra no zambuquo, dos quaes lhe fez presente, o que elle estimou muito, fazendolhe por isso muitos offerecimentos, rogandolhe que se fosse cõ elle a terra folgar, & repousar nos seus paços, que em refēs disso deixaria nas naos hũ seu filho, q̄ alli trazia, & dos seus caualleiros quantos elle quisesse, do q̄ se Vasquo da Gama excusou, mas ho Principe desejoso q̄ hos nossos fossem à cidade, entregaua ho filho a Vasquo da Gama, com algũs homens fidalgos, pedindolhe q̄ dos seus lhe desse sōmente dous, pera hos levar cõsigo, por que se fosse sem elles, seu pai ho tomaria mal, pelo desejo que tinha de ver gente Portuguesa, por já saber quam bom ho fizeram em Moçambique, & Mombaça. Com estes dous homens sem Vasquo da Gama querer tomar hos arrefens se recolheo ho Principe à sua almãdia, ficãdo assentado, q̄ ao outro dia fossem no batel de lōge da praia pera ver ha cidade; ho q̄ Vasquo da Gama assi fez, levando cõsigo Nicolao Coelho, cada hũ em seu batel bẽ artilhados, & em chegando jũto da praia o Principe deceo dos paços per hũa scada de pedra, q̄ vinha dar no mar, onde o tomarão em hũ andor em q̄ o leuaram ao batel de Vasquo da Gama. Depois de feitas suas cerimonias lhe tornou de nouo a pedir q̄ quisesse ir ver seu pai, q̄ por ser muito velho, & entreuado nam podia fazer o mesmo, & q̄ pera segurança disso elle se iria cõ seu filho peràs naos, do q̄ se Vasquo da Gama excusou, dizendo q̄ não trazia licença del Rei seu senhor pera o fazer. Entre tanto que sextas praticas passauam, assi da cidade, quomo das nossas naos, & das dos Christãos Indios, & doutras, & dos bateis tirauão muitas bõbardadas, & lançauão foguetes, o que durou ate se o Principe recolher pera os paços, o qual todo ho tẽpo que alli estene ha armada

mandou visitar Vasquo da Gama, & os outros capitães cõ refresco da terra, alem do q̄ lhe deu hum bõ Piloto mouro guzarate, per nome Malemocanaqua, & cõ ho muito desejo q̄ tinha de nossa amizade, tomou a fê a Vasquo da Gama, que tornasse per alli, porq̄ em sua companhia queria mǎdar hũ embaixador a el Rei de Portugal pera com elle assentar paz, & amizade, com ha qual, & muito amor dos da terra partirão os nossos daquella cidade de Melinde hũa terça feira xxiiij dias Dabril, deixando posto hũ padrão na praia a q̄ posseram nome Sancto Spirito. Séguido assi sua viajê pelo golfão q̄ se faz da costa de Melinde, ate ha do Malabar, a hũa sexta feira xvij dias de Maio virão hũa terra alta, ha qual o piloto Canaqua não pode bem conhecer, por o tẽpo andar encuberto cõ chuueiros: mas ao Domingo seguinte pela manhã vio hũas serras q̄ estão junto da cidade de Calecut, do que logo pedio aluisaras a Vasquo da Gama, q̄ lhas deu boas, & de boa vontade, louuãdo todos a Deos polos ter guiados a lugar que tanto tempo hauia q̄ andauão buscando, fazendo por isso grandes festas, & alegrias com has quaes, & com has naos embandeiradas a som de trombetas, no mesmo dia depois de jentar forão surgir duas legoas da cidade de Calecut, tam contentes quomo se já tiueram feito fim de seus trabalhos, & estiuerão surtos diãte da cidade de Lisboa donde hauia onze meses que partirão.

### CAPITULO XLIIII.

*Do que Vasquo da Gama passou em Anchediua, & dalli atte chegar ao Regno.*

Esta ilha de Anchediua he pequena, de muitos orboredos, abundante de pescados do mar, & marisquo, ha nella muita boa agoa, he de muito bõs ares, està situada junto de terra firme, onde Vasquo da Gama mandou espalmar as naos. Neste tempo entre outros homem da terra que vinham ver os nossos, hum delles era criado de hũ grãde senhor por nome Cabaio, que allem de muitas terras, que tinha pelo sertam possuia a ilha, & cidade de Goa, bom caualleiro, & q̄ mantinha a sua custa muita gête de guerra, & sobre tudo estimaua muito homẽs estrangeiros, & lhes daua grandes soldos, & ordenados. Este desejoso de auer as nossas naos, & gête per manha, pela fama q̄ tinha de serem homẽs de guerra, sob cor de amizade mandou visitar Vasquo da

Gama, offerecêdolhes mantimentos, & dinheiro com o de mais que lhe fosse necessario, mas o messageiro se deuertio tão no recado, q̄ Vasquo da Gama suspeitando que era espia, o mandou prêder, & metter a tormento, no qual confessou q̄ o Cabaio o mandara pera ver q̄ gête auia nas naos, & a ordem dellas, pera com este auiso as mandar cometter, & a elles se os podesse tomar, ter por seus soldados, têdo antes disto dito a Vasquo da Gama q̄ era Christão trazido aquellas partes menino, & posto q̄ as mostras fossê de Mouro, q̄ no coração tinha a fê de Iesu Christo, tudo em lingoajem Italiana q̄ fallaua assaz bem, mas o tormento lhe fez cõfessar a verdade, q̄ era judeu natural do Regno de Polonia da cidade de Posna, na qual eu estiue duas vezes em negocios a q̄ elRei dom Joam terceiro, q̄ saneta gloria aja, me mādou àquellas partes cabeça, & Metropoli da Polonia maior, cidade grande, bem cerquada, & muito abastada de mantimentos. Quomo Vasquo da Gama soube q̄ o Cabaio armaua sobrelle, cõ ha môr diligencia, que pode acabou daparelhar has naos, & a hũa sesta feira cinco dias Doutubro se fez à vela caminho de Melinde, leuando cõsigo este judeu, a que sempre fez muita hõra, & bom gasalhado, pelo achar homem, q̄ tinha experiencia de muitas cousas da India, & doutras prouincias, & o trouxe a Lisboa, onde se fez Christão, & lhe chamarão Gaspar da Gama, do qual se elRei dom Emanuel depois seruio em muitos negocios na India, & o fez caualleiro de sua casa, dandolhe tenças, ordenados, & officios de q̄ se manteue toda sua vida abastadamête. Neste caminho de Anchediua ate Melinde andou Vasquo da Gama com calmarias, & tempos cõtrarios, mais de quatro meses, em q̄ lhe morrerã trinta homêes, & ha primeira terra, & pouoaçam q̄ viram foi ha cidade de Mâgadaxò situada no fim daquelle golfam na costa da Ethiopia, cento, & treze legoas de Melinde, de q̄ direi em seu lugar: diãte da qual ancorarão aos dous dias de Feuereiro, & por ser de Mouros ha mādou esbõbardear de tam perto, q̄ fez muito dãno aos moradores, & naos q̄ estauam surtas no porto. E corrêdo ha costa dez legoas cõtra Melinde lhe sairam de hũa villa de Mouros chamada Pâte oito terradas, q̄ sam nauios pequenos de guerra, cõ muita gête, dos quaes se desfez às bõbardadas, & por lhe escacear o vêto has nam seguio. Dalli foi surgir hũa segûda feira sete dias de Feuereiro, diante da cidade de Melinde, onde antes de ter lançado ancora o mandou elRei visitar cõ refresco da terra, seguindo logo o Principe q̄ o veu ver a bordo, & por sinal de

amizade mandaram cõ elle hum embaixador a elRei dõ Emanuel. Neste porto de Melinde esteue Vasquo da Gama cinco dias, nã quis mais sperar, porq̃ se lhe passaua o tempo em q̃ hauia de dobrar o cabo de boa Sperança, a cabo dos quaes se fez à vela hũa sesta feira doze dias de Feuereiro, & por leuar já muito pouca gente, sendo atraues de hũa villa, que se chama Tagata mandou despejar, & queimar ha nao de q̃ era capitam Paulo da Gama, por ser muito velha, & a elle recolheo na sua, & da gente partio cõ Nicolao Coelho. Seguinda assi sua viagem aos xxviij de Feuereiro se achou diante da ilha de Zanzibar, q̃ está cinco, ou seis legoas da terra firme daquella costa de Ethlopiã, poadada de Mouros, q̃ tẽ trato por todos los lugares daquella costa, principalmente na cidade de Mõbaça, pera onde nauegam em nauios pequenos, sem cuberta, de hum sõ masto, q̃ leuam carregados de mantimêtos. He esta ilha muito viçosa de rios, fontes, criações, & fructas, tanto q̃ nos matos nascem lorangeiras, & outras aruores despinho q̃ dão muito boa fructa. Ho senhor da qual mãdou visitar Vasquo da Gama com refresco da terra, pedindolhe q̃ o quisesse ter por seu amigo. Dalli partio o primeiro de Março, & ha primeira terra q̃ tomou foram has ilhas de S. George onde surgio, & sem fallar cõ o Xequê de Moçambique, se fez a vela sem tomar porta ate ha agoada de Sam Bras, onde fez agoada lenha, & carnajem, & seguindo dalli sua viajẽ (sem em todo o caminho atras poder tomar nenhum dos portos em que deixara hos degradados) dobrou ho cabo de boa Sperança aos xx dias de Março, donde cortou direito, a ilha de Sãtiago, ate hos vinte cinco dias Dabril, q̃ acharão sonda de vinte e cinco braças, na qual parajem cõ tẽporal se apartou Nicolao Coelho de Vasquo da Gama, & sã o mais poder ver nauegou rota abatida pera o Regno, onde chegou a Casquaes aos dez dias de Iulho do anno de mil & quatrocentos, & nouẽta, & noue, de quẽ el Rei soube has primeiras nouas do q̃ passaram nesta viajẽ. Vasquo da Gama foi ter a ilha de Sanctiãgo, & por seu irmão Paulo da Gama vir muito doẽte de etheguidade, & ha sua nao fazer muita agoa, cõ o desejo de o trazer viuo a Portugal, fretou hũa carauella, & deu a capitania da sua nao a Ioã de Sã, mandãdolhe q̃ ha concertasse, porq̃ sem isso nam vinha pera poder nauegar. Ho q̃ feito se partio, & pela doẽça de Paulo da Gama ir em crecimẽto lhe foi forçado tomar ha ilha terceira onde falleceo, per cujo respeito Vasquo da Gama fez algũa detẽça, & depois de o ter enterrado

no mosteiro de S. Frãcisco, & mädado fazer suas exequias como õuinha a hũ tão honrado homẽ, & tam bõ caualleiro como elle foi, se fez a vela, & chegou a Lisboa aos xxix dias do mes Dagosto, do mesmo anno, auendo ja dous, & quasi dous meses que partira do mesmo porto, cõ cento, & quarenta, & oito homens dos, quaes tornaram ao regno, cincoõeta, & cinco, de cuja vinda el Rei leuou muito cõtõtamento, & lhe fez muita honra, dãdolhe titulo de dom para elle, & seus irmãos, & descendentes, delles todos, & o fez depois almirante da India, & Cõde da Vidigueira de juro. A Nicolao coelho fez fidalgo de sua casa, & assi a elles quomo a todolos outros q̄ tornarão fez merce a cada hũ segundo ha calidade de seu seruiço, & pessoa. Deixou Vasquo da Gama postos nesta viajẽ cinco padrões, São Raphael no rio dos bõs sinais, S. George em Moçãbique, Sãcto Spiritu em Melinde, Sancta Maria nos ilheos, q̄ se per este respeito chamão de Sancta Maria, situados entre Bacanor, & Baticala, & ho outro em Calecut chamado S. Gabriel. Cõ os quaes, per virtude das bullas dos Papas Nicolao quinto, & Sixto quarto cõcedidas a ho Infante dõ Henrique filho del Rei dõ Ioam primeiro, & a elRei dõ Afonso quinto, sobrinho do dito Infãte filho delRei dõ Duarte, tomou licitamẽte posse perã coroa destes regnos de tudo o q̄ descobrira ate o regno de Calecut, como ho dantes fezeram os outros capitães, ate a parajẽ do rio de Lopo Infante, das quaes bullas me pareceo desnecessario poer aqui ho treslado, ha hũa por conterem muita lectura, & ha outra porq̄ quem por curiosidade as quiser ler as achara na torre do Tombo destes regnos, onde ao presente estão em meu poder.

#### CAPITULO LIIII.

*Da segunda armada que el Rei mandou à India de que foi por Capitão Pedraluez Cabral.*

Chegado Nicolao Coelho da India como atras fica dicto, pela informação q̄ deu a el Rei da terra, & calidade da gente, determinou de mandar lâ hũa armada de treze velas, de q̄ deu a Capitania a Pedraluez Cabral, & por Sota Capitão Sancho de Thoar, os outros capitães erão Simão de Mirãda, Aires Gomes da Silua, o mesmo Nicolao Coelho, Nuno Leitão, Vasquo dataide, Bartholomeu Diaz q̄ descobrio o cabo de boa Sperãça, Pero Diaz seu irmão, Gaspar de Lemos, Luis Pirez, Simão de Pina, Pero

Dataide dalcunha inferno, & por feitor darmada Aires correa, q̄ auia de ficar ã Calecut por feitor, è por scriuães de seu cargo Gõçalo Gil Barbosa e Pero Vaz caminha. Estas naos mãdou el Rei aparelhar de todas cousas necessarias a feito de guerra, porq̄ ja sabia q̄ hauião de ter disso necessidade, pelos negocios q̄ acontecerão a Vasquo da Gama, assi na India, como na costa da Etiopia, na qual hiam mil, & quinhêtos soldados. No regimento q̄ el Rei deu a Pedraluez Cabral, hũ dos pontos mais substãciaes era, q̄ trabalhasse muito pela amizade del Rei do Calecut, porq̄ sua vontade era fazer hũa fortaleza naquella Cidade, õde seus naturaes, & officiaes estiuessem seguros dos da terra, & mouros, & podessem fazer as cousas q̄ cõprissem a seu seruiço, & q̄ quando não achasse em elRei de Calecut võtade de o querer por amigo, em tal caso de sua parte lhe declarasse guerra, & lha fizesse, alem do q̄ lhe mandou, que trabalhasse muito por tomar Melinde, para de sua parte agradecer a el Rei o gasalhado q̄ fezera a Vasquo da Gama, & lhe dar hum presente q̄ lhe mandaua, & entregar o seu embaixador, & offerecer sua amizade para o que lhe delle cõprissem. E porq̄ el Rei foi sempre mui inclinado as cousas q̄ tocavam a nossa sancta fê catholica, mandou nesta armada oito frades da ordem de S. Francisco, homês letrados, de q̄ era Vigairo frei Hêriq̄, q̄ depois foi cõfessor del Rei & Bispo de Cepta, os quaes com oito capellães, & hum vigairo ordenou q̄ ficassẽ em Calecut, pera administrarẽ os sacramentos aos Portugueses, & aos da terra que se quisesses cõuerter a fê. Prestes esta armada, estando ja em Rastello el Rei se foi ao mosteiro de Bethelê, onde mandou dizer Missa em pontifical, tẽdo consigo dẽtro na cortina Pedraluez Cabral, na qual ouue pregaçaõ, q̄ fez o Bispo da Cepta dom Diogo Hortiz, q̄ depois foi de Visen, Castelhana de naçaõ animãdo todos aos trabalhos, q̄ hiam tomar, por seruiço de Deos, & de seu Rei, apontãdo aos capitães, & aos outros fidalgos q̄ hiam na armada muitos, lououres de seus antepassados, cõ que não tão sômête fez enueja aos q̄ ficauam no regno, mas ãtes os incitou a quererẽ muitos delles fazer esta viajẽ se o tẽpo lhes então dera pera isso lugar. Acabada a Missa o Bispo benzeo hũa bandeira em q̄ estauão pintadas as armas Reaes do regno, a qual depois de benta el Rei entregou de sua propria mão a Pedraluez cabral. Entregue a bãdeira el Rei leuou Pedraluez a sua ilharga ate os bateis das naos q̄ o estauam sperando na praia, onde cõ os outros capitães, & gente nobre lhe

beijou a mão, & se despediram delle. Ao outro dia pela manhã que foram noue de Março de mil, & quinhêtos, partio a frota do porto de Bethalem.

## CAPITULO LVII.

*Do que Pedralurez Cabral passou depois que partio da terra de Sancta Cruz, ate chegar a Calecut, & do sitio da ilha, & cidade de Quiloa.*

Partido Pedralurez Cabral desta terra de Sancta Cruz a hũ Domingo xxiiij de Maio se armou hum bulção, & tras elle hũa troucada com tanta força de vento, & tam de subito, q̄ a vista hũs dos outros çoçobrarão quatro naos, sem dellas escapar cousa viua, das quaes eram capitães Bartholomeu Diaz, Aires Gomez da Sylua Vasquo Dataide, & Simão de Pinna, has sete que ficaram se apartaram hũas das outras, no qual trabalho andarão ate os xvj dias de Iulho em q̄ se ajuntaram as seis, porque a de Pero Diaz foi ter ao estreito Darabia, & a cidade de Magadaxò, dôde tornou a este regno cõ sôs seis homês, depois de ter passados muitos perigos, & trabalhos. Estas seis naos depois de terê dobrado o cabo de boa Sperança, foram lançar ancora de frôte de hũa terra fresca, de muitas ribeiras, aruoredos, & criações, da qual nenhũ dos naturaes ousou vir as naos, nê na praia quiserão comunicar cõ os nossos, nê vèderlhes mantimêtos de q̄ tinham muita necessidade, pelo q̄ se fez a vela, & nauegãdo de lôgo da costa com vento bonança escoreo Çofalla, ate ser junto de duas ilhas questão perto de terra firme, a q̄ agora chamã as primeiras, jũto de hũa das quaes estauão surtas duas naos q̄ Pedralurez por se aleuantarê seguio, & as tomou sem se defenderê. O senhor destas duas naos se chamaua Xeque Foteima, tio del Rei de Melinde q̄ vinha de Çofala, com muito ouro q̄ fora resgatar com os da terra, & cõ medo das nossas naos, cuidãdo q̄ erão de cossairos se acolhia, do qual sabendo q̄staua aũate de Çofalla, & o modo da terra, & tratto della o deixou no mesmo lugar e q̄ a tomãra cõ suas naos, ouro, & outras mercadorias q̄ trazia, & se partio caminho de Moçãbique onde chegou aos xx dias de Iulho, & fez augoada pacificamête, tomado mâtimêtos, e piloto ate a ilha de Quiloa. Neste caminho indo sêpre de lôgo da costa vio muitas ilhas mui bẽ aproueitadas, todas do senhorio del Rei de Quiloa, cujo regno cõthê des no cabo das corrêtes, ate perto da Cidade de Mõbaça, q̄

sam quasi quatro cêtas legoas de costa, afora muitas ilhas q̄ jazem de lōgo della, q̄ rendê muito ao Rei. Este Rei, & os naturaes, & moradores da ilha sam da seita de Mafamede, pella mōr parte pretos, & algūs delles baços: Fallam todos arauia, andam muito bem ataiados ao trajo Mourisco, & Turquesco, tem trato per toda aquella costa ate o estreito do mar da Arabia. A Cidade, & ilha de Quiloa estão cem legos alê de Moçambique quasi apegadas com terra firme, a ilha he muito viçosa de fructas, ortalixa, & boas agoas, ai pelo sertão muitas criações de gado grosso, e meudo, e muita caça, & mōtaria, & no mar muitos, & bons pescados, he muito fertil de sementeiras. A Cidade he grande & muito populosa as casas sam de pedra, & cal, de muitos sobrados, & terrados, mui bẽ guarnecidas & caiadas da banda de dentro, & de fora, & mui bẽ alfaiadas, pola gente de terra ser rica, as naos em q̄ nauegam são de cauilha, cosida cō cairo, breadas cō incenso brauo, por na terra não auer breu. Depois que Pedralurez chegou a Quiloa q̄ foi a vintaseis de Julho fez saber ao Rei que se chamaua Abraemo, de sua vinda, & de como lhe trazia cartas del Rei seu seõnor, & q̄ se queria ver cō elle pera lhas dar, que ordenasse onde isto auia de ser, porq̄ elle não podia sair ã terra, por lho assi defender seu regimêto. Cō este recado mādou Afonso furtado, q̄ hia por scriuam da feitoria q̄ se auia de fazer em Çofala, & cō elle sete dos melhor ataiados da frota, pera a acompanharem, el Rei folgou de os ver, & lhes fez bom gasalhado, respondêdo a Pedralurez que sua vinda fosse mui boa, que daua graças a Deos por ver gente de terras tam alōgadas das suas naquelle seu porto, & de hũ tamanho Rei, & seõnor, quomo tinha sabido q̄ era el Rei de Portugal, & q̄ pois se não podia ver em terra q̄ fosse no mar cō o qual recado lhe mandou muito refresco per hum dos principaes de sua casa, & dizer q̄ se vissem ao outro dia, pera o q̄ se poseram de festa todollos capitães cada hũ em seu batel encaminhãdo perã Cidade, dōde el Rei ja partira, acõpanhado de muitas almadias, cō gête ataiãda de pãnos de telladouro, brocados, escarlatas & outros de seda, & algodam, todos, cō terçados cingidos, punhaes, è agomias, ao lado, delles de ouro, pedraria de muito preço: tangendo muitas bozinas, anafis, & trombetas, & outros instrumentos, ao q̄ lhe dos bateis respõdiam cō as nossas, & das naos questauam de festa, cō artelharia. Neste tẽpo el Rei de Quiloa na sua almadia, & Pedralurez Cabral no seu batel se ajuntarão bordo a bordo, onde depois

de feitas as cerimoniaes, & cortesias reŕidas, lhe deu as cartas q̄ leuava del Rei, scriptas em Arabigo, & em Portugues, de q̄ logo fez ler as scritas em Arabigo, & mostrou gram contentamêto do contheudo nellas, fazendo grãdes offerecimentos a Pedralurez, dizêdolhe q̄ dalli por diante elle se tinha por irmão, & alliado del Rei de Portugal, & q̄ em ter hũ tão grande, & poderoso Rei por irmão, & amigo se tinha por mui ditoso nisto, & em outras praticas estiueram hũ bõ pedaço, onde antes q̄ se despedissem ordenarão que ao outro dia fosse Afonso Furtado a terra, pera cõ elle assentar paz, & amizade: mas tudo se fez ao contrario, porque el Rei de Quiloa induzido pelos mouros, quando lhe Afonso Furtado foi fallar, o achou mudado dando excusas mais cheas do dio q̄ de amizade. Cõ tudo parecendo a Pedralurez, q̄ esta vôtade se lhe poderia mudar, esteue ainda alli tres dias, mandandolhe sempre recados damigo, mas sabendo per Moleihomar, irmão del Rei de Melinde, q̄ alli então estaua, quomo el Rei de Quiloa mãdaua fortalecer a ilha, & cidade se partio pera Melinde, onde chegou aos dous dias do mes Dagosto. O q̄ sabido por el Rei, na mesma hora o mandou visitar cõ muitos, & bõs refrescos, cõ estes q̄ trouxerão o refresco mãdou Pedralurez visitar el Rei de Melinde, & dizerlhe q̄ trazia cartas del Rei, cõ hum presente, & assi o seu embaixador, q̄ elle mãdara a Portugal, do q̄ mostrou leuar tanto contentamento, quomo se ganhara hũ grande thesouro, & cõ o q̄ leuou o recado mandou hum homê fidalgo de sua casa fazer grandes offerecimêtos a Pedralurez, pelo q̄ logo ao outro dia mandou Pedralurez as cartas, que leuava a elRei per Aires Correa, & o presente, acompanhado dos milhor atauizados da frota, cõ trõbetas, & ataballes. Sabido per el Rei e aparato com q̄ Aires Correa hia, o mandou receber à praia pelos principaes de sua corte. Desembarcados foram todos assi os nossos, quomo os q̄ os vierão receber ate os paços per entre duas renques de molheres, que tinhão perfumadores nas mãos, com muito bõs cheiros, na qual ordê chegaram à casa em q̄ os el Rei estaua sperãdo, assentado em hũa cadeira laurada douro, & prata. Aires Correa em chegando fez sua cortesia, apos o q̄ deu a el Rei as cartas q̄ lhe el Rei dom Emanuel screuia em Arabigo, & Portugues, & lhe entregou pela mão o seu embaixador, & deu o presente, sobello q̄ passadas muitas praticas elRei rogou a Aires Correa, que os dias q̄ alli estiuesse a armada fosse seu hospede, o que fez

com licença de Pedralurez. Ao outro dia desejoso el Rei de se ver com Pedralurez, & sabêdo pelo q̄ já passara com Vasquo da Gama, & pello que Aires correa dixerá, q̄ era excusado insistir cõ elle que viesse a terra, lhe mandou recado que no mar o queria ver, o que se assi ordenou. ElRei por mostrar a todo o pouo, o rico presente que recebera, mandou poer hum jaez douro da gineta, que cõ as outras peças do prezente vinha em hũ caualllo muito fermoso, no qual caualgou, & nelle veo ate se meter na almãdia, em q̄ foi fallar a Pedralurez, q̄ o já estaua sperando com todosos capitães da frota, cada hum em seu batel, todos de festa. Na visitaçam ouue muitos offerecimentos, & cõprimintos damizado, onde se despediram hũ do outro, depois de terẽ fallado per hum bõ spaço: & porque a tençam de Pedralurez era partirse logo por não perder o tẽpo que lhe seruia, pedio dous pilotos a el rei que lhe logo mandou dar. Deixou Pedralurez alli dous degradados, pera se informarem do sertão, & verẽ se podião ir per terra à corte do Emperador da Ethiopia, Rei do Abexi, a que erradamẽte chamão Preste Joam, cousa q̄ lhe el Rei muito encomẽdou quãdo partio do regno, dos quaes hũ se chamaua Ioam Machado, & o outro Luis de Moura, do qual Ioã Machado, & dos bõs seruicos q̄ fez naquellas partes a estes regnos se fara adiãte mẽçam. Isto feito Pedralurez partio do porto de Melinde aos vij dias do mes Dagosto, & aos vinte dous chegou à ilha de Anchediua, onde esteue alguns dias refazendose do trabalho do mar, & dalli foi ter a Calecut, aos treze dias do mes de Septẽbro de mil, & quinhẽtos.

## CAPITULO LX.

*Do que Pedralurez Cabral passou em Cochim, & Cananor, & dahi ate chegar a Lisboa.*

EXTRACTO :—

Pedralurez partio dalli aos xvj dias do mes de Ianeiro, leuando consigo hum embaixador, q̄ el Rei de Cananor mandaua a el Rei dom Emanuel, & sendo já perto da costa de Melinde, tomou hũa nao grande de Cambaia, carregada de muitas mercadorias, q̄ era de hum Mouro per nome Milicupij, senhor de Barroche, a qual soltou, cõ dizer ao capitam que com el Rei de Cambaia, nem com seus vassalos, & amigos, nam queria se nam toda a paz, &

amizade, & que assi o podia dizer a Milicupij, porq̄ naquellas partes nam tinha el Rei de Portugal seu senhor guerra se nam cõ os Mouros de Meca, & com el Rei de Calecut, polas treições, & enganos q̄ fezera a seus capitães, & assi se despedio d'elle, cõ lhe nam tomar mais que hũ piloto, que lhe pedio pera o guiar, no caminho que lhe ficaua por fazer daquelle golfam, o qual tendo já atrauessado, deu cõ tormenta a nao de Sancho de Thoar em hũs baixos na costa de Melinde, à qual mandou Pedralurez poer fogo, pera que os da terra se nam podessem aproueitar do q̄ nella hia, com tudo el Rei de Mombaça mandou pescar a artelharia q̄ lhe depois seruiu contra nos, quomo se em seu lugar dirà, de modo que nenhũa outra cousa se saluou que a gête. Dalli sem poder tomar Melinde, nauegou ate Moçambique, onde deu pêdor às naos, & mandou descobrir per Sancho de Thoar o porto de Çofala, mandando lhe que com as nouas do que achasse, se fosse rota abatida pera o regno. Feita aguada, & concertadas as naos Pedralurez Cabral se fez à vela, & dobrou o cabo, aos vinte, & dous dias do mes de Maio, dia do Spiritu Sancto, & dalli veo ter ao Cabo verde, onde achou Pero Diaz, que lhe desaparecera quando hia perà India quomo fica dito. Do Cabo verde sem tomar outro porto, chegou a Lisboa ao derradeiro dia de Iulho de mil, & quinhentos, & hum, estando el Rei em Syntra, que de sua vinda foi mui alegre, posto que com algũa tristeza por caso da gente que morrera nas naos que çoçobraram.

### CAPITULO LXIII.

*De como El Rei mandou Ioão da noua a India por capitão de quatro naos, & do q̄ passou ate tornar ao regno.*

Com a informaçam q̄ dõ Vasquo da Gama deu a el Rei das cousas da India, & da Ethiopia, modo, & trato da gête destas prouincias, assentou de ordinariamente mãdar cadanno hũa armada aquellas partes, & porq̄ ha de q̄ fora por capitão Pedralurez Cabral lhe pareceo suficiẽte pera se as cousas de Calecut appacificarem, & reformarẽ as amizades com o Rei da terra nam quis mãdar no anno de mil, & quinhentos, & hũ mais q̄ tres naos, & hũa carauella grãde de q̄ deu a capitania a Ioam da noua galego de naçam, bõ caualleiro, q̄ em Africa tinha feitos

muitos seruiços ao regno & seruia entam de alcaide de Lisboa, officio q̄ naquelle tempo se não confiaua senam de homês fidalgos de boa consciência, por ser hum dos principaes da Cidade, q̄ entam seruia hum sò homê, & nam tantos como o agora fazem. \* \* \* \* Partio esta armada do porto de Bethelê aos cinco dias do mes de Março do anno do Senhor de mil, & quinhentos, & hũ. Na qual viagê, sendo já da bāda do Sul, acharam hũa ilha a q̄ poseram nome da Concepçam, & sem lhes mais acontecer caso q̄ de contar seja, chegaram a Mocābique na entra Dagosto, & dalli forã ter a Quiloa onde acharam hum Antonio Fernandez degradado, carpinteiro de naos q̄ deu hũa carta a Ioam de noua de Pedralurez Cabral, em q̄ contaua o mesmo q̄ Pero dataide deixara scripto em hũa carta que acharam metida em hum çambarquo, pendurado em hũa aruore na agoada de saõ Bras, em q̄ relataua os negocios de Calecut. De Quiloa nauegou a Melinde, onde lhe el Rei deu larga informação de todo o negocio de Pedralurez Cabral, pelo q̄ se partio logo perã India. \* \* \* \* \* Segindo assi sua viajê tanto auante como o mōte Delli, tomou hũa nao de Calecut q̄ depois dessaqueada mandou queimar, dali veo ter a Melinde & de Melinde a Moçābiq̄, dōde passado o cabo de boa Sperāça, veo ter a hũa ilha a que pos nome de Sancta Helena, em que fez agoada, ilha de muito bons ares, posto que pequena, muito proueitosa a todallas nossas naos que a ella vam ter, pela boa agoa, fructas, & carnes que nella acham, da qual seguindo viagem chegou a Lisboa com sua frota junta aos xj dias do mes de Setembro, de mil, & quinhentos, & dous, onde foi recebido del Rei, & de todolos da Cidade com muito prazer pola boa viagem que fezera, & ilhas que descobrira.

## CAPITULO LXVIII.

*Do que o Almirante dō Vasquo da Gama passou a segunda vez que foi a India ate chegar a Cochim.*

Informado el Rei per Pedralurez Cabral do que passara cõ el Rei de Calecut, & das treições q̄ lhe os mouros da terra armaram, determinou de o mādãr outra vez a India, mas por elRei querer separar da sua bādeira cinco velas q̄ també mandaua a India, de q̄ tinha dada a capitania a Vicente sodre, pera ficar

lã, & andar darmada cõtra os mouros: se excusou de o fazer, pelo q̄ deu a capitania da mesma armada a dom Vasquo da Gama, em q̄ entrãõ dez velas, de q̄ eram capitães dõ Luis coutinho, Pedrafonso daguiar, Francisco da Cunha, Ioão Lopes perestrelo, Rui da Castanheda, Gil Matoso, Luis Fernãdez, Antonio do cãpo, Diogo Pirez, & das cinco velas q̄ hiam separadas ê capitania per sim era capitã Vicête Sodre, tio de dõ Vasquo da Gama, os outros capitães, eram Bras Sodre seu irmão, Pero Dataide, Pero Raphael è João rõis badarças. Alê destas xv velas mãdou elRei madeira laurada pera hũa carauella q̄ se auia darmar ê Moçambique, pera guarda daq̄lla costa ate Çofala. Estas duas armadas partirão do porto de Bethelê aos dez dias de Feuereiro de MDII têdo elRei dado a dõ Vasquo da Gama, poco antes, q̄ partisse titulo dalmirante do mar da India, por lhe gratificar os seruiços q̄ lhe tinha feitos, & speraua q̄ lhe fizesse nesta viajê. Alê destas xv velas mãdou elRei aparelhar mais outras cinco de q̄ deu a capitania a Esteuam da Gama primo cõ irmão de dõ Vasquo da Gama q̄ partio de Lisboa o primeiro Dabril do mesmo ãno, os outros capitães erã Lopo Mêdez de vasquo goëlllos, Thomas de carmona, Lopo diaz criado de dõ Aluaro, & João de banagracia Italiano. Dõ Vasquo da Gama passou o cabo de boa Sperança cõ toda sua armada ate chegar ao cabo das correntes, sem lhe acontecer cousa que de contar seja, donde mandou Vicête Sodre seu tio com onze velas das da cõpanhia, q̄ o fossem sperar a Moçãbique, porque com as quatro queria ir a Çofalla ver o sitio do porto, & modo da gente da terra, do Xequê, do qual lugar foi bê recebido, & ficãdo amigos se partio pera Moçambique, cõ ao sair do rio de Çofalla perder hũa das naos, mas a gête, & fazenda se saluou toda. Em Moçãbique se vio cõ o Xequê, que era outro, & nam o q̄ alli achou da primeira vez, q̄ foi à India, q̄ lhe fez muita cortesia, & gasalhado, mãdando dar todo o auiamêto necessario perã frota: o q̄ feito partio caminho de Quiloa, leuãdo cõsigo a carauella, q̄ se armou em Moçãbique, de que deu a capitania a Ioão Serram, porq̄ sua tenção era fazer guerra ao Rei, q̄ se chamaua Habrahemo, & lhe destruir a cidade se não fizesse emenda dos erros passados. Chegado a Quiloa logo tras elle chegou Esteuã da Gama com as cinco naos de q̄ era capitão, q̄ todas faziam numero de xix velas, porq̄ a nao de Antonio de Campo esgarrãra da companhia. El Rei de Quiloa ouue tamanho medo com a chegada destas

naos, q̄ de sua propria vôtade mādou dizer a dom Vasco da Gama, q̄ se queria ver com elle, o que se assi fez, & nas vistas, q̄ forão no mar, dō Vasco o prendeo, õ o desenganar, q̄ se se não fazia vassallo, & tributario del Rei seu senhor, q̄ preso o auia de leuar à India, & dahi a Portugal, com medo das quaes ameaças prometeo de dar cadãno dous mil meticaes douro de pareas, & as daquelle anno mādaria como fosse ã terra, pera firmeza do q̄ ficaria cõ elle Mafamede Enconij, q̄ era a segūda pessoa de seu regno, a quẽ el Rei queria grande, & secreto mal, cõ medo q̄ tinha de lhe tomar o regno, q̄ elle tinha vsurpado a outro, q̄ fora Rei. Dõ Vasco crêdo q̄ era verdade o q̄ lhe dezia o soltou: mas elle depois q̄ se vio em liberdade, deseioso q̄ tiuesse dõ Vasco da Gama algũa aução pera matar Mafamede Enconij, não quis mādar as pareas, o q̄ vêdo opreso, entendêdo a maldade dize a dõ Vasco o q̄ lhe parecia, & quã mau homẽ elRei era, & q̄ pois o assi enganara, q̄ elle à sua custa q̄ria pagar os dous mil meticaes douro, o q̄ assi fez, & dõ Vasco o deixou ir liuremête perã cidade, ficãdo ambos grandes amigos. De Quiloa foi dõ Vasco por caso das correntes ter a hũa enseada, oito legoas abaixo de Melinde, & posto que muito desejasse de ver el Rei, pera lhe gratificar a boa cõpanhia q̄ lhe fezera da outra vez, o não pode fazer: com tudo el Rei o mandou visitar hũ degradado per nome Luis de Moura, q̄ alli deixara Pedralurez Cabral. Feita agoada, & carnajẽ se partio perã India; & em chegãdo ao mõte Delli, topou hũa nao do Soldão de Babilonia chamada Merij, de q̄ era capitão Ioarfaquim, nao grãde, & bẽ armada, q̄ partira de Calecut carregada despecearias, e outras mercadorias pera Meca em q̄ auia muitos romeiros, q̄ per sua deuação hião visitar o sepulcro do seu propheta Mafamede, a qual tomou cõ muito trabalho, por se os mouros defenderẽ mui bẽ todo aq̄lle dia, & a noite seguinte, mas ao outro dia foram entrados, & mortos mais de trezentos, & algũs mininos q̄ nella auia mādou dõ Vasco da Gama leuar à sua nao, cõ tenção de os fazer frades no mosteiro de nossa Senhora de Bethelẽ. \* \* \* \* \*

## CAPITULO LXIX.

*Do que o Almirante dom Vasquo da Gama fez em Cochim, & Calecut, & do mais q̄ passou em sua viagem ate tornar ao regno.*

EXTRACTO:—

Partio o Almirante para o regno, sem tomar terra senam em Moçambique, onde fez augoada, & carnagem, & seguindo sua viagem lhe deu no cabo das corrêtes hũ tẽporal, com q̄ se perdeu da frota a nao Desteuam da Gama, & dom Vasquo chegou cõ as outras a Lisboa ao primeiro dia do mes de Septẽbre do anno de MDiii, onde el Rei entam estaua, q̄ o recebeo com tanto prazer, quãto sua boa andança requeria, o qual logo foram visitar a nao os mais dos senhores, & fidalgos q̄ se então acharam na corte, & o acompanharam ate o paço, indo diante delle hũ seu paje, q̄ leuaua em hũ bacio dagoa as mãos os dous mil miticaes douro das pareas del Rei de Quiloa, & assi os contratos q̄ fezera cõ elle, & com o de Cananor, & Cochim. Destes dous mil miticaes douro mandou elRei fazer hũa custodia para o Sacramẽto do altar, guarneçada de pedras preciosas q̄ mandou offerrecer no mosteiro de Bethelẽ, depois da vinda de dõ Vasquo da Gama a seis dias chegou a Lisboa Esteuão da Gama.

## CAPITULO LXXXI.

*Da viagem que Antonio de Saldanha fez a India, & do que passou ate la chegar.*

Depois da partida de Afonso Dalbuquerque, & Francisco Dalbuquerque, mandou elRei tres naos a India, q̄ antes que elles partissem se fazião prestes, de q̄ deu a capitania a Antonio de Saldanha, os outros capitães q̄ leuaua debaixo da sua bandeira erão Rui Lourenço Rauasquo, & Diogo Fernandez Peteira de Setual. Esta capitania ordenou el Rei pera andar darmada desno cabo de Guardafum, ate as portas do estreito do mar Darabia, das quaes tres naos depois q̄ partiram do porto de Bethelem, atraues do cabo verde, cõ temporal, se perdeu da companhia a de Diogo Fernãdez Peteira, & sem se mais verem, foi ter a costa de Melinde, onde fez algũas presas, & dalli se foi inuernar a ilha

de Çacotora, a qual ate aquelle tẽpo nenhũa das nossas naos fora, ter donde depois de passado o inuerno nauegou perà India, estando là Lopo Soarez Daluarenga prestes pera se partir pera o regno, como se ao diante dirà. Antonio de Saldanha seguindo sua viagem, per mà nauegaçam, & negligencia do Piloto, foi ter a ilha de Sam Thome, donde depois q̃ partio se apartou delle com temporal Rui Lourenço Rauasquo, q̃ elle depois achou em Melinde fazendo guerra a el Rei de Mombaça, en fauor do de Melinde, como logo veremos. Nauegãdo Antonio de Saldanha em busca do cabo de boa Sperança, o Piloto o leuou a quem, a hũa enseada, dandolhe a entender q̃ o tinha passado, ao qual lugar pola auguoadã q̃ nelle fez ficou nome daugoada do Saldanha. Partido dalli dobrou o cabo seguindo sua viagem, em q̃ o deixaremos por fallar hũ pouco no q̃ aconteceo a Rui Lourenço Rauasquo depois q̃ se delle apartou, o qual foi ter a Moçambique, & dahi a Quiloa, onde sperou xx dias por Antonio de Saldanha, mas vendo q̃ nam vinha, se foi a ilha de Zamzibar, que he aquem de Mombaça vinte legoas, entre a qual, & a terra firme a tam pouca distãcia, que não pode passar nao nenhũa que se nam veja dambalas partes, pelo que se deixou alli andar dous meses em que tomou mais de xx zambuquo q̃ hiam carregados de mantimẽtos pera Zamzibar & os mais destes zãbuquos resgatou a dinheiro, mas com q̃ auçam isto podia fazer, defendão o mau direito da guerra, & tirania della, porq̃ o senhor de Zamzibar estaua de paz cõ nos outros, & nunca delle receberamos dãno. Feitos estes males com os quaes assi este capitam, como muitos outros Portugueses, deram mais azo de sermos malquistos em toda a costa da Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India ate os Chins, q̃ bem queridos, nem amados, Rui Lourenço costeou a Ilha, & foi surgir diãte da Cidade de Zamzibar, a quẽ o senhor della mandou logo preguntar se era elle o capitam Portugues q̃ lhe fazia guerra, sendo elle amigo del Rei de Portugal, & lhe tomava os nauios que vinham de paz per àquella sua cidade, carregados de mantimentos, com tudo que lhe pedia q̃ do passado se não fizesse caso, mas que a artelharia q̃ tomara dos zãbuquos lhe mandasse. A este recado respondeo Rui Lourenço mais aspero do q̃ conuinha, nam tendo conta com tam justa, & honesta petiçãõ, do que se seguio mandar sobrelle alguns paraos armados & equipados de gẽte, dos quaes Gomez Carrasco, scriuão da nao, & Lourenço feo tomaram com o batel da nao quatro que

trouxerão a bordo, & os outros desbaratados se tornaram perà terra, cõ lhe os nossos matarem alguns as bombardas entre os quaes foi hum filho do mesmo senhor da Ilha pelo q̄ temendo que lhe fizessem mais dãno, lhe mandou pedir paz, o qual recado Rui Lourenço tomou na sua nao, cuja substância foi, que não respeitando a perda que tinha recebida, nê a morte de seu filho, & dos que com elle morreram, queria ter paz com el Rei de Portugal, a qual lhe Rui Lourenço concedeo, com ficar tributario cadãno em cem Mitiquaes douro, pagando logo os daquelle anno. Feitas estas pazes, Rui Lourenço se foi pera Melinde, em busca Dãtonio de Saldanha, onde achou o Rei nosso amigo de guerra com o de Mombaça por caso damizade q̄ tinha com os Portugueses, pelo q̄ por assi parecer bẽ a el Rei de Melinde se foi lançar diante da cidade de Mombaça, onde tomou duas naos & tres zambucos, em que vinhão doze mouros principaes da cidade de Braua, situada abaixo de Melinde cem legoas, & porquestes eram as pessoas principais daquella cidade de Braua, & tras elles seguia hũa nao sua delles carregada de mercadorias, com medo q̄ lha tomasse Rui Lourenço, allê de resgatarem suas pessoas, se obrigaram a fazer a mesma cidade tributaria a el Rei dom Emanuel, em quinhentos mitiquaes douro cadãno pedindo logo a Rui Lourenço hũa bandeira das armas do regno, pera dalli por diante poderẽ nauegar seguros das nossas armadas, a qual lhe elle deu. Estando nestes cõcertos chegou a mesma nao ao porto, a qual lhe Rui Lourenço entregou liuremente, sem della querer tomar cousa nenhũa, pelo q̄ se partiram delle mui cõtentes. Andãdo assi occupado Rui Lourenço, chegou Antonio de Saldanha a Mombaça com tres naos que tomara depois que partira de Quiloa, com a vinda do qual temendo el Rei de Mombaça mores damnos pelo mar, dos q̄ ja tinha recebidos, fez pazes com el Rei de Melinde, as quaes assentadas, & juradas Antonio de Saldanha, & Rui Lourenço se partiram perà India, onde chegaram cõ algũas presas q̄ fezerão desna cidade de Mete q̄ he allem do cabo de Guardafũ, ate as ilhas de Canacania, & de Anchediua, dos quaes se dira em seu lugar.

## CAPITULO XCVI.

*De como elRei mandou a India treze naos, de que foi por capitam Lopo Soarez Daluarenga.*

## EXTRACTO :—

Atras fica dito no anno de mil & quinhentos, & quatro, como el Rei mandou hũa armada a India de que deu a capitania a Lopo Soarez Daluarenga, da qual farei relaçam neste anno de mil, & quinhentos, & cinco, em que tornou, segundo a ordem que com as outras ate qui nisso tiue. Esta armada era de treze naos grossas, em que hiam, mil, & duzentos soldados, & muitas munições de guerra, por quãto el Rei tinha a guerra de Calecut por certa pellas informações, que lhe o Almirante dõ Vasquo da Gama deu, quando de là tornou a segũda vez. Os outros capitães q̄ hião debaixo da bandeira de Lopo soarez eram Pero de Mendoça, Lionel coutinho, Tristão da Silua, Lopo mendez da Vasco gonzelos, Emanuel telez barreto, Lopo dabreu, Phelipe de castro, Afonso lopez da costa, Pero Afonso daguiar, Vasquo da sylueira, Vasquo carualho, & Pero Dinis de Setual, com os quaes partio do porto de Bethalem, a xxij dias Dabril do dito anno de mil, & quinhẽtos, & quatro. E seguindo sua viajẽ chegou a Moçãbique aos xxv dias de Iulho, em dia do Apostolo Sanctiago, onde o Xequo o recebeo como amigo, mãdandolhe refresco da terra em presente, & hũa carta q̄ Pero Dataide screuera antes q̄ moresse, em q̄ auisaua qualquer capitão q̄ alli viesse ter dos negocios da India, pelo q̄ vendo Lopo Soarez que sua chegada era necessaria a Cochim, mãdou concertar, & prouer a armada, com tanta diligencia q̄ ao primeiro dia Dagosto partio pera Melinde, onde o el Rei em chegãdo mãdou visitar cõ refrescos per hum Mouro hõrado per nome Debucar, & com elle dezaseis Portugueses, que se alli deixãram ficar, dos que se saluãrão da nao de Pero Dataide. Neste porto de Melinde nam se deteu Lopo Soarez mais q̄ dous dias, a cabo dos quaes, depois de se ver com el Rei, partio perã India, nauegando com bom tempo ate a ilha de Anchediua, onde achou Antonio de Saldanha, & Rui Lourenço, que como atras fica dito, alli vierão ter, & por caso do inuerno nam podẽram passar adiante. Isto era ja no fim Dagosto.

## CAPITULO XCIX.

*Do que Lopo Soarez Daluarenga fez depois da vitoria que ouue em Crâgunor ate se partir da India, & chegar ao Regno.*

EXTRACTO:—

Tomada a carga em Cananor q̄ ainda era necessaria pera as naos se despidio del Rei, & dos Portugueses que estauam na cidade, & encomendando muito a Emanuel Telez, Christouão Iusarte, Pero Raphael, & Diogo Pirez, a guarda da costa do Malabar, & cousas del Rei de Cochim, seguio sua viagem com mais duas naos, das com que partira de Portugal, carregadas de muita speciaría, & outras mercadorias, com q̄ chegou a Melinde o primeiro dia de Feuereiro, onde foi bem festejado del Rei. Recolhida a fazenda que alli deixara Antonio de Saldanha, das presas que fezera no cabo de Guardafum, indo perâ India foi ter a Quiloa, cõ tençam de receber as pareas que el Rei era obrigado pagar cadanno, do que desenganado se fez a vela aos dez dias de Feuereiro para Moçambique. Allí esteue doze dias prouendosse das cousas necessarias perâ viagem, donde dous dias depois de sua chegada despidio pera o regno (com nouas do q̄ tinha feito) Pero de Mendoga, & Lopo Dabreu, dos quais Pero de Mendonça se perdeu no caminho sem se saber onde, & Lopo Dabreu veu a Lisboa, noue dias antes que Lopo Soarez, o qual com toda a frota junta chegou a Lisboa aos xxij dias de Iulho do mesmo anno de MDV.

## SEGUNDA PARTE.—CAPITULO I.

*Do Regimento que el Rei deu a dom Francisco dalmeida antes que partisse perâ India.*

No anno de MDV como ja fica dito, ordenou el Rei de mandar dom Francisco dalmeida por governador a India, por Tristão da Cunha a quem ja tinha prouido deste cargo, adoeecer de doença de que por entam ficou cego, pera o qual negocio mandou el Rei chamar dom Francisco a Coimbra onde aquelle tempo estaua cõ seu irmão dom George Bispo da mesma cidade, filhos de dõ Lopo Dalmeida primeiro Conde Dabrantés. E porq̄ el Rei dos negocios que ja erão passados na India entendia bem, q̄ pera

segurança della lhe era necessario mandar mor armada, & mais gente do q̄ o ate entam fezera, & capitam geral q̄ naquellas partes residisse, ordenou q̄ nesta fossem mil, & quinhentos soldados e dezaseis naos, & seis carauelas de q̄ os capitães das naos erão o mesmo dō Francisco, dō Fernão de Sa, Fernão soarez, Rui freire, Vasco dabreu, Ioão da noua, Pero danhaia Sebastião de sousa, Diogo correa, Pero ferreira fogaça, Lopo sanches, Phelipe rodrigez, Lopo de Deos capitam, & Piloto, Ioão serrã, Antão goncaluez alcaide de Cezimbra, & Fernão bermudez castelhano, filho de Christouam bermudez, q̄ foi preso no desbarato de dō Garsia de meneses Bispo deuora, & degolado na villa de lobom em Castella, por ter a parte Portuguesa como na Chronica do Principe dō Ioão, o trato per exteço. Das carauelas eram capitães Gonçalo vaz de goes, Gonçalo de paiua, Lucas da fonsca, Lopo chanoca, loã homê, & Antão vaz. A dō Francisco dalmeida fez el rei muitas merces, por aceitar este cargo sem nisso fazer duuidas, nê mostrar agrauos polo ter dado a Tristã da cunha primeiro q̄ a elle, & o mesmo fez a dō Lourçco dalmeida seu filho q̄ consigo leou a India. Poucos dias antes q̄ esta armada partisse, deu el rei regimento a dō Frãscisco do q̄ auia de fazer, assi no discurso da viagem, como depois de ser na India, das forças do qual (por ser o primeiro q̄ se deu a Governador, & Vicerei da India) farei aqui hũ breue sumario. Primeiramête lhe mandou entre outras cousas, q̄ de caminho trabalhasse por fazer hũa fortaleza e Çofala, de q̄ tinha dado a capitania a Pero danhaia, q̄ cõ elle mãdaua cõ nauios, & gête q̄ pera isso ordenara, no fazer da qual fortaleza vsaria cõ o Xeq̄ da terra toda a amizade, & bẽ querença q̄ lhe fosse possiuel, deixando o liuremête vsar, & gozar dos direitos, q̄ acostumaua receber dos mercadores q̄ aquelle seu porto vinhã, e q̄ quãtos mouros alli achasse resgatãdo captiuasse, e lhes tomasse o ouro q̄ tiuessê resgatado, & q̄ se o Xeq̄ disso se queixasse, lhe dicesse q̄ o fazia por elles terê cõtina guerra cõ os Christãos, & lhes tomarê seus bês, & os captiuarem onde quer q̄ o podiam fazer, pelo q̄ licitamête lhes podia fazer a mesma guerra. E q̄ como a fortaleza fosse posta em altura q̄ se podesse defender, partisse pera Quiloa, onde ordenaua, que se fizesse outra fortaleza, ao qual lugar, em chegando, mandaria pedir a elRei as pares q̄ deuia, & q̄ dandolhas, o tratasse como amigo, & querendo fazer resistencia lhe fizesse guerra, como a imigo, & per força fizesse a

fortaleza de q̄ tinha prouido da capitania Pero Ferreira Fogaça, & dalcaidaria môr Duarte de Mello, na qual deixaria a gête q̄ fosse necessaria, & hũa carauella, & hum bargätim pera guarda da costa, & q̄ cõ a môr breuidade q̄ lhe fosse possiuel partisse dalli pera chegar à India a tẽpo q̄ podesse dar carga às naos q̄ auião de tornar pera o regno: & que antes de partir, ou depois, per qualquer nauio da terra, mãdasse a el Rei de Melinde per hũ dos degradados q̄ cõ elle hiam, as cartas q̄ lhe leuaua, & lhe screuesse o q̄ passara em Quiloa, & de sua parte lhe fezesse muitos offerecimẽtos, como a bõ amigo. Alẽ disto q̄ como partisse de Quiloa, mãdasse dous bargätis, q̄ sem entrar no estreito do mar de Arabia corressem toda a costa, ate o cabo de Guardafum, pera lhe trazerem nouas a Anchediua de tudo o q̄ achassem naquella costa, no qual ilha lhe mandaua q̄ fezesse hũa fortaleza, de que hia prouido por capitam Emanuel Paçanha, onde da madeira q̄ leuaua, mãdaria fazer as galês do modo q̄ lho dera per regimento: & pera prouedor desta obra ficasse alli Ião Serram. O que feito, & a fortaleza posta em altura que lhe parecesse defensauel se partisse pera Cochim, deixando a Emanuel paçanha duas carauelas das q̄ leuaua, & se lhe parecesse necessario deixarlhe mais algũs nauios o fezesse, è q̄ de Anchediua fosse sempre de longo da costa ate Cochim, pera ver se podia tomar algũas naos de calecut, ao qual rei faria sẽpre crua guerra, pola ter por imigo capital, mas q̄ aos de Cochim, & de Cananor fauorecesse sempre como amigos, aos quaes daria suas cartas, & presentes q̄ lhe leuaua, cõ os offerecimẽtos q̄ lhe parecesse necessarios: o que feito trabalharia de despachar as naos que auião de tornar pera o regno, de q̄ seriam capitães, Rui Freire, Fernão Soarez, & Sebastião de Sousa. E q̄ sabida a carga q̄ podia auer è Cochim pera as naos, se passasse logo a Coulam cõ as outras naos, pera as la fazer carregar, & as cartas q̄ leuaua pera o Rei da terra lhas desse, estando elle ahi, & que sobre tudo trabalhasse por auer licença del Rei pera ahi fazer hũa fortaleza. E que em qualquer lugar destes que as naos tomassem carga, que tanto que tres fossem prestes lhes daria capitães, & as despacharia sem mais esperarem pelas outras, o que trabalharia que fosse sempre de todas no mes de Ianeiro, & que despachadas aquellas que no Ianeiro seguinte auia de mandar com carga pera o regno, se fosse ao mar de Arabia, deixãdo prouidas as fortalezas de Cochim & Anchediua, & q̄ na

boca delle, onde lhe milhor parecesse fezesse hũa fortaleza pera impedir a nauegação aos mouros de Meca pera a India, na qual acabada deixaria por capitam Emanuel paçanha, que consigo leuaria de Anchediua, & por alcaide mor Fernam sanchez, aos quais deixaria todas as munições de guerra, & nauios q̄ lhe fossem necessarios, segũdo a calidade do lugar: lembrãdo lhe quam longe ficauam de socorro: o que tudo feito se tornaria pera a India, onde como chegasse mandaria fazer a fortaleza de Coulam (se pera isso podesse auer licença do Rei) na qual ficaria por capitam Lourenço de britto. E que quãto a el Rei de Calecut, que se lhe mandasse commeter paz que lha outro gasse sendo el Rei de Cochim disso muito cõtente, mas que fazendosse a tal paz seria com condiçam, que todos os mouros de Meca se saíssem da cidade, dando el Rei de Calecut pera firmeza da tal paz, todos os arrefens, & seguranças necessarias, & q̄ quando tornasse do mar de Arabia pera a India, fezesse da sua armadas as frotas que lhe parecesse, mandando com ellas correr as costas de Chaul, Dabaul, Cambaia, & Ormuz. E que com todos os Reis, q̄ quisessem com elle paz a fezesse, pondolhe os tributos q̄ honestamente podessem pagar, & que lhe encomẽdaua, q̄ tratasse muito bem todos os Christãos, q̄ em aquellas partes ouesse & assi mesmo aos que se conuertessem a Fã, de qualquer lei, & seita q̄ fossem. E q̄ se lhe parecesse bẽ dar algũs assentamentos aos senhores, & pessoas principaes daquellas prouincias o fezesse, segundo a qualidade de cada hũ delles: & que sobre tudo, pela grande cõfiança q̄ delle tinha lhe daua poder pera prouer, assi nas cousas da justiça, como nas da sua fazenda, o q̄ lhe encomẽdaua q̄ fezesse de maneira, q̄ fosse inteiramente guardado seu seruiço, & a justiça cõseruada, & feita a todos gẽralmente: o que cumprindo, alem do que era obrigado, pelo cargo q̄ tinha, lhe faria nisso muĩ grande seruiço.

## CAPITULO II.

*Do que dom Francisco Dalmeida passou no dia que partio do porto de Bethalem, ate chegar a Quiloa, & o que ahi fez.*

Prestes a armada, sendo el Rei presente, partio dom Francisco Dalmeida do Porto de Bethalem aos xxv dias do mes de Março de mil, & quinhentos, & cinco, sem a nao de Pero Danhaia, por

quãto se perdeu no mesmo porto cõ tormenta. Pela qual razam na fim do regimento q̄ el Rei deu a dom Francisco lhe mandou q̄ nam toquasse em Çofala, mas q̄ rota batida sã fosse a Quiloa fazer a fortaleza, que lhe ahí mandaua que fizesse. Partida a armada, cõ mui bom tẽpo chegou dom Francisco ao porto Dale, na costa de Guine, onde se deteue noue dias, fazendo augoada, & foi alli bem festejado do Rei da terra. O q̄ acabado se fez a vela aos xxv dias do mes de Abril, & sendo ja quasi jũto da linha Equinocial lhe sebreuieram calmarias q̄ duraram catorze dias. Andãdo assi neste trabalho per conselho, & parecer dos outros capitães, porq̄ algũas destas velas erã zorreiras, & não podião ter cõ as outras partio a frota em duas capitãncias, tomãdo pera a sua treze naos, & a caravela de Gonçalo de paiua, & das naos de Lopo Sanches, & de Sebastião de Sousa cõ as cinco carauelas deu a capitãncia, a Emanuel paçanha sogro de Sebastião de Sousa, em cuja nao hia prouido da fortaleza q̄ se auia de fazer ã Anchediua. Separadas estas capitãncias, passarão todos jũtos a linha, aos vintanoue dias do mes de Abril na qual derrota depois das frotas serẽ ja apartadas hũa da outra, a nao de Pero ferreira fogaçã, cõ calmarias, & vãzear, por ser muito velha, fez duas vezes agoa de q̄ na derradeira se foi ao fundo, sem della se saluar mais que a gente, & hũa arca de prata da capella de dõ Francisco dalmeida. Passada esta calmaria, seguindo sua viajẽ, os pilotos per ma nauegaçã cõ medo do cabo de boa Sperança, se poseram em altura de quarenta graos, da banda do Sul, onde por ja ser neste tempo Inuerno naquellas partes, acharão os dias mui pequenos, com tantos frios, & neues que as pas a lançauam fora das naos, com o qual trabalho dobrou o cabo aos xxvj dias do mes de Junho, cõto, & setenta, & cinco legoas a la mar, & chegandosse o mais q̄ pode a terra, lhe deu aos dous dias de Julho hũa tão forte troboada, q̄ rompeo as velas da sua nao & as de Diogo correa, da qual nao de Diogo correa cairã tres homẽs ao mar de hum dos quaes q̄ se saluou porei aqui hum caso espantoso, pera exẽplo de todo o Principe, Rei, & senhor, por grande que seja, fazer que seus filhos saibam a arte, & exercicio do nadar, cõ o qual muitos se saluaram de grandes perigos & outros polo nam saberẽ se afogaram em pequenos vaos. Este homem se chamaua Fernam lourẽço, que como cahio da nao, em surdindo arriba dagoa, aleuãtou hum braço pera que o vissem, & dixẽ a alta voz, que mandassem ter tento nelle ate pela menhã, porque ate

entam se atreuia nadar, o que o capitão fez, & foi ao outro dia tomado. Nesta tormenta se perdeu da frota a nao de Ioam serrão, per cujo respeito dom Frãcisco andou ao paio algũs dias, mas vendo q̄ nã aparecia, mandou seguir viagem, & aos xvij dias do mes de Iulho virão as ilhas primeiras, donde logo despedio Gonçalo de paiua pera Moçambique a saber se as armadas de Francisco dalbuquerque, & Afonso dalbuquerque, & Lopo Soarez passarão pera o regno, & o que lhes em suas viagens acontecera. O que feito se partio rota abatida pera Quiloa, onde chegou aos xxij dias de Iulho, & porq̄ a nao de Gonçalo de paiua lhe ficaua a rê, sendo dom Francisco ja a vista de Moçambique, mādou ao mesmo negocio Fernão bermudez. Surta a armada na barra de Quiloa, dom Francisco mādou visitar el Rei por Ioão da noua, mas elle com receo dos erros q̄ tinha cometidos contra os nossos depois da visitaçãõ se sahio da cidade, o mais secretamēte que pode, ficando nella Mahamed anconij, de quẽ fiz mençãõ, quãdo o Almirante dõ Vasco da gama alli veo ter. Cõ este Mahamed anconij fezerã corpo os que ficarão na cidade, em q̄ aueria mil, & quinhētos homẽs de peleja, com tençãõ de se defenderẽ. Dõ Francisco vêdo q̄ el Rei lhe não vinha falar como lhe mandara dizer per cinco mouros, q̄ cõ receo do q̄ ja suspeitaua não quis deixar tornar a terra, ao outro dia pela menhã vinta tres dias de Iulho, vespora do dia do Apostolo Sãctiago deu na cidade cõ trezentos homẽs, & dõ Lourenço seu filho cõ duzentos desembarcando elle na parte q̄ estaua de frente da frota, & dom Lourenço de frente das casas del Rei, chegarã a praia a tempo q̄ batia a agoa nas casas, por ser prea mar onde logo dõ Frãcisco sahio primeiro q̄ todos em terra, cõ a bandeira Real q̄ leuaua Pero cã, q̄ seruia dalferez, & apos elle os outros capitães, sem acharem resistencia, o q̄ parecendo cilada mandou q̄ mui atēto entrassem pela cidade, na ordem q̄ lhes pera isso deu na qual acharão ainda algũa gente tam desordenada, q̄ sem nenhum perigo chegaram a hũas casas del rei, q̄ estã no cabo della, onde dom Francisco achou ja seu filho dõ Lourço, q̄ ate alli viera sem achar quẽ lho estoruasse. Mahamed anconij como sua tẽçam era não pelejar cõ os nossos na mesma hora q̄ desembarcarão se sahio da cidade com a mais gente de guerra q̄ nella auia. Em dom Francisco chegãdo às casas del Rei mandou logo quebrar as portas q̄ estauão fechadas, & cuidando q̄ esteuesse el Rei nellas dixẽ a dom Lourenço q̄ entrasse dêtro, & o

prendesse, & lho trouxesse viuo, mas dom Lourço o nam achou nos paços, & dalgũs mouros q̄ se alli acolherão, q̄ pera sua saluaçam poseram hũa bãdeira das quinas em hũa torre dos paços, soube q̄ era fogido. Acabado este negocio dõ Francisco se foi aposentar em hũas das milhores casas da cidade, q̄ estauam sobelo mar, dãdo logo licença à gente q̄ a fosse saquear, defendê-dolhe q̄ cõtudo nam possesse fogo a cousa nenhũa, & q̄ tudo quanto achassem de preço metessem em hũas casas jũto das suas, pera se depois repartir per todos, o q̄ se assi fez de muitas mercadorias, & algũas cousas douro, & prata, tomãdo dõ Frãcisco pera si hũa so frecha, dizêdo q̄ pera elle aquillo abastaua. Auida esta pacifica vitoria, armou dõ Frãcisco dalmeida algũs caualeiros, de q̄ hũ foi Fernão perez dãdrade, pessoa q̄ depois na India, & ã outras partes fez assinados seruiços a estes regnos. E logo ao outro dia começou a fortaleza, nas mesmas casas em q̄ pousaua, por estarê ã lugar proprio pera o tal edificio, por a agoa bater nellas, pera segurãça do q̄ mãdou derribar tantas casas vezinhas a esta, quantas lhe pareceo necessario, de modo q̄ fez hũ mui espaçoso terreiro, por onde a artelbaria podia varejar hũa boa parte da cidade, & per hõra do bẽauenturado Apostolo Santiago, em cujo dia esta fortaleza começou lhe pos o nome da sua auocaçam. Neste mesmo dia, sabêdo dõ Frãcisco que Mahamed anconij estaua cõ a gente, q̄ se cõ elle saira perto da cidade, lhe mandou dizer per João da Noua, q̄ sua tençam era fazelo Rei de Quiloa, q̄ se podia tornar, & de sua parte dizer o mesmo a todolos q̄ fugirão, q̄ elle lhes daua pera isso licença, & os teria, & mãteria em justiça como a vassallos del rei de Portugal seu senhor, a cuja obediencia auiam de ficar, com muitas mais liberdades, & priuilegios dõ q̄ tinhão em poder do tyrãno que era fugido, com o qual recado se tornaram todos pera cidade em dia de sancta Anna, vinta seis dias do mes de Iulho, vindo Mahamed anconij em hũ fermoso caualo, q̄ lhe dõ Francisco mandou cõcertar a gineta, cõ jaezes douro, & prata, & todolos outros a pè, indo diãte Gaspar, dizêdo a alta voz em lingua Arabiga, este he o vosso Rei a elle auéis de obedecer ã nome del rei dõ Emanuel de Portugal nosso senhor, cujos vassallos todos sois. E desta maneira ãdou per todalas ruas principaes da cidade ate chegar as casas onde se fazia a fortaleza, porque alli o estaua sperando dom Frãcisco dalmeida no terreiro, em hũ cada falso emparamêtado de panos douro, & de seda, no qual lugar a

vista de todo o pouo, & de mais da nobreza daq̃lla cidade, pôdolhe hũa coroa de ouro na cabeça, q̃ leuaua pera el Rei de Cochim, o aleuãtou por Rei do regno de quiloa, & elle jurou ã sua lei de ser leal aos Reis de Portugal, & de ser seu vassalo, cõ o trebuto q̃ ja era posto aos reis daquelle regno de quiloa, o q̃ assi solênizado, dom Francisco o coroon, & lhe entregou o regno, do q̃ mandou fazer estromêtos publicos em lingoa Arabia, & Portuguesa, q̃ mandou a estes regnos assinados por el Rei, & polos principais da terra, q̃ a este auto foram presentes, & por elle, è por todolos capitães da frota, & pessoas nobres q̃ nella hião, os quaes deũ ser perdidos como o sam outras muitas cousas dignas de memoria por se nã lançarẽ na torre do tõbo como em seu proprio, & ordenado lugar. Feito este auto dom Frãcisco dalmeida leuou el Rei Mahamed anconij aos paços, onde o deixou cõ muito contentamento dos da cidade, & dos nossos, pollo elle mesmo merecer, & polas boas partes q̃ nelle auia. Estãdo os negocios neste termo chegarão de Moçãbique Gõçalo de paiua, & Fernão bermudez cõ nouas destar a terra pacifica, & cartas q̃ lhe o Xeque dera de Frãcisco dalbuquerque, & de Lopo Soarez, em q̃ dauam auiso aos capitães q̃ per alli passassem do termo, & esta do q̃ deixauam as cousas da India. E logo dahi a poucos dias, q̃ foi aos tres dias do mes Dagosto chegou a quiloa Ioam serrão capitão da nao bota fogo, q̃ com tormenta se perdera nesta armada, como atras fica dito. Iuntas estas naos, & procedendo a obra da fortaleza, elrei Mahamed anconij veo visitar dom Frãcisco, & lhe pedio os mouros que na entrada da cidade foram captiuos, os quaes lhe dom Francisco Dalmeida mãdou dar todos allem do que lhe dixee, que elle fora tamanho amigo del Rei Alfudail, que o tyramno Abrahemo matara, q̃ se ainda fora viuo lhe dera o regno de sua propria, & liure vontade, cõ as condições q̃ o recebera, mas ja que era morto lhe quisesse conceder, q̃ per morte delle Mahamed ãconij, ficasse o regno a hũ filho do dito Rei defũto, posto q̃ elle mesmo tiuesse filhos q̃ podiam soceder, & que antes que se dalli o fosse o fizesse jurar por Principe, pera o q̃ o mãdaria logo vir, & o teria consigo como a proprio filho. Dom Francisco lhe concedeo o que pedia espantado, assi elle, como todolos da frota, & os da terra, de hũa tamanha, & tam desacustumada virtude. Polo que mandou logo Ioão da Noua por este filho del Rei Alfudail q̃ estaua na terra firme, mea legoa da ilha & o fez jurar por Principe herdeiro do regno de Quiloa, por

falecimento del rei Mahamed anconij, q̄ a este tempo seria homem de setenta annos. O q̄ tudo acabado, & a cidade pacifica, ficando ja a fortaleza em altura que se podia mui bẽ defender. Dom Francisco Dalmeida partio de Quiloa vespora do bẽauenturado S. Lourẽço, noue dias do mes Dagosto, pera ir sobre Mombaça, deixãdo regimẽto a Pero ferreira fogaça, q̄ hia prouido da capitania desta fortaleza do q̄ auia de fazer, & cartas pera Emanuel paçanha capitam da frota q̄ na viagem separara da sua em q̄ lhe mandaua q̄ tanto q̄ alli viesse partisse logo pera Mombaça, & q̄ se o ahi nam achasse se fosse perã India, ou pera Melinde, sabendo q̄ estaua ahi, & que por guarda daquella costa deixasse em Quiloa Gonçalo vaz de goes na sua carauela, & hũ bargantim q̄ se depois auia de armar.

### CAPITULO III.

*Do que dom Francisco Dalmeida fez em Mombaça, & como depois de a tomar, & queimar, partio pera Melinde, & dahi pera a India.*

Quatro dias depois de se dõ Francisco dalmeida fazer a vela de Quiloa chegou a boca da barra de Mombaça, donde como surgio mandou logo Gõçalo de paiua que a fosse sondar com dous mouros pilotos que trouxera de Quiloa, & indo sondando chegaram a hum baluarte, do qual lhe tiraram duas bombardadas, de q̄ a hũa lhe passou o costado de carauela, ao que respondendo com a sua artilharia, tratou o baluarte de maneira q̄ o fogo se acendeo nelle, & os que o guardauam fugiram perã cidade, o que feito se tornou com recado a dom Francisco que podia entrar sem perigo por a barra ter fundo pera isso. Surto diãte da cidade, mandou per hũ dos pilotos mouros recado a el Rei de Mombaça q̄ sua vinda era alli, não pera lhe fazer guerra senam pera o poer a obediência del Rei de portugal seu senhor, cuja amizade se quisesse seria tratado com a mesma hõra, & fauor que o eram muitos reis, & senhores Dafrica, & da India seus vassallos, & amigos, os quaes acostumaua fauorecer & defender, & fazer guerra a todos os q̄ lha a elles faziam. Este piloto mandou dom Francisco dalmeida a Ioã da noua q̄ leuasse no seu batel, o qual antes de chegar a terra falou em sua lingoa cõ algũs mouros dos

q̄ estauam na praia, dizendolhe, q̄ leuaua recado de paz, q̄ se lhe el Rei desse licença, lhe iria falar, ao q̄ lhe responderam q̄ se saisse em terra o forião em pedaços, que dicesse ao capitam, q̄ auia muita diferença dos caualeiros de Mõbaça, as galinhas de Quiloa, & que em tempo estaua pera o experimentar, cada vez que quisesse sair cõ sua gente em terra. Dado este recado, mandou dom Francisco, de noite, Ioam da noua no seu batel, & outro capitam pera lhe tomarem lingoa, como tomaram, & acertou de ser hum criado del Rei continuo de sua casa, ao qual dõ Frãcisco prometeo liberdade se lhe dicesse a verdade do que elRei determinaua, & se achasse o contrairo, o mandaria enforçar. O mouro se lhe lançou aos pes, & dixe que elRei de Mombaça, como soubera as nouas da tomada de Quiloa, se começara de aperceber, & q̄ pera isso tinha ja na cidade quatro mil soldados, & muita artelharía assentada no muro, & torres, & que allem desta gente speraua ainda dous mil homens. Com esta noua & com a reposta que da praia deram ao piloto mouro, teue dõ Francisco a guerra por certa. Polo que logo ao outro dia, que era vespora da Asumpçam de nossa Senhora, per conselho de Fernam Soarez, mandou poer fogo, a cidade per duas partes, de que arderão algũas casas posto que sua determinaçam fosse de acometer per assalto, antes de lhe poerẽ o fogo do q̄ foi contrariado dos mais dos capitães da frota, porq̄ a cidade era mui grande, & nella auia muita gente de peleja. O fogo se ateou de longo da praia, de maneira que dom Lourenço, & Fernão Soarez que o foram poer nam poderam sperar nella, & se recolheram aos bateis, & de ahi as naos. Antes que o fogo se possesse, ouue assaz de resistencia da parte dos inimigos, em q̄ morrerão delles mais de setenta, & dos nossos morrerão hũ criado de dõ Frãcisco per nome Frãcisco Serrão, & hũ bõbardeiro, & forão muitos feridos. No mesmo dia q̄ se pos o fogo a cidade assentou dõ Frãcisco de acometer ao outro, polo que duas horas ante manhãa sabio de fronte donde estaua surto, & com elle dom Francisco de Sã, & Lourenço de Brito, Rui Freire, Gõçalo de Paiua, Phelipe Rodriguez, Fernão Bermudez, Antam Gonçaluez, & a gente da nao de Ioão Serram, por quanto elle estaua ferido. Na outra parte da cidade desembarcou dom Lourenço, & com elle Fernam Soarez, Diogo correa, & Ioam da noua, & posto que tam cedo fosse poderam enxergar dos bateis com a claridade do fogo, que ainda duraua que não auia gente na praia: com tudo receandosse

dom Francisco que fosse cilada não quis desembarcar senam em amanhecendo, então sahio em terra cõ a bandeira Real q̄ leuaua Pero Cão. Dom Lourenço pojou na parte q̄ lhe era assinada, & entrãdo pelas ruas, por serê muito estreitas recebiam grande dãno de pedras, zagunchos, a lanças darremesso q̄ lhe lançauam homês, & molheres das janellas, & terrados das casas, tanta cãtidade q̄ foram forçados se acolherê debaixo das sacadas, sem se poderem seruir a sua vontade das bestas, & espingardas q̄ leuauam cõ tudo debaixo destas sacadas tirauão aos q̄ estauão nas janellas, & terrados, mas nem por isso deixauam de lãçar de riba tantas pedras, & penedos, q̄ nenhum dos nossos ousaua dandar pelo descuberto das ruas, dos q̄ constrangidos determinaram de cometer a porta de hũa casa donde duas molheres Cafras de nasçam, & algũas mouros com ellas lhes faziam muito dãno, a qual porta arrombada, sobiram a casa com assaz perigo, mas quis Deos q̄ com hũa seta atrauessou hũ besteiro a garganta de hũa destas Cafras, de que logo cahio morta do que espantados os outros começaram a fogir per cima dos terrados, seguindolhes aquelles que dos nossos sobirão o alcance, ate os lançarem foro do lanço daquella rua. Pelo que os que estauam debaixo das sacadas, começaram de caminhar adiante, mas em chegando ao começo doutra rua, sendo ja passado adiante dom Lourenço antre elle, & o esquadram de Ioam da noua derribaram os mouros hũa parede velha, q̄ lhes tomou o passo da rua, pelo q̄ o Guião de Ioão da noua per nome Vaqueiro, se deteue, o q̄ assi fizeram todolos q̄ vinhã atras, vendo sobrestar o Guião, na qual tetença foram tãbem seruidos de tiros darremesso, & pedras dos terrados, & janellas das casas q̄ se muito estiueram não podera ser sem grande perigo. O q̄ vendo o contramestre da nao de Ioão da noua determinou de sobir arriba as casas com dous seus companheiros, hũ chamado Rui Fernãdez que depois foi seleiro del Rei, & outro Ioão Lopez que foi selleiro do Cardeal dom Afonso seu filho, os quaes todos tres quebrando a porta de hũa dellas sobiram arriba, & ao sobir da escada por serem poucos acharam assas de resistencia, & forã mui maltratados, se tras elles nam sobiram Fernão Perez Dandrade, & o feitor, & scriuam da nao de Ioam de Noua, & Duarte Fernãdes q̄ depois foi thesoureiro do thesouro del Rei, & outros que fizeram fogir os mouros do terrado ê terrado, ate de todo despejarem a rua. O q̄ feito passarão adiante, onde os dom Lourenço encontrou, que sabendo

o perigo em q̄ estauã, tornara atras a socorrellos, & assi todos juntos chegaram aos paços del Rei q̄ ja era fogido nos quaes acharão Fernã bermudes, q̄ bradando de hum terrado, Portugal, Portugal, dixe a dom Lourenço q̄ dom Francisco seu pai era passado adiãte, & o mesmo lhe dixe Rui freire q̄ achou a porta dos mesmos paços, & lhe a mostrou a rua per onde fora, o qual dõ Francisco antes disse guiado pelo mouro q̄ Ioão da Noua tomara chegou quasi ate os paços del Rei sem achar resistencia, mas dalli por diante achou algũa, cõ tudo chegou a elles sem dos seus ferido nenhum, onde ja nam achou elRei, porq̄ sabendo como a cidade era entrada, & que os nossos eram ja juntos as ruas vezinhas aos paços, se sahio delles, fogindo pera huns palmares, onde se fez forte. Pelo q̄ vendo dõ Francisco como os paços erão despejados, deixou per guarda delles Fernão Bermudez, Rodrigo rabelo, & Rui Freire, com a gente de suas capitánias. E passando adiante em busca de seu pai o achou bemtrauado com os imigos, com cuja vinda, & socorro foi mui ledo, dando logo Santiago nos mouros, cõ tanto esforço, q̄ forão constrangidos deixar a rua, & acolherense pera hũs palmares, onde el Rei estaua. O q̄ feito dõ Francisco mandou a dom Lourenço q̄ se fosse pera os paços & possesse guarda no q̄ nelles auia, & pera lhe mostrar as casas & lugares onde el Rei tinha seus thesouros, & recamara mãdou com elle o mesmo mouro q̄ tomara Ioão da Noua, que por ser criado del Rei sabia mui bẽ onde todas estas cousas estauão, è elle se foi com sua gente dar hũa vista a cidade, & vendo q̄ de todo era despejada se tornou aos paços del Rei, onde ja estaua dõ Lourenço, sem nelles achar o thesouro q̄ cuidaua, nẽ cousa q̄ fosse destima. Isto seria ao meo dia, a qual hora estauam ja alli todo comerem, & tomarem hũ pouco de repouso, mandou dom Francisco q̄ fossem saquear a cidade, & q̄ o despojo se leuasse as naos, pera se depois partir per todos, o q̄ se assi fez. El Rei de Mombaça, vèdo o erro em que caira, em se dom Frãscisco recolhendo perã cidade, lhe mandou pedir paz, a qual nam ouue efeito, posto sobrisso fossem, & viessem alguns recados. Na cidade forão achadas muitas bombardas de ferro, & outras munições de guerra, q̄ leuarão a frota, cõ todo o mais despojo. Morrerão dos da cidade mais de mil, & quinhentas pessoas como se depois soube. E ficarão captiuos duzentos, em que entrauam molheres muito aluas, & fermosas, & estes todos escolhidos, entre mais de dous mil que captiuaram, porq̄ aos

outros deu dõ Frãcisco liberdade, & entre os captiuos foram os senhorios de tres naos de Cãbaia q̃ estauã varadas diante da cidade. Dos nossos morreram cinco homẽs da companhia de dom Lourenço, & forão muitos feridos, dos quaes hum foi dom Fernando de Sa, de hũa frechada no dedo polegar do pe direito, q̃ lho passou da qual ferida por a seta ser eruada morreo dahi a poucos dias. Depois da cidade ser saqueada, em se dom Francisco recolhendo lhe mandou poer outra vez o fogo, de que ardeo toda, & por o vento lhe ser contrairo mandou toda a frota a toa, fora do porto, em que se deteu sete dias, no qual tempo chegou alli Vasquo Gomez Dabreu, que se esgarrara da armada. Postas as naos de largo, dom Francisco tomou sua derrota pera Melinde, mas não pode tomar a cidade: porque a corrente o leou a hũa angra que esta abaixo cito legoas, per nome de sancta Helena, na qual achou as carauelas de Ioam homẽ & Lopo Chanoca, q̃ eram da armada q̃ se apartara da sua, como fica dito de q̃ dera a capitania a Emanuel paçanha. Mas Ioam homem, nem Lopo Chanoca nam achou, porq̃ eram idos por terra a Melinde buscar mantimentos, & dos q̃ achou nas carauellas soube q̃ com tormenta se apartaram da outra armada, & que Ioão homẽ descobrira antes de chegar ao cabo de boa Sperança tres Ilhas, dez legoas hũa da outra, a q̃ posera nome a hũa sancta Maria da graça, & a outra S. Gorge, & a terceira sam Ioão, muito frescas & de muitas agoas, & aruoredos, onde fezera augoada, & tomara muito pescado, lobos marinhos, & aues pera prouisã da viagem, de q̃ então tinha muita necessidade, & q̃ daquella ilha viera ter a de Zamzibar, onde lhe o Rei fezera muita honra, & outros muitos offerecimentos & lhe mandara muitas frutas, & refrescos da terra, vaquas, carneiros, & galinhas em presente, mostrandosse muito grande seruidor del Rei dom Emanuel. Dom Francisco posto q̃ muito desejasse de se ver cõ el Rei de Melinde, o nã pode fazer, por lhe o vento nam seruir, pera poder chegar com a frota a cidade, è por não poder sperar mais, porq̃ se lhe passaua o tẽpo, mandou dalli Fernão Soarez, & Diogo Correa visitar el Rei cõ hũ presente q̃ lhe mandaua el Rei dom Emanuel, com os quaes se tornaram Ioam homem, & Lopo Chanoca, & com elles veo hum irmão del Rei, por quem mandaua visitar dom Francisco com refrescos da terra, & outros presente. Desta angra quisera dom Francisco ir a cidade de Magadoxo, pera a destruir, mas per conselho, & parecer dos capitães, & pilotos o nam fez, porq̃ era fora de seu caminho,

& podera por esse respeito pasarselhe o tẽpo da nauegaçam da India, pelo q̃ se partio desta angra aos xxvij dias Dagosto no qual dia faleceo dõ Fernando de Sa da setada q̃ lhe deram em Mombaca, pelo q̃ deu a capitania da sua nao a Rodrigo rabello, & seguindo viagem com tempo galerno, chegou a Ilha de Anchediua, aos treze dias de Septẽbro, do mesmo anno do MDV, em q̃ partira de Portugal, onde achou cartas de Gonçalo Gil Barbosa feitor de Cananor q̃ lhe deu hum messageiro Indio, a q̃ os da terra chamam Patamarez, porq̃ auisaua qualquer capitam que ali chegase, como tinha muita speciarria prestes para a carga das naos, & q̃ se alli podessẽ esperar todo o mes de Septẽbro lhe viriã dar nas mãos tres naos de Meca muito ricas, & bem armadas q̃ vinham pera Calecut. Dom Francisco despachou logo Ioão homẽ pera Cananor, Cochim & Coulam a dar nouas de sua chegada, & auiso das naos q̃ auia de mãdar pera o regno pera lhe terem a carga prestes, & a Lopo Chanoca, & Gonçalo de paiua mandou que vigiassem a costa de maneira que estas tres naos nam pasassem. O q̃ feito começou logo de edificar a fortaleza sobre alicerces de hum antigo edificio que achou na ilha junto do mar, & apar delles algũas cruces pintadas de preto, & vermelho em paredes, q̃ pareciam serem em outro tempo de algũa ermida, ou igreja de Christãos. Na qual obra, assi nobres, como populares, trabalhauam todos cada hum por seu giro, pera ajuda do qual negocio lhes veo a preposito a chegada de Sebastiam de Sousa, em cuja nao vinha Emanuel paçanha por capitão da armada q̃ dom Francisco apartou da sua antes de passar o cabo, como fica dito, & com elle Antam Vaz, porq̃ Gõçalo vaz de goes ficara em Quiloa, polo assi deixar mandado dom Francisco, & de Lucas de Fõsequa, nem de Lopo Sanches nam souberam dar nouas, mas antes segundo os temporaes q̃ passaram os tinhão por perdidos. Com tudo Lucas Da fonscca inuernou ẽ Moçambique, & veo depois ter a India, mas Lopo Sanchez se perdeo entre o cabo das correntes, & a augoada da boa paz, onde morreo afogado, com todolos q̃ com elle hiam, saluo cinco homens q̃ Pero Barreto, hum dos capitães da armada de Pero Danhaia, de q̃ adiante tratarei, indo de longo da terra, tomou quasi meos mortos de fome. Per Emanuel paçanha soube dom Francisco como Habraemo Rei que fora de Quiloa, vendosse despossado do regno, tanto que elle partira ordenara per treição matar el Rei Mahamed anconij, pera o q̃ mandou hũ homem muito esforçado, o qual

pondo em obra cõ muito animo o a q̄ viera, ferira o Rei Mahamed anconij no bucho de hum braço, com hũa agomia, de que nam perigou, mas o tredor foi logo preso, & esquartejado per justiça, com pregões ao modo deste regno, de que o Rei Mahamed ficou mui satisfeito, è os da terra mui timorizados.

## CAPITULO IX.

*De como el Rei depois da partida de dom Francisco dalmeida mandou Pero danhaia a çofala com seis velas, pera ahi fazer hũa fortaleza, & do q̄ em sua viagem passou, ate q̄ faleceo, & da chegada de cide barbudo, & Pero quaresma a India, q̄ partirã do regno depois delle.*

Pero Danhaia era capitam de hũa das naos que hião em companhia de dom Francisco Dalmeida pera ficar por capitam da fortaleza que se auia de fazer em çofala a qual nao se perdeu no porto de Lisboa. Pelo q̄ el Rei mandou a dõ Frãisco, q̄ deixasse esta fortaleza, & fosse fazer a de Quiloa, como tudo fica ja apontado. Partido dõ Frãisco, el rei mādou fazer prestes seis naos, de q̄ deu a capitania ao mesmo Pero danhaia. Das outras naos o eram Francisco danhaia, filho do mesmo Pero danhaia, q̄ auia de ficar por capitão do mar em çofala cõ duas naos, & Pero barreto de magalhães q̄ depois da fortaleza acabada auia dir perã India por capitã das outras quatro, os outros capitães eram Ioão leite, natural de Sãtarê, & Emanuel fernãdez, q̄ hia prouido da feitoria desta fortaleza, & Ioão de q̄iros. Esta armada partio do porto de Bethelê hũ domingo dia da Trindade xvij de Maio do mesmo ãno MDv, & tão avãte como a serra Lioa, q̄rendo Ioã leite, do garoupes da sua nao aferrar hum dourado cahio ao mar, & sê o mais verê se foi a fundo, em cujo lugar os da nao elegerã por capitão George mēdez. Desta parajê forã tanto na volta do Sul pera dobrarê o cabo de boa Speraça q̄ se poserã em altura q̄ acharã tão frio, è neues, q̄ se coalhaua a agoa, & vinho, è quasi q̄ não podiã vêcer a neue aspas, com o qual trabalho o passaram sem o ver. E aos iiij de Septebro passou Pero danhaia o cabo das corrêtes cõ Francisco danhaia, & Emanuel Fernandez, & foi surgir sobela barra de çofala, para alli esperar as outras tres naos onde depois chegou a de q̄ fora capitão Ioão leite, & o

era George Mendez, & a de que fora Ião de queiros, & o era Ião vaz dalmada q̄ cõto a Pero danhaia como Ião de queiros viera ter a baia das vaquas, & q̄ querêdo fazer carnagê entra mea legoa pelo sertão, onde os da terra o matarã a elle, & ao mestre da nao, & piloto, è dos q̄ cõ elle foram nam escaparam mais q̄ Antão de gã scriuã da nao, muito ferido & outros quatro, & q̄ partidos daquella baia toparão cõ a nao de q̄ fora por capitão Ião leite, & pedirão a George mēdez q̄ lhes desse capitão pera os reger, è hũ piloto q̄ os gouernasse, & q̄ George mendez lhe rogara q̄ se passasse pera aq̄lla nao por capitão della, & lhe dera o seu mestre para mandar a via. Depois da vinda de George mēdez, & de Ioam vaz dalmada chegou Antonio de magalhães irmão de Pero barreto è hũ batel cõ recado a Pero danhaia de como ficara no cabo de S. Sebastião, por quãto o seu piloto, por não saber o parcel, não ousaua de o cometer, q̄ lhe mādasse o seu para o leuar daq̄lle porto ao de çofala, o q̄ sabido mādou la Ião vaz dalmada cõ a sua nao, è cõ elle o piloto de Frãcisco danhaia. Chegado Pero barreto a barra de çofala, Pero danhaia entrou para dêtro cõ quatro das suas naos mais peq̄nas, porq̄ as duas por serê grãdes deixou de fora, onde depois de surto mādou logo recado ao senhor da terra por nome Çufe pera se ver cõ elle, as quaes vistas se ordenarã em hũas casas q̄ tinha sobelo rio jũto de hũa pouoaçã, chamada Sagoe, de obra de mil vizinhos, de q̄ muitos eram mouros mercatores, q̄ dali tratauã è ouro para quilloa, Mõbaça, è Melinde, porq̄ os mais do lugar, costa, è sertã são gêtios, cafres. As casas erã grãdes, terreas cubertas dolla, as paredes de sebe barradas per barro: tinhã muitos pateos cercados cõ aruores, & caua ao redor dellas, cõ sebe despinheiros tecidos mais forte que se fora pedra, & cal, dos quaes espinhos, tecidos, em Flandes, & Alemanha cercam os jardins com suas cauas, porque assi os tem por mais seguros dos ladrões. O rei ou senhor de çofala seria homem de setenta annos, alto de corpo, baço, membrudo, & cego, o qual segundo os da terra deziam, fora muito esforçado caualeiro, & temido, cõ o qual Pero Danhaia se vio nestas casas, em hũa camara pequena, armada de panos de seda, lãçado sobre hũ catel, cuberto com hũ pano de seda, & junto d'elle hum grande molho de azagaias. Esta camara estaua no cabo de hũa sala muito comprida, & estreita, na qual estariam bẽ cem mouros baços, descubertos da cinta pera cima, & pera baixo cachados cõ panos de seda, & algodão, & outros taes

sobraçados cõ fotas de seda nas cabeças, è nas mãos ramaes dalābar, & nas cinta cutellos nus, cõ tachas de marfim, guarnecidos douro, assentados todos em trepeças baixas, cõ os assentos de couro cõ cabello, os quaes, è Pero danhaia passando pela sala com os capitães, feitor, & gente, nobre da frota porque a outra ficaua a porta da sala, se aleuantarão todos fazêdolhe grãde cortesia com as cabeças baixas, quasi ate o chão. Entrando Pero Danhaia nesta camara el Rei assi cego como era lhe fez muita cortesia, & gasalhado, & logo alli ouue delle licença para fazer hũa fortaleza, offerecendo se lhe a tudo o q̄ lhe delle mais fosse necessario, do qual despedido se saio cõ elle hũ mouro muito priuado del rei, por nome Acote Abexi de nascã, fazêdolhe muitos offerecimētos, pelo q̄ Pero danhaia sabêdo a valia q̄ este Acote tinha, cõ hũ presente q̄ mādou a el Rei, lhe mandou outro a elle, è retorno do qual lhe mādou Acote vinte Portugueses q̄ tinha em seu poder, q̄ erã dos q̄ escaparã da nao de Lopo sanchez do qual Acote segundo dixerão forã sēpre muito bẽ tratados. Pero danhaia trabalhou cõ ajuda Dacote por ajuntar logo as achegas q̄ lhe erã necessarias pera a fortaleza, & depois de juntas as mais a fundou ètre o lugar de Sagoe & outra pouoaçam dobra de quatro centos vezinhos junto da barra, na qual se começou de trabalhar aos xxj dias de Septebro do mesmo anno de MDv, & sendo ja a mor parte da obra feita, Pero barreto se partio perã India cõ a sua nao, & cõ a de Pero danhaia, de q̄ foi por Capitam Gonçalo Alvarez q̄ viera por piloto da frota. Na obra da fortaleza se cõtinuou cõ muito trabalho, & diligēcia ate o fim de Nouebro, & sendo ja quasi acabada, Pero danhaia mandou a seu filho Francisco danhaia q̄ fosse correr a costa ate Moçambique, & com elle Gõçalo Vaz de goes, que alli viera ter, & Ioão Vaz dalmada q̄ se auia dir dahi para a India, è lhe deu mais outro nauio de q̄ hia por capitão hũ seu criado, q̄ auia de ficar cõ elle em guarda da costa. Gonçalo vaz de Goes, & Ioão vaz dalmada se apartarã è Moçãbique de Francisco danhaia, & forão ter a quiloa, onde acharão Pero barreto, & Gonçalo aluares, & Lucas da fonseca q̄ se perdera da frota do Vicerei, õde pouco tēpo depois veo ter Francisco danhaia è hũ zãbuco q̄ tomara de mouros; porq̄ a sua nao se perdeo cõ outra q̄ tinha tomada de Cãbaia, carregada de muita roupa. Os quaes todos debaixo da capitania de Pero barreto, se partirã de Quiloa, perã India, na somana sancta do anno de MDvj, & chegaram a Anchediua a

xviii de Maio, onde todas inuernarão, salvo Lucas Da fonseca q̄ passou. Partidas estas naos Pero Danhaia continuou em acabar de todo a fortaleza, pera o que o ajudauam os mesmos da terra. Mas vendo os mouros q̄ lhes tirauam muita parte do resgate do ouro q̄ elles sobiam fazer cõ os mercadores q̄ vinham do sertam, ordenaram de lâçar da terra os nossos, dando a entender a Çufe, que nossa vinda não fora a buscar sua amizade, se nam pera o lâçarmos da terra, como o tinhemos feito em Quiloa, & em muitos lugares da India, com as quaes palauras, & outras da calidade, o induziram a fazer secretamente mais de mil Cafres, pera de subito darem sobre os nossos, & lhe tomarẽ a fortaleza: do que Pero Danhaia foi auisado pelo mouro Acote, q̄ allem da amizade que nisso mostraua, se lhe offereceo pera o ajudar com toda sua valia, o q̄ sabendo Pero Danhaia se começou da perceber cõ a mor dessimulaçã q̄ pode pera o dia q̄ sesta guerra auia de declarar, no qual os Cafres vieram cometer os muros da fortaleza mui denodadamente, cõ tiros darremesso, & setas de fogo, sendo ja Acote lançado dentro, cõ cem homẽs seus parentes, & criados, com cuja ajuda os Cafres foram tratados de maneira, q̄ se arredaram a fora, aos quaes logo começaram de servir os tiros das bombardas com q̄ mataram os mais delles, o q̄ vendo os outros se arredaram a quẽ os nossos logo saíram, cõ Acote, & seguindo lhes o alcance, chegaram a aldea, onde estauão as casas de Çufe, nas quaes entrãdo Pero danhaia se foi direito à sua camara, o qual posto que fosse velho, & cego, não perdeo o animo, & coraçam de bom caualeiro, arremessando as azagaias, que tinha apar de si contra a porta da camara, com hũa das quaes ferio Pero Danhaia no pescoço, o que vendo o feitor Emanuel Fernandez, remeteo a elle, & lhe cortou a cabeça. O q̄ feito os nossos ficarão senhores das casas, & do lugar, aos moradores do qual Pero Danhaia mandou, q̄ se não fizesse mais mal, do q̄ ja era feito. A cabeça de çufe, por fazer espanto aos da terra, foi posta na ponta de hũa lança na tranqueira da fortaleza, & em galardão do seruiço q̄ Acote fezera, & amizade lhe deu Pero Danhaia aquelle senhorio de Çofala, & o inuistio nella, em nome delRei dom Emanuel em acto publico que se pera isso fez, o qual Acote o aceitou, declarandosse por vassalo dos Reis de Portugal, cõ promessa de sempre os servir bem, & lealmente, do q̄ tudo se fezerão estromentos publicos, assinados por elle, & pelos principaes da terra, & por Pero Danhaia, & officiaes da feitoria, è outros Portugueses, q̄

seriam ate quarenta porq̃ os mais erão ja mortos de doença por a terra ser de maos ares, & doentia: da qual infeição Pero Danhaia faleceo dahi a poucos dias, em cujo lugar soccedeo o feitor Emanuel Fernandez, q̃ depois de ser capitão fez dentro da trangureira hũa torre de pedra, & cal muito forte. A qual capitania elle seruiu pouco tempo, porq̃ no anno de mil, & quinhētos, & seis chegaram a India Cide barbudo, & Emanuel coresma q̃ partiram do regno depois de Pero Danhaia, aos quaes el Rei mandou q̃ corresseem toda a costa do cabo de boa Sperança ate çofala, a ver se achauam nouas de Frãcisco dalbuquerque, & Pero de Mendonça, dos quaes Cide Barbudo, & Emanuel coresma soube o Vicerei dom Francisco Dalmeida da morte de Pero Danhaia. Pelo q̃ despachou logo por capitão de çofala Nuno Vaz Pereira, ao qual mandou q̃ de caminho prouesse nas differenças q̃ auia em Quiloa, por o rei Mahamed anconij ser morto per treição del Rei de Tiredicundi, parente do Rei Abrahamo desterrado, & por alcaide mor mandou Rui de Brito patalim. Pelo q̃ Emanuel Fernandez se foi perã India, no nauio em q̃ elles vierão, sem mais querer seruir de feitor, tendosse por agrauado do Vicerei lhe responder tã mal as merces, q̃ por gaiardão de seus seruiços, esperaua.

## CAPITULO X.

*Em que se trata da terra de çofala & dos costumes dos que nella viuem, & no grande regno de Benomotapa.*

Os escriptores antigos partem a Ethiopia em superior, & inferior, no qual superior Oriental estã o lugar, & terra de çofala, na costa do mar a que chamão Prassodum. Estas duas Ethiopias tomarão nome de Ethiopie, filho de Vulcano, q̃ foi Rei, & senhor dellas. Diz Diodoro Siculo, q̃ foram os Ethiopes os primeiros homẽs q̃ tiuerão conhecimento de Deos, & primeiro vsaram religião, & ceremonias no culto de uino, & forão os primeiros q̃ acharão o modo de escrever, & q̃ delles veo o conhecimento destas cousas aos Egypcios donde diz q̃ elles descendem, & tomarã as leis por q̃ se governauam. Mas estes Ethiopes a meu juizo deuem de ser os da terra do Abexi, por ser gente, que a muito tempo q̃ tẽ lei, & della era a Rainha Sabà, q̃ veo visitar a

Salamão, & daquelle tempo pera ca tiueram conhecimento da lei q̄ Deos deu aos Iudeus per mão de Moysem, & nam os q̄ jazem do mar Darabia, ate o cabo de boa Sperança, & o sinal disso, he serem tão incultos & barbaros como sam. Antiguamente tiueram os Ethiopes, q̄ ahi dous deoses, hum immortal, q̄ he criador de totalas cousas, & as rege sem nellas auer nenhū defeito, & outro mortal q̄ tem por incerto, assi a elle, como as cousas q̄ se por elle regem, & governam. He toda esta regiam dos Ethiopes tam abundante de minas douro, que faziam antiguamente mais cabedal de cobre, q̄ delle, & o estimauão mais. Screue Herodoto, q̄ querê do Cambyse Rei da Persia, filho de Ciro fazer guerra em hum mesmo tempo aos Carthaginêses, & aos Ammonios, & aos Ethiopes, q̄ a estes Orientaes mandou seus embaixadores, pera por amizade os sobmeter a sen Imperio, pelos quaes mandou em presente ao Rei q̄ então era entre outras algūas cousas, joias douro, de q̄ se o Rei rindo em desprezo do presente, mandou mostrar aos embaixadores as casas em que guardauam os malfeitos, onde em lugar de ferro viram, que eram de ouro totalas cadeas, & outros instrumentos com que aquelles homens estauam presos. Da qual abundancia de ouro, tiueram os Gregos occasiam de fabularem segundo seu costume, dizendo q̄ a mesa do Sol estana nesta regiam das duas Ethiopias, dando a entender, ser toda esta terra hūa pasta douro, a q̄ quizeram poer nome de mesa do Sol. Ao qual planeta atribuem os Poetas, & Alquemistas o metal do ouro. Entre outros muitos costumes antigos desta gente, era hum, q̄ se o Rei tinha algū geito bom, ou mao, ou algūa aleixam do corpo, ou manqueira, ou vicio, ou virtude, q̄ todos los nobres, & domesticos de sua casa trabalhauão polo imitar nos costumes, & pola manqueira ou aleijam, se aleijauão todos, da mesma parte do corpo, donde o rei era aleixado. O qual costume nã sei se guardam ainda, porq̄ não falei com homem Portugues q̄ estiuessse na corte do rei de Benomotapa, nem pus isto aqui, se não pera exemplo que os Reis, & Principes se deuem muito guardar da terem maos geitos, & costumes, & modos de falar porq̄ delles tomão os criados, familiares, & sугeitos as taes manhas, das quais os q̄ os criam, & instituem, & andam no tēpo da meninice, & tenrra idade apar delles, os podê pela mor parte, por bons modos, & honestos exemplos, diuertir. No sertão desta terra de Çofala, & mais a quê pera nos, começado quasi do cabo de boa Sperança, jaz o

grande regno de Benomotapa, ao qual este de çofala era sugeito antes q̄ nos viessemos a esta terra. Do qual regno Rei, & costumes farei aqui hũ discurso no mais breue modo que poder, por me parecer que sam todas estas cousas de calidade q̄ merecê fazer se dellas mção em esta nossa Chronica. O Rei desta prouincia he grãde senhor porq̄ segundo dizem, tem em circuito seus senhorios mais doito cêtas legoas, afora algũs Reis, & senhores q̄ lhe obedecem, & pagam tributo douro, do qual ja os da terra tomarão o gosto que lhe os mouros q̄ antrelles viuem, deram de muito tempo a esta parte, & lhe nos acrecentamos, em quasi setenta annos q̄ a q̄ descobrimos estas prouincias. Todo este regno de Benomotapa he muito fertil de mantimentos, fruitas, & criações, a nella tantos Elephantes brauos, q̄ se nam passa anno nenhum, em q̄ não matem os q̄ os caçam de quatro a cinco mil de q̄ vai perã India grãde soma de marfim. He mui abundante douro, o qual se acha em grande cantidade, assi em minas, como em rios, & alagoas: destas minas ahi hũas no regno de Batua, de q̄ o Rei he vassalo do de Benomotapa, a comarca em q̄ estam se chama Toro a toda em campo raso, & sam as mais antigas q̄ se sabem em toda aquella regiã. No meo desta campina esta hũa fortaleza, toda laurada de cantaria muito grossa, & grande, pela banda de fora, & de dentro, de obra muito prima, & bem assentada, tanto q̄ segundo dizem, se não enxerga cal nas junturas della: sobella porta desta fortaleza esta hũ litreiro talhado em pedra, q̄ por muito antigo se não entende o q̄ quer dizer. E em algũs comaros que aquella campina faz, estão outras fortalezas feitas do mesmo modo, nas quaes todas tem el Rei capitães, & o q̄ se pode dellas julgar he, que forã feitas para guarda daquellas minas douro, & receber o Principe q̄ as mandou fazer alli o direito, q̄ lhe delle pagauão, per officiaes q̄ pera isso nellas teria, por q̄ assi o fazem ao presente os Reis daquelle regno de Benomotapa, do qual os habitadores sam todos pretos de cabello frisado, a q̄ os vizinhos comũmente chamam Cafres, nam adoram nenhũ idolo, nem o tem: crê q̄ a hum so Deos criador de todas as cousas, ao qual adoram, & sencomendam, no que parece q̄ em parte continuaram ate agora, no q̄ atras dixê, do seu antigo modo de crer: tem por religiam algũs dias de guarda, entre os quaes entra o dia em q̄ nasce o seu Rei. Nenhum crime castigam com mor rigor, que o da feitiçaria, porq̄ a todosos feiteceiros matam per justiça, sem perdoar a nenhum, tem tantas

mulheres quantas podem manter, mas a primeira he como senhora das outras, & os filhos desta sam herdeiros, nam casam senam com molher a que ja viesse sua purgaçam, porque tem q̄ se antes de lhe vir conhecem homem, q̄ os filhos q̄ parem, sam todos fracos & de pouca vida. Este Rei de Benomotapa tem grãde estado, seruesse em gíolhos, cõ salua. Quando bebe ou tosse, ou espirra, todos os q̄ estão na casa em alta voz lhe dam profaça, & o mesmo fazê os q̄ estam fora de casa como ouuê estes, & de mão em mão corre o profaça, & se lhe dà per todo o lugar, & assi se sabe q̄ bebeo el Rei, ou tussio espirrou. Neste regno nenhũa casa tem porta, saluo as dos senhores, è pessoas principaes, isto per priuilegio q̄ lhes el Rei pera isso dà, & diz q̄ as portas senam poem nas casas, senam com temor de ladrões, & malfeitores, dos quaes elle he obrigado, como Rei a guardar seu pouo, & sobre tudo os pobres. As casas sam todas de sebe barradas de barro, do modo, q̄ pinteí as do Xequé de Çofala. Vsa este Rei duas insignias, de q̄ hũa he hũa enxada muito pequena, com o cabo de marfim, q̄ traz sempre na cinta, per q̄ dà a entender a seus sugeitos, q̄ trabalhê & aprouem a terra, pera com o q̄ ganhã poderem viuer em paz, sem tomarem o alheo, a outra insignia sam duas azagaias, de mostrando q̄ com hũa a de fazer justiça, & cõ a outra defender seu pouo. Tras continuamente na sua corte todolos filhos dos Reis & senhores q̄ lhe sam sugeitos, a hũa por lhe terem amor de criação, & a outra por se lhe os pais não aleuantarem com as terras, q̄ delle tem. Traz sempre no cãpo, quer seja em tempo de paz, quer de guerra hum exercito de muita gente, de q̄ o capitam geral se chama Zono, & isto faz para ter a terra pacifica, & se lhe nam aleuantarem algũs dos senhores, & Reis q̄ lhe sam sugeitos. Mãda todolos annos muitos dos principaes de sua corte, per todos seus regnos, & senhorios a dar fogo nouo, o q̄ se faz da maneira seguinte. Cada homem destes em chegando as casas dos Reis, senhores, cidades, & lugares, manda apagar em nome del Rei todo o fogo q̄ ahi a, & depois de apagado, vê todos tomar delle, em sinal de obediencia & quem isto não faz he tido por tredor & rebel, & por tal o mãda el Rei castigar, & se he pessoa, ou cidade poderosa, mãda sobrelles o capitão Zono, q̄ sempre anda no campo, pera acudir a estas cousas. Outros muitos costumes tem, q̄ aqui nã ponho por enitar prolixidade.

## CAPITULO XIII.

*De como el Rei mandou catorze naos a India repartidas em quatro capitánias, & da morte de Vasco Gomes dabreu.*

No anno de mil, & quinhêtos, & sete, em que agora entramos nam socedeeo neste regno cousa que de contar seja ate o mes Dabril, em q̄ partiram pera India catorze naos repartidas em quatro capitánias, de que os capitães erã George de mello pereira capitão da nao Bethelê a mor nao q̄ ate aquelle tẽpo fora a India, & hia cõ elle Henrique nunez de liam, o outro capitão era Phelipe de castro, & com elle George de castro seu irmão: o terceiro era Fernam soares, debaixo de cuja capitania hiam Rui da cunha, Gonçalo carneiro, & Ioão colaço, os quaes tres capitães em se acabãdo daperceber, cada hũ delles partia logo de maneira q̄ âtes de mea do Abril, estas tres armadas q̄ eram todas de naos grossas partirã perã India. O quarto capitão era Vasco Gomez dabreu q̄ fora na armada do Vicerei, por capitão de hũa nao, & agora depois de tornado ao regno o mãdaua elrei por capitão de çofala, por ja ter sabido da morte de Pero danhaia, è assi pera fazer hũa fortaleza em Moçãbique, q̄ auia de ficar debaixo da sua capitania, cõ alcaide mor os capitães da sua armada erã Lopo cabral, è cuja nao elle hia, Rui gõçalvez de valadares, Pero Lourço, & Ioão chanoca, os quaes quatro capitães auiam de guardar a costa desde çofala ate Melinde, segũdo a ordem q̄ lhes pera isso desse, & elle auia de ficar na fortaleza de çofala, & Moçambiç. Leuaua mais o dito Vasco gomez dabreu debaixo de sua capitania, Martim coelho, & Diogo de mello, os quaes el Rei mãdaua pera andarem darmada na India tres annos, onde o Vicerei ordenasse. Cõ estas seis naos se partio Vasco gomez dabreu do porto de Lisboa hũa terça feira, aos vinte dias do mesmo mes Dabril, & sendo na costa de Guine, a carauella de Ioã chanoca que por ser nauio pequeno, & bõ de vela, leuaua o forol, se perdeo por ma vigia hũa noite no rio Senega. Os outros nauios se saluaram, porq̄ nam vendo o forol q̄ leuaua a carauella, nam por parecer aos da frota q̄ era perdida, senão q̄ se adiantara muito por ser muito ligeira cada hũ começou a fazer sua vigia, & quis Deos q̄ sentiram no rolo do mar q̄ erão perto de terra, pelo q̄ logo surgiram, & estiuerão assi ate o outro dia, que se soube q̄ era perdida. E por a gête deste regno de Gelofo ser roim nam

ousou o capitam de mandar ninguê a terra, & se foi a Angra de Bezeguiche a fazer agoada, onde achou todos da carauela, saluo o capitã, & scriuão, & quinze homês outros que os da terra retiuera por mandado del Rei, q̃ entam estaua naquella parte de seu regno, os quaes sobre roubados, ouue per resgate cõ assaz trabalho. E porq̃ tudo o de mais q̃ toca a esta armada, em comparação doutras cousas q̃ no mesmo tempo aconteceram na India, sam todas de pouca sustancia, por nã quebrar o fio as outras, depois q̃ começar a entrar nellas procederêi no conto desta, ate o falecimêto de Vasco gomez dabreu, o qual partido de Bezeguiche, chegou ao porto de çofala, aos oito dias de Septêbro, onde achou Nuno vaz pereira, que como atras fica dito, alli mandara por capitam o Vicerei, per morte de Pero danhaia, o qual lhe entregou logo a fortaleza, & se foi pera Moçambique no nauio de Rui gonçaluez de valadares, e cõpanhia de Diogo de mello, & de Martim coelho, q̃ partirã de çofala a dezanoue dias do dito mes, e indo cõ calmarias a re das ilhas primeiras, dez ou doze legoas, aos cinco dias do mes Doutubro se encõtrarã cõ George de mello pereira q̃ lhes contou, como fora ter ao cabo de S. Augustinho, & sem o poder dobrar fora tomar o cabo do Mõte em Guinè, sem ver nenhũa nao das q̃ aquelle anno partiram do regno, & por George de melo trazer muitos doentes, & ter necessidade de agoa, & refresco mandarão o seu piloto, & o de Martim coelho nos seus bateis, a hum rio q̃ estaua de frõte delles, os quaes depois de saidos das naos, começou a vêtar ponente, q̃ era bõ pera ir a Moçambiç, pelo q̃ pareceo bẽ q̃ George de mello se partisse logo pera la, pola necessidade q̃ tinha, & com elle Diogo de mello, & Rui gonçaluez de Valadares, & q̃ Martim coelho ficasse sperãdo polos bateis, mas por o tẽpo ser contrairo pera sairem do rio, elle se fez a vela caminho de Moçambiç, õde chegou aos xxiiij dias Doutubro, & achou dentro no porto George de mello, Diogo de mello, Rui gõçaluez de valadares & Anrique nunez de lião q̃ era da capitania de George de melo, & assi souberam q̃ nenhũa das outras naos q̃ partiram do regno eram passadas perã India ao outro dia da chegada de Martim coelho, chegou o batel da nao de George de mello, & nelle a gente q̃ fora no de Martim coelho q̃ se perdera. Daqui se partirã perã India Diogo de melo, & Martim coelho aos xvij dias do mes de Nouêbro, & por acharê ventos contrairos se tornaram das ilhas de Maluane a Moçambiç, onde arribarão aos seis dias do mes de

Nouembro, sem ate então serem chegadas outras nenhūas naos das q̄ partiram do regno, q̄ as que ja dixē. Alli inuernaram todos, onde depois chegarā as outras naos q̄ faltauam destas frotas, & porq̄ na India se soubesse q̄ eram alli chegadas, por nā ser passada nenhūa nao ordenaram de mandar com recado ao Vicerei, Rui Soarez commendador de Rodes, da criaçā de dō Diogo dalmeida Priol do Cratro, q̄ alli ficara da armada de Tristam da cunha, sperando pelo nauio de Pero coresma, pera se ir nelle em busca de Afonso dalbuquerque, como o el Rei mandaua, o qual a vinte legoas de Moçambi q̄ topou a nao de Ioão gomes dabreu, que se apartou da armada de Tristam da cunha, como se ao diante dira, de q̄ por Ioão gomez ser morto deu Rui soarez a capitania a George botelho de pombal, que leuaua no seu nauio & ambos inuernaram em Lemo, onde estiuerão sete meses ancorados na costa braua, padecendo muita fome, donde se partio pera a India, & a nao em que hia George botelho se perdeo e hūa angra junto de Pate, & a gente se saluou em hūa carauella, de q̄ era capitam, Emanuel aluarez moço da camara del Rei que estaua em Melinde, & se entam achou e sua cōpanhia, & no mesmo caminho no golfam q̄ atrauessa pera a India pelejou o commendador Rui soarez com hūa nao de Meca, em que hiam bē quinhentos mouros, de q̄ se desfez cō muito grāde trabalho, & se desaferraram da nao cō algūs dos Mouros que os tinham entrados os quaes mataram todos, & deste modo passou Rui soarez a India. Partidos Diogo de melo, & Martim coelho de Moçambique, como arriba fica dito chegou ahi Duarte de mello, que Vasco gomez dabreu mandana de çofala pera fazer a fortaleza, de que elle auia de ser alcaide mor, & feitor, o qual depois de ter mandado Duarte de melo, deixando por capitā da fortaleza de çofalā Rui de brito patalim, q̄ seruia de alcaide mor se partio cō outros dous capitāes pera Moçābi q̄, pera por mor diligēcia na obra da fortaleza, & a fazer a sua vōtade, os quaes todos tres se perderā mas em q̄ parajē, nem como nam se pode nūca saber, se nam q̄ a praia de Quiloa foi ter hū masto, q̄ se conheceo ser o da nao de Vasco gomes dabreu. Esta noua veo ter o Moçābi q̄, aos treze dias do mes de Março, de mil, & quinhētos, & oito depois de Diogo de melo, & Martim coelho serē partidos pera o cabo de Guardafū, & os tres capitāes George de melo Phelipe de castro, & Fernā soarez pera a India meado o mes Dagosto, deixādo a fortaleza feita ate o segundo sobrado, e hūa igreja da inuocaçā de

S. Gabriel, cõ hũa casa grãde pera Sprital, os quais tres capitães, sem Anriq̃ nunez de lião, q̃ de Moçambique tornou pera o regno como se adiante dira, chegarão a Cochim sem passarem tẽporal nenhum, onde acharam o Vicerei q̃ com sua vinda foi mui alegre, assi por virẽ todos a saluamẽto, cõmo pela necessidade delles entã tinha, por caso da armada q̃ fazia para ir buscar os Rumes, como se ao diante em seu lugar dira.

### CAPITULO XLIIII.

*De como dom Francisco Dalmeida foi ter auguada de Saldanha onde o mataram os negros naturaes da terra, a que chamam Cafres.*

Entregue a governança da India a Afonso dalbuquerque, dom Francisco dalmeida se partio de Cochim pera Cananor, aos xix dias de Nouembro de Mil & quinhentos, & noue, a tomar algũa carga para as suas tres naos de que os outros capitães eram George de mello pereira, & Lourenço de britto, que fora capitam de Cananor, onde dõ Frãcisco continuãdo seu acostumado officio de liberal, deu mais de dez mil cruzados de sua propria fazẽda a algũs fidalgos, & outras pessoas q̃ tornauão pera Portugal e sua cõpanhia por saber que vinham pobres. Tomada a carga, & mâtímẽtos necessarios, se fez a vela ao primeiro de Dezẽbro, & seguindo sua viajẽ foi ter a auguada de Saldanha, q̃ he junto do cabo de boa Sperãça, no qual porto estando ja prestes pera se fazer a vela, hum Diogo fernãdez labaredas, tendo tomada algũa familiaridade com os negros que vinhão resgatar gado a praia, se foi cõ elles a hũa aldea hũa legoa pelo sertão dẽtro, dos quaes foi festejado, e por sinal damizade lhe derã hũ carneiro grande, & gordo, q̃ elle por ser tal apresentou a dõ Francisco dalmeida, gabãdo lhe muito a terra, & a multidão de gado q̃ nella vira, & simplicidade da gente, & porq̃ na armada auia ainda necessidade de carne, & outros refrescos, mãdou o mesmo Diogo fernandez cõ doze homẽs, que fosse aquella aldea resgatar vacas, q̃ era a carne que se inais auia mister, pera o que leuou algũas cousas das q̃ os negros daquella parajẽ vsão, & acostumã trazer sobre si. Chegados estes homẽs a aldea os negros os conuidaram com carneiros, & outras viandas da terra. Acabado o jantar, entẽderam no resgate trazẽdo logo o gado q̃ auiam de dar a hum escampado fora

da aldea, contra a praia, onde estauam juntos os doze homens que forão com Diogo fernandez, que andaua naldea vendo os curraes, escolhendo o gado q̄ lhe parecia bom, & dalli o mandaua ao lugar do resgate. O qual acabado começaram de caminhar perà praia, leuãdo o gado consigo, & ja hum pouco alongados da aldea veo hum negro com algũs carneiros, a tenção de resgatar, o qual parece q̄ mãdou o spirito maligno pera se ordenar o triste caso q̄ acõteceo porq̄ dêtrestes doze hũ delles per nome Gonçalo homem, parente de Ião homê cuidando que fazia negocio per que os negros ficarião mais seguros na nossa amizade, dixe aos outros q̄ tomassem aquelle negro, & que o leuassem a dom Francisco dalmeida, pera que o vestisse, & lhe desse algũas peças, com que se tornasse contente pera a aldea, q̄ isto seria causa de resgatarem sempre de melhor vontade cõ as naos q̄ alli viessem ter, o q̄ parecendo bem aos outros lançaram mão do negro, o qual vendosse presso deu dous brados, a q̄ da aldea cuidaram alguns dos negros. Diogo fernandez q̄ ainda la estaua, vendo os correr acudio de mistura com elles, & com assaz trabalho se meteo entre os nossos, q̄ a poder de pedradas, q̄ lhes os negros tirauão, tomarão por partido soltar o negro, & o gado que leuauam, os quaes chegados a nao de dom Francisco lhe deram a entêder o negocio ao contraito do que passaua, do que mouido teue conselho sobre ir dar naldea, & a destruir, o q̄ lhe contrariaram Lourenço de brito, George de mello pereira, & Martim coelho, dizendo que vingança de homens tam barbaros nam era victoria, q̄ quanto ao que tinham feito era cousa de pouca importancia, & que se se lhes tomasse desculpa, ou a elles soubessem dar, que por ventura não seria sua a culpa se não dos nossos, q̄ tinhão por costume serem desmandados, & mal comedidos em terras alheas, & q̄ quando o caso merecera castigo, nam era bom conselho illos cometer hũa legoa pelo sertam, sem terê noticia do caminho, nem do socorro q̄ lhes poderia vir dos lugares vizinhos. Deste parecer foram contrairos Pero barreto de magalhães, Emanuel telez barreto, & Antonio do câpo, dando pera isso suas razões as quaes inclinado dõ Frãisco, assentou de ir dar na aldea, pera o q̄ mandou fazer prestes os bateis, & com cento, & cincoenta homêes chegou a praia a hũa hora depois de mea noite, em caminhando logo de seu vagar pera a aldea, a qual Pero barreto, & George barreto q̄ hiam diante como fora ordenado, chegarão ante manhã, & a entrarão cada hũ com sua gente per duas partes. Os negros em os

sentindo acudirão cada hum com seu çurram de couro de cabello cingido, cheos de pedras, & de ferros de setas de feiçam de farpões, encastoados em troços de hũ palmo cõprido, que enxerião em astes de pao totado, q̄ traziam nas mãos, com as quaes, & com as pedras se seruiam dar remesso de maneira, que em pouco spaço fezerã voltar a nossa gente perã praia, matãdo dos primeiros tiros Fernam pereira, cõtudo os nossos leuauam algũ gado grosso diante de si, q̄ tomaram antes de chegar a aldeia, com q̄ encaminharam pera onde dõ Francisco ficara com a bandeira Real, o qual acharão ja quasi junto da aldeia, q̄ em os vendo vir de longe, tẽdo o negocio por acabado a sua vontade, aballou contra a praia, pera o lugar em que deixara os bateis, os quaes nã achou porq̄ Diogo de Vnhos, mestre da sua nao, se mudara dalli pera outro lugar de melhor embarcadouro. Pelo que dõ Francisco tomou o caminho pero lã, indo diante de todos por se nam encher do po que fazia o gado, que os nossos ainda traziam junto, guiado per tres homens, & elles vinham detras aos botes com os negros, os quaes depois de serẽ juntos tantos que lhes pareceo q̄ sem receo podiam cometer os nossos, bradando, deram sinal ao gado, & o fezeram ajuntar em hum magote, o q̄ feito remeterão aos tres homẽs q̄ o guiauam, os quaes logo mataram cõ tiros darreinesso, ficando elles entre o gado, & a nossa gẽte q̄ vinha hum pouco detras, na qual deram com tanto impeto q̄ a fezerão espalhar, de q̄ alguns acudiram ao gado, levando o pera onde estaua dõ Francisco que lhe dixee a alta voz, deixai esse gado que o ham de levar os negros, & a nos cõ elle. O q̄ dito começou de caminhar mas vendo q̄ a gente se desordenaua, & espalhaua cada vez mais, & que os negros matauam, & ferião muitos delles, fez volta, & os recolheo todos em hum corpo, começando de encaminhar pera onde estauam os bateis, mas os Cafres ganharam o gado, o qual levando diante de si, fazião estar, & andar segundo o sinal que lhe dauam, & detras d'elle tirauam aos nossos, que por irem juntos os feriam, & matauam a sua vontade, indo ja algũs tam cansados, q̄ se nam tinham criados, ou amigos q̄ os leuassẽ de braço, caião no chã, onde os trilhoua o gado passando por cima delles, & se algũs ficauam viuos os negros q̄ vinhã detras os acabauam de matar, os quaes vendo q̄ os nossos hiam ja desbaratados, se começaram a desmandar, passando adiante do gado, lançandolhe tiros, fazendo biocos, q̄ he manha que vsam na guerra pera espantar os contrarios, o q̄ nam podẽdo sofrer Pero

barreto remeteo a hũ destes q̄ se mais chegaua, & corrêdo hũ pedaço tras elle o passou com hũa lança de q̄ logo cahio morto, ao q̄ acudindo os Cafres, a poder de pedradas matarão a Pero barreto, o q̄ sabendo dõ Francisco quisera voltar, o que nam pode fazer por os negros leuarem a nossa gête muito apertada, cõ tudo não deixaua de caminhar pera a augoadã, na milhor ordẽ q̄ podia : mas vendo q̄ cada vez crecia o numero dos Cafres desfalecia da sua gête, adeuinhando o q̄ foi, dixẽ a George de mello pereira, q̄ lhe entregaua a bandeira Real delrei seu senhor, q̄ a não deixasse em poder daquelles negros, onde segũdo via lhe estaua limitado o fim dos seruiços q̄ lhe sempre fizera. Isto era ja perto daugoadã, onde Diogo do Vnhos estaua com os bateis prestes pera recolher a gente, a qual hora tendo dõ Francisco tirado o barbote lhe deram cõ hũ zaguncho sem ferro na gargãta q̄ lha atrauessou de parte a parte, a dor do qual golpe lhe fez logo poer os geolhos no cham, com as mãos na aste para a arrincar, mas sentindo q̄ se afogaua, as aleuãtou pero o ceo & sem poder dar outro sinal de catholico Christão, cahio morto, jũto do qual mataram os Cafres Diogo pirez, pelejãdo sobelo seu corpo, que fora aio de seu filho dõ Lourenço, & assi acabarão todos tres nesta viajẽ da India. Morto dom Francisco dalmeida, os nossos se começaram a desbaratar de todo, fugindo pera os bateis, nos quaes entrarão cõ lhes dar a agoa pela cinta, por que Diogo de Vnhos, q̄ era homẽ pratico nas cousas do mâr, vendo o q̄ passaua com receo q̄ se lançassem muitos dos q̄ fugião em algũs dos bateis, & q̄ poderia assi ficar em seco, os mandou alargar todos, com tudo algũs da cõpanhia quizeram antes morrer q̄ saluarense cõ deshonrra, antre os quais foram, Lourenço de britto, & Martim coelho, q̄ em sabendo como dõ Francisco era morto bradauão aos q̄ fugiam dizendo lhes, q̄ razã dareis ã Portugal de deixardes morto o vosso capitão de gente tão barbara, & tam desarmada, sem tomar disso vingãça, & cõ isto pelejando sem fazerem pẽ atras, os mataram com alguns outros de sua companhia. Morreram neste triste caso, que aconteeo ao primeiro dia de Março, de Mil, & quinhentos, & dez sessenta, & cinco Portugueses, em q̄ entraram onze capitães, que foram dõ Francisco dalmeida, em idade de sessenta annos, Lourenço de britto, Emanuel telez, Pero barreto de magalhães, Martim coelho, Frãcisco coutinho, Antonio do cãpo, Fernão pereira, Gaspar dalmeida, Diogo pirez, e Pero teixeira, todos mui esforçados caualleiros experimentados nas

cousas da guerra, acostumados a vêcer nos mais dos negocios em q̄ se acharam, por debaixo de tiros de bôbardas, rocas, & bôbas de fogo, contra homens, armados, & exercitados em todo genero de guerra, os quaes alli acabarão a mãos de gête barbara, desarmada, a tiros de pedras, & azagaias de ferro morto, com tão pouco acordo q̄ parece q̄ lhes tinha Deos ordenada a morte naquille lugar, por castigo dalgũas crueldades, & sem razões que poderião ter vsadas nas victorias que lhes concedera, nas quaes os homens deuem de ser mui moderados, & se deuem de lembrar, que assi como vencê podem ser vencidos, & como captiuam podê ser captiuos, & q̄ da clemêcia, ou crueza q̄ nisto vsão, resulta lhes guardar Deos o galardã, ou castigo para lho dar em seu tẽpo. O mesmo dia a tarde depois dos negros terê recolhido o despojo, & serê idos pera suas aldeas sahio George de mello pereira, & George bareto em terra, cõ a mais da gente da frota, pera ãterrarê os mortos, os quaes acharam todos nus, & o de dõ Francisco dalmeida aberto pelos peitos, ã pela barriga. Enterrados estes q̄ jaziam na praia, sem mais passarê adiante, se recolherã as naos, onde logo ouue diferêças antre George de mello pereira, & George barreto sobela capitania da armada, no q̄ se tomarão pareceres, em q̄ se assêtou q̄ a bandeira fosse na mesma nao ã q̄ hia, & q̄ George barreto fosse o capitão. O q̄ assi cõcluido se partirão ao outro dia, os quaes todos chegarão a saluamẽto a Lisboa, onde então el rei estaua, q̄ cõ toda a nobreza do regno sêtio muito a morte de dõ Francisco dalmeida, & cõ muita razão, pelas boas partes, & calidades q̄ nelle auia sobre ser mui esforçado caualleiro, do q̄ deu manifestos sinais, sêdo ainda mãcebo nas guerras do regno de Grada, quando o el Rei dõ Fernando, & a Rainha dõna Isabel ganharã aos mouros, a quẽ nesta cõquista elle fez muitos, & assinados seruiços, por lêbrãça dos quaes el rei dõ Fernãdo quando lhe elrei dõ Emanuel mãdou a noua de sua morte, foi mui anojado, retrahêdosse, como se fora por pessoa de seu sãgue Real. Foi dõ Frãcisco dalmeida, allê de bõ caualleiro, mui prudête, & sagaz, bẽ assõbrado, & graue em sua pratica, acerca das cousas da India, foi de opiniam, q̄ quãtas mais fortalezas elrei la tiuesse, tãto mais fraco seria, q̄ a força com q̄ auia de senharear a India era no mar, q̄ sem nelle trazer grossas armadas, nã poderia defender, nẽ soster as fortalezas, & assi lho screueo, & q̄ nunca seria bẽ seruido, se não quando seus capitães, & officiaes não cõprassem nẽ vendessem, nẽ leuassê camara.

## TERCEIRA PARTE.—CAPITULO LVIII.

*Da embaizada que a Rainha Helena avo de David, & Emperador da Ethiopia rei do Abexi mandou a elrei dom Emanuel.*

## EXTRACTO:—

El Rei dõ João o segũdo viuẽdo teue sêpre grãdes desejos de descobrir a nauegaçã da India, & assi de ter algũa noticia do preste Ioão das Indias, por ser Christão, parecendolhe q̃ se poderia naquellas partes ajudar de sua amizade, pelo q̃ mandou a isso per alguãs vezes & em diuersos têpos homẽs q̃ sabiã a lingoa Arabia entre os quaes foram, hũ Afonso de paiua natural de Castelbrãco, & Ioão pirez de Couilhã, os quaes despedio de Santarẽ, no mes de Maio do ãno do Señor de mil, & quatroçetos, & oitẽta, & seis, q̃ seguindo seu caminho forã ter ao Cairo, & dahi o Thor fingindo serẽ mercadores, dõde forã ter a çuaquem q̃ he na costa da Ethiopia, do qual porto nauegarã pera Adem. Desta cidade Dadẽ tornou Afonso de paiua pera a Ethiopia, polas nouas q̃ acharão auer naquella parte hũ grande Rei Christão, parecendo lhes q̃ este seria o preste Ioam, mas porq̃ nam tinha disso nenhũa certeza, & sabião q̃ a Ethiopia nã jaz na India, & que o preste Ioam se chamaua das Indias, acordaram entre si, que Ioam pirez de couilhã fosse pera aquella parte da India ver se achaua nouas do q̃ hiam buscar, no q̃ andando foi ter a Calecut, & a Goa, sem achar nouas deste preste Ioão, as quais podia mal achar, porq̃ segũdo o recita Paulo veneto no seu Itenerario, foi desbaratado este preste Ioão, & morto em batalha pelo señor, ou Emperador do Cathaio, & se apoderou de todas suas terras, q̃ são no sertão da India, & desdetaõ ste agora não ouue mais preste Ioão naquellas partes, posto q̃ aja ainda muitos Christãos nestorianos. Nam achando Ioam pirez nenhũ recado deste negocio, nauegou dali a çofalla, & de çofalla tornou a Adẽ, & de Adẽ ao Cairo, pera se dali tornar ao regno cõ Afonso de paiua, onde assentarão de se ajuntar, pera leuarem nouas a elRei do q̃ cada hũ fezera, onde achou Ioam pirez de Couilhã dous Iudeus Portugueses q̃ lhe derão cartas del rei, dos quaes soube como Afonso de paiua morrera ali. E porq̃ elrei lhes mãdaua nestas cartas q̃ se não viessẽ sem irẽ a Ormuz, & saberem certeza deste preste Ioão das Indias, Ioão pirez se tornou a Adem, & Dadẽ

naegou a Ormuz, & Dormuz tornou a Meca, & dahi foi ao môte Sinai, ver a casa da bœaventurada sancta Catherina, dõde tornou ao Thor do qual lugar veo ter a Zeila, & dalli per terra chegou a corte do Emperador da Ethiopia Rei do Abexi, q̄ se chamaua Alexandre, ao qual deu as cartas q̄ lhe leuauam del rei, scriptas em lingoa Arabia, de q̄ leouo muito contentamento, e mandou tratar mui bem Ioam pirez, ho qual tendo ja despachado, veo a falecer, & por nam ter filhos succedeo no Imperio hum seu irmam per nome Nau, de quem nunca Ioam pirez pode auer licêça pera se tornar, ate q̄ morreo, per cujo falecimento veo a regnar hũ seu filho per nome Dauid, que lhe tambem não quis dar licença pera se vir pera Portugal, o q̄ o dito Ioam pirez vendo, desesperado de nũca poder sair daquella terra se casou, & ouue de sua mulher muitos filhos, & filhas. Neste meo tẽpo descubrio elrei dom Emanuel de toda a nauegaçam da India com a armada, em q̄ foi por capitam Vasco da gama, & outras q̄ depois mandou, da qual nauegaçam, & das victorias q̄ os Portugueses tinham auidas na India, & lugares q̄ nella tomaram sespalhou a fama per todas aquellas prouincias, ate chegar a corte do emperador Dauid, por quẽ, por ser ainda moço governaua a rainha Helena sua auo, a qual deseiosa da amizade del rei dõ Emanuel lhe mãdou por embaixador este Matheus, Christão Armenio homem muito prudente, & de q̄ ella se seruia em negocios de calidade, & confiança, & pera dar mais credito a embaixada, mandou com elle hum mancebo Abexi, de casta, & linhagem mui nobre os quaes vieram ter a India com assaz Trabalho, & perigo de suas pessoas, ate chegarem onde Afonso dalbuquerque estaua, q̄ os recebeo, & mandou ao regno do modo, que fica dito.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

CHRONICLE OF THE MOST FORTUNATE KING DOM  
EMANUEL OF GLORIOUS MEMORY.

BY DAMIÃO DE GOES.

PART I.—CHAPTER XXIII.

*How the king sent Vasco da Gama as captain of three ships to continue the discoveries already made and to endeavour to reach India.*

In the *Chronicle of Prince Dom João*, I stated at sufficient length how vigilant and studious was the infante Dom Henrique, son of King John the first of blessed memory, in the exploration of the coast of Africa, and what he expended in the matter, continuing this business with great glory and honour to God's name and praise to himself until his death in the town of Sagres in the month of November of the year of grace 1460, at the age of seventy-seven years, having already received great honour and profit as fruits of his labours. And proceeding on this subject in the form of a compendium, I wrote in the commencement of the said chronicle what I considered of most importance to this navigation until the birth of the said prince Dom João, in the year of our Lord 1455, and from that date I continued to treat of matters touching these discoveries, following the chronological order in which each event took place, until God was pleased to call to himself the king Dom Affonso V, his father, who died in the year 1481, to whom the prince succeeded.

After his accession to the throne he continued these discoveries in such a manner that, without depriving any one of his due share of glory and praise, a great part of the success and triumph thereof may be attributed to him. The voyage that presented the greatest difficulty and labour was the discovery and doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, which was accomplished in his time: our ships, proceeding along the

coast of Guinea, passed far beyond it, until they reached nearly to the boundaries and limits of Sofala and Mozambique, lands occupied by people with whom the inhabitants of Melinde, Mombasa, and the island of Madagascar had commerce and intercourse by sea. All the said voyages were undertaken by command of this invincible king Dom João, with much labour on his part, and at great cost to his treasury, a navigation forgotten by all mankind for so long a period, as may be seen by my discourse on this subject contained in the said *Chronicle of the Prince Dom João*, which I re-wrote in Portuguese, and also in a book which I wrote in the Latin tongue concerning the site and antiquity of the city of Lisbon. In these two discourses I pointed out how many and what persons, at a much earlier date, made this journey to India by the same route as that followed by our ships at present, which I did to correct the error made by various Portuguese writers who dealt with this subject, saying that only the Portuguese frequented the ocean and before any other nation came to the Indian sea. This error may be pardoned them in part, as perhaps by attributing this glory to their own nation, they thought to add to the many praises due to it for its marvellous conquests at different times and places in those parts.

Thus on the death of the king Dom João the king Dom Emanuel succeeded to the throne, who as universal heir to everything connected with this navigation, not content with the discoveries already made, but rather most anxious to advance them, as soon as he commenced to reign, in the month of December 1495, held a council at New Montemor, in which several were of opinion that this navigation should not be pushed farther than the places already discovered, as it would be greatly envied by all the kings and republics of Europe, and also by the sultan of Babylon and the kings and lords of India themselves, which would give rise to great difficulties and cause much expense to these kingdoms; that the peaceable trade of Guinea and the honourable conquest of places in [Northern] Africa afforded sufficient profit to the merchants and increase of the revenue of the kingdom and employment for the nobility; but the king sided with those who voted to the contrary, and commanded ships to be immediately equipped, in which matter more than a year passed.

While these ships were being equipped the king held a council concerning the person he should appoint as their captain, and he decided to appoint Vasco da Gama, a nobleman of his household, and a native of the town of Sines, an unmarried man, of an age fitted to withstand the hardships of such a voyage. For which purpose he commanded him to be summoned, being then in Estremoz, in the month of January 1497, and with words of great confidence bestowed on him the command of these ships, stating that the importance of this great enterprise consisted, not in the expense which it might occasion, nor in the risks undertaken, but in the advancement of God's service and the good of his kingdoms which would result from it, if passing beyond the places already discovered he could reach India and bring back from those parts the first fruits of all the money which his predecessors had expended in this enterprise and of the perils suffered by the Portuguese nation for so long a period since these voyages were first undertaken, from which would result great honour and praise to himself, as he might well foresee, to which would be added many favours which he hoped to bestow upon him in reward of all the hardships he would suffer on this voyage.

To which Vasco da Gama replied like a worthy gentleman and a loyal and prudent vassal, and kissed the king's hand in gratitude for the favour he granted and the confidence he showed in him, adding that one of the reasons why he desired to undertake this duty, besides the service which he hoped to render thereby to God and to his Highness, was that it appeared to him that he had some interest in undertaking it, as the king Dom João a little before his death had bestowed this commission on his father Dom Estevão da Gama, who was now dead also, in whose place and in remembrance of whom he begged the king to be pleased to employ also his brother Paulo da Gama on this voyage, by which means, with so faithful a companion, he hoped to accomplish it without the disputes and suspicions that might arise with other persons not so closely related as they were. With this the king was much pleased, and forthwith appointed Paulo da Gama to be one of those who were to accompany him. After the king had arranged this he went from Estremoz to Evora, and there took leave of Vasco da Gama and his brother Paulo da Gama, sending in

their company Nicolao Coelho, a nobleman of his household; and they set sail from the port of Belem on the 2nd\* of July of the same year 1497, of which I will say no more at present, as it is necessary to speak of the affairs of the kingdom while they are absent on their voyage.

### CHAPTER XXXV.

*What took place during Vasco da Gama's voyage until he reached the Watering Place of St. Bras.*

Vasco da Gama set sail from Lisbon, as has been said, on Saturday the 8th of July, in the year of our Lord 1497, and with him his brother Paulo da Gama and Nicolao Coelho, with another ship carrying provisions, of which Gonçalo Nunes was captain. The pilot of this fleet was named Pedro d'Alanquer, a man of experience in the art of navigation, to whose knowledge Lope Infante and Bartholomeu Dias were indebted for having reached the river Infante, when by order of the king Dom João they went on a voyage of discovery. The said Pedro d'Alanquer was on board the flag ship. These four ships were fitted out in Lisbon by Fernão Lourenço, factor of the Casa da Mina,† who was one of the great men of that period, and who rebuilt at his own cost the palaces of Sanctos-o-velho, which the king Dom Emanuel afterwards received from him in exchange for some property of the crown.

Proceeding on his voyage, Vasco da Gama passed in sight of the Canary islands, and then came to the port of Santa Maria, in the island of Santiago, on the 28th of July, from which place, following his instructions, he sailed more to the eastward in search of the Cape of Good Hope. He continued on this course during the months of August, September, and October, encountering many tempests and unfavourable weather, until God was pleased that he should come in sight of land on the 4th of November, for which they steered with great joy. They found

\* Evidently an error in printing, but I do not feel justified in altering the text of the author in any way.—G. M. T.

† The establishment for the reception and sale of articles received from the west coast of Africa.

it to be a low land, and in it there was a large bay, to which they gave the name of St. Helena.

Vasco da Gama, being at anchor there, as no river or stream emptied itself into the bay, and they could find no springs or wells from which they could obtain water, commanded Nicolao Coelho to sail along the coast in his boat in search of a river. The latter sailing always close to the shore discovered, at four leagues from the bay, a river of good water, to which he gave the name of Santiago. Here all the ships took in water, wood, and the flesh of seals, there being a great number of these animals in that place, of the size of large horses.

Vasco da Gama and three other men were wounded in this bay, which happened in the following manner. The day after the fleet arrived, seeing no people on shore, he landed with the other captains to be better able to measure the altitude of the sun, and to discover whether there were any villages, or if the place was uninhabited. Proceeding therefore in separate bands in different directions, they came upon two black men with woolly hair like those of Guinea, rather dingier than the latter, who were gathering honey at the foot of a hill, each with a burnt stick in his hand, whom they made haste to approach. Although both ran away overcome with surprise and fear at seeing such strange people, our men captured one of them and brought him to Vasco da Gama. Upon this they returned joyfully to the ships, thinking that one of the interpreters they carried would understand his language, but in the whole fleet there was no one who could understand him except by signs. Without fear or suspicion he ate and drank of everything placed before him, with two ships' boys whom Vasco da Gama commanded to entertain him.

As it was already late when they returned, the negro remained in the ship that night, and the next morning he was clothed with coloured cloth and put on shore. He took leave of our men well pleased and contented with the good entertainment, and above all with the little bells, glass beads, and other baubles which he carried with him. The clothes in which the negro went ashore caused the envy of all who saw them, as the next day fifteen or twenty of them came to the beach, upon which Vasco da Gama gave order for the boats to be manned, and landed, taking with him specimens of spices, gold, seed-pearl, and silk, which the negroes did not value, as they did not

know what they were, upon which he commanded bells, trinkets, pewter rings, and other things of the same kind to be given to them, which they received joyfully, especially the bells, because of their sound. From that day they began to come confidently to the shore, bringing the provisions which the land furnished in exchange for other things.

Counting upon this familiarity, a worthy man, by name Fernão Veloso, was anxious to accompany some of these negroes, with whom he was already friendly, to see their houses and observe their manner of living, and obtained Vasco da Gama's leave to do so. They showed pleasure at this, and took him with them, killing a seal on the way with which to provide a banquet for him. As the seal was uncooked, and the customs of the land did not please him, when the banquet was over Fernão Veloso began to make his way to the ships. The negroes, who perhaps thought he would stay with them longer than they might do him honour in their own fashion, seeing him return so suddenly, came with him to the shore, commanding the young men of the village to follow with their arms. These are darts and assagais, furnished at the ends with bones and the points of horns of animals, which wound as if they were tempered steel. This appeared to be as a means of defence should Fernão Veloso complain of the welcome they had given him, and the Portuguese on this account should wish to injure them.

Fernão Veloso, on arriving at the shore, commenced to call for assistance, but as he was very boastful, hasty, and always speaking of his courage, our men did not hurry themselves, and the negroes neither offered him injury nor understood that he was calling for assistance against them. As soon as Vasco da Gama, who was at supper, knew what was happening, he commanded a signal to be given to the captains to follow him. The negroes, seeing the boats approaching with a number of people, retreated to the place where their young men were hidden with the arms, leaving Fernão Veloso on the shore without injury. Vasco da Gama, believing that they had all gone, landed with his men heedless of what might happen, whereupon the negroes, thinking that the Portuguese were advancing with intention to attack them, came out from the bushes where they were concealed and set upon our men so suddenly that the assagais made them all return to the boats

faster than they had landed. In this combat Vasco da Gama was wounded in the foot, three others of the company also receiving wounds; and thus on account of the said Fernão Veloso the inhabitants of the country rose in arms.

Vasco da Gama put to sea on Thursday the 16th of November, and on the 20th doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which being much feared, is called by sailors the Cape of Tempests. They sailed along the coast with much pleasure, merry making and playing of trumpets; and as the weather was fine they kept so close to the land that besides its verdure they saw many large and small cattle.

The inhabitants of this territory are dark skinned, with woolly hair like those of St. Helena Bay; they are of small stature and ugly, when they talk they appear to be all in motion. They dress themselves in skins. Their dwellings are made of sun dried bricks, earth, and wood, and are thatched with straw. They have music, and although not like ours, the sound of their pastoral flutes was not unpleasant to our people.

The first Sunday after they had doubled the Cape, which was the feast of St. Catherine, 25th of November, they arrived at the Watering Place of St. Bras, which is sixty leagues from the Cape, at which place there are many and large elephants and many tame and fat oxen, which the negroes saddle with packs made of reeds, like the Spaniards, and use them as we do horses. A few of these animals were obtained in exchange for other things which they gave to the negroes for them and for some sheep, which are there very large and fat. Close to the shore of this bay there is an islet on which our men saw more than three thousand seals, so savage that they attacked people like bulls. There are some birds at this place called penguins, of the size of a wild goose, that cannot fly, as they have no feathers on their wings, which are only covered with skin of the same colour and appearance as those of bats. Here Vasco da Gama caused the provision ship to be burnt, of which Gonçalo Nunes was captain, as there was no longer need of it.

Having taken water and meat on board, he set sail, thirteen days after his arrival, and he would have remained longer if disturbances and quarrels had not arisen between our men and the negroes, for which reason, before the fleet left that place, and while still in sight, the negroes threw down a pillar with

a cross which Vasco da Gama had commanded to be placed on an elevation close to the shore, of which pillars he carried a great number, with the arms of the kingdom engraved on them, to be set up in ports and places where he thought necessary, according to the instructions he had with him.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### *What happened to Vasco da Gama until his arrival at the island of Mozambique.*

The fleet left the Watering Place of Saint Bras on the feast of the conception of our Lady, the 8th of December, and sailing along the coast a storm arose which forced it to stand out to sea, but when the gale ceased it returned to the shore. On the 16th some low islets were seen, which are sixty leagues distant from the Watering Place of Saint Bras and five beyond the islet of the cross, where Bartholomeu Dias set up the last pillar. These islets are fifteen leagues from the river of Infante discovered by Lopo Infante.

The whole country is very fertile and contains large trees, green fields, and an abundance of cattle, all of which could be seen from the fleet as it sailed close to the shore, which the depth of the water and favourable weather rendered possible. On Christmas they found that they had sailed seventy leagues to the east, which was the direction they were to follow in search of India, according to the instructions carried by Vasco da Gama. All were well pleased that they had passed beyond the point discovered by Bartholomeu Dias and Lopo Infante.

On the 10th of January 1498 they saw a number of men and women on shore, of tall stature and of the same colour as those they had left behind. As they were already in want of water Vasco da Gama commanded the ships to anchor, and being anxious to know who these people were, he sent a boat to the shore with one Martim Affonso, who spoke many languages of barbarians, and another man to accompany him. They were well received by those people and by their chief, who came to the shore to await them. Vasco da Gama, on being informed of this, sent the chief by the same interpreter, who could make

himself understood by some of them (who must have been strangers from some part of Guinea), a jacket, trousers, cap of red silk, and some other things, for which the chief asked thanks to be given to him, and sent presents of many hens and other produce of the country, with many offers, asking him to allow Martim Affonso to go with him to a banquet at his house, which was permitted. The banquet consisted of hens and other birds, the bread being paste made of millet.

The inhabitants of this country are more civilised than those of the Cape of Good Hope, as they wear copper bracelets on their arms and pieces of the same metal in their hair and beard; they make use of pewter daggers with ivory scabbards. One of the things which they most valued of all those which our countrymen showed them was linen cloth, so much so that for a small quantity of it they gave a large amount of copper, which is a sign that this metal must be found there or in the surrounding country. As these people were very domesticated and rendered great service to all those of the fleet, Vasco da Gama gave to the country the name of the land of good people, and to the river where they took in water that of the Copper river. He left there two of the convicts that he had with him, to obtain information of the country and of everything connected with it, assigning a time for them to be in the same place, that he might pick them up on the return passage. He had with him ten or twelve of these prisoners, who had been condemned to death, and whose sentences the king had mitigated to make use of them on this voyage, leaving them to the perils of it as persons to whom he was showing favour and mercy in prolonging their lives in whatever manner this was done.

From the land of good people the fleet set sail on the 15th of January, and on the 25th, the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, they arrived at the mouth of a large river of fresh water, where there was an abundance of fruit and trees. Here they cast anchor late in the evening. In the morning they saw coming down the river various canoes for rowing, containing people of the same kind as those of the Copper river, and among them some who were tawnier. These men, on arriving at the ships, without fear or suspicion climbed up as confidently as if they knew and were friendly with us; and seeing their simplicity they were allowed to enter the ships, where they received a

good welcome, but by signs and gestures, as neither Martim Affonso or any of the other interpreters could understand them.

Three days after the arrival of the fleet at that place four of the chief men of the country came to visit Vasco da Gama and to see the ships, to whom great honour was shown, which they received as persons of quality. Their dress was the same as that of the other people, excepting that the cloths which they wore round their loins were larger and longer; one of them wore a turban with embroidery and silk tassels, and another wore a green satin cap, which our countrymen knew was a sign that they had already reached India. This was a matter of great satisfaction to all. Vasco da Gama gave order for these men to be clothed with coloured silk cloth, and for the best possible entertainment to be given to them. Among them was a young man from whom, by signs and by a few words of Arabic which he could speak, our countrymen gathered that his residence was not far from that place, and that ships as large as ours came there. This intelligence filled them all with great joy, and for this reason Vasco da Gama gave the river the name of the river of good omens, and caused a pillar to be erected on the land, to which he gave the name of St. Raphael. He left there two other convicts. In this river of good omens Vasco da Gama commanded the ships to be caulked and tarred, which was very necessary. This delayed them thirty-two days, during which time many of our men fell ill of different sicknesses, as the land was marshy and low, and thick and pernicious vapours rose from it.

When the ships were ready, they left that place on the 24th of February, and on the 1st of March they came in sight of four islands, from one of which those in the ship of Nicolao Coelho saw seven or eight sailing vessels come out, which those of the country call zambucos, and thereupon raised a loud shout, with which they made it known to the captain's ship. Upon this Vasco da Gama commanded Nicolao Coelho, as his ship was small, to go in advance, taking soundings until he reached the island from which the boats came out. As soon as those in the boats saw the ships they came up to them, and followed them until they cast anchor, playing upon trumpets and other instruments more resembling ours than did those of the other places where they touched.

The people in these boats were dark-skinned and well built; they wore striped cotton cloths and on their heads turbans with silk borders worked in gold, with Moorish swords girded round them, and bucklers on their arms. On reaching the ships they came confidently on board, and greeted our countrymen in the Arabic tongue which all of them spoke. Vasco da Gama and the other captains, recognising them at once as Moors, were always on their guard, nevertheless they offered them some fruit which they had, and while feasting they asked questions concerning the land and its condition. They learned from them that the said island was called Mozambique, and its sheik was a vassal of the king of Kilwa, that between that place, India, and the Arabian sea commerce in many kinds of merchandise was carried on, and that in a land lying behind, called Sofala, they also carried on a trade in gold. Upon hearing this all privately offered thanks to God for the great mercy he had shown them.

This island of Mozambique has a very good port; it lies close to a low, marshy, and unhealthy country. The chief people of it were Moors, dark skinned, and of different nations, who from it carried on commerce with many parts. The natives are negroes, both those of the island and of the mainland; they live in mud houses thatched with straw. The ships or zambucos in which these Moors sailed had no decks and were not nailed together, but were fastened with wooden pins and cord made of palm fibre, which they call coir; the sails are made of the leaves of the same palm tree closely woven together like mats; they are navigated by means of levantine compasses, quadrants, and marine charts.

On finishing the meal these men, believing our people to be Moors whom as coming from a very distant country they could not understand, took leave of them well pleased with the welcome they had received, and also with the articles which Vasco da Gama gave to them and sent to their sheik, or captain of the place, who was called Zakoeja.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

*How the sheik Zakoeja, believing our countrymen to be Turks or Moors, came to the ships to visit Vasco da Gama, and of what afterwards befel the latter in Mombasa.*

The sheik, on receiving the message given to him by those who came to the fleet, thinking that our people were of the same creed, sent a present of refreshments to Vasco da Gama, and gave order to the inhabitants to take provisions to the ships and sell them at a fair price, in return for which Vasco da Gama sent him some garments and other things. Friendship being thus established, Zakoeja came to the ship to visit Vasco da Gama, accompanied by a great number of canoes and well ordered people carrying bows, arrows, and other arms which they use, some dressed in striped cotton cloths and some in coloured silks, playing upon many Moorish and other trumpets, ivory horns, and other instruments, which made so much noise that the instruments drowned one another, in which manner they arrived on board Vasco da Gama's ship.

Zakoeja was a slender man, tall and handsome, of middle age ; he wore a robe, after the manner of the Turks, made of fine white cotton, over which he wore an open tunic of Mecca velvet, and on his head a turban of different colours woven with gold thread ; he had a short sword ornamented with gold and jewels in his girdle, a dagger of the same fashion, and velvet sandals on his feet. Vasco da Gama came on deck to receive him, stationing on either side of the passage two rows of armed men, the healthiest and finest in the fleet, as those who were ailing and ill-dressed he did not wish to appear. He commanded wine and fruit to be offered to him and to those who accompanied him, of which they ate and drank until all were gladdened. During this meal, besides other friendly discourse, Zakoeja asked Vasco da Gama whether they were Turks or Moors, where they came from, if they carried books of their laws, whether he would show them to him, and also what arms were most in use in his land. To which he answered that he would show him the books of his law afterwards, that as to the arms they were those which his men carried, cuirasses, lances, firelocks, and crossbows ; and gave order for

some of them to be discharged, and after that for the big guns to be fired, with which Zakoeja and his people were well pleased.

Meanwhile Vasco da Gama by means of his interpreters did not cease asking information concerning the affairs of India and the route which should be followed in order to reach Calicut, and being well informed thereon, he asked Zakoeja for pilots for this journey, which he promised to give him on condition that he paid them well. Some time was passed in this manner, until after having feasted they returned to the shore.

Two days later Zakoeja again visited Vasco da Gama, bringing provisions and two pilots, with whom an agreement was made that they should conduct him to Calicut for thirty miticals of gold, a weight of the land worth four hundred and twenty reis of our money. Besides this he gave them some Turkish coats and other vestments, with which they were well pleased, and then by Zakoeja's order they remained in the ships. After this agreement was made and friendship and good intercourse existed on both sides, the Moors discovered that our people were Christians, which caused their friendship to turn to hatred, and made them eager to kill them and seize their ships, which one of the pilots revealed to Vasco da Gama.

For this reason he made sail and cast anchor near an island to which he gave the name St. George, which is one league distant from Mozambique towards the sea, it being seven days since he arrived there. One of the pilots having remained on shore, which was a source of great vexation to him, the other pilot who was on board told him not to be troubled on this account, as he would guide him to an island called Kilwa, which was one hundred leagues from that place, and was inhabited by Christians and Moors, who were always at war; and that there he would find a great number of pilots whose only means of livelihood was the navigation to India. Vasco da Gama promised him many rewards the day they arrived at Kilwa, upon which they put to sea on Tuesday the 13th of March, and when the island of Mozambique was four leagues behind they were overtaken by calms, which compelled them to return to the island of St. George.

After they had cast anchor a Moor came on board, bringing with him his son, a youth of twelve or thirteen years of age, and asked Vasco da Gama to give order for him to be taken with the

ships, saying that he was a sailor and wished to return to Mecca, from which place he had come to Mozambique as pilot of a vessel. Vasco da Gama willingly took him on board his own ship, to obtain from him information concerning matters connected with the Arabian sea. With this pilot, the one given him by Zakoeja, and another captured by Paulo da Gama in a skirmish between our people and the inhabitants of the country, they left that place on the first of April in search of the island of Kilwa, which they passed by, and pushing forward reached the island of Mombasa on Saturday the 7th day of the same month, being the eve of Palm Sunday.

This island is covered with verdure, and produces an abundance of fruit and vegetables similar to those of Portugal. The air and water are very good, and there is an abundance of wheat and cattle. The houses are of dressed stone and mortar, painted and furnished like ours. As the pilots informed them that in that island there were also Christians living in towns separated from the Moors (which was false), they cast anchor very joyfully, thinking to find them and obtain from them the things they required for their journey and to cure their sick, for when they arrived nearly half the people had died already, and of those who remained alive the greater number were ill.

When the fleet had anchored a large canoe with a hundred men came to the side of the flag ship. These men were dressed in the Turkish fashion, and carried swords and shields; among them were four who appeared to be their chiefs, who on arriving wished to come on board armed as they were, with some of their company. To this Vasco da Gama would not consent, but only agreed to their coming on board alone and without arms. When they had entered the ship he caused refreshments to be prepared for them, excusing himself for not allowing them to carry their arms, which they took in good part, saying that he ought always to act thus, since he was in a strange land where he did not know against whom it was necessary to keep guard.

These men informed him that the king of Mombasa had received intelligence of his coming some time before, and being most anxious to see him, on account of the reports he had heard concerning him, he was determined to come in person to visit him the next day, which was all false, as their intention was to seize the ships and kill everyone on board. Having partaken of

refreshments, the Moors took leave of Vasco da Gama with marks of great friendship.

On the following day, being Palm Sunday, the king of Mombasa sent people to Vasco da Gama with a present of fruit and sheep, begging him to come inside the harbour and he would visit him there, and informing him that in the city he would find an abundance of all the spices and merchandise of India with which to freight the ships, without need of proceeding farther and risking the difficulties and disasters of that navigation, which was the most perilous of all those parts. He commanded those who brought this message to make pretence of being Christians, and to say that there was a great number of them in the country. They dissembled so well that Vasco da Gama made a great reception for them, and gave them several pieces of cloth. He sent some presents also to the king, taking leave of them with a message that he would come into the harbour the following day, and as a proof of this he sent with them two of the criminals that he brought with him, whom the king received very well, and gave order for them to be shown over the town.

This town is very large. It is built on solid rock, on an elevation against which the sea beats, and at the mouth of the port there is a tower furnished with a guard and artillery. It is called Mombasa, which is also the name of the island. After the criminals had been shown over the town, they were again conducted to the king, who, by way of attraction, gave them some pepper, cloves, cinnamon, ginger, nutmegs, mace, ambergris, and ivory, which they took with them to show Vasco da Gama. The king took leave of them in this manner, sending a message by them that he would furnish some of all these things as cargo for the ships, with which Vasco da Gama was well pleased.

The next day he commanded the anchor to be weighed, with the intention of entering the harbour, but as on account of the current his ship nearly ran upon a reef, he commanded the anchor to be let go again, the other ships following his example. On this some Moors who had come from the town with provisions and various merchandise to our ships returned to their boats, and hastened towards the town. As one of their boats was passing under the poop of the flag ship, the pilots who had come from Mozambique jumped overboard, and were picked up by those in

it; and although Vasco da Gama called loudly to them, they would not return to the ship.

Upon this he began to suspect that the king had some treacherous intentions, and to discover the truth he commanded two Moors that were captured by Paulo da Gama during the skirmish at Mozambique to be put to the torture. From them he learned that the pilots had jumped overboard, thinking that he had cast anchor on account of some information he had received of the treachery they had planned, as it was their intention to seize the ships and put all on board to death. Vasco da Gama and everyone in the fleet rendered sincere thanks to God for having delivered them from the danger which threatened them, and fearing that the Moors might come during the night and cut the ships' cables, they kept more vigilant watch than they had hitherto done.

This precaution was not unnecessary, as on both the nights they still remained there they saw many of the inhabitants of the place swimming with swords and battleaxes to cut the cables, and so silently did they approach that if it had not been for the vigilant watch kept our men would have been in great peril. Seeing what passed, Vasco da Gama put to sea on the Friday of indulgences, without taking with him any other pilot than the one who came on board his ship at Mozambique, and who encouraged him with the promise to conduct him to the town of Melinde, where he would find as many pilots as he required to guide him to India. Proceeding on this route, they captured a vessel with fourteen Moors on board, one of whom appeared to be the chief, a prudent man, a native of the aforesaid town, from whom they gathered information of the affairs of India and of that coast, and especially of the kingdom and town of Melinde, before which place they cast anchor on the morning of Easter Sunday, with great rejoicing both on account of the day itself and because of their hopes of meeting with greater success there than at Mombasa, by reason of the good reports they had received of the king and lord who was reigning at that time.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

*Of the site of the town of Melinde, and of what passed between its king and Vasco da Gama, and of his journey until he arrived at Calicut.*

The town of Melinde extends along the coast in an open country, surrounded by groves of palm and areca trees. There are a great number of orchards and gardens, with apparatus for watering them; they produce good vegetables, and oranges, lemons, and other fruits. The anchoring place for ships is far from the town, as there is no port or harbour on the coast where it is situated. The land has an abundance of provisions, cattle, poultry, and various kinds of game, all of which are very cheap. The town is well built. The houses are of stone and mortar, handsome on the outside and furnished inside with many rich decorations and painting. The natives of the land are dark skinned, with woolly hair, but well disposed. The foreign residents are Arabian Moors. They go naked from the waist upward, and from the waist downward they wear silk and cotton cloth. The nobles wear clothes above the arms, and turbans with silk and gold tassels. Their arms are short swords, lances, daggers, and bows and arrows. They are very polite, and have a high opinion of gentlemen, so that in all those parts when they wish to praise the best people in each city, they call them gentlemen of Mombasa and ladies of Melinde, as these are very handsome, courteous, and well dressed. The greater number of the merchants who live in this town are from Guzerat in the kingdom of Cambaya. Gold, silver, ambergris, ivory, tar, and wax are found in this country. The king is a Moor. He is waited upon with much ceremony, and has a moderately good position.

The day on which the ships cast anchor, being Easter Sunday, none of the people of the town came on board, as they had already received reports of what had happened with our countrymen at Mombasa, and feared a recurrence of the same. Vasco da Gama, suspecting the cause, on Monday proceeded to cast anchor within half a league of the town. He did not wish to approach nearer, as there is a dangerous reef of rocks off the place. The Moor

who was captured in the zambuco, understanding the matter, begged leave to go ashore alone, saying that he would make arrangements for pilots to guide the fleet to India and for all that was required; and that there were four ships of Christian Indians in that port ready to make the return journey, who might perhaps keep ours in company, being all of one creed.

Although Vasco da Gama put little faith in him, considering how much would be gained if this was true, he commanded him to be put ashore on a little island which is very close to the town. When the boat had put off from the land again, a canoe was sent from the town for him, and took him to the king, who obtained from him information of our people, and learning that the captain wished for peace and friendship, he sent him a present of sheep and produce of the country. Vasco da Gama sent him in return by the same man a present of different things from the kingdom of Portugal, and with it a criminal, with which the king was well pleased. Monday and Tuesday were passed in this manner, and being convinced by this time that they were not deceiving him, on the morning of Wednesday of the aforesaid octave Vasco da Gama went closer to the shore, and anchored near the four ships belonging to Christians, who came from Crangalor. The men in them were dark skinned, with long hair, and were dressed in the Persian fashion. From them our countrymen received a hearty welcome, friendship, and good service, and also information concerning the affairs of the country; they said our people should trust the king as they would a Moor, and all the people of the town in the same manner.

The king of Melinde was very old and infirm, and although he wished to visit the ships, his ill health prevented him from doing so. Nevertheless his eldest son, the heir to the kingdom, who already governed for him, came to visit them after dinner the same day, in a large canoe accompanied by very well dressed noblemen. The prince was seated on a chair with a brass back, the seat being covered with a velvet cushion, and a similar cushion at his feet. He wore a crimson damask robe lined with green satin, and a turban. A man sheltered him from the sun with a kind of crimson satin umbrella or canopy, with a gilt handle. Another old man was seated near him, carrying his sword, which was ornamented with gold and silver. In the same canoe were men playing upon Moorish trumpets and ivory horns,

the music being so well performed that it seemed to be from other instruments than those of these uncivilized people.

Vasco da Gama, being informed of the prince's coming, gave order for an awning to be put up in a boat and for it to be decorated with flags, and with twelve of the finest looking men he went to receive him before his arrival at the ships. As the prince came with the desire to see our countrymen, on reaching the boat he went on board, and immediately embraced Vasco da Gama without embarrassment or ceremony; and after they were seated he asked him many questions, showing himself to be a man of prudence. In this manner a considerable time was passed while the boat proceeded round the ships, the latter and the dress and manners of our countrymen causing him great astonishment. Vasco da Gama commanded the Moors captured in the zambuco to be brought from the ship, and made him a present of them, which gave him great satisfaction. In return he made many offers, begging Vasco da Gama to return to the shore with him to make merry and to repose in his palaces, and saying that he would leave his son, whom he had brought with him, in the ships as a hostage with as many of his nobles as were desired.

Vasco da Gama excused himself from doing so, but the prince, who was anxious that our countrymen should return with him to the town, entrusted his son and some of his nobles to him, asking him to allow him to take only two of his men with him, as if he returned without them his father would take it in bad part, as he was anxious to see some Portuguese, knowing what they had done at Mozambique and Mombasa. The prince returned to his canoe with these two men, though Vasco da Gama was unwilling to take the hostages, and it was arranged that he should proceed along the shore the next day in his boat to see the town. This he did, taking with him Nicolao Coelho, each in his own boat well furnished with artillery. On approaching the shore the prince came down from the palace by a stone staircase which descended to the water's edge, and was then carried in a kind of sedan chair to Vasco da Gama's boat.

When the greetings were over, he again begged Vasco da Gama to visit his father, whose age and infirmity prevented him from coming himself, and he and his son would return to the ships, that his safety might be assured. Vasco da Gama excused

himself, saying that he had no license from the king his lord to do so. While they were thus discoursing many guns were discharged and rockets sent up from the town, from our ships, from the ships belonging to the Christian Indians, from other ships, and from the boats, which was continued until the prince returned to the palace. During the whole time that the fleet remained there, the prince sent men to visit Vasco da Gama and the other captains, taking with them refreshments of the country, besides which he gave him a good pilot, a Moor of Guzerat, named Malemo Canaqua; and on account of his great desire to have our friendship he made Vasco da Gama promise to return that way, as he wished to send in his company an ambassador to the king of Portugal, to establish peace and friendship with him. With which, and with tokens of great love on the part of the inhabitants of the land, our countrymen left the said town of Melinde on Tuesday the 24th of April, after erecting a pillar on the shore, to which they gave the name Santo Espirito.

Proceeding thus on his journey by way of the gulf formed by the coast of Melinde to that of Malabar, on Friday the 17th of May high land was seen, but as the weather was cloudy the pilot Canaqua could not well distinguish what land it was; but on the morning of the following Sunday he observed some mountains which are close to the town of Calicut, for which he forthwith begged Vasco da Gama to reward him, who complied by paying him well and to his satisfaction. All gave praise to God for having guided them to a land for which they had searched so long. In honour of the occasion they prepared a grand banquet, and having decorated the ships with flags, with great rejoicing and with the sound of trumpets after dinner that same day they cast anchor two leagues from the city of Calicut, as happy as if they had reached the end of their labours and were at anchor off the city of Lisbon, from which they had set sail eleven months before.

#### CHAPTER XLIV.

*Of what happened to Vasco da Gama at Anchediva, and after leaving that place until he reached the kingdom.*

This island of Anchediva is small, and there are many trees on it. It is abundantly supplied with salt water fish and shell fish,

the water is very good and so also is the climate. It is situated close to the mainland, where Vasco da Gama commanded the ships to be careened. During this time, among other men of the country who came to visit our people, was one who was the servant of a great lord named Cabaio, to whom the island and town of Goa belonged, besides much territory which he possessed in the interior, a gallant gentleman who maintained many soldiers at his own expense, and above all held foreigners in great esteem, and gave them good pay and treatment. This man, being anxious to obtain our ships and men by stratagem, because of a report he had received that they were good soldiers, under pretext of friendship sent his messenger to visit Vasco da Gama and offer him provisions, money, and all else that he stood in need of; but the messenger contradicted himself in such a way that Vasco da Gama, suspecting him to be a spy, commanded him to be seized and put to the torture.

On this he confessed that Cabaio had sent him to see what men there were and the condition of the ships, that upon receiving this information he might command an attack to be made upon them, and if he could take them prisoners might employ them as his soldiers. This man had previously told Vasco da Gama that he was a Christian, brought to those parts when an infant, and although he appeared to be a Moor at heart he belonged to the faith of Jesus Christ. He said this in the Italian language, which he spoke passably well. The torture, however, compelled him to tell the truth, that he was a Jew, a native of the town of Posna in the kingdom of Poland, to which place the king Dom João the third, may he be in glory, twice sent me on business, it being the chief town and metropolis of Great Poland, a large town, well enclosed, and very well supplied with provisions.

When Vasco da Gama heard that Cabaio was preparing to attack him, he finished equipping the ships with the greatest possible dispatch, and put to sea on Friday the 5th of October, taking the route to Melinde. He took with him the aforesaid Jew, to whom he always showed much honour and attention, finding him to be a man who had experience of many matters in India and other provinces; and he brought him to Lisbon, where he became a Christian and was called Gaspar da Gama. The king Dom Emanuel employed him afterwards in India in many matters, and made him a gentleman of his household, giving him

presents, salaries, and different posts which afforded him ample means of subsistence all his life.

On the passage from Anchediva to Melinde Vasco da Gama was detained more than four months, on account of calms and contrary weather, during which time thirty of his men died. The first town and the first land which they came in sight of was the town of Magadoxo, situated at the extremity of the gulf on the coast of Ethiopia, one hundred and thirteen leagues from Melinde, of which place I will speak in due time. They cast anchor before this town on the 2nd day of February, and as it was a Moorish town he commanded it to be bombarded at so short a distance that great damage was done to the inhabitants and to the ships at anchor in the port. Proceeding ten leagues along the coast towards Melinde, eight terradas, which are small vessels of war, came out against him from a Moorish town called Pate, with a number of men on board, who fled before the fire of his guns, and as the wind fell he did not follow them. From that place he proceeded to Melinde, which he reached on Monday the 7th of February, and before he cast anchor the king sent men to visit him with provisions from the land, the prince following later, who came on board to see him, and as a sign of friendship he sent an ambassador with him to the king Dom Emanuel. Vasco da Gama remained there five days: he would not stay longer, as the time was passing in which he was to double the Cape of Good Hope.

At the end of the five days he put to sea, on Friday the 12th of February, and as he had now very few men, when he was off a town called Tagata he commanded the ship of which Paulo da Gama was captain to be cleared of everything and burnt, as it was very old. He took Paulo da Gama aboard his own ship, and divided the men with Nicolao Coelho. Proceeding thus on his journey, he arrived on the 28th of February in front of the island of Zanzibar, which is five or six leagues from the coast of Ethiopia. This island is peopled by Moors, who carry on commerce with all the towns of the said coast, principally with Mombasa, to reach which they navigate in small vessels with no decks and only one mast, which carry provisions. This island is very well provided with rivers, springs, cattle, and fruit; so fertile is it that the orange and other prickly trees grow wild in the woods and yield very good fruit. The lord of this place sent people to visit

Vasco da Gama with provisions of the land, and to ask for his friendship.

He set sail on the 1st of March, and the next land he touched at was the island of St. George, where he cast anchor, and without communication with the sheik of Mozambique he set sail, and did not put into any port until arriving at the Watering Place of St. Bras, where he took in water, wood, and meat; and proceeding on his voyage, without on this return passage being able to put into any of the ports where he had left the criminals, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 20th of March. Thence he sailed direct for the island of Santiago until the 25th of April, on which day the soundings taken measured twenty-five fathoms. In this neighbourhood Nicolao Coelho was separated by a storm from Vasco da Gama, and being unable to find him again, he proceeded with all speed to the kingdom, where he arrived at Casquaes on the 10th day of July of the year 1499, and from him the king received the first account of what had happened on the voyage.

Vasco da Gama put into port at the island of Santiago, and as his brother Paulo da Gama was very ill with consumption, and his vessel was very leaky, being anxious to bring him back alive to Portugal, he hired a caravel and gave the command of his ship to João de Sá, with instructions to repair it, as otherwise it was unfit for navigation. Which being done he set sail, and as the illness of Paulo da Gama was getting more serious, he was compelled to put in at the island of Terceira, where Paulo da Gama died. On this account Vasco da Gama was detained some time. After burying his brother in the monastery of Saint Francisco, giving order for his obsequies to be befitting such an honourable man and gallant gentleman as he was, he put to sea, and arrived at Lisbon on the 29th day of the month of August of the same year, two years and nearly two months having elapsed since he set sail from the same port with one hundred and forty-eight men, of whom fifty-five returned to the kingdom.

The king was much rejoiced at his arrival, and bestowed great honour upon him, giving the title of Dom to him and his brothers and all their descendants, and afterwards granting him the hereditary title of admiral of India and count of Vidigueira. He made Nicolao Coelho a gentleman of his household, and in the same way he bestowed favours on all the others who had

returned, each one according to his station and to the service he had rendered.

On this voyage Vasco da Gama erected five pillars, St. Raphael at the river of Good Omens, St. George at Mozambique, Santo Espirito at Melinde, Santa Maria at the islands which on that account are called the islands of Santa Maria and are situated between Bacanor and Baticala, and the other at Calicut called St. Gabriel. By which, in virtue of the bulls of the popes Nicolas V and Sixtus IV, granted to the infante Dom Henrique, son of the king João I, and to the king Dom Affonso V, nephew of the said infante and son of the king Dom Duarte, he took lawful possession for the crown of these kingdoms of all that he discovered until he reached the kingdom of Calicut, which was also done in previous years by other captains as far as the river of Lopo Infante; of which bulls it appears to me unnecessary to give a copy here, of one because it is of great length, and of the other because those who wish to read it out of curiosity can find it in the archives of this kingdom, where it is at present under my care.

#### CHAPTER LIV.

*Of the second fleet sent by the king to India, of which PEDRO ALVARES CABRAL was admiral.*

Nicolao Coelho having returned from India, as has been related, on account of the reports which he gave concerning the land and the nature of the inhabitants, the king determined to send there another fleet of thirteen sail, and gave the command of it to Pedro Alvares Cabral, appointing Sancho de Thoar vice-admiral. The other captains were Simão de Miranda, Aires Gomes da Silva, the said Nicolao Coelho, Nuno Leitão, Vasco de Ataide, Bartholomeu Dias, who discovered the Cape of Good Hope, his brother Pedro Dias, Gaspar de Lemos, Luis Pirez, Simão de Pina, and Pedro de Ataide nicknamed Inferno. Aires Correa was appointed factor of the fleet, to remain in that capacity at Calicut, and Gonçalo Gil Barbosa and Pedro Vaz Caminha were appointed secretaries to assist him in his office. The king commanded these ships to be supplied with all necessaries for war, as he was aware that these would be required from what had happened to Vasco da Gama both

in India and on the coast of Ethiopia. One thousand five hundred soldiers sailed in this fleet.

In the instructions which the king gave to Pedro Alvares Cabral one of the most important points was that he should make every effort to obtain the friendship of the king of Calicut, as his wish was to build a fortress in that town where his subjects and officers might be safe from the inhabitants of the country and from the Moors, and might employ themselves in matters conducive to his service; and that if he did not find the king of Calicut willing to accept his friendship he should on his part declare war against him and compel him to it. Besides which he gave him orders to make every effort to put in at Melinde to thank the king in his name for the reception he had given Vasco da Gama, to give him the present which he sent, and to restore his ambassador, assuring him of friendship in all things. And as the king was always inclined to matters touching our holy catholic faith he sent eight Franciscan monks in this fleet, learned men, of whom Friar Henrique was vicar, who was afterwards the king's confessor and bishop of Cepta. He commanded these monks, with eight chaplains and a vicar, to remain in Calicut to administer the sacraments to the Portuguese and to those inhabitants of the country who desired to become converted to the faith.

When the fleet was ready, the king, being at Rastello, went to the monastery of Bethlehem, where he commanded a pontifical high mass to be said, having with him behind the curtain Pedro Alvares Cabral. During the mass Dom Diogo Hortiz, bishop of Cepta, and afterwards bishop of Viseu, a Spaniard by birth, preached a sermon encouraging them all in the difficulties they were going to undertake for the service of God and of the king, bringing before the captains and other noblemen who were to sail in the fleet the many praiseworthy actions of their predecessors, which not only caused envy to those remaining in the kingdom, but made many of them anxious to undertake the voyage if there had been time to do so.

When the mass was over the bishop blessed a banner on which the royal arms of the kingdom were painted, which after being blessed the king gave with his own hand to Pedro Alvares Cabral. The king then went with him to the boats of the ships, which were waiting for him on the shore, and here

Pedro Alvares with the other captains kissed the king's hand and took leave of him. On the morning of the next day, being the 9th of March 1500, the fleet set sail from the port of Belem.

#### CHAPTER LVII.

*Of what took place during Pedro Alvares Cabral's voyage, from the time of his sailing from the land of Santa Cruz until he reached Calicut, and description of the island and town of Kilwa.*

Pedro Alvares Cabral having set sail from the land of Santa Cruz on Sunday the 24th of May, the sky became covered with a black cloud and a thunderstorm broke over them so suddenly and accompanied by such a violent gale of wind that four ships foundered in sight of the others, no living thing on board escaping. The captains of these ships were Bartholomeu Dias, Aires Gomes da Silva, Vasco de Ataide, and Simão de Pina. The seven remaining ships were separated from each other, and remained so until the 16th of July, when six of them rejoined again, but the one of which Pedro Dias was captain went to the Arabian strait and to the town of Magadoxo, whence she returned to this kingdom with only six men, after passing through many perils and difficulties.

These six ships after doubling the Cape of Good Hope cast anchor before an attractive land, with many meadows, trees, and an abundance of cattle. The inhabitants did not dare to come to the ships or to the shore to hold intercourse with our countrymen, or to sell provisions to them, of which they were greatly in need. For this reason they put to sea, and sailing along the coast with favourable winds they passed Sofala, and pushed forward until they approached two islands which are near the mainland, and which are now called the Primeiras. Two ships were lying at anchor close to one of these islands, which hastily fleeing, Pedro Alvares followed and captured them, they offering no defence. The owner of these two ships was called Sheik Foteima, he was an uncle of the king of Melinde, and was going from Sofala with a quantity of gold, for which he had been trading with the inhabitants of the said land. Through fear of our ships he had tried to escape, believing them to be pirates.

Learning from the sheik that he was beyond Sofala, and receiving a description of that land and the trade there, Pedro Alvares left him with his ships, gold, and other merchandise, in the same place where he had captured him, and directed his course to Mozambique, where he arrived on the 20th of July. Here he took water and provisions on board peacefully, and procured a pilot to guide him as far as the island of Kilwa. In this direction, sailing always along the coast, he saw many very fertile islands, all under the rule of the king of Kilwa, whose kingdom extended from the Cape das Correntes almost to the town of Mombasa, a distance of nearly four hundred leagues of coast, besides a number of islands which lie along it, and which are of great profit to the king.

This king and the natives and residents of this island are Mohamedans, some of them are dark skinned but the greater number are black. They all speak Arabic. They dress very well in the Moorish and Turkish fashion, and carry on commerce with all the said coast as far as the strait of the Arabian sea. The town and island of Kilwa is situated one hundred leagues beyond Mozambique, almost joined to the mainland. The island is most luxuriant in fruits, vegetables, and good water. In the interior there is an abundance of large and small cattle, and much game; the island is very fertile, and has an abundance of good salt water fish. The town is large and densely populated. The houses are of stone and mortar, built of many stories with balconies, they are well decorated and painted inside and out, and well furnished, as the people of the land are rich. The ships in which they navigate are fastened with wooden pegs and coir, and as there is no tar in the land they use gum mastic instead.

After Pedro Alvares had arrived at Kilwa, which was on the 26th of July, he sent word to the king, who was called Abraemo, of his coming and that he brought letters from the king his lord, and wished to see him for the purpose of delivering them to him. He desired the king to arrange where the meeting was to take place, as his instructions forbade him to go ashore. He sent Affonso Furtado with this message, who was to be secretary of the factory to be established at Sofala, and appointed seven of the finest dressed men in the fleet to accompany him. The king was pleased to see them, and gave them a good reception, sending word to Pedro Alvares that his arrival was very fortunate, and

that he rendered thanks to God for seeing people in his port who had come from countries so far distant from his own, and from so great a king and lord as he understood the king of Portugal to be; and that as they could not meet on shore, they might do so on the water; with which message he sent many refreshments by one of the chief men of his house, and fixed the next day as the time of meeting.

Accordingly all the captains decorated their ships, and every one proceeded in his boat towards the town, whence the king had already set out accompanied by a large number of canoes, with men attired some in golden cloth and scarlet brocades, and others in silk and cotton, all with their swords girded round them, and their daggers and poniards at their sides, ornamented with gold and precious stones of great value. They played upon many horns and Moorish and other kinds of trumpets, to which the boats replied by playing on instruments of our country, and the ships, which were all decorated, by firing their guns. Meanwhile the king of Kilwa's canoe and Pedro Alvares Cabral's boat had met, and after the necessary ceremonies of greeting the latter delivered the letters from the king of Portugal, written in Arabic and Portuguese, which he forthwith gave to the scribes to read in Arabic, and showed great pleasure at the contents thereof, saying that thenceforward he was the brother and ally of the king of Portugal, and that he was very fortunate to have so great and powerful a king as his friend and brother. In other matters of discourse some time was passed, and before taking leave of one another it was agreed that Affonso Furtado should go ashore the next day to establish peace and friendship with him.

But on the contrary when Affonso Furtado went to speak to him he found the king of Kilwa's manner, on the instigation of the Moors, quite changed, and the excuses which he gave showed more hatred than friendship. Nevertheless, thinking that he might change his mind, Pedro Alvares remained there three days longer, sending him continual friendly messages, but hearing from Moleihomar, brother of the king of Melinde, who was in that place at the time, that the king of Kilwa had commanded the island and city to be fortified, he set sail for Melinde, where he arrived on the 2nd day of the month of August.

On hearing of his arrival, the king immediately sent people to visit him with many and good provisions. Pedro Alvares

sent back a messenger with these men to the king of Melinde, informing him that he brought letters from the king and a present, and also the ambassador who had gone to Portugal. Upon this he showed as much satisfaction as if he had gained a rich treasure, and despatched a nobleman of his household with the man who had brought the message to make great offers to Pedro Alvares. The next day Pedro Alvares sent the letters and the present to the king by Aires Correa, accompanied by the finest dressed men of the fleet, with trumpets and kettle-drums. Upon learning with what pomp Aires Correa was coming, the king sent his chief courtiers to the shore to receive him. Having landed, our countrymen with those who had come to receive them proceeded to the palace between two ranks of women holding perfuming pots in their hands, which emitted a very fragrant smell. In this manner they arrived at the house where the king was awaiting them, seated on a chair ornamented with gold and silver. Aires Correa in approaching made his courtesy, and then delivered to the king the letters which the king Dom Emanuel had written in Arabic and Portuguese, and presented his ambassador to him by the hand, and gave him the present. After discoursing at some length upon these matters, the king begged Aires Correa to become his guest during the time that the fleet remained there, which Pedro Alvares gave him permission to do.

The next day, the king, being anxious to see Pedro Alvares and knowing by what had previously passed with Vasco da Gama and from what Aires Correa had said that it was useless to insist upon his coming ashore, sent him word that he would visit him on the water, which was settled accordingly. Wishing to show the people the rich present he had received, the king commanded a harness ornamented with gold and the other presents to be placed on a very beautiful horse, which he rode until he reached the canoe that was to take him to converse with Pedro Alvares, who was already waiting for him with all the captains of the fleet, each one in his boat that was decorated. During this visit they made many offers and promises of friendship, and took leave of each other after conversing together for some time.

As it was Pedro Alvares' intention to put to sea immediately, so as to profit by the favourable season, he asked the king to give him two pilots, whom he commanded should be provided accord-

ingly. Pedro Alvares left two criminals in that place to obtain information of the interior of the country and to discover whether it was possible to reach the court of the emperor of Ethiopia by land, who is king of Abyssinia, and is erroneously called Prester John, which the king had earnestly recommended him to do when he left the kingdom. One of these criminals was named João Machado, the other Luis de Moura. Of João Machado and the good services he rendered to these kingdoms in those parts I shall speak later.

After doing this Pedro Alvares set sail from the port of Melinde on the 7th of August, and on the 20th he reached the island of Anchediva, where he remained a few days to repair the damages of the journey, and thence he proceeded to Calicut, which he reached on the 13th day of the month of September 1500.

## CHAPTER LX.

*Of what happened to Pedro Alvares Cabral at Cochin and Cananor, and after leaving those places until his arrival at Lisbon.*

EXTRACT:—

Pedro Alvares left that place on the 16th of January, taking with him an ambassador whom the king of Cananor sent to the king Dom Emanuel. When he was near the coast of Melinde he captured a large ship from Cambaya laden with a quantity of merchandise, which was the property of a Moor named Milicupy, lord of Barroche, which ship he set at liberty, saying to the captain that he only desired peace and friendship with the king of Cambaya and his vassals and friends, and that he could tell Milicupy this, as in those parts the king of Portugal, his lord, was at war only with the Moors of Mecca and with the king of Calicut, on account of the treachery and fraud they had practised towards his captains. He parted from him in this manner, taking nothing from him but a pilot, having asked him for one to guide him on the remainder of the passage over the gulf.

Having traversed the gulf, Sancho de Thoar's ship was driven by a tempest on some reefs off the coast of Melinde, and Pedro Alvares commanded them to set fire to her, so that the residents of the land might not profit by the things she contained. Nothing was saved from her but the men. Nevertheless the king of

Mombasa commanded the artillery to be recovered, which he afterwards used against us, as will be spoken of in due time.

Thence he sailed to Mozambique, being unable to put in at Melinde. There he caused the ships to be careened, and sent Sancho de Thoar to discover the port of Sofala, commanding him to proceed afterwards with all speed to the kingdom with the intelligence he should obtain. Having repaired the ships and taken in water, Pedro Alvares set sail, and doubled the Cape on the 22nd of May, being Whit Sunday, and thence directed his course to Cape Verde, where he found Pedro Dias, who disappeared, as has been related, on the way to India. From Cape Verde, without putting in at any port, he proceeded to Lisbon, where he arrived on the last day of July 1501. The king, who was at Cintra, was greatly rejoiced at his arrival, though somewhat saddened on hearing of the number of men who had perished in the ships that were lost.

#### CHAPTER LXIII.

*How the king despatched João da Nova to India as captain of four ships, and of what took place on his voyage until his return to the kingdom.*

On account of the information which Dom Vasco da Gama gave the king of the affairs of India and Ethiopia, and of the customs and dealings of the people of those lands, he decided as a general rule to send a fleet every year to those places; and because he considered that the fleet of which Pedro Alvares was commander was strong enough to settle matters in Calicut, and to establish friendly relations with the king of that country, he did not wish to send in the year 1501 more than three ships and one large caravel, the command of which he bestowed on João da Nova, a Galician by birth, a gallant gentleman, who had rendered many services to the kingdom in Africa, and who was then chief magistrate of Lisbon, an office which at that time was only bestowed on conscientious noblemen, as it was one of the principal in the city, held by one man only, and not by many as it is at present. \* \* \* \*

This fleet set sail from the port of Belem on the 5th of March in the year of our Lord 1501. During the voyage, when they

were already south of the equator, they discovered an island, to which they gave the name Conception, and they arrived at Mozambique in the beginning of August, nothing further of any interest having happened to them. Thence they proceeded to Kilwa, where they found one of the criminals, Antonio Fernandes, a ship's carpenter, who delivered a letter to João da Nova from Pedro Alvares Cabral, containing the same information as the letter of Pedro de Ataíde which they found in an old shoe hanging from a tree at the Watering Place of Saint Bras, that gave an account of affairs in Calicut. From Kilwa João da Nova proceeded to Melinde, where the king gave him detailed information of all matters concerning Pedro Alvares Cabral, upon which he immediately set sail for India. \* \* \* \*

Proceeding thus on his [return] passage, when he was as far as Monte Delli he captured a ship of Calicut, and after removing the spoils he gave order for it to be burnt. Thence he proceeded to Melinde, and from Melinde to Mozambique, and after passing the Cape of Good Hope he touched at an island to which he gave the name Saint Helena, where the ships took in water. The climate of this island is very good, and although it is small it is of great benefit to our ships that touch there, on account of the good water, fruits, and meat which they find. Continuing his journey from this place, he arrived with all his fleet at Lisbon on the 11th of September 1502, where he was received by the king and the people of the city with great rejoicing, because of his successful voyage and of the islands which he had discovered.

#### CHAPTER LXVIII.

*What happened to the admiral Dom Vasco da Gama on his second voyage to India, until reaching Cochin.*

The king, being informed by Pedro Alvares Cabral of all that had taken place with the king of Calicut, and of the treachery set on foot against him by the Moors of that country, determined to send him again to India, but as his Majesty wished to separate five ships from his flag, which he was also sending to India under command of Vicente Sodre, to remain there and cruise against the Moors, he excused himself from going, for which reason the king bestowed the command of this fleet on Dom

Vasco da Gama. It comprised ten sail, of which the captains were Dom Luis Coutinho, Pedro Affonso d'Aguiar, Francisco da Cunha, João Lopes Perestrelo, Rui da Castanheda, Gil Matoso, Luis Fernandes, Antonio do Campo, Diogo Pirez; and of the five ships which were separated from his command the commodore was Vicente Sodre, Vasco da Gama's uncle, the other captains being Bras Sodre, his brother, Pedro de Ataide, Pedro Raphael, and João Rois Badarsas. Besides these fifteen sail the king sent wood ready fashioned for a caravel, which was to be fitted out at Mozambique to guard the coast as far as Sofala.

These two fleets set sail from the port of Belem on the 10th of February 1502, the king having bestowed the title of Admiral of the Indian Sea on Dom Vasco da Gama shortly before he left, in reward of the services he had rendered and which he expected him to render during this voyage.

Besides these fifteen ships the king commanded five others to be equipped, giving the command of them to Estevão da Gama, first cousin of Dom Vasco da Gama, who set sail from Lisbon on the 1st of April of the same year, the other captains being Lopo Mendes de Vasconcellos, Thomas de Carmona, Lopo Dias, servant of Dom Alvaro, and João de Bonagracia, an Italian.

Dom Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope with all his fleet, and arrived at Cape Correntes without anything of interest happening. Thence he sent his uncle Vicente Sodre with eleven of the ships of the fleet to wait for him at Mozambique, because with the other four he wished to proceed to Sofala to inspect the port and obtain information concerning the inhabitants of the country. He was well received by the sheik of that place, and having secured his friendship, he set sail for Mozambique. In coming out of the river of Sofala one of the ships was lost, but the merchandise on board and all the men were saved.

In Mozambique he had an interview with the sheik, who was not the same he had seen on his first voyage to India. This sheik was very courteous towards him, and gave him a good welcome, commanding the fleet to be supplied with all that was necessary. When this was done he directed his course to Kilwa, taking with him the caravel which had been put together at Mozambique, the command of which he gave to João Serram, it being his intention to make war on the king, who was named

Abraham, and to destroy his town if he did not make amends for his past conduct.

Having reached Kilwa, immediately after him Estevão da Gama arrived with the five ships under his command, which made a total of nineteen sail, as Antonio do Campo's ship had separated from the fleet. The king of Kilwa was in such terror at the arrival of these ships that of his own accord he sent word to Vasco da Gama that he wished to see him, and a meeting was accordingly arranged to take place on the water, during which Dom Vasco seized him and told him that if he did not become a vassal and tributary of the king, his lord, he would take him prisoner to India and thence to Portugal. In fear of these threats being carried out, he promised to pay a tribute of two thousand miticals of gold every year, saying that he would pay the amount for that year when he returned to the shore, as security for which he left with him Mohamed Encony, the second in rank in the kingdom, to whom he wished secretly to do great harm, fearing that he would take the kingdom from him, which he himself had usurped from the former ruler. Dom Vasco, believing him to be speaking the truth, released him; but when he found himself at liberty, eager to afford Dom Vasco da Gama some motive for killing Mohamed Encony, he refused to send the tribute, seeing which the prisoner, understanding his wicked intention, gave Dom Vasco his opinion of it, informing him what a wicked man the king was, and that since he had thus deceived him he would pay the two thousand miticals of gold himself, which he did, and Dom Vasco set him at liberty to return to the town, they having become good friends.

After leaving Kilwa Dom Vasco was compelled by the currents to put into a bay eight leagues below Melinde, and although he was most anxious to see the king and thank him for the good welcome he had received there formerly, he was unable to do so; nevertheless the king sent a criminal to visit him named Luis de Moura, whom Pedro Alvares Cabral had left at that place. Having taken water and meat on board, he set sail for India, and on arriving at Monte Delli he encountered a ship belonging to the sultan of Babylon, called *Mery*, of which Joarfaquim was captain. She was a large and well armed ship, that had left Calicut laden with spices and other merchandise, bound for Mecca, and had as passengers a number of pilgrims who out of

devotion were going to visit the tomb of their prophet Mohamed. He had great difficulty in capturing this ship, as the Moors defended themselves well all that day and the following night, but on the next day he boarded her and killed more than three hundred persons. Dom Vasco da Gama gave order for some children who were on board to be taken to his ship, his intention being to make monks of them in the monastery of our Lady of Belem. \* \* \*

#### CHAPTER LXIX.

*Concerning what Admiral Dom Vasco da Gama accomplished in Cochin, and what further happened on his voyage until his return to the kingdom.*

EXTRACT:—

The admiral set sail for the kingdom without touching at any land on the passage except Mozambique, where he took in water and meat. Following his course he was overtaken by a storm at Cape Correntes, in which Estevão da Gama's ship was separated from the fleet. Dom Vasco reached Lisbon with the other ships on the 1st of September 1503. The king, who was in that city at the time, received him with all the rejoicing that his successful voyage deserved, and all the lords and noblemen who were then at court went on board his ship, and afterwards accompanied him to the palace, his page walking before him carrying a basin in which were the two thousand miticals of gold, the tribute of the king of Kilwa, and also the agreements which he had made with the latter and with the king of Cananor and Cochin. The king commanded a tabernacle for the blessed sacrament to be made of the said two thousand miticals of gold, ornamented with precious stones, which he commanded to be presented to the monastery of Belem. Estevão da Gama reached Lisbon six days after Dom Vasco da Gama.

#### CHAPTER LXXXI.

*Of Antonio de Saldanha's voyage to India, and what happened until he arrived there.*

After the departure of Affonso d'Albuquerque and Francisco d'Albuquerque, the king despatched three ships to India, which

were being equipped before those commanders sailed, and gave the command of them to Antonio de Saldanha. The other captains who sailed under his flag were Rui Lourenço Ravasco and Diogo Fernandes Peteira de Setuval. The king sent this fleet as men of war to cruise from Cape Guardafui to the entrance of the straits of the Arabian sea. These three ships having set sail from the port of Belem, Diogo Fernandes Peteira's was separated by a storm from the others off Cape Verde, and being unable to find them he proceeded to the coast of Melinde, where he took several prizes; and thence he put into the island of Socotra to winter, where none of our ships had been before. When the winter was over, he sailed to India, where Lopo Soares d'Alvarenga was in readiness to leave for the kingdom, which will be spoken of later.

Continuing on his voyage, through the bad navigation and negligence of the pilot Antonio de Saldanha came to the island of Saint Thomas. After leaving that place Rui Lourenço Ravasco was separated from him by a storm, and afterwards he discovered him at Melinde making war on the king of Mombasa in favour of the king of Melinde, which we shall refer to later. Proceeding in search of the Cape of Good Hope, the pilot, giving him to understand that he had already passed it, guided Antonio de Saldanha to a bay on this side of it, to which, on account of his ship having watered there, he gave the name of the Watering Place of Saldanha. Sailing from that place he doubled the Cape, and proceeded on his voyage, where we will leave him to speak of what happened to Rui Lourenço Ravasco after he was separated from him.

Rui Lourenço put in at Mozambique, and thence proceeded to Kilwa, where he waited twenty days for Antonio de Saldanha, but seeing that he did not come, he proceeded to the island of Zanzibar, twenty leagues on this side of Mombasa, between which place and the mainland there is so little distance that no ship can pass without being seen from either side. For this reason he remained there two months, during which time he captured more than twenty zambucos laden with provisions, bound for Zanzibar. The greater number of these zambucos were ransomed with money, but he had no cause for acting in this manner, as the lord of Zanzibar was at peace with us, and we had never received harm from him, so that his conduct was not justified by

the rights and rules of war. Having committed these excesses, by which this captain and many other Portuguese gave more cause for us to be looked upon with hatred on the shores of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India as far as China, than with love and affection, Rui Lourenço proceeded along the coast of the island, and cast anchor before the town of Zanzibar.

The lord of the island immediately sent to inquire if he was the Portuguese captain who made war upon him, a friend of the king of Portugal, and who seized his ships that were coming peacefully to that town laden with provisions; nevertheless he asked him not to regard what had passed, but to send him the artillery which he had taken from the zambucos. Rui Lourenço replied to this message more harshly than was fitting, and paid no heed to so just and honest a petition, for which reason several armed canoes equipped with men were sent out against him, of which four were captured and brought to the ship's side by Gomes Carrasco, the ship's clerk, and Lourenço Feo, with the ship's boat, and the others being routed returned to the shore, our people having killed several of the men with their guns, among whom was a son of the lord of the island; upon which, fearing that he would do him more harm, the latter sent to ask for peace.

Rui Lourenço received the message on board his ship, the substance of it being that notwithstanding the loss he had suffered and the death of his son and of those who were killed at the same time, he wished to be at peace with the king of Portugal, which Rui Lourenço granted on condition that he would pay an annual tribute of one hundred miticals of gold, and at once send the amount for that year.

This peace being established, Rui Lourenço proceeded to Melinde in search of Antonio de Saldanha, where he found the king, our friend, at war with the king of Mombasa, on account of his friendship for the Portuguese. Upon this, with the approval of the king of Melinde, he proceeded to cast anchor before the town of Mombasa, where he captured two ships and three zambucos, in which were twelve of the principal Moors of the city of Brava, situated one hundred leagues below Melinde. As they were the chief persons of the city of Brava, and were expecting a ship laden with merchandise, fearing that Rui Lourenço would seize it, besides paying ransoms for their persons, they undertook to

make the aforesaid city pay a tribute of five hundred miticals of gold per annum to the king Dom Emanuel. They asked Rui Lourenço for a flag with the arms of the kingdom, that they might thenceforward sail without fear of our ships, which flag he gave them. While busy with this agreement the above-mentioned ship arrived at the port, and was freely delivered to them by Rui Lourenço, without anything being taken from her, with which they took leave of him well satisfied.

Rui Lourenço being thus occupied, Antonio de Saldanha arrived at Mombasa with three ships which he had captured after leaving Kilwa. On his arrival the king of Mombasa, fearing that he would suffer greater losses at sea than those he had already undergone, made peace with the king of Melinde. This peace being settled and sworn to, Antonio de Saldanha and Rui Lourenço set sail for India, where they arrived with several prizes that they had taken between the town of Mete, which is beyond Cape Guardafui, and the islands of Canacania and Anchediva, which will be spoken of in due time.

#### CHAPTER XCVI.

*How the king despatched thirteen ships to India, of which Lopo Soares d'Alvarenga was captain.*

EXTRACT:—

As was previously stated, the king despatched a fleet to India in the year 1504, under command of Lopo Soares d'Alvarenga, which I will give an account of in this year 1505, in which year he returned, according to the order I have hitherto observed. This fleet was composed of thirteen large ships, carrying one thousand two hundred soldiers and a quantity of military stores, as the king looked upon war with Calicut as inevitable, on account of the reports given to him by the admiral Dom Vasco da Gama on his return from that place the second time. The other captains who sailed under the flag of Lopo Soares were Pedro de Mendouça, Lionel Coutinho, Tristão da Silva, Lopo Mendez de Vasconcellos, Manuel Telez Barreto, Lopo d'Abreu, Philippe de Castro, Affonso Lopes da Costa, Pedro Affonso d'Aguiar, Vasco da Silveira, Vasco Carvalho, and Pedro Dinis de Setuval, in whose company he set sail from the port of Belem on the 22nd of April in the year 1504.

Proceeding on his voyage, he reached Mozambique on the 25th of July, being the feast of St. James the Apostle, where the sheik received him as a friend, and sent him a present of provisions of the country, and a letter written by Pedro d'Ataide before his death to whatever captain might put in there, giving a report of affairs in India. From this letter seeing that his presence at Cochin was required, Lopo Soares commanded the fleet to be repaired and provisioned with all speed, so that on the first of August he left for Melinde, where on his arrival the king sent a trustworthy Moor, named Debucar, with a supply of provisions, and with him sixteen Portuguese who had been left at that place out of the number of those who were saved from Pedro d'Ataide's ship. Lopo Soares remained only two days at the port of Melinde, at the end of which time, after a meeting with the king, he set sail for India, proceeding with favourable weather as far as the island of Anchediva, where he found Antonio de Saldanha and Rui Lourenço, who put in there, as was previously stated, and could not proceed on their journey as it was the winter season. This was now the end of August.

#### CHAPTER XCIX.

*What was accomplished by Lopo Soares d'Alvarenga after his victory at Cranganor until leaving India and returning to the kingdom.*

##### EXTRACT:—

At Cananor having taken on board the cargo that was still wanting for the ships, he took leave of the king and of the Portuguese who were in the city, and earnestly entrusting to Manuel Telez, Christovão Jusarte, Pedro Raphael, and Diogo Pirez, the guard of the coast of Malabar and the affairs of the king of Cochin, he proceeded on his voyage, having with him two ships more than those with which he had left Portugal, laden with a quantity of spice and other merchandise. He arrived at Melinde on the 1st of February. Here the king entertained him well, and having taken on board the merchandise left in that place by Antonio de Saldanha from the prizes he had taken in the vicinity of Cape Guardafui when on his way to India, he put in at Kilwa for the purpose of receiving the yearly tribute which

the king was under obligation to pay ; but it being refused him, he set sail on the 10th of February for Mozambique. Here he remained twelve days, provisioning the fleet with all the stores required for the voyage. Two days after his arrival he despatched Pedro de Mendonça and Lopo d'Abreu to the kingdom with a report of what he had done. Of these two, Pedro de Mendonça was lost on the passage, the place being unknown, and Lopo d'Abreu reached Lisbon nine days before Lopo Soares, who arrived with all his fleet complete on the 22nd of July in the same year 1505.

## PART II.—CHAPTER I.

*Of the instructions given by the king to Dom Francisco d'Almeida before his departure for India.*

In the year 1505 the king resolved to send Dom Francisco d'Almeida as governor to India, because Tristão da Cunha, whom he had already appointed to this office, was afflicted with an illness which had resulted in temporary blindness. With reference to this matter the king commanded Dom Francisco to be summoned from Coimbra, where he was staying at the time with his brother Dom George, the bishop of that city, they being sons of Dom Lopo d'Almeida, first count of Abrantes. As the king well understood by past events in India that for its safety it was necessary to send a larger fleet and more men than he had hitherto done, and also a captain general to reside in those parts, he commanded that one thousand five hundred soldiers should sail in this fleet, which should be composed of sixteen ships and six caravels.

The captains of the ships were the aforesaid Dom Francisco, Dom Fernando de Sa, Fernão Soares, Rui Freire, Vasco d'Abreu, João da Nova, Pedro d'Anhaya, Sebastião de Sousa, Diogo Correa, Pedro Ferreira Fogaça, Lopo Sanches, Philippe Rodriguez, Lopo de Deos, captain and pilot, João Serram, Antão Gonçalves, magistrate of Coimbra, and Fernão Bermudes, a Spaniard, son of Christovão Bermudes, who was taken prisoner in the outbreak of Dom Garcia de Meneses, bishop of Evora, and beheaded in the town of Lobom in Castile, for having taken part with the Portuguese, of which I have dealt in detail in the *Chronicle of the Prince Dom João*. The captains of the caravels were Gonçalo

Vaz de Goes, Gonçalo de Paiva, Lucas da Fonseca, Lopo Chanoca, João Homem, and Antão Vaz.

The king bestowed many favours on Dom Francisco and on his son Lourenço d'Almeida, whom he took with him to India, for accepting this commission without question, and without complaint of its having first been given to Tristão da Cunha. A few days before the sailing of the fleet, the king delivered to Dom Francisco the instructions he was to follow during the course of the voyage and after he should reach India, of which, being the first instructions given to a governor and viceroy of India, I shall furnish a brief abstract here.

In the first place he commanded him when passing to endeavour to construct a fortress at Sofala, the captaincy of which he had bestowed on Pedro d'Anhaya, who accompanied him with ships and men sent for this purpose. In the building of this fortress he was to show all possible friendship and good will to the sheik of the country, leaving him free to use and enjoy the duties he was accustomed to receive from the merchants who came to his port; but he was to make prisoners of all the Moors whom he found there trading, and take from them the gold which they had been collecting. If the sheik should complain of this, he was to inform him that he did so because they maintained a continual war against the Christians, and seized their goods and made captives of them wherever they were able to do so, and that he was therefore justified in treating them in the same manner.

When this fortress was so far advanced that it was able to defend itself, he was to set sail for Kilwa, where he was commanded to build another fortress. On arriving at this place he was to send to the king to demand the tribute which was owing, and if he paid it he was to treat him as a friend, but if he refused it he was to make war upon him as an enemy, and was to build the fortress by force, of which the captaincy was bestowed on Pedro Ferreira Fogaga, Duarte de Mello being appointed chief judge. In this fortress he was to leave the necessary number of men, and after detaching a caravel and a brigantine to guard the coast, with the greatest possible despatch he was to set sail, in order to arrive in India in time to load the ships which were to return to the kingdom. Before leaving, or afterwards, he was to send by any of the vessels of the country one of the criminals that accom-

panied him to the king of Melinde, with the letters which he was to carry for him, and was to write to him and relate what had taken place in Kilwa, and make many offers to him on his part, as to a good friend. Besides this, on leaving Kilwa, he was to despatch two brigantines which should cruise along the coast to Cape Guardafui, without entering the straits of the Arabian sea, and carry a report to Anchediva of all that was happening on that coast.

He was to cause a fortress to be constructed in the said island, of which Manuel Paçanha was sent as captain, and he was to give order for the galleys to be constructed in this place with wood which he was to carry with him, according to his instructions. João Serram was to remain there as superintendent of this work. When this was accomplished and he was of opinion that the fortress was sufficiently advanced to be in a state of defence, he was to set sail for Cochin, leaving two of the caravels which were to accompany him with Manuel Paçanha, and if it should appear to him necessary to leave more ships he was to do so.

From Anchediva he was to proceed to Cochin, keeping always close to the shore to see whether he could not seize some of the ships of Calicut, making continual and fierce war against that king and looking upon him as a mortal enemy; but he was always to treat the kings of Cochin and Cananor as friends, giving them the presents and letters which he was to carry for them, and making them all the offers which he thought fit. When this was done, he was to endeavour to despatch the ships which were to return to the kingdom, of which Rui Freire, Fernão Soares, and Sebastião de Sousa should be captains.

And having seen what cargoes could be obtained in Cochin for the ships, he was to proceed with the remaining ships to Coulam, that they might load at that place; and if the king of the country was in that town he was to deliver to him the letters which he was to carry for him, and was to endeavour above all to obtain his license to build a fortress there. In whichever of these places the ships were loaded, as soon as three were ready, he was to despatch them without waiting for others, after appointing captains to them; endeavouring to send all of them away during the month of January.

And having despatched those ships which he was to send to the kingdom in the following January with cargoes, he was to

proceed to the Arabian sea, leaving the fortresses of Cochin and Anchediva provided for, and was to construct a fortress at the entrance of the said sea, at whatever place appeared to him most convenient for impeding the navigation of the Moors of Mecca to India. As soon as this fortress was finished he was to leave there as captain Manuel Paçanha, whom he was to bring with him from Anchediva, and Fernão Sanches as chief magistrate, supplying them with all the military stores and ships which they might require, according to the condition of the place, remembering how far they would be from all assistance.

Having accomplished this, he was to return to India, and on arriving there was to give order for the fortress of Coulam to be constructed if he could obtain the king's license for this, where Lourenço de Brito was to remain as captain. As regarded the king of Calicut, if he should send to ask for peace, as enjoyed by the other kings, and the king of Cochin should be satisfied therewith, peace was to be established on condition that all the Moors of Mecca should be expelled from the town, the king of Calicut giving the necessary pledges and assurances for its maintenance.

On his return to India from the Arabian sea he was to form with his ships as many squadrons as appeared to him fitting, and send them to cruise along the coasts of Chaul, Dabul, Cambaya, and Ormuz. And he was to establish peace with all the kings who desired to be at peace with him, imposing tributes which they could honestly pay. He was recommended to treat all the Christians in those parts very well, and also all those who might be converted to the faith, of whatever sect or creed they might be. And if it should appear to him necessary to grant various privileges to the lords and chief persons of those provinces, he was to do so, in accordance with the rank of each one. Above all, on account of the great confidence reposed in him, the king conferred on him power to decide both in matters of law and in matters touching his treasury, recommending him to decide in such a manner that his service might not suffer in any way, and that justice might be preserved and done to all in general, in accomplishing which he would render him great service besides that which he was under obligation to perform by the nature of his office.

## CHAPTER II.

*Of what happened to Francisco d'Almeida from the day he set sail from the port of Belem until his arrival at Kilwa, and what he did at that place.*

The fleet being ready, Dom Francisco d'Almeida set sail from the port of Belem in the presence of the king on the 25th of March 1505, but without Pedro d'Anhaya's ship, which was lost in the same port during a storm. For which reason at the end of the instructions which the king gave to Dom Francisco, he commanded him not to touch at Sofala, but to proceed as rapidly as possible to Kilwa, and to build the fortress which he had commanded him to construct there. The fleet having set sail, Dom Francisco arrived with favourable weather at Port Dale on the coast of Guinea, where he remained nine days for the ships to water, and where the king of the place entertained him well. This being done, he set sail on the 25th of April, and being close to the equator he was overtaken by calms, which lasted fourteen days.

Proceeding under the said difficulty, by the advice and following the opinion of the other captains, as some of the ships were bad sailers and could not keep up with the others, he divided the fleet into two squadrons, taking with him thirteen ships and Gonçalo de Paiva's caravel, and giving the command of Lopo Sanches and Sebastião de Sousa's ships and the five caravels to Manuel Paçanha, father-in-law of Sebastião de Sousa, in whose ship he sailed, having been appointed to the command of the fortress which was to be constructed at Anchediva. The fleet being divided into these two squadrons, the ships all crossed the equator together on the 29th of April. Proceeding on this course after the fleet had separated, Pedro Ferreira Fogaça's ship, which was very old, having suffered by the calms and being tossed about, sprang a leak twice, and the last time she sank, nothing being saved from her; but the men and a silver chest from Dom Francisco d'Almeida's chapel.

The calms being over, proceeding on his way, through the bad navigation of the pilots and their fear of the Cape of Good Hope, they found themselves in 40° south latitude, and it being already

winter in those parts, the days were very short, and the cold intense and accompanied by such heavy falls of snow that they were compelled to throw it overboard with shovels. Under these difficulties he doubled the Cape on the 26th of June, one hundred and seventy-five leagues out at sea. Approaching the land as much as possible, on the 2nd of July there was such a terrific thunder-storm that it split the sails of his ship and those of the ship of Diogo Correa, three men falling overboard from the latter, of whom one saved himself.

I will give the story here, as being most marvellous, and an example to all, showing how everyone, king, prince, or lord, however great, should see that his sons learn the art and exercise of swimming, by which many save themselves in great perils, while others are drowned in shallow water because they have not learnt it. This man, whose name was Fernão Lourenço, falling overboard, on rising to the surface of the water lifted his arm that he might be seen, and called out in a loud voice that they should keep watch for him until the morning, as he would manage to swim so long, which the captain did, and the next day he was picked up.

During this storm João Serrão's ship was separated from the fleet, for which reason Dom Francisco remained in that vicinity for a few days, and seeing that she did not appear, he gave order for the voyage to be continued. On the 18th of July they came to the Primeiras islands, where he sent Gonçalo de Paiva in advance to Mozambique to enquire if the ships under command of Francisco d'Albuquerque, Affonso d'Albuquerque, and Lopo Soares had passed on their way to the kingdom, and what had happened to them during their voyage.

He then proceeded with all haste to Kilwa, where he arrived on the 22nd of July, and as Gonçalo de Paiva's ship was still behind, Dom Francisco when in sight of Mozambique sent Fernão Bermudes on the same errand. When the fleet came to anchor in the harbour of Kilwa, Dom Francisco sent João da Nova to visit the king, who immediately afterwards left the town as secretly as possible, being alarmed because of the crimes he had committed against our countrymen, leaving Mohamed Ancony in the town, of whom I spoke when the admiral Dom Vasco da Gama put in at that place. All those who remained in the town, in which there might be one thousand five hundred fighting

men, formed an army under Mohamed Ancony, with the intention of defending themselves.

Dom Francisco, seeing that the king did not come to speak to him, as he had sent word by five Moors that he would do, which Moors he would not allow to return to the shore, as his suspicions had been already aroused, on the morning of the next day, the 23rd of July, the vigil of the feast of Saint James the Apostle, entered the town with three hundred men, and Dom Lourenço, his son, with two hundred. He landed on the shore facing the fleet, and Dom Lourenço in front of the king's palace, arriving at high tide, when the sea beat against the houses. Dom Francisco was the first to set foot on shore, the royal banner being carried by Pedro Cam, who acted as ensign, and all the other captains followed him. No resistance was offered, upon which, fearing an ambush, he commanded them to enter the town with great caution, in the order he had commanded them to follow. There they found still a few people, in such confusion that they reached the king's palace, which was situated at the extreme end of the town, without danger. Dom Francisco found his son Dom Lourenço already there, having arrived without encountering any resistance.

Mohamed Ancony, who had no intention of fighting our countrymen, immediately on their landing had left the town with most of the soldiers who were in it. On arriving at the king's palace Dom Francisco commanded the doors, which were locked, to be broken open, and believing the king to be within, he told Dom Lourenço to enter and seize him, and to bring him to him alive. Dom Lourenço did not find him in the palace, but heard of his flight from some Moors who had taken refuge there, and to save their lives had hoisted a banner with the arms of Portugal on one of the towers. This being concluded, Dom Francisco took up his residence in one of the best houses in the town, which overlooked the sea, and gave his men leave to sack the place, but forbade them to set fire to anything, and commanded them to bring all the things of value that they found to one of the houses adjoining his, to be afterwards divided among all, which was done with a quantity of merchandise and several articles of gold and silver, Dom Francisco taking only an arrow for himself, saying that was sufficient for him.

Having gained this peaceful victory, Dom Francisco d'Almeida

conferred knighthood upon several of his men, among whom was Fernão Peres d'Andrade, a man who afterwards rendered signal services to these kingdoms in India and other parts. The following day he commenced building the fortress in the very houses where they were quartered, this being a suitable place for it, as the sea beat against it. For the safety of the fortress he commanded as many of the neighbouring houses to be pulled down as he thought necessary, so that an extensive open space was made, by which the artillery could sweep a great part of the town; and in honour of the blessed Apostle Saint James, on whose feast the fortress was commenced, he gave his name to it, placing it under his protection.

This same day Dom Francisco, learning that Mohamed Ancony was near the city with the men who had left it with him, sent word to him by João da Nova that his intention was to make him king of Kilwa and that he might return and in his name might inform all those who had fled that he gave them leave to come back, and that he would support and protect them in justice as vassals of the king of Portugal, his lord, whose authority they were to obey, enjoying many more liberties and privileges than those they had enjoyed when under the power of the tyrant who had fled.

In consequence of this message they all returned to the town on the feast of Saint Anne, the 26th of July, Mohamed Ancony riding a handsome charger which Dom Francisco had commanded should be caparisoned with gold and silver, and all the others on foot, Gaspar going before, saying in a loud voice in the Arabic tongue: "This is your king, whom you must all obey in the name of the king Dom Emanuel of Portugal, our lord, whose vassals you all are." In this manner he paraded the principal streets of the town until he reached the houses where the fortress was being built, where Dom Francisco was awaiting him in the open space, on a platform adorned with cloths of gold and silk, where in sight of all the people and of most of the nobles of the town, placing a crown of gold on his head, which he was taking to the king of Cochin, he made him king of Kilwa. Mohamed swore according to his creed to be loyal to the kings of Portugal and to be their vassal, paying the tribute which had been formerly imposed on the kings of Kilwa. When this was thus solemnised, Dom Francisco crowned him and delivered the

kingdom to him, and he commanded public instruments of the said act to be drawn up in Arabic and in Portuguese, which he sent to these kingdoms, signed by the king, by the chief people of the land who were present at the drawing up of the documents, and by himself and all the captains and nobles of the fleet, which documents must have been lost, as many other things worthy of remembrance have been, because they were not deposited in the archive department, the proper place intended for them.

When this document was signed Dom Francisco d'Almeida delivered the palace to the king Mohamed, where he left him, to the satisfaction of the people of the town and of our people, owing to his merits and good qualities. At this time Gonçalo de Paiva and Fernão Bermudes arrived from Mozambique with intelligence that the country was peaceful, bringing letters from Francisco d'Albuquerque and Lopo Soares that had been given them by the sheik, in which they informed the captains who might pass there of the condition in which they had left affairs in India. A few days later, on the 3rd of August, João Serrão, captain of the ship *Botafogo*, which was separated from the fleet by a storm as aforesaid, arrived at Kilwa.

These ships having joined the fleet and the building of the fortress being continued, the king Mohamed Ancony came to visit Dom Francisco, and asked for the Moors whom he had made captives on entering the city, which Moors Dom Francisco commanded should be given to him. Besides this the king told him that he had been so great a friend of the king Alfudail, who was killed by the tyrant Abraham, that had he been still living he would have transferred the kingdom to him of his own free will, if he would have accepted it, but since he was dead, he begged him to grant that on his, Mohamed Ancony's, death the kingdom should pass to a son of the said late king, even though he himself had sons who might succeed him; and that before leaving Dom Francisco should cause an oath to be taken to him as prince, for which reason he would summon him to come immediately, and would keep him with him as his own son. Dom Francisco granted his petition, being filled with amazement at such great and extraordinary virtue, as were also all the men of the fleet and the people of the country. Upon which he sent João da Nova for this son of king Alfudail, who was on the

mainland half a league from the island, and an oath was taken to him as prince and heir to the kingdom of Kilwa on the death of the king Mohamed Ancony, who at this time would be a man of seventy years.

All this being done, the town pacified, and the fortress so far advanced that it could without difficulty be defended, Dom Francisco set sail from Kilwa on the eve of the feast of the blessed Saint Lourenço, on the 9th of August, to proceed against Mombasa, leaving directions for Pedro Ferreira Fogaça, who was appointed to the captaincy of this fortress, as to what he was to do, and letters for Manuel Paçanha, captain of the squadron which he had separated from his fleet during the voyage, in which he commanded him on his arrival there to set sail immediately for Mombasa, and if he did not find him there to proceed to India or to Melinde if he heard that he was at that place; and to leave at Kilwa Gonçalo Vaz de Goes with his caravel and a brigantine which was to be equipped to guard that coast.

### CHAPTER III.

*Of what Dom Francisco d'Almeida did in Mombasa, and how, after taking and burning it, he set out for Melinde and thence for India.*

Four days after Dom Francisco d'Almeida set sail from Kilwa he reached the mouth of the harbour of Mombasa, where having cast anchor, he sent Gonçalo de Paiva to take soundings, together with two Moorish pilots he had brought from Kilwa. As he was sounding he approached a bastion, from which two mortars were fired at him, and the shot from one pierced the side of his caravel. To this he replied with his artillery, and so dealt with the bastion that it was set on fire, when those who guarded it fled into the city. Having accomplished this he returned, and brought word to Dom Francisco that he might enter the harbour without danger, as there was sufficient depth of water. Dom Francisco therefore cast anchor before the city, and sent a message to the king of Mombasa by one of the Moorish pilots, that he had not come to make war upon him, but to bring him into obedience to the king of Portugal, his master, whose friendship, if he chose, might be obtained with the same honour and favour as that

shown to many kings and chiefs of Africa and India, his vassals and friends, whom he was accustomed to favour and defend, and to make war upon those who were at war with them.

Dom Francisco d'Almeida ordered João da Nova to convey the said pilot in his boat to the shore, and before reaching land the pilot spoke in his own language to some Moors who were upon the beach, saying that he brought a message of peace, and if the king gave him leave he would go and speak to him. To this they replied that if he landed, it would be in pieces, and bade him tell the captain that there was a great difference between the gentlemen of Mombasa and the hens of Kilwa, which he would find whenever he attempted to land with his men.

Having received this message, Dom Francisco sent João da Nova in his boat at night, together with another captain, to capture an interpreter, which they managed to do, and he was found to be a servant of the king and an official of his household, to whom Dom Francisco promised liberty if he would tell him the truth concerning the design of the king of Mombasa, but if his report proved false he would have him hanged. The Moor threw himself at his feet, and said that as soon as the king of Mombasa heard of the taking of Kilwa he began to prepare himself, and had already in the city four thousand soldiers and a quantity of artillery upon the walls and turrets, and besides these forces he was expecting two thousand men. From these tidings and the message given to the Moorish pilot from the shore, Dom Francisco recognised that war was inevitable.

The next day, therefore, which was the eve of the assumption of our Lady, by the advice of Fernão Soares, he ordered the city to be set on fire in two places, and several houses were burned, although it was his intention to attempt to take the city by assault before giving it altogether to the flames, in which he was opposed by most of the captains in the fleet, because it was very large and contained many fighting men. The fire was lit close to the shore, so that Dom Lourenço and Fernão Soares, who kindled it, could not remain there, but retired to their boats and returned to the ships. Before they succeeded in setting fire to the city, they met with considerable resistance, in which more than seventy of the enemy were killed and two of our people, namely a servant of Dom Francisco named Francisco Serrão and a bombardier, and many were wounded.

Dom Francisco fixed on the next day for the attack, and therefore two hours before dawn he landed opposite the place where he was anchored, and with him Dom Francisco de Sa, Lourenço de Brito, Rui Freire, Gonçalo de Paiva, Philippe Rodriguez, Fernão Bermudes, Antão Gonçalves, and the men from the ship of João Serram, he being wounded. Dom Lourenço, with Fernão Soares, Diogo Correa, and João da Nova, disembarked at another part of the city, and though it was still so early, by the light of the fire which still lasted they could see from the boats that there was no one on the shore. Dom Francisco, however, fearing this might be a snare, would not disembark before it grew light, and then he landed, with the royal standard borne by Pedro Cão.

Dom Lourenço landed at the place assigned to him, and entering the streets, which were very narrow, suffered considerably from the stones, darts, and lances hurled at him by men and women from the windows and terraces of the houses in such numbers that they were obliged to protect themselves under the projecting parts of the buildings, without being able to avail themselves of the cross-bows and guns which they carried. Nevertheless they fired from under their shelter at those at the windows and on the terraces, notwithstanding which these did not cease to hurl from above such quantities of stones and pieces of rock that none of our men dared go along the open streets. In this strait they resolved to attack the door of a house in which two Kaffir women with several Moors were doing them great damage, and having broken down the door they entered the house with sufficient danger, but, as it pleased God, one of the cross-bow men pierced the throat of one of the Kaffir women with an arrow, whereupon she fell down dead, and the others in dismay began to flee along the terraces above, followed by some of our people until they were driven out of that street.

Those who were below under the balconies then began to march forward, but on reaching the entrance of the next street, Dom Lourenço and the party of João da Nova being in advance, the Moors threw down an old wall which blocked their passage, and therefore João da Nova's standard bearer, who was named Vaqueiro, halted, as did also those who came behind, seeing their guide standing still. During this delay they were so severely assailed with darts and stones from the terraces and windows of the houses

that they could not remain there without great peril. Seeing this, the boatswain of João da Nova's ship determined to get to the top of the houses, with two of his companions, one named Rui Fernandes, who was afterwards saddler to the king, and another named João Lopes, who was saddler to the cardinal Dom Affonso, his son. These three breaking in the door of one of the houses, went up, and being so few met with much resistance, and would have come off badly if they had not been followed by Fernão Peres d'Andrade and the factor and secretary of João da Nova's ship, with Duarte Fernandes, who was afterwards the king's treasurer, and others, who forced the Moors to retire before them from terrace to terrace until the street was cleared.

This being done, they still pressed forward, and met Dom Lourenço, who hearing of their danger was returning to succour them, and thus all together they reached the palace of the king, who had already fled. There they found Fernão Bermudes, who shouting from a terrace Portugal! Portugal! told Dom Lourenço that Dom Francisco his father was in advance, and Rui Freire, whom he met at the door of the palace, said the same, and showed him the street by which he had gone.

Before this Dom Francisco, guided by the Moor whom João da Nova had captured, almost reached the king's palace without meeting resistance, but from that place forward he encountered some, nevertheless he reached it without any of his men being wounded. The king had already fled, for hearing that they had entered the city and were already in the streets near his palace, he retreated to some palm groves, where he fortified himself. Dom Francisco, finding the palace deserted, left Fernão Bermudes, Rodrigo Rabello, and Rui Freire, with the men from their ships to guard it, and pressing onward in search of his father, he found him engaged with the enemy. At his arrival and assistance Dom Francisco was much rejoiced, and fell upon the Moors with such violence that they were obliged to retire from the street and take refuge in some palm groves where the king was.

When this was accomplished, Dom Francisco ordered Dom Lourenço to return to the palace and set a guard upon its contents, and to show him the houses and places where the king kept his treasures and wardrobe he sent with him the same Moor who was captured by João da Nova, who being one of the king's servants knew well where all these things were. He himself with

his men went to make an inspection of the city, and finding it deserted, he returned to the palace, where Dom Lourenço already was; but they could not find the treasure they expected or anything of value.

It was now about mid-day, and all being assembled there, they dined and rested for a while. Dom Francisco then ordered them to go and sack the city, and to carry the spoil to the ships, to be afterwards divided among them all, which was done accordingly.

The king of Mombasa, seeing the mistake into which he had fallen, when Dom Francisco re-entered the city, sent to him to solicit peace, which proved ineffectual, though sundry messages were sent backward and forward. They found in the city many iron mortars and other munitions of war, which were removed to the fleet with the rest of the spoil. There fell, of those who were in the city, more than one thousand five hundred persons, as was afterwards learned. There were two hundred captives, including some very fair and beautiful women, and these captives were selected from more than two thousand who were taken prisoners, for Dom Francisco set the others at liberty. Among them were the owners of three ships from Cambaya, which were drawn up on the beach before the city. Of our people, five men were killed of Dom Lourenço's company, and many were wounded. One was Dom Fernando de Sa, who was wounded by an arrow in the big toe of his right foot, which pierced it through, and the arrow being poisoned he died of the wound in a few days.

After the city had been sacked, when Dom Francisco was withdrawing he ordered it to be set on fire a second time, and they gave it to the flames.

The wind being contrary, the fleet was towed out of the port, where it was detained seven days, during which time Vasco Gomes d'Abreu arrived. The ships having put to sea, Dom Francisco steered for Melinde, but could not reach the city, being carried by the current to a bay eight leagues below it, called Saint Helena, where he found the caravels of João Homem and Lopo Chanoca, which belonged to the squadron that had separated from him as before mentioned, of which he gave the command to Manuel Paçanha. But he did not find João Homem or Lopo Chanoca, for they had gone to Melinde by land to seek provisions; and from those whom he found in the caravels he learned that they were separated from the other vessels of the

squadron by a tempest, and that João Homem had discovered three islands before reaching the Cape of Good Hope, ten leagues from each other, to which he gave the name of Our Lady of Grace, Saint George, and Saint John, very pleasant and with abundance of water and trees. There they watered, and caught many fish, seals, and birds, as provision for their voyage, of which they were then in great want. From that island they came to Zanzibar, where the king did them great honour, and made them many professions of friendship, sending them presents of fruit and delicacies of the country, and cows, sheep, and hens, showing himself a very noble servant of the king Dom Emanuel.

Dom Francisco, though he greatly desired to visit the king of Melinde, was unable to do so, as the wind did not serve to bring the fleet before the city, and as he could wait no longer for fear of missing the favourable weather, he sent Fernão Soares and Diogo Correa to visit the king and carry him a present from Dom Emanuel. With them there returned João Homem and Lopo Chanoca, and also a brother of the king, whom he sent to visit Dom Francisco with refreshments of the country and other presents.

From this bay Dom Francisco wished to go to the city of Magadoxo to destroy it, but by the advice and opinion of the captains and pilots he refrained from doing so, because it was out of his way and might be the cause of his missing the season for navigating to India. He therefore set sail from that bay on the 27th of August, upon which day Dom Fernando de Sa died from the arrow wound he received at Mombasa, and therefore the command of his ship was given to Rodrigo Rabello. Proceeding on his course with a north-east wind, he reached the island of Anchediva on the 13th of September of the same year, 1505, in which he left Portugal.

Here he found letters from Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, factor of Cananor, which were brought by an Indian messenger, of the class called by the people of that country Patamarez, in which he informed whatever captain should come thither that he had a great deal of spice ready, with which to load the ships, and if they would remain there during the month of September three very rich and well-armed vessels from Mecca, bound to Calicut, would fall into their hands. Dom Francisco immediately sent João Homem to Cananor, Cochin, and Coulam, to

report his arrival, and give information of what ships he was sending to the kingdom, that the cargoes might be got ready; and he ordered Lopo Chanoca and Gonçalo de Paiva to watch on the coast that the aforesaid three ships might not pass.

As soon as this was done he began to build the fortress upon the foundations of an ancient edifice which he discovered on the island, close to the sea, near which were several crosses painted black and red within some walls that appeared to have been in former times a Christian chapel or church. At this work noblemen and plebeians took their turn alike, and Sebastião de Sousa arrived very opportunely to assist them. In his ship came Manuel Paçanha, captain of the squadron which Dom Francisco left behind previous to passing the cape, as already related, and with him Antão Vaz, because Gonçalo Vaz de Goes remained at Kilwa, according to the orders of Dom Francisco. Of Lucas da Fonseca and Lopo Sanches they could give no tidings, but judging from the tempests they had met with they supposed them to have been lost. Nevertheless Lucas da Fonseca wintered at Mozambique, and afterwards came to India, but Lopo Sanches was lost between Cape Correntes and the Watering Place of Boa Paz, where he was drowned with all his company except five men whom Pedro Barreto, one of the captains of the fleet of Pedro d'Anhaya, of whom I shall speak hereafter, when sailing along the land picked up half dead with hunger.

From Manuel Paçanha Dom Francisco learned that Abraham, who had been king of Kilwa, seeing himself dispossessed of the kingdom, as soon as he left ordered Mohamed Ancony to be killed by treachery. To this end he sent a very strong man, who proceeded with great daring to carry out the design, and wounded the king Mohamed Ancony in the fleshy part of his arm with a scimitar, but he did not die of the wound, and the traitor was seized and quartered by decree of justice, with proclamations according to the custom of this kingdom, with which the king Mohamed was satisfied, and the people of the country were stricken with fear.

## CHAPTER IX.

*How the king, after the departure of Dom Francisco d'Almeida, sent Pedro d'Anhaya to Sofala with six ships, to build a fortress there, of what took place upon his voyage until he died, and of the arrival of Cide Barbudo and Pedro Quaresma in India, who left the kingdom after him.*

Pedro d'Anhaya was captain of one of the ships which was to have gone with Dom Francisco d'Almeida, and was to remain as captain of the fortress which was to be built at Sofala, but his ship was lost in the port of Lisbon. Therefore the king commanded Dom Francisco to neglect that fortress and build one at Kilwa, which has been already related. When Dom Francisco had set out, the king ordered six ships to be prepared, of which he gave the command to the said Pedro d'Anhaya. The other captains were Francisco d'Anhaya, son of the said Pedro d'Anhaya, who was to remain as sea-captain at Sofala with two ships, Pedro Barreto de Magalhães, who when the fortress was completed was to go to India as captain of the other four ships, João Leite, a native of Santarem, Manuel Fernandes, who was appointed factor of the fortress, and João de Queiros.

This fleet left the port of Belem on Trinity Sunday, the 18th of May 1505, and when it had reached the latitude of Sierra Leone, as João Leite was trying to harpoon a dolphin from the bow-sprit of his ship he fell into the sea and sank, without being seen again; and in his place the ship's company elected George Mendes to be their captain. From this locality they went so far south to double the Cape of Good Hope that they reached a latitude of such cold and snow that their wine and water were frozen, and they could scarcely clear the decks of the snow with shovels, in which labour they passed the Cape without seeing it.

On the 4th of September Pedro d'Anhaya passed Cape Correntes with Francisco d'Anhaya and Manuel Fernandes, and anchored at the bar of Sofala, there to await the three other ships. There arrived afterwards the ship of which João Leite had been captain, now commanded by George Mendes, and that of which João de Queiros had been captain, now commanded by

João Vaz d'Almada, who informed Pedro d'Anhaya that João de Queiros arrived at the bay of Vacas, and wishing to obtain a supply of meat, entered half a league into the interior, where he was killed by the people of that country, with the master and pilot of his ship; and of those who were with him none escaped except Antão de Ga, the ship's secretary, who was badly wounded, and four others. Having left that bay, they met with the ship of which João Leite had been captain, and asked George Mendes to give them a captain to command and a pilot to guide them, and begged George Mendes to go on board their ship himself, and he gave them the master of his ship to direct their course.

After the arrival of George Mendes and João Vaz d'Almada, there came Antonio de Magalhães, the brother of Pedro Barreto, in a boat, with a message to Pedro d'Anhaya that he was at the cape of St. Sebastian, and as his pilot was unacquainted with the shoal he did not dare to venture upon it, and therefore wished him to send his pilot to conduct him from that port to Sofala. On learning this he sent João Vaz d'Almada in his ship, and with him Francisco d'Anhaya's pilot.

When Pedro Barreto arrived at the bar of Sofala Pedro d'Anhaya entered with the four smallest of his ships, leaving the other two outside on account of their size; and having cast anchor he sent a message to the lord of the country, whose name was Sufe, asking that he might go and visit him. An interview was arranged to take place in some houses which he had upon the river, near a village called Sagoe, of about a thousand inhabitants, of whom many were Moorish merchants who traded there in gold for Kilwa, Mombasa, and Melinde. Most of the people of that country, both on the coast and in the interior, are heathen Kaffirs.

The houses were large, of one story covered with palm leaves, the walls of wattles plastered with clay. Many had court-yards around them, surrounded by trees, and a trench outside with a hedge of thorns so tightly plaited as to be stronger than stone and mortar. In Germany and Flanders these plaited thorns are used to encircle the gardens and their trenches, as they are thus considered more secure against thieves.

The king or lord of Sofala was a man of about seventy years of age, tall, dark skinned, and strongly built, but blind. According to the accounts of the people of the land, he had been a

valiant and daring cavalier. Pedro d'Anhaya found himself with this man in a small room adorned with silken cloths: he was reclining on a catel, or couch with a seat of interwoven thongs, and was covered with a silken cloth, while near him was a large bundle of assagais. The room was at the extremity of a long and narrow hall, in which were fully a hundred Moors, dark skinned, naked from the waist upwards, and covered from the waist downwards with silk and cotton cloths, with similar cloths over their arms, silken turbans on their heads, pieces of amber on their wrists, and in their girdles naked knives with ivory handles ornamented with gold; they were seated on three legged stools, the seats of which were made of hide with the hair left on. When Pedro d'Anhaya passed through the hall with the captains, the factor, and the noblemen of the fleet, the others remaining at the door, they all rose and bowed low, till their heads almost touched the floor. On his entering the room, the king, though blind, received Pedro d'Anhaya with great courtesy and graciousness; and he at once gave leave to build a fortress, offering to do all that was further required of him.

Having taken leave of him Pedro d'Anhaya came away, accompanied by a Moor, a great favourite of the king, named Acote, an Abyssinian by birth, who made him many offers of assistance, for which reason Pedro d'Anhaya, knowing the influence of the said Acote, sent a present to him with the one for the king. In return for this Acote sent him twenty Portuguese whom he had in his power, who were some of the men that had escaped from the ship of Lopo Sanches, and who, according to their own account, had always been very well treated by Acote.

With the assistance of Acote, Pedro d'Anhaya collected all that was necessary for the construction of the fortress, after which he began to build it between the village of Sagoe and another village with over four hundred residents close to the mouth of the river. The building was commenced on the 21st of September 1505.

When the greater part of the work was completed Pedro Barreto set sail for India with his own ship and with that of Pedro d'Anhaya, of which Gonçalo Alvares, who had come out as pilot to the fleet, was appointed captain. The building of the fortress was continued with great labour and diligence until the end of November, and when it was nearly finished Pedro d'Anhaya

sent his son Francisco d'Anhaya to cruise along the coast as far as Mozambique, in company with Gonçalo Vaz de Goes, who had put in there, and João Vaz d'Almada, who was to go from that place to India, and he gave him another ship, of which one of his servants was captain, and which was to remain with him to guard the coast.

Gonçalo Vaz de Goes and João Vaz d'Almada separated from Francisco d'Anhaya at Mozambique, and proceeded to Kilwa, where they found Pedro Barreto, Gonçalo Alvares, and Lucas da Fonseca, who had separated from the viceroy's fleet. Francisco d'Anhaya arrived shortly afterwards in a zambuco which he had captured from some Moors, because his ship was lost, and brought with him another vessel from Cambaya that he had taken, laden with a large cargo of cloth. All these ships set sail from Kilwa during holy week, in the year 1506, bound to India, under command of Pedro Barreto; and they arrived at Anchediva on the 18th of May, where they all wintered except Lucas da Fonseca, who continued his voyage.

After the departure of these ships, Pedro d'Anhaya continued the work of building the fortress, in which he was assisted by the inhabitants of the country; but the Moors, seeing themselves deprived of a great part of the gold barter which they were accustomed to carry on with the traders from the interior, planned to drive our countrymen away, giving Sufe to understand that they had come there not to seek his friendship, but to drive him out of the country, as they had done in Kilwa and in many places of India. With these and similar statements they induced him to assemble secretly more than a thousand Kaffirs, to make a sudden attack upon our countrymen, and to take the fortress from them. Pedro d'Anhaya heard of this from the Moor Acote, who besides this proof of friendship, offered to assist him with all his force. Upon hearing this, Pedro d'Anhaya commenced preparations with the greatest possible secrecy for the day when the attack was to be made.

On that day the Kaffirs made a bold assault upon the walls of the fortress, hurling darts and burning arrows. Acote was within the walls with a hundred men, his relations and servants; and with his assistance the Kaffirs were received in such a manner that they fell back, upon which the great guns became of service, the greater number being killed by their fire. Seeing

this, the others retreated, upon which our countrymen sallied out, accompanied by Acote. Following the fugitives, they reached the village where Sufe's house was situated, and Pedro d'Anhaya entering it, went straight to his room. Sufe, though old and blind, never lost the daring and valour of a gallant man, but hurled the assagais which were close to him against the door of the room, one of which wounded Pedro d'Anhaya in the neck. Seeing this the factor Manuel Fernandes threw himself upon the king, and cut off his head.

By this act our countrymen became lords of the houses and of the town, but Pedro d'Anhaya commanded that no further harm should be done to the inhabitants. Sufe's head was placed on the point of a lance, on the palisade of the fortress, to strike the inhabitants with terror. In reward of his services and the friendship which he had shown, Pedro d'Anhaya gave Acote dominion over Sofala, investing him with this power, in the name of the king Dom Emanuel, by a public act which was drawn up for the purpose. Acote accepted it, and declared himself vassal of the kings of Portugal, promising always to serve them well and loyally. Public instruments were drawn up concerning this matter, and were signed by him, by the principal people of the land, by Pedro d'Anhaya and the officials of the factory, and by the other Portuguese, who were about forty in number, the remainder having already died of sickness, as the climate of the country is pestilential and unhealthy.

Pedro d'Anhaya fell a victim to the insalubrity of the climate a few days later, and was replaced by the factor Manuel Fernandes, who after becoming captain constructed within the palisade walls a tower of great strength, built of stone and mortar. He held this captaincy a very short time, as Cide Barbudo and Manuel Coresma reached India in the year 1506, having left the kingdom after Pedro d'Anhaya. They had received orders from the king to sail along the whole of the coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Sofala, to search for Francisco d'Albuquerque and Pedro de Mendoc̃a; and the viceroy Francisco d'Almeida, having heard from them of the death of Pedro d'Anhaya, sent Nuno Vaz Pereira forthwith to Sofala to be captain of that place.

He gave Nuno Vaz instructions when passing Kilwa to settle the disputes that had arisen there by the death of Mohamed Ancony, who was killed through the treachery of the king of

Tirendicundi, a relation of the exiled king Abraham, and sent Rui de Brito Patalim to be the chief magistrate. For this reason Manuel Fernandes proceeded to India in the ship which had brought them, not wishing to hold the post of factor any longer, as he considered himself ill-treated by the viceroy's making such a poor return for his services, instead of rewarding him for them, as he had expected.

## CHAPTER X.

*Which treats of the land of Sofala and the customs of its inhabitants, and of the great kingdom of Benomotapa.*

The old writers divide Ethiopia into Upper and Lower. In Upper Ethiopia is the town and territory of Sofala, on the shore of the sea called Prassodum. These two Ethiopias were so called from Ethiope, son of Vulcan, who was their king and lord. Diodorus Siculus states that the Ethiopians were the first people to have knowledge of God, the first to make use of religious ceremonies in divine worship, and the first to discover the art of writing; and that the knowledge of these things came from them to the Egyptians, who, according to him, were their descendants, and obtained from them the laws by which they were governed. But in my opinion these Ethiopians were the inhabitants of the land of Abyssinia, as they are a people who have had laws from an early period, because the queen of Sheba who visited Solomon was of their race, and from that time to this they have had knowledge of the law which God gave to the Jews by the hands of Moses; and not the inhabitants of the land lying between the Arabian sea and the Cape of Good Hope, the proof of this being their barbarous and uncivilised condition.

Formerly the Ethiopians believed that there were two Gods, one immortal, the creator of all things, who governed them, and whose creations were perfect; and the other mortal and uncertain, both in himself and in the things ruled and governed by him. All this region of the two Ethiopias is so abundant in gold mines that formerly they set a greater value on copper, and prized it more than gold. Herodotus writes that Cambyses, king of Persia, son of Cyrus, when making war at the same

time on the Carthaginians, the Ammonites, and the Ethiopians, sent his ambassadors to these eastern people to subject them to his empire by friendship, entrusting to them a present for the reigning king which comprised among other things several gold ornaments; and that the king with contempt for the present commanded that the ambassadors should be shown the prisons in which malefactors were confined, where they saw that all the chains and other instruments used for securing these men were made of gold instead of iron.

This abundance of gold gave the Greeks an opportunity of using their imaginations, according to their custom, saying that in this region of the two Ethiopias was the table of the sun, giving it to be understood that the whole land was a plate of gold, and they wished to name it the Table of the Sun, as poets and alchemists attribute gold to that planet.

Among many other ancient customs of this people there was one that if the king had any good or bad peculiarity, vice, or virtue, or was crippled or maimed in any part of his body, all the nobles and domestics of his household endeavoured to imitate him in it, and maimed or crippled themselves in whatever way the king was maimed. I am not aware if this custom is still continued, as I have not spoken to any Portuguese who has been at the court of the king of Benomotapa, and only mention it here as an example, to show that all kings and princes should be very careful not to fall into bad habits, customs, and ways of speaking, because these faults are imitated by their servants, domestics, and subjects; and therefore those who bring them up and educate them, and are with them in their childhood and youth, should endeavour to correct them by good methods and good example.

In the interior of this land of Sofala, and commencing nearly from the Cape of Good Hope, lies the great kingdom of Benomotapa, to which Sofala was subject before we went to this land. Of this kingdom, its king, and its customs, I shall give a description here, which I shall make as short as possible, for I consider that these are matters worthy of being mentioned in this our chronicle. The king of this province is a great lord, because according to report his dominions are more than eight hundred leagues in circumference, besides the lands of several kings and lords who obey him and pay him a tribute

of gold, the love of which had already been imparted to them many years before this time by the Moors who lived among them, which love has been increased by us since we discovered the country nearly seventy years ago.

All this kingdom of Benomotapa is most abundant in provisions, fruits, and cattle; and there are such great herds of wild elephants there that not a year passes in which the number killed by those who hunt them does not amount to four or five thousand, by which means a large quantity of ivory is sent to India. The land abounds in gold, which is found in great quantity in mines, rivers, and marshy ground; some of the mines are situated in the kingdom of Batua, the king of which is a vassal of the king of Benomotapa; they are situated in an open and plain country in the province called Toro, and are the oldest mines known in all that region.

In the middle of this country is a fortress built of large and heavy stones inside and out, it is a very curious and well constructed building, as according to report no lime to join the stones can be seen. An inscription is cut in the stone over the entrance, so ancient that no one understands what it means. In other districts of the said plain there are other fortresses built in the same manner, in all of which the king has captains; and as far as one can judge they must have been constructed to guard the said gold mines, the prince at whose command they were built receiving the duties on the gold paid by the officials whom he sent there for this purpose; because this is what is done by the present kings of the aforesaid kingdom of Benomotapa.

The inhabitants of the country are black with woolly hair, and are commonly called Kaffirs by the settlers. They do not make or worship idols, but believe in one God, the creator of all things, whom they adore and to whom they pray; from which they appear to continue to hold to a certain extent the belief, which, as I mentioned before, they formerly held. They have certain feast days in their religion, among others the day on which their king was born. No crime is punished among them with such rigour as is witchcraft: all sorcerers being executed by law, not one receiving pardon. They have as many wives as they can support, but the first wife is the mistress of the others, and her children are the heirs. They never marry a

woman before the age of puberty, as they consider that the children of a woman who has lived with a man before such time are always sickly and of little vitality.

This king of Benomotapa keeps great state, and is served on bended knees with reverence. When he drinks, coughs, or sighs, every person in the house wishes him well in a loud voice, and the same thing is done by those outside the house, the word being passed from mouth to mouth all round the town, so that it is known that the king has drunk, or coughed, or sighed. In this kingdom there are no doors to the houses, with the exception of those of the lords and principal persons, to whom this privilege is granted by the king. They say that houses are built with doors for fear of thieves and malefactors, from whom it is the king's duty to protect his people, and above all the poor. The houses are all built of wattles plastered with clay, such as I described that of the sheik of Sofala.

The said king uses two insignia, one being a small hoe with an ivory point, which he always wears in his girdle to show his subjects that they should cultivate and profit by the land, so that they may live in peace on what they obtain from it, without taking another's property; the other consists of two assagais, showing that with one the king administers justice and with the other defends his people. He constantly keeps at his court all the sons of the kings and lords who are his vassals, the former that they may have filial affection for him, and the latter that their fathers may not rise against him with the lands which they hold from him. Whether in time of peace or war he always maintains a large standing army, of which the commander-in-chief is called Zono, to keep the land in a state of quietness and to prevent the lords and kings who are subject to him from rising in rebellion.

Every year he sends a number of his chief courtiers through all his kingdoms and dominions to light new fires, which is done in the following manner. Each of these courtiers on reaching the houses of the kings and lords of the cities and towns commands all the fires in the place to be put out in the king's name, and after they are extinguished they all come in sign of obedience and take fire from him, and any one who does not do so is looked upon as a traitor and rebel, and the king commands him to be punished as such. If the offender is a powerful person, or repre-

sents a powerful town, the king sends the captain Zono against him, who is always present in the camp to attend to these matters. They have many other customs, which I will not give here to avoid prolixity.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

*How the king sent fourteen ships to India divided into four squadrons, and of the death of Vasco Gomes d'Abreu.*

In the year 1507, upon which we are now entering, nothing of note occurred in this kingdom before the month of April, when there left for India fourteen ships divided into four squadrons, of which the captain of the first was George de Mello Pereira, in the *Bethlehem*, the largest ship which had ever been sent to India, and with him went Henrique Nunes de Liam; the captain of another was Philippe de Castro, and with him George de Castro, his brother. The third was Fernão Soares, under whom were Rui da Cunha, Gonçalo Carneiro, and João Colaso. These three captains each set out as soon as the preparations were completed, so that before the middle of April the three squadrons, which were all of large ships, sailed for India.

The fourth captain was Vasco Gomes d'Abreu, who had gone in the viceroy's fleet as captain of a ship, and now that he had returned to Portugal the king appointed him captain of Sofala, information having been already received of the death of Pedro d'Anhaya. He was also to build a fortress at Mozambique, which was to remain under his jurisdiction, with a chief magistrate resident there. The captains of his fleet were Lopo Cabral, in whose ship he went, Rui Gonçalves de Valadares, Pedro Lourenço, and João Chanoca, which four captains were to guard the coast from Sofala to Melinde, according to the orders given to them for that purpose, and he was to remain in the fortress of Sofala and Mozambique. Vasco Gomes d'Abreu had also under his command Martim Coelho and Diogo de Mello, whom the king had appointed to serve with their ships as armed cruisers in India, for three years, wherever the viceroy should command.

With these six ships Vasco Gomes d'Abreu set out from the port of Lisbon on Tuesday the 20th of April, and when he was on the coast of Guinea the caravel of João Chanoca, which being a small ship and a good sailer carried the watch-light, was lost

one night for want of vigilance at the river Senegal. The other ships were saved, for not seeing the light which the caravel carried and those of the fleet not supposing it was lost but rather that being so light it had got very far ahead, each began to keep watch on his own account, and it pleased God that they perceived by the surf that they were near the shore, and therefore they cast anchor and remained there till the next day, when they found that the caravel was lost. As the people of this kingdom of Gelofo are very wicked, the captain did not dare to send anyone on shore, but went to the bay of Bezeguiche to take in water, and here they found all the crew of the caravel except the captain, secretary, and five men, whom the people of the country detained by order of the king, who was then in that part of his kingdom, and these, besides being robbed, were ransomed with some difficulty.

As everything else regarding this fleet is of little importance compared with what was occurring in India at the same time, in order not to interrupt the narrative of what was taking place there when once I commence it, I shall continue this account until the death of Vasco Gomes d'Abreu, who, having left Bezeguiche, reached the port of Sofala on the 8th of September. Here he found Nuno Vaz Pereira, whom the viceroy, as has been related, sent thither as captain owing to the death of Pedro d'Anhaya. He delivered the fortress to him at once, and set out for Mozambique in the ship of Rui Gonçaves de Valadares, in company with Diogo de Mello and Martim Coelho, who left Sofala on the 19th of the said month. Lying becalmed ten or twelve leagues off the first islands, on the 5th of October they met with George de Mello Pereira, who informed them that he had gone to Cape St. Augustine, and not being able to double it steered for Cape Monte in Guinea, without seeing any of the ships which set out from the kingdom that year.

As George de Mello had many sick on board, and was in want of water and provisions, they sent his pilot and the pilot of Martim Coelho's ship in their boats to a river which was opposite to them. When they had left the ships it began to blow from the west, which was a favourable wind for reaching Mozambique, and therefore it seemed advisable to George de Mello to set out at once on account of his necessity, and to take with him Diogo de Mello and Ruy Gonçaves de Valadares, leaving Martim

Coelho to wait for the boats; but the wind being contrary for getting out of the river, the latter also set sail for Mozambique, where he arrived on the 24th of October, and found within the port George de Mello, Diogo de Mello, Rui Gonçalves de Valadares, and Henrique Nunes de Lião, who was one of those under the command of George de Mello. Thus they learned that none of the other ships which set out from the kingdom had passed that place for India. The day after the arrival of Martim Coelho, the boat belonging to George de Mello's ship arrived, and in it the men belonging to Martim Coelho's boat, which was lost.

Diogo de Mello and Martim Coelho left for India on the 10th of November, and meeting with contrary winds returned from the islands of Malvane to Mozambique, where they anchored again on the [twenty]-sixth of November, none of the missing ships of those which had set out from the kingdom having yet arrived, except those aforesaid. Here they all wintered, and here the other missing ships arrived. In order to let it be known in India that they had come so far on their voyage, none of the ships having gone on farther, they decided to send a message to the viceroy by Rui Soares, commander of the knights of Rhodes, appointed by the grand prior of Cratro, Dom Diogo d'Almeida, who had remained there from the fleet of Tristam da Cunha waiting for the ship of Pedro Coresma, in which to go in search of Afonso d'Albuquerque according to the king's command.

Twenty leagues from Mozambique he came upon the ship of João Gomes d'Abreu, which separated from the fleet of Tristam da Cunha, as will be hereafter related, of which, João Gomes being dead, Rui Soares gave the command to George Botelho de Pombal, who was in his ship, and both wintered at Lemo, where they were seven months anchored off the open coast, suffering much from hunger. Thence they went to India, and George Botelho's ship was lost in a bay near Pate, and the crew saved themselves in a caravel which had been to Melinde and was then in their company, of which Manuel Alvares, gentleman of the king's bedchamber, was captain.

During the same voyage, when crossing the gulf towards India, the commander Rui Soares fought with a ship from Mecca, in which there were quite five hundred Moors, from which he had great trouble in ridding himself, and they got away from her

with several of the Moors who had boarded them, who were all slain; and in this manner Rui Soares reached India.

After Diogo de Mello and Martim Coelho left Mozambique, as has been mentioned, Duarte de Mello arrived there, having been sent by Vasco Gomes d'Abreu from Sofala to build the fortress, of which he was to be the chief magistrate and factor. Vasco Gomes having despatched Duarte de Mello, left Rui de Brito Patalim, who was the chief magistrate, to act as captain of the fortress of Sofala, and sailed with two other captains for Mozambique, to push forward the work of the fortress and build it according to his wishes; but all three were lost, how and where was never ascertained, except that a mast drifted ashore at Kilwa which was known to belong to the ship of Vasco Gomes d'Abreu. These tidings reached Mozambique on the 13th of March 1508, after Diogo de Mello and Martim Coelho had left for Cape Guardafui.

The three captains George de Mello, Philippe de Castro, and Fernam Soares sailed for India in the middle of August, leaving the fortress completed as far as the second story, a church dedicated to St. Gabriel, and a large house to serve as a hospital. These three captains, without Henrique Nunes de Lião, who returned from Mozambique to the kingdom, as will be hereafter related, reached Cochin without encountering any tempests, where they found the viceroy, who was greatly rejoiced at their coming, both at seeing them all in safety and because of the need he had of them for the fleet he was preparing to go in search of the Rumes, as will be hereafter related in its proper place.

#### CHAPTER XLIV.

*How Dom Francisco d'Almeida went to the Watering Place of Saldanha, where he was slain by the negroes, natives of that country, who are called Kaffirs.*

Having transferred the government of India to Affonso d'Albuquerque, Dom Francisco d'Almeida left Cochin for Cananor on the 19th of November 1509, to take in cargo for his three ships, of which the other captains were George de Mello Pereira and Lourenço de Brito, who had been captain of Cananor. Here Dom Francisco exercised his customary liberality,

and gave more than ten thousand cruzados from his own pocket to several noblemen and other persons who were returning to Portugal in his company, being aware of their poverty. Having taken in the cargoes and necessary provisions, he set sail on the 1st of December, and proceeding on his voyage reached the Watering Place of Saldanha, which is near the Cape of Good Hope.

In this port, when all was ready for setting sail, one Diogo Fernandes Labaredas, having made some acquaintance with the negroes who came to the shore to sell cattle, went with them to a village a league inland, where they made much of him, and in proof of their friendship gave him a large fat sheep, which he presented to Dom Francisco d'Almeida, relating much of the country, the number of cattle he had seen there, and the simplicity of the people. As there was a want of meat and other provisions in the fleet, Dom Francisco sent the said Diogo Fernandes with twelve men to the village to trade for cows, which were the most required; to which end they took with them several things such as are used by the negroes of those parts and which they carry about their persons.

These men having reached the village, the negroes feasted them with sheep and other viands of that country, and after dinner they began to trade, bringing the cattle which they wished to dispose of to an open place outside the village, towards the shore. There the twelve men who went with Diogo Fernandes were waiting, he being in the village inspecting the kraals, choosing the cattle he thought best, and sending them thence to the place where they were to be bartered. When the trading was over they began to travel towards the shore, taking the cattle with them. When they were already at some distance from the village, there came to them a negro who wished to sell some sheep, who would seem to have been sent by the spirit of evil to bring about the sad event which then took place.

Among the twelve men was one Gonçalo Homem, a relation of João Homem, who thinking he was doing something to make the negroes more firm in their friendship for us, told the others to take this negro and conduct him to Dom Francisco d'Almeida, that he might clothe him and give him presents with which he might return well contented to the village; and that this would cause them to trade more willingly with any ships which might

come there. This being approved by the rest, they laid hands upon the negro, who, seeing himself captured, cried out twice and was heard by some of the negroes in the village. Diogo Fernandes who was still there, seeing them running came with them, and with great difficulty got back among our people, who, forced by the stones which the negroes flung at them, thought it best to give up the negro and the cattle they had with them.

Having reached the ship of Dom Francisco, they gave him a version of the matter which was contrary to fact, at which he was angry and held a council to decide whether he should go against the village and destroy it, which was opposed by Lourenço de Brito, George de Mello Pereira, and Martim Coelho, who said that vengeance upon such savages was no victory, that what they had done was a matter of little importance, and if an explanation was demanded from them, or they knew how to give it, it might turn out that perhaps they were not to blame and that the fault lay with our people, whose habit it is to be disorderly and ill-conducted in strange countries, and even if they had deserved punishment it was not good policy to go and attack them a league inland, without any knowledge of the road or of what assistance might reach them from neighbouring villages. This opinion was opposed by Pedro Barreto de Magalhães, Manuel Teles Barreto, and Antonio do Campo, who gave their reasons in the matter, to which Dom Francisco inclined, and decided to go and attack the village.

Therefore he ordered the boats to be prepared, and with a hundred and fifty men reached the shore an hour after midnight, and immediately made his way slowly to the village, which Pedro Barreto and George Barreto who went before, as it had been arranged, entered on two sides before morning, with their men. Perceiving them, the negroes came out, each with his strip of leather with the hair on girt round him full of stones and with arrow-heads having shafts about a palm in length inserted in rods of fire-hardened wood, which they carried in their hands, and which they hurled as well as the stones, in such a manner that in a short time they drove our people back to the shore, killing Fernam Pereira first of all. Nevertheless our people drove before them some cattle which they had taken before reaching the village, with which they made their way to the place where Dom Francisco was with the royal standard, whom

they found almost at the village, and who seeing them from a distance, thinking the matter was concluded according to his will, set out towards the part of the shore where they had left the boats, but did not find them, because Diogo de Unhos, master of his ship, had moved to another place where it was easier to embark.

Dom Francisco therefore made his way towards that place, going before all to escape the dust raised by the cattle which our people still kept together, that were driven by three men, and they remained behind at blows with the negroes. These, after they had assembled in sufficient numbers, so that they thought they could safely attack our people, shouted as a signal to make the cattle crowd together, and having done this they came close to the three men who drove them, and killed them with the weapons which they hurled. Thus they remained between the cattle and our people, who were a little way behind, upon whom they fell with such force that they were scattered, and some of them went to the cattle and drove them towards the place where Dom Francisco was, who called out to them "leave the cattle alone, or the negroes will carry them off and us with them." Having said this, he proceeded on his way, but seeing that the people were in disorder, and scattered more and more, and that the negroes were killing and wounding many of them, he returned, and gathering them all into a body, again went towards the boats.

But the Kaffirs having reached the cattle drove them before them, making them stop or go forward according to their signals, and from behind them they hurled their weapons at our people, who being in a body were wounded and killed at their pleasure, some being already so exhausted that if they had no servants or friends to support them by the arm, they fell upon the ground and were trodden under foot by the cattle that passed over them; and if any remained alive, the negroes who came behind killed them." Seeing that our people were defeated and falling into disorder, they came in front of the cattle, discharging arrows, and making gestures, which is one of their stratagems in war to terrify their enemies. Pedro Barreto, irritated by this, approached one of the nearest, and running a little behind him pierced him with a lance, upon which he fell dead; and the Kaffirs coming up killed Pedro Barreto with a volley of stones.

Upon hearing this Dom Francisco would have turned back and faced them, but could not do so, as the negroes pressed greatly upon our people. Nevertheless he continued to make his way towards the shore in the best order possible. But seeing that the number of the Kaffirs increased every moment, and his people's strength grew less, foreseeing the issue he said to George de Mello Pereira that he entrusted to him the royal banner of his lord the king, begging him not to leave it in the possession of these negroes, which as he could see would be the last of the many services he had ever rendered him. This was when they were already near the shore, where Diogo de Unhos was with the boats ready to take them in. At that moment Dom Francisco having removed his gorget was struck with a headless assagai in the throat, which pierced it through from side to side. The pain of the wound forced him to his knees upon the ground, with his hands upon the shaft to draw it out, but feeling that he was suffocating, he lifted his hands to heaven, and without power to make any other sign of a Catholic Christian he fell dead.

Near him the Kaffirs killed Diogo Pires, who was fighting over his body, and had been tutor to his son Dom Lourenço, and thus all three perished in this voyage to India. When Dom Francisco d'Almeida was dead, our men were thrown into total disorder, and fled towards the boats, which they entered, going up to their waists in the water, for Diogo de Unhos, who was an experienced seaman, seeing what was taking place, and fearing that many of the fugitives would crowd into boats which might thus be lost, ordered them all to put off from the shore. Nevertheless some of the company preferred rather to die than to save themselves with dishonour, among whom were Lourenço de Brito and Martim Coelho, who hearing that Dom Francisco was dead, called out to the fugitives: "What excuse will you have to make in Portugal for leaving your captain slain by such unarmed savages, without taking vengeance on them?" and thereupon, fighting without yielding a step, they were killed with others of their company.

There fell in this sad defeat, which occurred on the 1st of March 1510, sixty-five Portuguese, including eleven captains, who were Dom Francisco d'Almeida, then sixty years of age, Lourenço de Brito, Manuel Teles, Pedro Barreto de Magalhães,

Martim Coelho, Francisco Coutinho, Antonio do Campo, Fernão Pereira, Gaspar d'Almeida, Diogo Pires, and Pedro Teixeira, all valiant gentlemen experienced in warfare and accustomed to conquer in whatever they attempted in the face of cannons, rockets, and fiery bombs, and against armed men exercised in every species of warfare, but here they were slain by the hands of unarmed savages with stones and assagais of untempered iron, with so little resolution on their part that it would seem as if God had ordained that they should perish in that place, as a punishment for some cruelties or injustice of which they may have been guilty in the victories which He granted them, in which men should be very moderate and remember that as they vanquish, so may they be vanquished, as they make captives, so may they be captured, and as they show clemency or cruelty in such cases, so will God reserve for them reward or punishment when His time shall come.

The same day in the evening, when the negroes had retired with their spoils and had gone back to their villages, George de Mello Pereira and George Barreto went ashore with the other men of the fleet, in order to bury the dead. They found the bodies stripped, and that of Dom Francisco d'Almeida cut open in the breast and belly. Having buried those who lay upon the shore, without going farther inland, they returned to the ships, where a dispute at once arose between George de Mello Pereira and George Barreto concerning the command of the fleet, upon which the matter was put to the vote, and it was decided that the flag should remain upon the same ship where it then was, and that George Barreto should be captain.

The matter being thus concluded, they set sail the following day, and all arrived in safety at Lisbon, where the king was at the time. His majesty was greatly grieved, as were all the nobility of the kingdom, on hearing of the death of Dom Francisco d'Almeida, and with good cause, on account of the many estimable qualities and abilities of this most gallant gentleman, of which he had given proofs, having when still a youth taken part in the wars of the kingdom of Granada when the king Don Fernando and the queen Dona Isabel conquered the Moors, he having rendered in this conquest many and signal services, in remembrance of which the king Don Fernando, on receiving the report of his death from the king Dom Emanuel,

showed great sorrow, mourning as if for a person of his royal blood. Dom Francisco d'Almeida, besides being a gallant gentleman, was very wise and prudent, and very reserved and serious in his conversation. As regards the affairs of India, he was of opinion that the more fortresses the king built there the weaker would be his power, but that India should be subjected by maritime forces, and that without powerful fleets the fortresses could not be maintained or defended, and he wrote to this effect, saying that it would not be well served until the captains and officials ceased buying and selling, and had no private interests there.

### PART III.—CHAPTER LVIII

*Of the embassy which Queen Helena, grandmother of David, the emperor of Ethiopia and king of Abyssinia, sent to the king Dom Emanuel.*

EXTRACT:—

The king Dom João the second, while living, had always a great desire to discover the sea route to India and also to obtain information concerning Prester John of the Indies, thinking that as he was a Christian he would assist him with his friendship in those parts, for which reason at different times he sent out men acquainted with the Arabic language, among whom were Affonso de Paiva, a native of Castelbranco, and João Pires de Covilham, whom he despatched from Santarem in the month of May in the year of our Lord 1486. Following on their journey they reached Cairo, and thence proceeded to Thor, pretending to be merchants, and thence to Suakin, which is on the coast of Ethiopia, and from this port they sailed to Aden. From the town of Aden Affonso de Paiva returned to Ethiopia, on account of the reports they had heard that a great Christian king was in those parts, it appearing to them that he might be Prester John, but as they had no certainty of this, and knowing that Ethiopia was not in India, and that Prester John was called of the Indies, they arranged that João Pires de Covilham should proceed to India, to see whether he could obtain information of him of whom they were in search.

Proceeding on this journey, he reached Calicut and Goa,

without obtaining information of the said Prester John, which he could not easily obtain, because, according to what Paul the Venetian states in his itinerary, the said Prester John was routed and killed in battle by the lord or emperor of Cathay, who took possession of all his territories, which are situated in the interior of India, and from that time to this no other Prester John has been in those parts, although there are yet many Christians, Nestorians. João Pires, obtaining no information concerning this matter, sailed thence to Sofala, and from Sofala he returned to Aden, and thence to Cairo, at which place he was to join Affonso de Paiva, as they had agreed to do, to return thence to the kingdom to give the king information of what each one had done.

At the aforesaid town João Pires de Covilham found two Portuguese Jews, who gave him letters from the king and informed him that Affonso de Paiva had died there. As the king commanded them in these letters not to return without having been to Ormuz to obtain positive information of the said Prester John of the Indies, João Pires returned to Aden, and thence proceeded to Ormuz, from which place he went to Mecca, and thence proceeded to Mount Sinai to visit the house of the blessed Saint Catherine, from which place he proceeded to Thor, and thence to Zeila, and thence by land to the court of the emperor of Ethiopia and king of Abyssinia, who was named Alexander. He gave him the letters which he carried for him from the king, written in the Arabic tongue, with which he was well pleased, and gave order for João Pires to be very well treated; and having concluded this business he died, leaving no sons, for which reason his brother Nau succeeded to the empire. Until the latter's death João Pires could not obtain his leave to return, and at his death his son David having succeeded him, he also refused him leave to return to Portugal. Seeing this João Pires, despairing of ever being able to leave the said land, married and had many sons and daughters by his wife.

In the meantime the king Dom Emanuel discovered the whole of the ocean route to India by means of the fleet of which Vasco da Gama was captain and other fleets which he despatched later. The fame of this navigator and of the victories which the Portuguese gained in India, and of the places which they conquered there, spread all over those provinces as far as the court

of the emperor David, for whom, he being still a child, his grandmother Queen Helena governed. She, being anxious to obtain the friendship of the king Dom Emanuel, sent as ambassador to him one Matheus, an Armenian Christian, a most prudent man, whom she employed on weighty and confidential matters, and to attach more importance to this embassy she sent with him an Abyssinian youth of very noble family and lineage. These after much difficulty, and with great peril, arrived in India, and reached the place where Affonso d'Albuquerque was, who received them, and sent them to the kingdom in the manner previously related.

EXTRACTS

FROM

LETTERS FROM DOM AFFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE  
TO THE KING.\*

E aquy neste porto achey hũa carauella que ho capitam jerall mamdaua a çofalla, e nella vinha nuno vaaz pireira por capitam da fortaleza, e por alcayde Ruy de brito, e por escripuam antonyo Raposo, e com todo ho poder que vossa alteza deu ao capitam gerall; dey lhe muyto arroz que leuou, e muyto lhe fica aquy pera mandar por elle.

A feitura desta . . . . necessidade de mantimentos e vinho . . . . porque ha de pero coresma he careguada de Roupa a çofalla, e ha damtonyo do campo he em busca das naaos que tenho escripto a vossa alteza . . . .

AFONSO DALBUQUERQUE.

em Moçambique a bj dias do mês de feureiro de 1507.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

Here in this port I found a caravel which the captain general had sent to Sofala, and in it came Nuno Vaz Pereira as captain of the fortress, Ruy de Brito as magistrate, and Antonio Raposo as secretary, and with all the authority which your Highness gave to the captain general. I gave him much rice, which he took with him, and much remains here to be sent for.

The cause of this . . . . want of provision and wine . . . . because the ship of Pedro Quaresma is laden with goods for Sofala and that of Antonio do Campo has gone in quest of the ships of which I have written to your Highness.

In Mozambique, the 6th day of the month of February 1507.

AFFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE.

\* Copied by me from the volume of Letters of Affonso de Albuquerque published by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon in 1884.

Senhor,—Per outras cartas tenho espirito a vos alteza como Luis damtas e a nao sam miguell chegou á india primeiro que christovão de brito, e como mandey logo a nao e seiscentos quintaes de cobre que nela vinham, e oitenta de marfim que troune de moçambique, a dyu, tamto que chegou sobre a barra de goa : após into veyo christovão de brito, e por dar aviamento a sua fazenda, e lhe mandar entregar a nao, lhe dey hũa caravela, em que se foy a dyu em busca da nao, em que levou toda sua mercadoria e de seu irmão, e lhe dey hum mandado pera lhe Luis damtas entregar a nao, como vos alteza ordenava e mandava : partio christovão de brito de dyu, e o seu piloto acorrou se tamto com a terra junto com chaull, que foy dar em hũa baixa, vimdo co prumo na mão, per cimço braças de noute a surjir : perdê se a nao e salvou se o dinheiro que trazia de dyu ; não trazia alaquegas nem anill nem Roupa pera çofala, porque, se foram a cambaya, oueram dachar as naos da carga ; e seja isto que carga partidas, e vay da maneira que voz alteza ordena em vosa carta : ho mesmo feitor que trazia o cobre sobre sy, ho vay vemder co esprivam da mesma nao, e am de tornar co retorno á feitoria de cochim.

E asy, senhor, lhe mamdey trazer soma de Roupa pera çofala, e mamdey pero sobryno, esprivam que foy de çofala, com eles, porque conhece a roupa que çofala ha mester ; fiz esta dilijemcia, porque alcançasem estas cousas as naos da carga, e por nam ser ainda vimdo christovão de brito mamdey Luis damtas na mesma nao.

AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE.

em goa a xx dias d'outubro de 1514.

[*English translation of the above.*]

MY LORD,—By other letters I have informed your Highness that Luis Damtas in the ship *St. Michael* arrived in India before Christovão de Brito, and that I immediately sent the ship with the six hundred quintals of copper which were in her and eighty of ivory brought from Mozambique, to Diu, as soon as she arrived on the bar of Goa. Afterwards came Christovão de Brito, and in order to sell his merchandise and obtain the ship to be delivered to him, I gave him a caravel, in which he went to Diu in search of the ship, taking with him all his merchandise and that of his brother. I gave him an order for Luis Damtas

to deliver the ship to him, as your Highness commanded. Christovão de Brito set out from Diu, and his pilot sailed so close to the land near Chaul that he struck upon a bank when coming with the lead in hand to anchor at night in five fathoms of water. The ship was lost, but they saved the money they brought from Diu. They brought no bloodstones, or indigo, or cloth for Sofala, because by going to Cambaya they would find the trading ships. And this vessel which is taking in cargo is to leave, and she goes in the manner commanded in your Highness's letter. The same factor who brought the copper in her goes to sell it, with the secretary of the said ship, and they are to return with the proceeds to the factory at Cochin.

And therefore, my lord, I commanded them to bring a quantity of cloth for Sofala, and I sent Pedro Sobrinho, formerly secretary of Sofala, with them, because he knows what goods are needed at Sofala. I did this that the trading ships might convey these things, and because Christovão de Brito had not yet arrived, I sent Luis Damtas in the same ship.

AFFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE.

In Goa, the 20th day of October 1514.

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É porque na nao sam migell em que vinha luis damtas, que chegou após francisco pereira sobre a barra de goa, trazia bj<sup>c</sup> quintaes de cobre e certa soma de marfim de moçambique, a mandey logo partir daquy a gram pressa camynho de cambaya, asy pera vender as mercadarias, como pera trazer alaqueguas e anill, que mamdaes levar nas naos, porque abaixando se a cochim e tornar a cambaya, poderia ser que acharia já as naos da mim, senhor, me parece que as caravelas deviam amdar sobre mombaça e sobre aqueles lugarees daquela costa, e fariam dous proueitos: tomariam a rroupa que vem pera aquelas partes, e tolhel a yam hos mouros, que nam fosem danar ho Resgate de çofala: duas naos destas tomou pero dalbuquerque ao cabo de guardafum, que arribaram com tempo; em outra maneira nam se pôde vedar a Rroupa, que todavia nam emtre em barcos piquenos nestes Rios.

Já lá tenho esprito a vos alteza como os mouros de çofalla, espalhados por ese sertam tem danado ho trato, e toryan o ouro

que nam venha haa fortaleza. E a mim me parece que seriam menos danosos rrecolhel os, e fazer lhe gasalhado e omrra ; e asy, senhor, digo que os mantimmentos se nam deviam pagar haa jemte per panos, senam por mantimmentos. E digo mais, senhor, que vos alteza devia mamdar que hametade do ouro que çofala Remde, devia cad ano vyr á imdia, e meter se este feito em huso, e a esa jemte asoldada, se lhe nam acabarem de fazer seus pagamentos, dem lhe despachos pera a imdia ; porque nam poso eu, senhor, crer que ho trato de çofala ha damdar sempre tam yguall, que nunca mais creça nem mimgue que aquilo que abasta pera pagar ordenados á jemte : e pella ventura, se vos alteza mamdar viir ametade do ouro á imdia, do que ficar se pagará a todollos moradores seus ordenados, e lhe sobejará imda dinheiro.

A mim m escrevam os officiaes de çofala, como tinham nova do homem que mamdárão descobrir aquella cidade de benamotapa, domde ho ouro vem, que vimdo no caminho, adocera, e fôra amtreteúdo dos mouros ; e creio que deste feito terám eles lá dado larga comta a vos alteza : acabada em goa a xxb dias doutubro, antonio da fomsequa a fez, de 1514.

feytura e sernydor de vosa alteza

AFOMSO DALBOQUERQUE.

A Ell Rey noso senhor.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

And because the ship *St. Michael*, in which Luis Damtas arrived after Francisco Pereira upon the bar of Goa, brought six hundred quintals of copper and a certain quantity of ivory from Mozambique, I ordered it to set out at once in great haste in the direction of Cambaya, both to sell the merchandise, and to bring bloodstones and indigo, which you command to be brought in the ships, because by going down to Cochin and returning to Cambaya it might be that they would still find my ships. It seems to me, Sir, that the caravels ought to go to Mombasa and to various parts of that coast, by which they would accomplish two good ends : they would convey the cloth which goes to those parts, and they would prevent the Moors from damaging the trade of Sofala. Pedro de Albuquerque found two of these ships at Cape Guardafui, which had been driven in by the weather. In no other way can they sell the goods, which cannot yet enter these rivers in small vessels.

It has already been written to your Highness from that place how the Moors of Sofala, scattered in the interior, have damaged the trade and prevent the gold from reaching the fortress. It seems to me that it would be less prejudicial to receive them, and give them shelter and honour. Also, my lord, I say that the ration allowance should not be paid to the men in cloth, but in provisions. Further, my lord, I say that your Highness should command that half the gold yielded by Sofala should be sent to India every year, and that this should be made the rule, and if those receiving wages are not fully paid, let orders upon India be given to them, for I cannot believe, my lord, that the trade of Sofala is always so uniform that it never exceeds or falls below what suffices to pay these people; and perhaps if your Highness commands that half the gold be sent to India, the salaries of the inhabitants will be paid with what remains, and some money will still be left over.

The officials of Sofala write to me that they have news of the man whom they sent to discover the city of Benamotapa, where the gold comes from, that on the way he fell ill and was entertained by the Moors. I think they will have given your Highness a full account of the matter from that place.

Written in Goa on the 25th day of October 1514 by Antonio da Fonseca.

The servant and vassal of your Highness,  
AFFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE.

To our Lord the King.

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Senhor,—Acerqa de çofalla e moçambique a mim me parece que ese Resgate e proueito de çofala vay hum pouco de vagar, que ho cabedall e o ganho todo he dos moradores da fortaleza; e asy, senhor, me parece que ha escala das naaos da carga, quando partem da imdia, danam çofalla: e digo uos eu, senhor, isto porque este feito qá nam amda muito escuro. Symam do miramda aqueixa se do Rio damgoja, e doutro Rio que está mais achegado a çofala que este; diz que lhe vem aly a roupa de milimdy e mombaça, brava, pate e lamo e magadoxo, omde as naos de cambaya vem cad anno carregadas de Roupa; diz que pasava a Roupa em barcos piquenos ho longo da costa, e vam emtrar em

amgoja e no outro Rio : mamdou me pedir hum bargantim, e mamdei lho fazer ; mas a digo aviso a vos alteza, que as mercadarias que aquele ano vem desses rreinos, nam podem ir a cambaya e serem vendidas pera darem carga ás naos per dinheiro, que a voss alteza muito convem, se querês fazer proueito ; mas este negocio ha mester cabedall e dinheiro dun ano pera o outro.

AFOMSO DALBOQUERQUE.

em cochim a 10 dias de dezembro do 1514.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

MY LORD,—Concerning Sofala and Mozambique, it seems to me that the trade and profit of Sofala are little advanced, and that the advantage and profit are all for the inhabitants of the fortress, and thus, my lord, it seems to me that as a port for the trading ships when they leave India, Sofala is useless. I tell you this, my lord, because it is pretty well known here. Simon da Miranda complains of the river Angoya and of another river which is nearer to Sofala ; he says that cloth is brought there from Melinde, Mombasa, Brava, Pate, Lamo, and Magadoxo, where the ships from Cambaya touch every year, laden with goods ; he says it is carried along the coast in small vessels, and so enters Angoya and the other river. He sent to ask me for a brigantine, and I ordered it to be built. I further advise your Highness that the merchandise from the kingdom this year cannot go to Cambaya and be sold, so as to load the ships for money, which would be very convenient to your Highness if you wish to make a profit, but this business requires capital and money from one year to the other.

AFFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE.

At Cochin, the 10th day of December 1514.

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*Extract from a Letter from SIMÃO BOTELHO to the King.\**

De çofala e moçambyque nom vem já nenhum marfim, soendo a vir de cento e vinte até cento e cinquenta bares, somente este anno vieram vinte e tantos bares ; nem me parece que virá mais,

\* Published by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon.

porque tambem hão os capitaes dele que he enjuria mandarem no, e nom fazem senão pedir que lhe mandem roupas e contas, como lhe sempre mandão; e se o visorei manda a cuama, queixam se que lhe tomam o que lhe vosa alteza tem dado, e que aquelas fortalezas que são suas; e pois se ysto agora fas, que fará quem tiver maiores poderes, como dizem que vosa alteza tem dados 'alguns capitaes que estão prouidos.

SIMÃO BOTELHO,  
*Veador da fazenda.*

de cochim a xxx de Janeiro de 1552.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

From Sofala and Mozambique no ivory has been received, for whereas it usually amounted to between a hundred and twenty and a hundred and fifty bars, this year there came only twenty odd bars; nor does it seem to me that more will arrive, for the captains there think it injurious to send it, and do nothing but ask for cloth and beads, which have always been sent to them; and if the viceroy sends to Cuama they complain that what your Highness has given is taken from them, and that those fortresses are theirs. If they do this now, what will they do when greater powers are given to them, as it is said your Highness has granted to some captains who have been appointed.

SIMÃO BOTELHO,  
*Overseer of the Revenues.*

Cochin, 30th January 1552.

## DETERMINAÇÃO DOS LETRADOS:

COM Ñ CONDIÇOENS SE PODIA FAZER GUERRA AOS REYS DA  
CONQUISTA DE PORTUGAL,

FALA EM ESPECIAL DO MONOMOTAPA.

[Copied from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Vol. Portugais 8, folio 266, département des manuscrits.]

Vistos e examinados estes autos, e dittos de m<sup>as</sup> pellas quais se proua, q̄ os emperadores do Monomotapa mandaõ matar e roubar m<sup>tas</sup> nezes seus uassallos e innocentes e fazem m<sup>tos</sup> outros males e tirannias por causas leues, e q̄ mandaraõ matar, e roubar alguns Portugueses, indo elles pacificamente a contratar, e como hum destes emp<sup>dores</sup> mandou matar o P<sup>e</sup> D. G<sup>o</sup>, indo elle em nome delRey N. S. por seu embaix<sup>or</sup>, mandado do Visorrey da India a pregar a fee de xp<sup>o</sup>, a qual pregou pacificam<sup>te</sup> e sem escandalo, antes com sua doutrina e com exemplo se conuerteo elRey e a R<sup>a</sup>, e os principais do Rey<sup>o</sup> os quais todos despois apostatarã deixando a fee de N. S. Jesu xp<sup>o</sup> q̄ professaraõ tornando a seus ritos gentilicos; e como na morte do d<sup>o</sup> P. Dom G<sup>o</sup> se naõ goardou ordem natural nem figura de juizo; E uisto outrosi como roubaraõ e retiuerã em sua terra dous Portugueses q̄ hiaõ mandados p<sup>o</sup> Capitaõ de Çofala p̄ embaix<sup>tes</sup>, sendo elles inuiolaueis seg<sup>do</sup> o comum dir<sup>to</sup> das gentes, e como acolhem em suas terras m<sup>tos</sup> Mouros imigos da fee de N. S. Jesu Chr<sup>o</sup>, e q̄ foraõ auctores de m<sup>tas</sup> das ditas ofensas e lesões, e o seraõ ao diante sem se prouar, q̄ da p<sup>te</sup> dos ditos Portugueses ounesse culpa, ou desordem. E uistas outrosi as Bullas ap<sup>tes</sup> porq̄ se concede a ElRey N. S<sup>r</sup> som<sup>te</sup> (defendendo se sob graues censuras a todos e cada hum dos outros Prin<sup>tes</sup> xpaõs) o comercio de todos os Rey<sup>os</sup> Ilhas, e Prouincias, q̄ estaõ do Cabo do Naõ e do Bojador te a India com tal q̄ o d<sup>o</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Rey faça nos ditos Rey<sup>os</sup> e Prou<sup>tes</sup> promulgar o Euang<sup>o</sup>, e p<sup>a</sup> edificaçaõ de Igr<sup>as</sup> e templos, ministros idoneos e

necessarios. Depois de uistas e examinadas todas as d<sup>as</sup> cousas com a deliberação necessaria se tomaraõ as determinaçoẽs seguintes—

Que pode e deue elRey N. S. mandar promulgar o s<sup>o</sup> Euang<sup>o</sup> nos Rey<sup>os</sup> e Senhorios de Monomotapa, e em quaisquer outros de sua conquista fazendo se com tal resguardo, e moderaçãõ q̄ se naõ impida o fruto da pregaçãõ nem se dee causa a escandalos e p<sup>a</sup> isho auer eff<sup>to</sup>, e p<sup>a</sup> segurança dos ministros, auendo prouuel receo de treiçãoens, e de quaisquer outras perturbaçoẽs como ha nos d<sup>os</sup> Rey<sup>os</sup> e Senhorios de Monomotapa, podendo se fazer fortalezas e mandar gente armada, e sendo caso q̄ os Cafres ou quaisquer outras gentes da d<sup>a</sup> Conquista naõ queiraõ admittir os d<sup>os</sup> Ministros, nem consentir q̄ lhes declarem como Resguardo apontado o Euang<sup>o</sup>, ou impidaõ com uiolença a hospitalidade, e comercio q̄ saõ de comum direito das gentes, propondo se e fazendo se tudo com a deuida moderaçãõ podense justam<sup>te</sup> os Capitaẽs e Vashalos do d<sup>o</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Rey poor em defençãõ, sendo p<sup>a</sup> isho necessario, e p<sup>a</sup> segurança de suas peshoas, e fazendas podem fazer guerra, despajando, catiuando, tomando lugares, e seguindo todos os mais dir<sup>tos</sup> da justa guerra; e ashì pode fazer todas as mais cousas necesharias p<sup>a</sup> alcançarem a d<sup>a</sup> segurança. Pode tambem elRey N. S. conforme a dir<sup>to</sup> principalm<sup>te</sup> nos ditos Rey<sup>os</sup>, e Senhorios de sua Conquista tolher leys tirannicas, e ritos nefarios, e contra natureza em especial mortes iniustas de inocentes e quando com resoos e meos suaues se isto naõ remedease, pode justam<sup>te</sup> fazer guerra e depor os Reys e S<sup>res</sup> q̄ o impidem levantar outros, e seguir os mais dir<sup>tos</sup> de iusta guerra, te com efeito cesharem os d<sup>os</sup> ritos, e mortes iniustas.

E por q<sup>to</sup> alem do dir<sup>to</sup> das ditas Bullas Apostolicas daõ a elRey N. S<sup>r</sup> p<sup>a</sup> a d<sup>a</sup> promulgaçãõ do euang<sup>o</sup>, hospitalidade e comercio, tem outro de nouo contra o d<sup>o</sup> Rey de Monomotapa pellas grandes offensas e lesoẽs q̄ p̄ elle lhe saõ f<sup>tas</sup>, e a seus Vashalos, na violaçãõ de seus Legados, na morte iniusta do P<sup>e</sup> D. G<sup>to</sup>, e no modo e circumstancias q̄ nella ouue, na morte de outros Portugueses e roubos de suas fazendas, e no acolhim<sup>to</sup> e fauor, q̄ o d<sup>o</sup> Rey daa em suas terras e Portos aos Mouros imigos da nossa s<sup>ta</sup> fee, induzidores de todos os males e offensas, e q̄ faraõ o mesmo ao diante, prouando se q̄ da p<sup>te</sup> dos Portugueses naõ ouue excessho, nem culpa q̄ tal mereceshe, antes q̄ nauagaraõ e trataraõ nas ditas partes pacificamente, e sem escandalos. Por todos estes respeitoos

apontados pode ElRey N. S. mandar fazer guerra ao d° Rey de Monomotapa com as limitações e declarações seg<sup>tes</sup>:

Que assi para se fazer a d<sup>a</sup> guerra justam<sup>te</sup> ha causas q̄ são as ja referidas, e p<sup>a</sup> outrosi autoridade em ElRey N. S. q̄ representa huã pessoa publica obrigada a defender sua Rep<sup>a</sup> e Vashalos de todas as injurias aja tambem intençaõ recta de se promulgar nas d<sup>as</sup> partes o Euangelho; e isto he a comuersaõ, e saluaçaõ das almas seja a p<sup>a</sup> causa q̄ se pretenda, mandando p<sup>a</sup> este effeito numero competente de ministros idoneos, e naõ amplificaõ de imperio nem honra propria ou prou<sup>to</sup> do Prin<sup>e</sup>, nem outros particulares resp<sup>tos</sup>. As quais tres causas são necessarias conforme a dir<sup>to</sup> p<sup>a</sup> se mouer justam<sup>te</sup> guerra e sem peccado.

Que antes de se fazer guerra ao d° Rey de Monomotapa se lhe requiera em nome delRey N. S. q̄ lance logo em tempo limitado todos os Mouros de suas terras, e senhorios, como imigos q̄ são da Fe de xp<sup>o</sup>; e entregue os mais culpados, e q̄ foraõ autores de todas as offensas feitas aos Portugueses, e de ter o d° Rey R<sup>a</sup> e seus principais uasalhos deixado a d<sup>a</sup> Fe q̄ profesharaõ e o uerdadeiro caminho de saluaçaõ de suas almas e assi lhe faça lembrança das cousas mais necessarias p<sup>a</sup> o d° Rey, e seus uasalhos uirem em conhecim<sup>to</sup> dos grandes erros q̄ tem cometido contra D's, e da intençaõ e resp<sup>to</sup> com q̄ S. A. principalm<sup>te</sup> mouido, manda gente e armada as d<sup>as</sup> p<sup>tes</sup>, q̄ he p<sup>a</sup> castigo dos d<sup>os</sup> Mouros, e naõ diferindo o d° Rey deste requerim<sup>to</sup>, e naõ lançando nem entregando como fica dito os d<sup>os</sup> Mouros pode se lhe fazer justamente guerra, e seguir todos os dir<sup>tos</sup> della, te com effeito serem os d<sup>os</sup> Mouros de todo lançados; o qual meo he o principal p<sup>a</sup> se começar e proseguir o negocio da conuersaõ com esperanza de fruitos, e p<sup>a</sup> fundam<sup>to</sup> do edificio espirital q̄ D's for leuando nas ditas partes. Inda despois de lançados os Mouros se pode fazer justam<sup>te</sup> guerra ao d° Rey pellas injurias e lesões feitas aos Portugueses, como fi<sup>a</sup> apontado com tal declaraçãõ q̄ prim<sup>o</sup> se lhe peça justa satisfaçaõ dellas, principalm<sup>te</sup> da uiolaçaõ dos legados (que he grande offensa, e auida por tal entre todas as gentes, q̄ se pode mal satisfazer) e dando o d° Rey tanta quantidade d'ouro, e tal tributo, ou tantas leg. de terra q̄ a juizo de bons uaroens seja igual re<sup>o</sup>compensa de todas as d<sup>as</sup> iniurias, e lesões, e das despesas da armada, e das q̄ se fiserem em todo o discurso da guerra, em tal caso deue de suspender a guerra, nem se pode fazer nem continuar justam<sup>te</sup>. Mas sendo caso q̄ o d° Rey negue

a d<sup>a</sup> satisfação podese lhe fazer justam<sup>te</sup> guerra, seguindo se todos os dir<sup>tos</sup> q̄ se nella executaõ mas soom<sup>te</sup> te certo termo q̄ dee a d<sup>a</sup> satisfação.

Em Almeirim a 23 de Jan<sup>ro</sup> de 1569.

DUARTE CARN<sup>o</sup> RANGEL  
PAULO AFONSO  
SIMAÕ G<sup>ra</sup> PRETO  
GONÇALO DIAS DE CARUALHO  
MARTIM G<sup>ra</sup> DA CAMARA  
LEAÕ HENRIQUEZ  
TORRES.

[*English translation of the above.*]

*Decision of the Lawyers: With the Conditions on which War may be made upon Kings of the Conquests of Portugal, especially upon the Monomotapa.*

Having seen and examined these documents and the reports of many persons, from which it is proved that the emperors of Monomotapa frequently command their innocent subjects to be killed and robbed, and are guilty of many other wrongs and tyrannies for slight causes; and that they ordered several Portuguese, peaceably engaged in trading, to be killed and robbed, and that one of these emperors ordered the father Dom Gonçalo to be put to death, he having gone thither in the name of our lord the king, as his ambassador, sent by the viceroy of India to preach the faith of Christ, which he did peaceably and without offence, so much so that by his doctrine and example the king and queen and principal people of the kingdom were converted, who afterwards all apostatized, leaving the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ which they professed, and returning to their heathen rites. And as in the death of Father Dom Gonçalo they kept no natural order or show of justice; and seeing also that they robbed and detained in their country two Portuguese who were sent there by the captain of Sofala as ambassadors, thus being inviolable according to the common law of nations; and that they shelter in their territory many Moors, enemies of the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, who were the authors of many of the said offences and injuries and who will be the same

in the future, without it being proved that there was any fault or disorder on the part of the Portuguese; and also considering the Apostolic Bulls by which is conceded to our lord the king alone (excluding all and each of the other Christian princes, under pain of grave censure) the commerce of all the kingdoms, islands, and provinces lying between the capes Não and Bojador and India, upon condition that the said king our Lord should cause the gospel to be preached in the said kingdoms and provinces, churches and temples to be built, and the necessary competent ministers to be provided. After seeing and examining all these said circumstances with due deliberation, the following decisions have been formed.

That our lord the king may and ought to command the preaching of the holy gospel in the kingdoms and dominions of Monomotapa, and in any others of his conquest, doing so with such caution and moderation as not to prevent the preaching bearing fruit, and giving no cause for scandals; and to this end and for the safety of the ministers, if there should be fear of probable treachery or any other disturbances such as occur in the said kingdoms and dominions of Monomotapa, fortresses may be built and soldiers sent there; and in case the Kaffirs or any other people of the conquest refuse to admit the said ministers, or to allow them to preach the gospel with the said caution, or obstruct with violence the hospitality and commerce which are the common right of nations, if everything has been proposed and executed with due moderation, the captains and subjects of his Majesty may justly stand upon the defensive; and should it be necessary for the safety of their persons and property, they may make war, laying waste, making prisoners, taking places, and proceeding in all things according to the rights of lawful warfare, and they may also take all other means to assure their security. Our lord the king may also, in conformity with justice, especially in the said kingdoms and dominions of his conquest, prevent tyrannical laws and nefarious and unnatural rites, especially the putting to death of innocent persons, and when reasoning and gentle means cannot remedy this, he may justly make war and depose the kings and lords who obstruct him, and set up others, exercising all other rights of lawful warfare until the said practices and unjust deaths have effectually ceased.

And whereas besides the right which the said Apostolic Bulls give to the king for the promulgation of the gospel, hospitality, and commerce, he has another of a different kind against the king of Monomotapa on account of the great offences and injuries done to him by the said king, and to his subjects, by the violence shown to his delegates, the unjust death of Father Dom Gonçalo and the manner and circumstances thereof, the death of other Portuguese and the robbery of their property, and the shelter and favour bestowed by the said king in his ports and territories upon the Moors, the enemies of our holy faith and the instigators of all the evils and offences, and who will do the same in future ; it being proved that there was no fault or excess on the part of the Portuguese which deserved such treatment, but rather that they navigated and traded in the said parts peaceably and without offence. For all these reasons laid down, our lord the king may command war to be made upon the said king of Monomotapa, with the following limitations and conditions :—

That in order to make war justly there must be, besides the aforesaid causes and the authority of our lord the king, who represents a public person obliged to defend his state and subjects from all injuries, an upright intention of spreading the gospel in the said parts, and that this conversion and salvation of souls be the principal end in view, sending for the purpose a sufficient number of capable ministers, and not the increase of empire, or the personal glory and profit of the prince, or other private interests ; which three causes are necessary, according to justice, in order to make war lawfully and without sin.

That before making war upon the said king of Monomotapa, he be first required in the name of our lord the king to eject within a limited time all the Moors from his territories and dominions, as enemies of the faith of Christ, and deliver the most guilty who were the cause of all the evil done to the Portuguese and of the said king, queen, and their principal subjects having abandoned the faith which they professed and the true way of salvation of their souls, and that he be also reminded of those things which are most necessary to bring him and his subjects to a knowledge of the great errors they have committed against God, and the principal end and intention of his Highness in sending his fleet and forces to those parts, which is for the punishment of the said Moors. And should the king not accede

to this demand, and not eject and deliver up the said Moors, as aforesaid, war may justly be made upon him, exercising all the rights thereof, until the said Moors are effectually and entirely ejected; which is the principal means of commencing and carrying on the enterprise of conversion with hope of fruit, and for the foundation of the spiritual edifice which God will raise in the said parts. Even after the said Moors are ejected, war may justly be made upon the said king for the offences and injuries done to the Portuguese as aforesaid, first demanding that he make just satisfaction therefor, especially for the violence done to the ambassadors (which is a great offence, and so considered by every nation, and which can with difficulty be atoned for); and on the king giving such quantity of gold and such tribute or so many leagues of land as in the opinion of honest men is sufficient satisfaction for all the said offences and injuries, and the expenses of the fleet and those incurred during the whole course of the war, in that case the war must be suspended, nor can it justly be continued. But in case the king should refuse to give satisfaction, war may justly be made upon him, and all the rights thereof be exercised, but only for a certain time until he shall give the said satisfaction.

Almeirim, the 23rd of January 1569.

DUARTE CARNº RANGEL,  
PAULO AFONSO,  
SIMÃO G<sup>ra</sup> PRETO,  
GONÇALO DIAS DE CARVALHO,  
MARTIM G<sup>s</sup> DA CAMARA,  
LEÃO HENRIQUEZ,  
TORRES.

## RELAÇÃO

DA

VIAGEM Q̃ FIZERAÕ OS P<sup>res</sup> DA COMPANHIA DE JESUS  
 COM FRAN<sup>co</sup> BARRETTO  
 NA CONQUISTA DE MONOMOTAPA  
 NO ANNO DE 1569.

*Feita pello P<sup>e</sup> Monclaro da mesma Companhia.*

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[Copied from a document in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Département des Manuscrits, Portugais 8, Folio 241). The footnotes given here are marginal notes made by G<sup>o</sup> Al<sup>e</sup> de Lousada, who describes himself as "escrivão da Torre do tombo."]

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DO INTENTO Q̃ TEUE ELREY DOM SEBASTIAÕ NESTA  
 CONQUISTA.

Quanto pude Colligir ashi estando em Almeirim p<sup>a</sup> vir com franc<sup>o</sup> Barretto,\* como despois, naquellas partes pellos Regim<sup>tos</sup> e Cartas de S. A, O intento seu foy Cumprir com a Obrigação q̃ elle e os Reys seus antepashados tem feito aos Summos Pontifices de fazer promulgar o Evangelho, com Cuja autoridade tem insta e Santam<sup>te</sup> os tt<sup>os</sup> destas Conquistas e Comercios Secundariam<sup>te</sup> por acudir aos grandes e ordinarios gastos q̃ tem assi em Seu Rey<sup>o</sup> como na India. E se nosho S<sup>r</sup> fosse servido, indo lhe de cà Cabedal conquistar Africa; E porq<sup>o</sup> dos Rey<sup>os</sup> de Monomotapa tinha mais Largas informaçoens da abundancia de suas riquezas, do que a cousa em si dé, e nos experimentamos, determinou de Concluyr, o q̃ ElRey seu Avo, e a R<sup>a</sup> Sua Avoo, quando governauão quizerão intentar. Foi tambem m<sup>ta</sup> parte disto a morte injusta do P<sup>e</sup> Gonçalo da Sylv<sup>ta</sup> q̃ o Monomotapa induzido e

\* Fr<sup>o</sup> Barreto era homem q̃ tinha m<sup>tos</sup> anos de experiencia de Guerra, e era do cons<sup>o</sup> delRey, e geral de suas Gales. Era casado com D Britiz d'Ataide a qual morreo dous dias depois de sua partida.

peitado pellos Mouros de aquellas partes mandou executar. Por estas e por outras Causas mandou fazer esta jornada, o q̄ tudo se determinou no Rey<sup>o</sup> na mesa da Conciência por pessoas doutas e de aprovada vida, Cuios artigos trouxemos por roteiro no q̄ na execução do iusto titulo das terras q̄ Se ganhassam se avia de fazer, p<sup>a</sup> o q̄ ElRey achou q̄ seria bem mandar quatro P<sup>es</sup> da Companhia como mandou.

#### DOS IMPEDIM<sup>tos</sup> q̄ OUUE NO PRINCIPIO DESTA JORNADA.

Posto q̄ os Juizos de N S<sup>r</sup> a nos são tão occultos, q̄ elle soom<sup>to</sup> dé si Seo Conselheiro, e não temos mais q̄ o q̄ elle nos quer manifestar, revelando a seus servos m<sup>tas</sup> Cousas, alem do q̄ na escritura sagrada tem revelado e declarado a sua Igreja, Com tudo sempre ha algumas Cousas, cuios principios Conferidos Com seus fins, nos fazem Lançar os olhos do entendim<sup>to</sup> a alguns acontecim<sup>tos</sup>; E se em algum caso Com rezão se pode escrever algũa Cousa disho, he no negocio Com q̄ se Começou esta iornada.

Tinha ja S. A. ashentado de mandar a franc<sup>o</sup> Barreto a esta conquista fundado nas rezoês acima apontadas Moueraõ se m<sup>tos</sup> do seu Conselho ao estorvar, e as rezoes q̄ tinhaõ foraõ de tanta força, q̄ moveraõ a R<sup>a</sup> N. S<sup>a</sup> vir de Lixboa a Almeirim por tempo de m<sup>tas</sup> Chuvas e invernadas a tirar a ElRey seu neto deste proposito. Bem creio q̄ nisho a não moveo outra cousa, senaõ o zello da Conversaõ, e o zello Christianiss<sup>o</sup> de o ver acertar em tudo especialm<sup>to</sup> no principio do seu Reynado; mas as rezoês q̄ ElRey lhe deu foraõ tais q̄ ella consintio na jornada. E quando Os P<sup>es</sup> se foraõ della despedir, lhes deu algumas peças devotas da sua recamara p<sup>a</sup> o Monomotapa se se Converteshe, Entre as quais era hum Ecce Homo tamanho como hum quarto de papel de marca mayor de estranho feitio e materia. Era de penas de passaros tão finas nas Cores e por tal ordem postas q̄ ficavão matizando muy do natural a imagem de Chrõ naquelle pasho. Esta imagem foi mandada em grande presente a S. A. das Indias de Cast<sup>a</sup>. Tambem hum Crucifixo de Marfim de mediocre grandura m<sup>to</sup> proporcionado.

O outro impedim<sup>to</sup> foi q̄ estando S. A. em Almeirim, uir nova q̄ era saida huã groscha armada de Lutheros sobre as Ilhas. Por onde ElRey se veo p<sup>a</sup> posta a Lix<sup>a</sup> a semana S<sup>ta</sup> e teue todo o Cons<sup>o</sup> de parecer q̄ não partisse a armada de fr<sup>o</sup> Barretto, e ficasse

p<sup>a</sup> este socorro, o q̄ não se effectuou pella determinação q̄ ElRey tinha tomada sobre esta Conquista.

A armada se começou de aparelhar no porto de Lix<sup>a</sup> Convem a saber tres naos, huã da Carreira de 600 toneis em q̄ vinha o dito Capitaõ mor; \* as outras duas eraõ Navetas de Villa de Conde piquenas de ate 150 toneis. Em huã dellas vinha Vasco fernandez homem, fidalgo q̄ fora do Mre de Santiago, e agora he delRey, com seu filho Antonio Mazcarenhas; E na outra Lourenço de Carualho. Era m<sup>ta</sup> a gente q̄ desejava vir nesta empresa, ashi pellas esperanças do ouro e riquezas q̄ della se deziaõ Como p<sup>ta</sup> pessoa do Capitaõ mor, e de tanta fidalguia. Em Bellem antes de nos partir foi necesario recolher o Veedor da fazenda q̄ entaõ era O Baraõ d Aluito com o Capitaõ mor a gente q̄ podia vir da m<sup>ta</sup> q̄ estava embarcada; e Com duas gales recolheraõ e escolheraõ a mais idonea de toda e ainda ficaraõ m<sup>tos</sup> escondidos pellas naos temerem naõ serem admitidos, e Creio q̄ os q̄ entaõ ficavaõ naõ davaõ vantagem aos principais, q̄ em outras armadas vieraõ a India Como vi por experiencia em Moçambique. Trazia m<sup>tos</sup> soldados de Africa muy exercitados. Trazia m<sup>tos</sup> Criados delRey, e outros soldados q̄ aviaõ andado com elle nas Galles e Segundo o parecer de m<sup>ta</sup> Foy de melhor gente e mais Luzida q̄ sahio pella Barra de lix<sup>a</sup> fora. Vinha tambem com franc<sup>o</sup> Barreto seu f<sup>o</sup> Ruy Nunez Barreto e Ant<sup>o</sup> P<sup>ra</sup> Brandaõ homem fidalgo natural do Porto, e de m<sup>tos</sup> annos da India. Outros m<sup>tos</sup> mancebos fidalgos de m<sup>ta</sup> qualidade se embarcaraõ nesta armada q̄ seria longo de contar em particular de Cada hum.

Demos a vella com grande estrondo de trombetas e outros instrum<sup>tos</sup> bellicos com q̄ se costumaõ despedir, E vindo salvando as casas dos Santos q̄ estaõ a vista do Mar succedeo q̄ salvando N. S<sup>a</sup> da Ajuda arrebentou hum berco em pedaços, e hum delles tocou no sombreiro de franc<sup>o</sup> Barreto, e o outro deu no estais da verga do masto grande e pashou por entre m<sup>ta</sup> gente sem lhe fazer

\* Escolheo ElRey com os do seu Cons<sup>o</sup> por Capitaõ e geral desta armada a f<sup>o</sup> Barreto f<sup>o</sup> 2<sup>o</sup> de Ruy Barreto, Alcayde mor de faro e Veedor da faz<sup>da</sup> do Rey<sup>o</sup> do Algarue, e assi Capitaõ e Gou<sup>o</sup> da Cidade de Azamor onde naõ ouue cavalgada q̄ cometesse q̄ naõ Saisse bem Com ella, e nenhũa lhe faltou q̄ deixasse de acometer. Sua may se chamou D. Branca de Vilhena, f<sup>a</sup> de M<sup>ai</sup> de Mello, Alcayde mor d'Olivença Irmaõ do Condeda da Villa D. Rodrigo. Era fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto grande Cavall<sup>e</sup> e bem afortunado nas cousas de guerra, assi no tempo q̄ foi Capitaõ das Gales como na frota q̄ foi deste Rey<sup>o</sup> em socorro do Pinhaõ da qual elle foy p̄ capitaõ mor foy tambem gou<sup>o</sup> da India.

nada, chegando junto dos cachopos se virou o vento por proa, e nos hiamos Com a vazante da mare, e não podiamos voltar, depois de lançadas as ancoras. Com a enchente da mare e vento a popa tornamos ao porto de Bellem, onde estivemos 18 dias com vento Contrario, e neste tempo veo ElRey a Lisboa, como fica dito; e Corremos risco de ficar pellas novas q̄ avia da armada Lutherana. Aos 16 de Abril do dito anno sendo iá taõ tardé nos fizemos a vella com vento q̄ nos veo da terra q̄ durou dous dias, e taõ fraco q̄ não nos sirvio mais q̄ ate Valdas egoas; Onde huã noite Nos tomou huã tormenta grande, q̄ fez arribar huã das navetas da nosha Conserva e Com o masto rendido e outros desastres, em a qual hia por Capitão Lourenço Carvalho, e não ueo na empresa. A outra de Vasco fer\* homem soffreo mais o tempo, e nos acompanhou ate a linha.\*

#### DO QUE PASSAMOS NA VIAGEM ATHE CHEGAR A MOÇAMBIQUE.

Na linha andamos 77 dias com huã trouoadã q̄ nos deu. Aqui se achaõ m<sup>tas</sup> nezes os peixes Voadores, q̄ saõ tantos como bandos grandes de passaros, e uoaõ por grande espaço p<sup>o</sup> ar; Andaõ a Caça delles outros peixes grandes, e os seguem m<sup>to</sup> por baixo da agua. Chamaõ se estes peixes Albecoras peixe uelocissimo, e tanto q̄ por mais infunada q̄ ua huã nao com todas as Vellas a vai seguindo e isto quasi toda a Carreira, Salvo no cabo de boa esperança, onde pellos frios grandes se aparta, e isto ashi das naos q̄ uem como das q̄ uaõ p<sup>a</sup> o Rey<sup>o</sup>. A nos nos seguiu todo este caminho te o Brasil grande Copia de peixe; o q̄ he sinal de roim viagem, porq̄ aos q̄ navegaõ prosperam<sup>to</sup> acompanhaõ pouco. Perseguem tambem a estes peixes Voadores aues do Ceo q̄ Se naõ mantem senaõ delles, e de outros pequenos q̄ podem aver; E he m<sup>to</sup> p<sup>a</sup> ver esta perseguiçaõ q̄ tem juntamen<sup>to</sup> do ar e do mar que tomaõ por sua colheita. Entre m<sup>tas</sup> maneiras de passaros ha huns

\* Vendose o g<sup>o</sup> em taõ perigosos passos, se encomendou muy devotam<sup>te</sup> a Nosha S<sup>a</sup> de quem era muy devoto; a imitaçaõ do grande Afonso de Albuquerque q̄ vendo se em outros taes em hum dos cercos de Goa ainda naõ acabava de se encomendar a N. S<sup>a</sup> q<sup>da</sup> na mesma Salva de artelharia desparou outra pesa por desastre hum pelouro de ferro Coado Cuberto de Chumbo q̄ tambem lhe acertou no Chapeo sem fazer mais duno q̄ o encostar p<sup>a</sup> hua p<sup>ta</sup>, sendo taõ piquena distancia donde tirou, q̄ naõ auia mais de 8 passos; pronosticos e presagios por certo significadores do infelice successo q̄ esta empresa auia de ter.

q̄ saõ muy perseguidos de outros, e tanto q̄ lhes fazem lançar o excremento os deixaõ por lho comer, e arremetem no ar a elle a quem o Levava pr<sup>o</sup> e tornaõ logo a perseguilo ao pobre passaro, e naõ o deixaõ te o naõ fazerem lançar outra vez o esterco. Isto he comum, e eu o vi alguas uezes, e naõ posho Crer q̄ seia cibo ordinario destes pasharos, mas q̄ tenha algua virtude grande por onde com tanto appetite andem apos elles.

Junto da Costa do Brasil, antes de vermos terra vimos da Nao, inda q<sup>a</sup> algum tanto longe a pelleja do Peixe Espadarte Com a Balea. Eu ui aleuantar se no Ar hum peixe taõ Comprido Como huã Lança em altura como de tres lanças fora da agoa e vio vir pello ar vibrando o Corpo, e deixar se cair sobre a Balea. Algũs deziaõ q̄ eraõ os braços da Balea com que remava o q̄ naõ podia ser porq̄ era cousa distincta, e despois na Bahia de todos os S<sup>tos</sup> vi m<sup>tas</sup> Baleas meas fora dagua e remar com suas barbatanas por bem diferente modo. Aos 4 de Agosto tiuemos vista da Baya donde nos Sayraõ dous Galeoẽs que os annos atras foraõ ao Brasil p<sup>a</sup> guarda d' aquella Costa, Cuidando que eramos franceses ou Ingreses, mas conhecendo nos, fomos todos juntos desembarcar a Baya porto de todos os s<sup>tos</sup>, onde estivemos seis meses, onde nos vieraõ novas da grande peste q̄ avia em Lisboa começando a nosha partida, e como era morta a molher de fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto. Da gente q̄ trouxemos do Rey<sup>o</sup> q̄ seriaõ 550 homens de armas, gente como dishe muy luzida, ficaraõ no Brasil te sessenta, e se embarcaraõ dali outros tantos em seu lugar, e nos fizemos a vella no fim de Jan<sup>o</sup> de 1570.

Despois de partidos pashamos o Cabo de Boã esperanza da outra banda, ja no parcel do Cabo das agulhas q̄ alli ha de 70 e 80 braços. E estando todos os pescadores das naos prestes para pescarem (como costumaõ fazer as Naos q̄ por alli pashaõ) de pescadas, Ruyuos e outros peixes como os de Portugal, nos deu tal tormenta q̄ nos tornou atras mais de 200 Legoas, em q̄ andamos ao paio 36 dias, indo se acabando mantimento e agoa. No cabo destes dias nos refrescou o vento em Popa, e fomos demandar a terra do Natal, e ia neste tempo começavamos de tomar peixe, e dia ouue q̄ se tomaraõ mais de cem Albecoras. Tambem ouue grande pescaria de Tubaroens, peixe muy feo a feiçaõ de Caçaõ grande, e tem tres ordens de dentes, e muy goloso e facil de tomar. Soldado ouue q̄ a sua conta tomou mais de cento. A hum abriaraõ hua vez e dentro no bucho lhe acharaõ hum prato de

estanho e huã verruma e hum Capato. Acertou de cayr ao mar hum lacaõ d' outros q̄ estavaõ ao Sol; veo logo hum tubaraõ e o ingulio; o dono se concertou com hum Soldado, o qual tomou o Tubaraõ com o presunto na barriga ainda fresco e inteiro, e alargovo todo ao Soldado depois q̄ o vio pello nojo do Tubaraõ, o qual sem nenhum o comeo com seus companheiros. E com estes pashatempos saimos no porto de Moçambique a 16 de Mayo de 1570, perto de 700 almas de q̄ os 550 eraõ Soldados, gente q̄ avia m<sup>tos</sup> annos q̄ na ilha de Moçambique se naõ tinha visto taõ escolhida.

#### DA ILHA DE MOÇAMBIQUE.

A Ilha de Moçambique he m<sup>to</sup> piquena, de comprido naõ tera ainda huã legoa, é estreita e no meo, tanto q̄ com hum tiro de pedra se pasha da outra banda. He toda de area e chea de palmares. Naõ tem nehuã agoa doce senaõ huas poças a q̄ chamaõ fontainhas d' agoa salobra. A que bebem vem dahi a cinco Legoas. Tem huã fortaleza antiga, agora se uai acabando huã nova m<sup>to</sup> boa. Tem muy grossa artelharía q̄ nos levamos do Rey<sup>o</sup>. Huã povoação tinha de Mouros q̄ esta destruida, a de Portugueses sera de cem moradores, e da gente de terra Couuem a saber Cafres e Indios mesturados avera como 200. Distara da terra firme mea Legoa. Ja agora he mais sadia por algunas commodidades q̄ vay tendo de hortas da outra banda, e de algunas fruitas de espinho. He muy grande o numero de mortos q̄ aqui ha das naos q̄ chegaõ do Rey<sup>o</sup>. Reside aqui o Capitaõ de Çofala por ter melhor escala p<sup>a</sup> toda a Costa de Melinde. O dinheiro q̄ aqui corre he ouro em poo, e a menos moeda ou peso d'elle he meo viutem. Ha m<sup>tas</sup> galinhas q̄ vem da terra firme, a q̄ chamaõ Cafras por serem pequenas e naõ taõ gostosas; os Capoës saõ m<sup>to</sup> bons, mas o pescado daqui he m<sup>to</sup> doentio.\*

Chegados ao Porto de Moçambique, q̄ he trabalhoso de entrar

\* Com hum braço de Rio q̄ a divide da terra firme mas de m<sup>ta</sup> piquena largura q̄ fica sendo como o Rio de lix<sup>a</sup> na largura de Bellem a outra banda de Caparica. He esta Ilha hum diviõ das naos q̄ vaõ do Rey<sup>o</sup> em q̄ fazem sua agoada, deixaõ os doentes, tomaõ carnes e mantim<sup>tos</sup> necessarios p<sup>a</sup> as 900 legoas q̄ lhe faltaõ de Carreira p<sup>a</sup> Goa. A fortaleza he fortissima e seg<sup>ta</sup> o q̄ dizem os q̄ de la vem he a melhor q̄ tem S. A. naquellas partes das terras e mares de Oriente. Tem ainda agora a mesma artelharía q̄ leuou fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto, q̄ he m<sup>to</sup> gros e de ferro coado.

mas dentro arrezoado, soubemos como a nao em q̄ vinha Vasco fernandez Homem auia chegado, e naõ tinha arribado ao Rey<sup>o</sup> como alguns cuidauaõ. Achanos a gente della toda doente, e algua morta, em q̄ entrava Ant<sup>o</sup> Mazcarenhas f<sup>o</sup> de V<sup>o</sup> fer<sup>t</sup>. Tambem soubemos Goa e Chaul estarem de cerco, e as mais novas da India. P<sup>o</sup> Barreto sobrinho de fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto sabendo da ida do Tio naõ quis acabar seu tempo de Capitaõ de Çofala e nas naos arribadas se avia embarcado p<sup>a</sup> o Rey<sup>o</sup> onde na viagem morreo deixando por sua morte a miseracordia de Lisboa muy grosho dinheiro. E em Moçambique deixou em poder de hum seu feitor perto de 70 V<sup>do</sup>s. Destes lançou maõ Vasco fernandez Homem, q̄ ficara por Capitaõ te a chegada de fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto p<sup>a</sup> cabedal da empresa. O qual dinheiro lhe entregou em chegando, e elle o gastou bem depresha. Aqui estivemos hum anno e meo, sem fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto acometer a jornada, e neste anno pashou por aqui Jorge de Mendoça por Capitaõ mor da Carreira da India, e fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto dahi a hum anno me dishe q̄ se tinha arrependido de naõ cometer a jornada, como lhe nos aconselhamos, porq̄ entaõ avia dinheiro, avia gente saã e bem disposta com algum provim<sup>to</sup> ainda, do Rey<sup>o</sup> Avia mais de 600 quintaes de biscouto, avia polvora e muniçoens, avia embarcaçoens. Pedimos ao Capitaõ mor q̄ foshe entretanto as Ilhas do Comorim e q̄ as conquistasse p<sup>a</sup> a Coroa por serem m<sup>to</sup> proveitosas e fizessem ahi hua fortaleza, goarnecendo a muy bem. Estas Ilhas estaõ de Moçambique 80 Legoas. O Capitaõ respondeo q̄ melhor lhe parecia irem a Costa de Melinde, e q̄ della cometeria as Ilhas; e assi na entrada de Outubro seguinte nos partimos em a Navita de Vasco fer<sup>t</sup>, em q̄ hiaõ perto de 300 Soldados indo elle por Capitaõ.

Despois de partidos aconteceo chegar a caravella q̄ avia ficado no Brasil, a quem fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto tinha encomendado o descobrim<sup>to</sup> do Cabo de Boa esperanza como trazia por Regim<sup>to</sup> d'ElRey. O piloto della era homem experto no Mar, e muy esforçado, o q̄ mostrou em se aventurar, cometer taõ difficultosa Navegaçãõ em taõ piqueno navio, e mais por onde nunca tinha andado. O qual despois de ter contado (como dizem) as pedrinhas todo o cabo e costa delle te Moçambique, foi dar tanto avante como 12 legoas no Rio do Velloso, onde saindo em terra, e enganado por Cafres ladinos e fugitivos dos Portugueses de Moçambique, o mataraõ em terra estando descuidado confiado nelles e juntam<sup>to</sup> com elle mataraõ dous moços Brasis; cousa q̄ alem de magoar m<sup>to</sup> a todos

foi grande perda porq̄ trazia todas as alturas tomadas, e feito hum roteiro do descobrim<sup>to</sup> do Cabo e outras Bahias p<sup>r</sup> si so, e q̄ elle so o entendia, e não trazia na nao mais q̄ hum so homem do mar Portugues q̄ viera do Brasil com elle por marinheiro e mestre da Caravella, o qual bem pouca rezaõ sabia dar do trabalho tão proveitoso q̄ o outro tinha tomado. A Caravella se tornou como pode com a Corrente das agoas p<sup>a</sup> Moçambique, q̄ avia esgarrado, ainda q̄ ao saber do novo Piloto e de algũs dous ou tres Portugueses q̄ do Brasil com elle vieraõ mal encaminhad<sup>os</sup>.\*

Depois de chegadas estas novas fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto se partio p<sup>a</sup> a Costa com a mais força da gente em hua fusta e Pangayos e ueo ter a Cidade de quiloa hum mes depois de nossa chegada. Esta Costa de Moçambique te Quiloa he toda pella mayor p<sup>te</sup> montuosa e com montes tão altos, e de tão estranha e marauilhosa feição, e tão apraziveis q̄ faz imaginar poder estar sobre elles o Parayso terréal, q̄ segundo alguns Conjecturaõ estar nestas partes Orientais. Não fazia pouco ao Caso a maravilhosa compostura dos montes; mas a terra e o clima he dos piores do mundo e so dignos de taes habitadores e tão barbaros como são Cafres. Nesta jornada nos ouveramos de perder em hũs baixos duas legoas a quem de quiloa.

#### DA CIDADE DE QUILOA E DE OUTRAS DAQUELLA COSTA.

ElRey de Quiloa he Mouro, e os seus uashalos todos, e segundo tive por informaçãõ foi o principal e mayor Rey dalli porq̄ tinha te Çofala antes q̄ os Portugueses viessem a India. A Cidade esta em hua Ilha iunto da terra e segundo vi nas outras Cidades e povoaçoẽs dos Mouros, todas estaõ ou em Ilhas ou junto do Mar. Parece q̄ tiveraõ o mesmo modo da Conquista naquella terra, q̄ nos na India, senhoreando soom<sup>te</sup> a faldra do Mar. Esta Cid<sup>e</sup> foi olim muy grande e prospera, as casas todas de pedra e cal e seus telhados, mas foi destruida duas uezes pellos Noshos p̄ treiaõ q̄ elles armaraõ. Eu ui huas Çaraçenas com huns arcos onde elles dizem parnor pesarem ali o ouro q̄ vinha de Çofala aos Bares. Estes Mouros tem algum trato nas Ilhas do Comoro, e pella terra dentro em Marfim q̄ compraõ aos Cafres p̄ vender aos Portugueses q̄ alli sempre andaõ, ou ao feitor do Capitaõ da dita Costa, donde vem tambem m<sup>to</sup> mel e çera. Aqui estivemos

\* Neste anno se perdeo a nao Rainha na Cabaceira de fronte de Moçambique.

recolhidos e bem agasalhados pellos Mouros, q̄ com medo de lhe saltaremos a terra a tinhaõ despejada, e nos andavaõ a vontade. Chegou dahi a 20 dias fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto com a mais frota de Pangayos, e deteve se aqui mais 8 dias, tendo suas falas com ElRey q̄ era negro, e com o Prin<sup>e</sup> torto de hum olho. Partimonos daqui em Pangayos por a nao não servir, e a Costa ter m<sup>tos</sup> baixos. Saõ estas embarçaõs cosidas com cairo, onde não ha hum so prego, e as uelas saõ de esteira, ou empreita de palma, embarçaõs mui seguras: estas som<sup>to</sup> saõ as q̄ alli servem porq̄ ainda q̄ dem em baixos não correm risco se os mares não saõ taõ rijos q̄ as desfaçaõ, porque trazem huas forquilhas das quaes com mare uazia fica a embarçaõ estriuada, como hum aleijado em huas muletas; abolinaõ tanto q̄ parece navegarem contra vento. Aqui nestas embarcados fomos correndo a Costa, e tomamos hua Ilha q̄ se chama Monfia sogeita a ElRey de quiloa. Tem m<sup>to</sup> breu q̄ tiraõ de arvores e m<sup>to</sup> Cayro pellas m<sup>tas</sup> palmeiras q̄ tem. He m<sup>to</sup> fresca e aprazivel. Tem hum xeque Mouro, e hum feitor do Capitaõ da Costa pello trata do breu e cayro.

Depois de estarmos aqui dous ou tres dias, fomos a outra Ilha q̄ tem Rey por si mayor q̄ Monfia, chama se Zanzibar. Sera de 25 legoas de comprido, e dez ou doze de largo. He ilha muy fertil e tem m<sup>tos</sup> inhames, e frutas, e mantim<sup>tos</sup> da terra. Chove nella m<sup>tas</sup> vezes. He m<sup>to</sup> doentia como o saõ as de toda aquella Costa. Tem huã cidade q̄ foi grande como quiloa, porem destruida e muy arruinada. Aqui andavaõ da terra firme hũs Cafres alevantados, e tinhaõ a terra taõ alevantada e os moradores taõ fracos q̄ não ousanaõ de yr a suas fazendas p̄ causa delles. Entramos pella terra alguas sete ou oito legoas, e pellejaraõ os noshos com elles, e sem resistencia os lançaraõ fora por onde el-Rey alem da uashalagem q̄ tinha a el-Rey de Portugal lhe fez doaçaõ da Ilha com todas as solemnidades e tangeres ao tomar da posse pellos nossos.\*

A terra de si he m<sup>to</sup> groscha e se fizeshem a pouoçaõ em outra parte do lugar que tem seria Sadia, porq̄ o sitio em q̄ esta he

\* Residem com<sup>to</sup> nesta Ilha Portugueses dado q̄ poucos onde tem sua hermidã Com seu Capellaõ. Desta Ilha tem resgate com a terra firme q̄ sera mea Legoa de Rio de travessa. O resgate he com pannos, Contas e ferro, marfim e algum ambar. He m<sup>to</sup> fertil. Esta Ilha tem m<sup>tas</sup> arvores de espinho, como laranjas, lymas, limoẽs, ananazes q̄ he fruta como pinhas deste Rey, mas mayores e de grande gosto; aparaõ se p<sup>e</sup> lhe comerem o mesto,

doentio. Tem grande quantidade de madeyra e matto de aruores taõ alto e espeso q̄ andamos por elle mais de duas legoas e em a maior parte não viamos o Sol. Aqui vi a prim<sup>a</sup> vez as arequeiras, arvores na India taõ frescas e estimadas pello fruto q̄ se come com o Betele, o qual hia trepando por ellas ao modo de era. Saõ da feiçaõ de palmeiras, ainda q̄ mais frescas; estavaõ ao longo de hua ribeira de agoa. O aruoredo he o melhor e de mais fermosa taboado q̄ tenho visto.

Tem m<sup>ta</sup> Copia de q̄ em necessidade se podia ajudar a India. Ha neste mato m<sup>tos</sup> bogios e algũs porcos do mato, mas de outra Caça pouca. Ha huas larangas piquenas e muy amarelas q̄ se comem com a casca, e com tudo saõ m<sup>to</sup> doces mas doentias. Ha m<sup>to</sup> Tamarindo, droga taõ estimado nas boticas, e outras m<sup>tas</sup> de diversas maneiras, e a terra em si e arvores parecem m<sup>to</sup> a Portugal. Tem outeiros mas não m<sup>to</sup> altos. Os portos saõ pouco seguros, pequenos, bayas e enseadas. Antes de Chegar a esta Ilha do Pangayo em q̄ hia vi hum peixe taõ comprido como tres couados de medir, e de quatro palmos de largura; a feiçaõ pellas costas parecia a hum grande Lingoado. Disheraõ todos os marinheiros q̄ era peixe molher e q̄ da parte dianteira em tudo era semelhante. Achaõ m<sup>tos</sup> destes, e pescaõ nos e Contaõ delles m<sup>tas</sup> Cousas estranhas da natureza. Isto apontei, porq̄ quando alguã hora ouirem fularem Sireas, entendaõ não aver outras em todo o mar navegado pellos Portugueses, e Creio certo q̄ deste peixe naceraõ q̄ nesta Costa ha estas fabulas.\*

Desta ilha de Zanzibar fomos ter a Mombaça q̄ tambem he Ilha, mas esta encaixada na terra firme como Goa, mas em hum pedaço della bate o mar. Tem hum porto m<sup>to</sup> bom e m<sup>to</sup> Seguro, e muy aprazivel; Sera de duas Legoas em roda tem seu Mouro como as outras, e hua grande Cid<sup>e</sup> e populosa. Aqui foi a p<sup>ra</sup> vez q̄ ni naos grandes varadas em terra todas Cozidas com Cayro, e sem nenhum modo de pregadura. Ha aqui m<sup>ta</sup> fruta de espinho, e saõ nomeadas as Laranjas de Mombaça; mas nos não as achamos taes. Aqui na entrada estauaõ huns fundam<sup>tos</sup> de hum forte, q̄ o Visorrey D. P<sup>o</sup> mandou fazer p<sup>a</sup> goarda do Porto; não foi a Cousa por diante como não foi tambem o uer da Christandade, q̄ entaõ

\* Quis apontar esta curiosidade, porq̄ quando alguã hora se fallarem sereas, q̄ se entenda q̄ não he fabula como algũs Cuydaõ, Ca se achaõ nesta paragem do Mar nauegado m<sup>tas</sup> uezes, e assi no Cabo de Boa esperanza, e no de Comori, como ja o vi em Cartas de homens de m<sup>ta</sup> autoridade daquellas partes.

pellos noshos alli se pretendia por Causa de Mouros, e ashi pouco ou nada se faz com elles naquella Costa. Tem por costume a dar peçonha, e andaõ ali os noshos sempre muy arriscados.\*

Daqui fomos ter a Melinde povoação tambem dos Mouros e muy arruinada, porq̃ o Mar a tem Comida quasi toda, mas no q̃ esta em pee mostra bem antigamente ser cousa muy noble, como contaõ as historias da India. Aqui saõ os Mouros mais amigos dos Portugueses e naõ diferem nada nas condiçoẽs e feizaõ do rosto dos noshos, e fallaõ m<sup>vos</sup> m<sup>to</sup> bem Portugues, por ser aqui o principal trato nosho com elles, e ashento do Capitaõ. Os Mouros daqui confinaõ pella terra dentro cõ huã man<sup>ra</sup> de Cafres estranha dos outros de toda a costa, a que chamaõ Moceguejos, q̃ o mesmo nome declara sua barbaria. Estes naõ tem festas terras nem casas. Viuem nos campos e matos, trazem a cabeça chea de barro muy fedorento pellas misturas q̃ tem de diuersos oleos, e a elles he muy cheitoso. Tem m<sup>to</sup> gado, e do Leite e sangue delle misturado se mantem e comem cru, sem outra man<sup>ra</sup> de comer ordinaria segundo dizem; sangraõ os bois cada dia alternados. Saõ muy guerreiros e segundo dizem usaõ nas brigas cortar os prepucios e engulillos, e depois quando aparecem diante do Rey tornaõ nos a lançar pella boca pr<sup>a</sup> q̃ ashi o Rey os arme Cavalleyros. Seus uestidos saõ de pelles de animaes, e tem outros costumes muy barbaros. Saõ os Mouros dalli muy infestados destes Cafres, e por lhe naõ danarem as sementeiras e fazerem guerra resgataõ sua uexação com roupas e outras cousas q̃ lhe daõ, mas o seu uestido geral saõ pelles como disse. Aqui em Melinde hum quarto de Legoa da Cidade ao longo do mar me mostraraõ hum areal grande, depois do qual pella terra dentro por espaço de hum tiro de besta dizem, e he uerdade estar hum

\* Nesta Ilha de Mombaça uem fazer os Portugueses seu resgate, como acima dissemos o ferro com q̃ se faz serue aos negros p<sup>a</sup> fazerem Azagayas e Musios *id est* Adagas, mas m<sup>to</sup> mayores q̃ as noshas, com os seus cabos de Marfim. Aqui ha m<sup>to</sup> com q̃ se faz o resgate, q̃ he como Breu com q̃ os noshos breaõ os navios. No Bazar *id est* na praça corre lha moeda da prata, a qual he como escama de peixe, val 4 rs. O Rey dado q̃ he m<sup>to</sup> nosho amigo por seu interesse porq̃ agravando os noshos naõ lhe iraõ naos ao seu Porto, q̃ he cousa q̃ elle tem por grande honra. Saõ daqui por diante todos as desta Costa Mouros brancos de Carapuça, porq̃ saõ de tres castas na India, huns de Carapuça, outros de barretinho, outros de touca. Os de touca saõ mais honrados. Em geral os desta Costa saõ muito leaes aos Portugueses, e nos os temos p̃ milhores de todos.

rio muy grande e caudaloso, o qual entra m<sup>to</sup> pella terra dentro, e segundo dizem uai ter ao Preste. Hum homem fidalgo q̄ se chamaua João freyre fez huas embarcaçoẽs em Melinde p<sup>a</sup> ir descubrir este grande rio, e os Mouros o mataraõ com peçonha antes de effectuar a empresa. Dizem q̄ uem ao longo de M<sup>a</sup> grandes Campos onde andaõ Cavallos e Bois e outro gado, e contaõ outros proueitos q̄ se seguiriaõ p<sup>a</sup> O Preste se se descobrishe, o q̄ se pode fazer com pouco gasto, auendo resguardo dos Mouros.

De Melinde fomos ter a Cambo, q̄ he huã Cid<sup>e</sup> grande, e tem alguns edificios, e esta situada ao longo do Mar, em hum estreito q̄ faz entre ella e huã Ilha. Tem m<sup>to</sup> bom porto, e naos grandes de trato, cosidas com cayro. A terra he esteril e toda de area, ia terra firme. Aqui governaua huã Raynha m<sup>to</sup> amiga dos Portugueses, e tanto q̄ se pos p̄ elles a grande risco. Vieraõ ao seu Porto e Cid<sup>e</sup> huas certas galleotas e fustas de Turcos, os quaes sabendo q̄ estauaõ alli hũs Portugueses lhos pediraõ; ella lhos não quis dar, antes os assegurou, e escondeo, e por esta causa elles fiseraõ grande dano na terra e a leuaraõ Catiua com algũas outras Mouras a armada. E estando ella de noite na popa da Galeota, se lançou ao mar, e a nádo escapou; E por esta R<sup>a</sup> pashar este trabalho por esta causa nosha mandou el Rey q̄ D's tem q̄ por ella e por suas cousas se poseshe todo seu Estado da India e lhe fez grandes m<sup>a</sup>. Foy fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto uisitalla bem acompanhado de soldados em nome de S. A. lhe deu grandes liberdades, Cartazes pola Costa. Aquí foi a pr<sup>a</sup> uez q̄ vi huas arvores q̄ ha m<sup>tas</sup> na yndia as quais do alto Lançaõ raizes p<sup>a</sup> o chaõ, e assi multiplicaõ m<sup>to</sup>; E he m<sup>to</sup> p<sup>a</sup> uer huas ja presas na terra, e outras Começarem a prender, e outras decendo p<sup>a</sup> baixo e segundo saõ auarentas, e cubiçosas tudo encheriaõ se as não desembaraçassem de tantas raizes.

Fomos daqui ter a Pate \* onde era a nosha principal derrota, com fama de a destruir pellos m<sup>tos</sup> males q̄ nesta Cid<sup>e</sup> faziaõ aos

\* He cidade dos Mouros m<sup>to</sup> grande Nella he o resgate differente, por q̄ ha m<sup>tos</sup> panos ricos de Seda, com os quais os Portugueses tem m<sup>to</sup> proueito. Entre as outras Cid<sup>es</sup> de Mouros onde os não ha porq̄ so nesta de Pate os fazem, e daqui se espalhaõ p<sup>a</sup> as outras. Resgataõ os Portugueses estes panos, com ferros, contas e outros panos de algodãõ q̄ elles não tem. Vaõ a esta Cid<sup>e</sup> Nao da India. He Rey<sup>o</sup> sobre si. Ao tempo q̄ aqui chegou a armada estava a terra despejada.

Portugueses. Esta da Cid<sup>e</sup> do Cambo como 12 legoas ao longo da Costa. Tem roim porto e uaza a mare mais de tres legoas, e quando enche, uem a agoa com m<sup>ta</sup> furia; Tem todauia m<sup>to</sup> trato p<sup>a</sup> Meca e outras p<sup>tes</sup>. A Cid<sup>e</sup> he muito grande, e de m<sup>tos</sup> edificios. Aqui estaua hum Mouro Caciz mayor de toda a Costa. Chegamos, e achamos a terra toda despejada senaõ o Rey e Mouros Principais os quais pediraõ misericordia q̄ se lhes deu facil<sup>te</sup> Com pagarem p<sup>a</sup> os soldados 12 V H<sup>os</sup> parte em dinheiro, e roupa, e parte em mantim<sup>tos</sup>. Estes Mouros saõ muy soberbos, e os mores imigos q̄ temos em aquella Costa, e ashi mostraraõ despois de nos idos p<sup>a</sup> Moçambiã e se uingaraõ com matarem Portugueses mercadores q̄ estauaõ pacificam<sup>te</sup> na terra; Roubaraõ e Matareaõ tambem algũs moços Christaõs, com achaque de hum Mouro q̄ matareaõ os do Capitaõ da Costa, e estaõ aleuantados. Aqui estiuemos perto de 20 dias, te q̄ nos tornamos a Zanzibar, e dahi a Moçambiã sem ir ás Ilhas do Comaro. Morreo e adoeceo m<sup>ta</sup> gente nesta jornada. Os Reys principais daqui foraõ os de Quiloa, e Melinde; agora todos saõ Regulos pequenos em poder e pobres, e mais dignos do nome de xeque q̄ de Rey. A gente he commum<sup>te</sup> pobre, e mesquinha, como o he toda a mais destas partes, e os Portugueses o começaõ a ser ja pella perda do Comercio e nauegaçaõ, q̄ lhe tomaõ os imigos.

*De como chegamos a Moçambique, e nos aparelhamos pera ir ao Monomotapa.*

Em toda esta estada de Moçambique e Costa de Melinde que foi hum anno e meo largo, morreraõ dos da Conquista mais de cem homens. Reforçou se esta perda com hũn duzentos e tantos q̄ ficaraõ doentes no hospital da armada do Visorrey D. Ant<sup>o</sup> de Noronha q̄ uinha do Rey<sup>o</sup> m<sup>to</sup> doente juntam<sup>te</sup> com m<sup>ta</sup> gente da armada. Tanto q̄ elle se partio ainda sem acordo p<sup>a</sup> socorrer a India, e antes disto tinha uindo a fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto carta de Dom Luis Visorrey, q̄ folgaria com elle naquella Conquista; Naõ q̄ claram<sup>te</sup> lhe pedisse socorro de sua peshoa ou gente mas de artelharia grosha, e de outras muniçoẽs de q̄ o prueo com o q̄ pode, e ashi estaua ja prestes p<sup>a</sup> o ir ajudar, se naõ chegara o nouo Visorrey q̄ lhe impedio a ida, parecendo lhe que trazia gente bastante. Por onde em Nouembro de 1572 nos partimos p<sup>a</sup> a jornada repartidos em perto de 20 embarçaõs, huã caravella, e hum Galleaõ pequeno

do tratto das Correntes por serem de alto bordo se fizeraõ logo ao Mar em huã derrota abatida, a tomar o rio de Cuama, na boca de . Os nauios pequenos foraõ nauegando ao longo da Costa, tomando m<sup>tes</sup> portos : O prim<sup>o</sup> foi nas Ilhas de Anjoja.

Estas Ilhas são pouoadas de Mouros e Cafres mesturados ; saõ todas terra baixa, e muy apauladas e doentias. Ha nellas m<sup>to</sup> Cayro pellas m<sup>tas</sup> palmeyras \* q̄ tem, de q̄ tambem fazem esteiras muy delicadas. Pescasse aqui a Tartaruga de q̄ se fazem cofres, e bocetas m<sup>to</sup> galantes. He m<sup>to</sup> prouida esta Costa toda de galinhas, e capados, q̄ he a melhor carne q̄ ha p̄ estas partes, ainda q̄ as galinhas achamos comum<sup>te</sup> enxabidas. Vacas naõ ha neuhuas som<sup>te</sup> na Costa de Melinde as ha e saõ pequenas. Fomos recebidos aqui do xeque e mais Mouros com festa e gasalhado exterior, posto q̄ no animo lhes eramos muy odiosos. Estiuemos aqui tres dias, depois dos quais tres Legoas adiante por causa do uento contrario estiuemos recolhidos entre outras Ilhas oito dias. De fronte deste lugar donde estauamos recolhidos q̄ era terra firme avia m<sup>tes</sup> Bogios, e taõ grandes como grandes galgos ; e uinhaõ no tempo da mare uazia a praya a mariscar Crangeios e outras cousas fazendo suas festas e folgares como costumaõ ; E os soldados tinhaõ suas festas com elles, e com hum homem q̄ hia na armada, q̄ andando nesta Costa os annos atras nesta paragem os Bugios saindo elle em terra o fizeraõ fugir e acolher a embarcaçaõ.

Daqui entramos em o Parcel, e com tempo nos espalhamos ; e basta qualquer p<sup>a</sup> aleuantar grandes mares e ser perigoso a nauegar com elles, porq̄ ha Comum<sup>te</sup> Suestes q̄ saõ aqui trauessoens, por onde tomamos hum rio q̄ se chama Quizimguo Ruy Nunez Barreto, e V<sup>co</sup> frz Homem hido cada hum em sua fusta Tomaraõ auante de nos dez legoas o rio de Quizumguo. He este rio grande ; Tem bom porto e Bahia. A terra he toda apaulada, e falta de agoa. Som<sup>te</sup> perto da Praya auia poças q̄ os Marinheiros faziaõ, de q̄ bebiamos. Vieraõ logo a nos almadias com peixe e alguns figos e frutas. Os negros daqui andaõ q<sup>to</sup> mais honrados mais cheos de barro almagrado na cabeça, com confeiçoẽs de azeite com figuras do Inferno, e de outras cousas

\* Os Pangayos e as mais das embarcaçoẽs desta costa toda, naõ tem pregadura alguã ; e porq̄ ja alguãs uezes fallamos neste Cayro parece ser este lugar de sua declaraçaõ p<sup>a</sup> o q̄ he de Saber, q̄ nesta Costa ha M<sup>tes</sup> palmares em tanta quantidade como defessas de carualhos entre Douro e Minho, mas naõ daõ tamaras como as de Africa e Berberia.

muy fedorentas q̄ lhes cheyraõ bem. Trazem os beiços todos furados, com pedaços de calaim cobre e estanho metidos pellos buracos, e com o grande peso sempre lhe caem os beiços, e sempre se andaõ babando. Os dentes trazem limados, saõ muy barbaros, chamaõ se Machijas e naõ Machuas. Andaõ com huns panos pella cinta cubertos, q̄ lhes daõ os Portugueses q̄ andaõ p̄ estes Rios, comerceando Marfim e outras cousas de mantimentos e algum ambar q̄ ha por esta Costa m<sup>tas</sup> uezes. Estes negros naõ tem algum culto; saõ grandes feiticeiros, muy atresçoados, e grandes ladroẽs. Saõ mais m<sup>to</sup> fracos e maliciosos, cousas q̄ sempre andaõ juntas, naõ som<sup>te</sup> em a natureza dos homens, mas ainda nos brutos animais. Donde se pode uerificar hum paradoxo, q̄ todo fraco de animo he malicioso em cautellas. O geral mantim<sup>to</sup> da gente he milho e arros e m<sup>tas</sup> sementes de frutas agrestes do mato, porq̄ por rezaõ do Clima naõ pode criar outras sementes q̄ venhaõ com fruto maduro, como aquellas de q̄ nos usamos; E ainda estas sementes q̄ tem saõ muy estranhas a nos q̄ uiuemos cá na Europa, e de alguãs dado q̄ naõ tenhamos o uso dizem q̄ quando nos uemos naquellas partes, se comem com mais gosto q̄ o natural com q̄ nos criamos. E posto q̄ na terra aja animais q̄ seruem de mantim<sup>to</sup> como Galinhas, Cabras, Carn<sup>ros</sup>, e sortes de animais monteses e aues caseiras e brauas geralm<sup>te</sup> mais usaõ do pescado e eshe cru do q̄ elles tem grande abastança; assi do q̄ se pesca nesta nosha Costa de Portugal como de outro genero a nos muy estranho. Naõ tem Rey em toda esta Costa, senaõ huns a q̄ chamaõ fumos q̄ saõ como s<sup>res</sup> da terra huns grandes e outros piquenos, e sempre tem guerra entre si; Andaõ entre elles alguns Mouros de mestura; e toda a Costa esta tinta desta Infernal gente. As pouoaçoẽs saõ de casinhas de palhas, muy pequenas; trazem m<sup>tos</sup> arcos e frechas de ferro com suas farpas muy bem feitas, e muy boas azagayas, e so nas armas deste genero tem primor. Naõ tem nenhum modo nem forma de Justiça, e isto uniuersal em toda esta barbaria, e ashi mataõ leuem<sup>te</sup> e com leues occasioẽs; O q̄ lhe uem de serem barbarissimos, o q̄ he geral em todos estes estados do Monomotapa. Naõ tem sacerdocio, nem ceremonias nem doutrina alguã, nem procuraõ por isso, te nas cousas mecanicas naõ tem engenho algum. Finalm<sup>te</sup> he naçaõ taõ bruta q̄ m<sup>tos</sup> dos ueziuhos, sendo negros de cabello torcido tem mais policia na mecanica das cousas do q̄ elles tem; o qual pouo tudo merece ca habitando taõ groshas terras onde ha grandes

criações p<sup>a</sup> se aprouentarem das laas, regadios p<sup>a</sup> linhos e sitios p<sup>a</sup> todo o algodaõ q̄ quizerem semear, de bruteza e perguiza padecem, andarem uestidos geralmente de peles p̄ curtir, e quem as traz curtidas he huã grande puliçia e saõ taõ curtas estas suas uestes, q̄ lhe cobrem pouca p<sup>tes</sup> do corpo, e he uergonha de uer como andaõ sem terem o pano com q̄ se uestem os nobres q̄ lhe uem da India; porq̄ como dishemos saõ taes principalm<sup>te</sup> os do sertoã, q̄ nem p<sup>a</sup> uestir, tomar hum peixe hua Aue, huã fera por modo de artificio, naõ tem p<sup>a</sup> isho engenho, soom<sup>te</sup> p<sup>a</sup> furtao saõ assi engenhosos, q̄ lhes naõ chegaõ os noshos ciganos uagabundos. Ha entre elles m<sup>tes</sup> q̄ furtaõ moços, e trazem enganados em Almadias, e os uem uender aos noshos e se alguãs uezes lhes naõ compraõ q<sup>do</sup> os trazem desta man<sup>ra</sup> dizem q̄ os mataõ p<sup>a</sup> q̄ os naõ descubraõ. Antes de chegar ao lugar deste rio fomos ter a outro q̄ se chama Mafuta ja perto de Quilimane.

Depois chegamos a Quilimane ja no fim de Nouembro. Para mayor intelligencia do q̄ hei de dizer acerca deste grande rio de Cuama q<sup>to</sup> ao q̄ alcancei entra no mar com 7 ou 8 bocas, de q̄ as duas extremas saõ nauegaueis te o corpo do rio por a terra dentro onde se ajuntaõ. A huã q̄ he Quilimane q̄ so seis meses se nauega, porq̄ do inuerno fica m<sup>ta</sup> agoa, e he este braço menos fundo. A outra boca q̄ he Luauo e por onde uem a mayor força de agoa se nauega em todo anno. Aqui neste rio achamos huns dous Portugueses casados, e moradores, uiueraõ de antes em Çofala. Achamos aqui hum negro S<sup>r</sup> ou fumo da terra de mais de cem annos; chamausse Mongalo. Este se lembraua do tempo em q̄ V<sup>co</sup> da Gama ueo ter a boca deste rio; e contaua q̄ trazia duas naos de q̄ a huã queimou, e a outra tirou a monte e a concertou. E segundo isto parece chamaraõ a este rio dos bons sinais. Aqui mandou fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto fazer alguãs embarcações as quais podessem seruir p<sup>lo</sup> rio; chamaõ se luzios; saõ mais pequenos q̄ os Pangayos, todas cosidas com cayro; Tem no meo huã casa com o seu baileo emcima onde leuaõ o fato e mais fazendas. Deste rio de Quilimane fomos a huã boca de outro braço de Rio q̄ se chama Linde, e correndo as mais bocas com q̄ o grande Cuama entra no mar, chegamos ao ultimo q̄ se chama Luano. E distaõ estas duas extremas 30 legoas. A terra tambem aqui he alagadiça baixa e muy doentia.

*Do Grande Rio Cuama.*

A altura deste Rio de Cuama tomada na boca de Luauo são 17 graos e meo pouco mais ou menos da banda do sul demanda Noroeste e Sueste. A terra toda por onde uem he Campina te perto de cem legoas pella terra dentro. Os moradores são Cafres, e a mayor p<sup>te</sup> delles Macuas, mas não tão feos e barbaros no trato como os maritimos. Tem os dentes limados e não a boca furada. Começão de trazer alguã feição de corno nos cabellos. Trato seu com os noshos por este rio he algum Marfim pouco, o mais he mantim<sup>to</sup>. Esta este Rio todo diuiso em fumos, e não tem s<sup>r</sup> nenhũ grande a quem paguem tributo, senão uiuem como em Republica, como ao diante direi mais largo. A mare neste Rio entra não mais q̄ ate dez ou doze legoas pello m<sup>to</sup> impetu q̄ traz. Tem arrezoadam<sup>te</sup> peixe e de m<sup>tas</sup> feições, mas he doentio; Andando 30 legoas por elle acima se ajuntão as duas bocas principais Quilimane e Luauo; As outras se metem nestes dous braços, como esgalhos donde nadem. Tem grande copia de Cauillos marinhos animais muy deformes e desproporcionados. Tã a cabeça de feição de quartaos, mas m<sup>to</sup> mayor. Vi lhes m<sup>tas</sup> uezes lançar o pescoço fora dagoa, e abrir a boca tanto q̄ no uaõ de entrambos Os queixos pode caber hum homem de mea estatura em pee Vi tambem delle em terra a anca e rabo, he como de mula cortado. Os pees curtos e embaxo na pegada fazem como estrella ou pee de prata. Tem sua coma e topete como cauillo, orelhas curtas e todos tem estrellas na testa. No tempo do Cio são muy perigosos e perseguem m<sup>to</sup> os luzios e Almadias e as uezes mataõ alguã gente, e alcanção quando encontraõ estas embarçaõs. Apacentaõ se em terra e buscaõ as varzeas q̄ tem mais heruas. De noite saem em terra, e ahi comem e fazem grande rinchada. Fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto disparou huã uez hum arcabuz na cabeça de hum q̄ andaua no cio e lhe deu na testa; e ouuimos da embarçaõ o tom da pancada do pelouro, e segundo outros deziaõ resualou sem lhe fazer mal; elle atordoadõ deu certos mergulhos, e foy sayr abaixo uiuo e são ainda q̄ atordoadõ. Quando uem fugindo da terra p<sup>a</sup> o Rio trazem grande impetu, e sem nenhum delecto se arremessaõ, e quebraõ q<sup>to</sup> achaõ, ainda q̄ sejaõ artores de bom tamanho. Ha pello rio acima m<sup>tos</sup> caminhos delles m<sup>to</sup> seguidos, pellas ribeiras da terra, e não andaõ senão nas ualles ao longo do Rio ou Ilhetas.

Ha tambem m<sup>tos</sup> lagartos muy grandes com conchas tão largas

q̄ fazem alguãs hum arzezoado peito, e naõ he ma arma defensiua. Eu ui huã q̄ naõ auia cousa q̄ a pashashe, a qual achou hum moço ao longo do Rio, quando entramos a terra, e fez hum bom peito della. Tem no rabo huãs espadanãs largas com q̄ se ajudaõ quando pegaõ em alguã cousa especialm<sup>te</sup> tem sua força dentro na agoa; Tem os pes curtos e unhas: e fazem sinal no chaõ como de liaõ; os figados destes he a mayor peçonha q̄ te agora se sabe naquellas partes. Saõ geraes estes lagartos em toda a Cafraria; e ashí no Rio de Congo e no Nilo; e estes saõ os Crocodillos de Plinio, e delles teue origem aquelle taõ celebrado Proverbio nas escolas, *Ut Canis ad Nilum*. O modo de caça de q̄ estes lagartos se mantem he esperarem nos de mansos do Rio os Veados e Gazelas, Merus e Bufras brauas, que do mato uem beber, e pegaõ dellas, e as leuaõ e comem em alguãs partes estauaõ couados em comer gente e gado, e ainda q̄ seja touro muy grande como uimos em cous onde andaua hum muy grande. Hum caso aconteceu, q̄ naõ deixarei de contar. Indo pello Rio acima com fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto aportamos em huã praya larga e bem assombrada; alli despois de saido em terra uieraõ ter huns Cafres, q̄ nos contaraõ naquelle lugar auer tres ou quatro dias acontecera huã trauada briga entre hum lagarto, e hum liaõ. Vinha o liaõ seguindo hua Bufara braua grande p<sup>a</sup> a matar, a q<sup>l</sup> fugindo de cansada se pos a beber a borda do Rio onde estaua huã grande lagarto, o qual pegou pellos focinhos da Bufara; e como ella era grande naõ na podia bem leuar a agua. Chegou o liaõ pello faro da Bufara, e achou a na contenda com o lagarto, o qual ja estaua aferrado da Bufara; lançou a maõ na anca della com tanta força, q̄ a ella e ao lagarto juntam<sup>te</sup> por bom espaço do rio os tirou, e da pancada q̄ o lagarto deu arrebentou. Isto uiraõ alguns Cafres, e eu ui as pegadas do liaõ q̄ seriaõ da derradeira unha da que esta junto do colo do braço, mais de hum grande palmo, e o sinal das unhas curuo e grande q̄ bem mostrauaõ sua grandura estes sinais estauaõ ainda frescos. Os Cafres comeraõ a carne do lagarto, e o liaõ se fartou na Bufara. De estes lagartos diz hum Jeronimo dalmeida Portugues, e soldado q̄ andou naquellas partes quinze annos, q̄ uio neste Rio hum lagarto morto q̄ tinha de comprido 60 pees, e des de largo q̄ elle medio. O Emp<sup>r</sup> de Monomotapa he taõ cruel, q̄ quando quer dar tratos manda passar a nado aos culpados este rio; e se pasha sem os lagartos o comerem naõ tem culpa; senaõ pasha comemno os lagartos e fica castigado.

Posemos por este rio acima 16 dias, e quando faltava uento hiamos as toas, levando huã almadia com hum cabo de m<sup>tas</sup> braças, e huã ancora, ou fateixa grande de fusta, e hia esta almadia remando tanto espaço diante quanto podia o cabo; e lançada a fateixa a lauaõ pello cabo, entre tanto q̄ nos chegamos com a fusta a ancora lançada, hiaõ lançar diante outra pella corrente q̄ o Rio traz; e desta man<sup>ra</sup> nauegamos m<sup>ta</sup> parte do caminho, e tambem a sirga. He muy apraziuel este Rio pellas m<sup>tas</sup> Ilhas q̄ faz das quais as duas principaes antes de chegar a Sena, huã se chama a Caija, terra de comprido alguãs doze legoas, e huã pouoaçaõ m<sup>to</sup> grande com seu Fumo, e regedores por si; A outro Ilha duas legoas antes de chegar a Sena chamashe Inhangoma; tem de comprido cinco legoas, e a largura desta, e da outra será de duas legoas, e tres em partes; Tem tambem sua pouoaçaõ, e seu fumo e regedores. Foi a nauegaçaõ deste Rio muy alegre, e achamos m<sup>tos</sup> mantim<sup>tos</sup> e galinhas, capados e pello rio auia pescarias q̄ leuauaõ redes p<sup>a</sup> isso. A terra ao longo do Rio ate Sena q̄ saõ 60 legoas he mais fertil q̄ quantas tenho uisto, tirando as terras ca da India, mas os cultiuadores saõ muy pregiçosos, e a terra tambem p<sup>a</sup> elles muy doentia. Chegou fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto a Sena q̄ he huã pouoaçaõ pequena de palha, metida em hum mato, no anno de 572, dia de Nosha Senhora do O. Esta ay hum Mouro f<sup>o</sup> de hum Mopango grande S<sup>r</sup> mas uashalo do Monomotapa, o qual succedeo no Rey<sup>o</sup> estando nos la por morte de seu Pay. Este costumava uir alli m<sup>tas</sup> uezes pello cheiro do Vinho, e alguã roupa q̄ lhe dauaõ os Portugueses; Aqui desembarcou a gente luzida e apercebida, com animo mais de pellejar com Turcos e com outra gente de primor, q̄ naõ com Cafres. Seriaõ por todos pashante de 700 arcabuzeiros com m<sup>tos</sup> e bons officiais de guerra e soldados de m<sup>tos</sup> annos nella. O s<sup>r</sup> Cafre se uio com m<sup>tas</sup> cortesias com fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto.

Aqui em Sena começaraõ os Mouros de quererem matar os Portugueses secretam<sup>te</sup> com peçonha; vieraõ de dentro da terra Bois m<sup>to</sup> grandes, e taõ fermosos e domesticos q̄ naõ daõ uentagem a nenhuns deste Rey<sup>o</sup> os quais foraõ la dentro comprar p<sup>a</sup> carros e p<sup>a</sup> os soldados comerem. Os Mouros mandauaõ p<sup>a</sup> manham no pasto q̄ elles comiaõ untar a erua de peçonha e metiaõ em cabeça ao G<sup>or</sup> q̄ os q̄ morriaõ eraõ de comerem huã certa herua roim q̄ auia nesta terra. O mesmo tinhaõ metido em cabeça aos moradores da terra tudo a fim de naõ auer nella criaçaõ p<sup>a</sup> naõ ser

poucada dos nossos, e ainda os de Çofala, oje em dia niuem nesta erronia. Os bois morrião subitam<sup>te</sup> gordos e fermosos e dauão se a comer aos soldados. Eu q<sup>do</sup> ni aquillo, como sempre tiue p<sup>a</sup> mim o q̄ era naõ soshegaua e sempre dishe q̄ era peçonha e o g<sup>or</sup> enfadauasse ia e me fazia focinho quando lhe nisso fallaua.

Neste tempo uieraõ os caualllos da Índia, os quais posto q̄ eraõ roins e os mais delles nelhos, todauia em 25 q̄ chegaraõ ou 30, uinhaõ dous Arabios m<sup>to</sup> bons e algũs dos outros arrezoados: A estes como elles naõ podiaõ matar com a facilidade q̄ aos Bois peitaraõ a hũs Mouros farazes q̄ delles tinhaõ cuidado p<sup>a</sup> q̄ pellas manhans deixassem sair algũs Mouros p<sup>a</sup> lhes darem peçonha o q̄ elles acabaraõ, e a peita ualeria ate 10 H<sup>dos</sup> De modo q̄ estene isto encuberto te q̄ mataraõ 15 dos melhores e eu sempre gritaua q̄ era peçonha de Mouros e naõ bastou. Neste t<sup>po</sup> q̄ hiaõ matando estes caualllos uer o G<sup>or</sup> q̄ seu f<sup>o</sup> de comer hum pouco de leite de Mouros q̄ taõ facil era com elles q̄ tudo o q̄ lhe mandauaõ comia e a sua casa hia comer, e todos os q̄ daquelle leite comeraõ morreraõ em hum dia. S. hum pagem seu q̄ o fora buscar, huã gazela q̄ trazia em casa e o seu cauallo q̄ tambem morreo neste dia por o faraz q̄ delle tinha cuidado lhe dar no mesmo dia peçonha; socedeo q̄ hum macho q̄ uinha na comp<sup>a</sup> dos canalllos m<sup>to</sup> grande e fermoso tinhaõ lhe dado a peçonha pella manham, e leuando o logo a beber cayo no caminho, e lançou pella boca huã cousa amarella, e teue accidentes mortais da peçonha. Vio isto o Veedor de fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto, a quem eu tinha persuadido morrerem todos de peçonha, começou com hum pao a dar no faraz e q̄ o auia de enforçar se naõ dissesse a uerdade e ueo com a noua ao G<sup>or</sup>, e quasi forçado lhe deu licença p<sup>a</sup> lhe darem tratos, e em lhos querendo dar, disse o faraz q̄ lhos naõ dessem q̄ elle confessaria a uerdade e descobrio toda a cilada dos Mouros, entaõ acabou de creer o Gou<sup>or</sup> e os mandou logo prender.

Destes noshos q̄ morreraõ naõ foi tudo de peçonha mas tambem de doenças e roins mantim<sup>tos</sup> e poucos p̄ q̄ a terra naõ daa senaõ milho e desse pouco e Meixoeira, q̄ he como linhaça de Portugal, na feiçaõ e na cor como a linhaça q̄ comem os passaros e as negras uendem em Lix<sup>a</sup> aos mininos, ao modo de Gergelim, e algũs poucos legumes. Outro mantimento ha a q̄ chamaõ Nachenim e os negros Murume q̄ he da feiçao da Mostarda, e deste fazem seu uinho, e moẽno em huãs pedras a maõ roçando huã por outra, e feito em farinha fazem huã massa q̄ comem, e deste fazem o seu uinho,

e a mayor copia he deste. Todo este tempo ainda não eraõ fartos os soldados parece me q̄ na sustancia corresponde ao painço de entre Douro e Minho, e este he mais baixo mantimento. A causa de o milho ser pouco he por amor dos gafanhotos, e andaõ uulgarmente entre Mouros Cafres e Portugueses antigos aqui moradores q̄ nunca os ouue nesta terra senaõ despois da morte do P<sup>o</sup> Dom Gonçalo, e eu a todos estes o tenho ouuido e abertamente o confessaõ.

Quanto a Christandade ha poucas esperanças, por q̄ nenhum entendim<sup>to</sup> fazem em saberem q̄ cousa he ser xpaõ por q̄ andaõ taõ metidos em seus costumes e contentam<sup>tos</sup> da carne q̄ da alma como a não uem não sabem nada, e cuidaõ q̄ ser xpaõ não he cousa de outra uida, senaõ ser como amigos dos Portugueses. Tem todos m<sup>tas</sup> molheres, e tem no alem do uicio por honra a quem tera mais finalm<sup>te</sup> saõ ladroens e sem palaura nem uerdade; por isso nem elles se confiaõ dos proprios f<sup>os</sup>: ingratos em extremo; tem q̄ o q̄ lhe dais ou he p̄ medo, ou p̄ q̄ he seu naisdo, e q̄ de forza lhe ha de uir; Por onde concluo ser sepultura de Portugueses.

Pode S. A. tirar proueito desta terra se arrendar este Rio, por q̄ como trato das Machiras q̄ ora se descobrem se acrecentara m<sup>to</sup> a renda e correrá o ouro como correo sempre q̄ de m<sup>ta</sup> quantidade, e por nisso seus regim<sup>tos</sup>. E p̄ isso digo arrendar porq̄ os officiais seus leuaõ tudo e não se fazendo por S. A. e arrendando se apertará alguã cousa, e não taõ pouco q̄ toda esta gouernança lhe não possa render assi de ouro, como marfim e ambar q̄ ha pella costa de Çofala Cabo das Correntes Inhambane se tira e m<sup>to</sup> ambar q̄ cae e aljofar q̄ se uai achando mais de 100 V H<sup>dos</sup> sem por nada de sua casa porq̄ o querer conquistar estas terras he destruirre em gastos e Portugueses e não poderá acudir a tantas cousas e nenhuã dellas bem perseguida e conquistada, e quem todo lo quisere todo lo perde Omne regnum in se diuisum e<sup>a</sup>.

O q̄ temos descuberto deste rio saõ 140 legoas pouco mais ou menos e no q̄ mostra sua grandeza he q̄ com não se meter nelle mais q̄ hum rio piqueno abaixo de Sena ao longo de hua serra q̄ se chama Chire e arriba junto de Mongaz huã Ribeira e com tantos e taõ grandes areaes como faz Ilhas he taõ caudaloso, q̄ de fronte de Sena e em outras p<sup>tes</sup> he perto de mea legoa de largo, e nauegaõ por elle acima fustas de quilha, grandes 60 legoas, e no Inuerno poderiaõ ir todo o descuberto se não foshe a

grande Corrente q̄ traz. A agoa deste Rio he muy saborosa, mas dizem q̄ he doentia. Eu bebi della mais de dous annos e achey a m<sup>to</sup> boa. Tiuemos informaçã dos Mouros, e Cafres deste rio q̄ acima de Sena alguãs cem legoas, seg<sup>do</sup> a conta q̄ dauã da distancia ou pouco menos, auia hum rio muy grande cujo braço era este Cuama, e q̄ era taõ largo q̄ se naõ uia a terra de huã a outra parte cheo de m<sup>tas</sup> e muy grandes Ilhas, e q̄ hiaõ Mouros por elle acima a buscar Marfim e pellas conjecturas q̄ disso tomamos parece deue ser o Rio q̄ uay ter ao Cabo delgado, ou a Quiloa, o qual pella terra dentro deziaõ na Costa de Melinde ser muy grande porq̄ pello de Melinde q̄ uay ter ao Preste segundo dizem, ou perto de suas terras se pode crer, o qual he taõ grande e na foz do mar parece regato metendo se por debaixo da praya e perto della como fica dito. Outras m<sup>tas</sup> cousas contaõ deste Rio q̄ eu naõ creio p̄ q̄ como elle uai demandar o Noroeste ao esnordeste esoutro mayor naõ pode ser q̄ ua ter ao Preste, ou que uenha a elle gente do Preste, como alguns dizem, o q̄ Rey<sup>o</sup> cae de fronte do Mar roxo, q̄ deste Monomotapa dista como se pode uer mais de 800 legoas ou perto de mil. Hiaõ descubrindo se pello Rio de Cuama acima as minas de prata, de q̄ ia tinhamos noticia, e tambem a teraõ do mais q̄ dista do Tete lugar donde dantes faziaõ resgate os Portugueses q̄ esta 120 legoas pello sertoã o Rio acima.

*Dos Costumes dos Cafres e da Terra, Minas, Comercio, e de outras Cousas.*

Ainda q̄ em parte tenho fallado alguãs cousas desta barbara gente me pareceo fazer Capitulo por si de seus costumes, e das cousas principais delles, e isto q<sup>to</sup> ao q̄ ui e tiue por informaçã certa. A mayor parte desta Cafraria se rege por fumos, e regedores q̄ ainda q̄ tenha Reys poderosos a quem obedeça; tem com tudo estes fumos e Regedores por q̄ saõ governados. Os Fumos junto de Sena saõ huns Cafres naturaes da terra e m<sup>tas</sup> uezes dos mais baixos, saõ eleitos p<sup>a</sup> esta dignidade. Os mais delles fazem contra sua uontade e forçaõ nos a q̄ aceite o cargo, por q̄ como sente q̄ hum tem Vacas, milho, ou Naqueny q̄ lhes posha dar e gastar, a este escolhem por Fumo, e tanto dura quanto tem q̄ gastar, e despois q̄ lhes comem tudo os lançaõ fora da dignidade, e preeminencia he a mayor q̄ entre elles se pode dar. Quando alguem de fora ha de falar com estes Fumos naõ

lhe falla sem primº outros receberem a palaura, e pasha por dous ou tres prº q̄ venha ao Fumo, ainda q̄ a entenda; Diante delle estaõ todos em coroças, e elle so ashentado em hum quite q̄ he a feiçaõ de tripesha piquena e quando lhe fallaõ primº saõ de bater as palmas hum pouco, e tem grandes Ceremonias entre si, e nenhum Conselho se faz sem este fumo, q̄ mais serue m<sup>tas</sup> uezes de o terem p̄ cerimonia, q̄ de lhe obedecerem no substancial. Os f<sup>os</sup> destes ficaõ entre estes honrados, mas os mais delles naõ querem esta honra com tanta perda, mas fazẽ lha querer, em q̄ lhe pez. Os s<sup>res</sup> grandes sobre estes saõ o Monomotapa q̄ he como Rey, ashi na obediencia q̄ lhe tem como no modo da successão porq̄ herda o fº mais uelho. Este he muy poderoso, e tem m<sup>tas</sup> legoas de terras, e Reys e senhores grandes, seus uassallos, de q̄ hum delles he o Fumo pango, q̄ tambem se gouerna pello mesmo modo de Rey, e dizem q̄ pora em campo mais de settenta mil homens. Tem por uassallo o Rey de Butoa, onde dizem q̄ ha m<sup>ta</sup> copia de Ouro, e cae p<sup>a</sup> a banda do Cabo, de aqui nos uinha m<sup>to</sup> gado, e dizem ter a terra abundancia delle. He tambem seu Vashalo o Rey de Manicas. Este he menos poderoso em terras, e tera seu Reyº 20 ou 30 legoas, todo cheo de serrania, e por isho forte e trabalhoso de conquistar, ainda p<sup>ia</sup> gente do Monomotapa. Aqui dizem auer m<sup>to</sup> ouro, e q<sup>do</sup> a terra esta de paz uaõ alli os Portuguezes ao resgate, ashi por uia de Çofala como por uia de Sena. He terra muy falta de mantim<sup>tos</sup>. Usaõ os Cafres de alli m<sup>to</sup> de peçonha, e o Rey he meo Mouro, e meo feiticeiro, e desta ma gente lhes ueo o uso della. Saõ tambem uashalos do Monomotapa Os Mongazes q̄ tambem lhe pagaõ tributo. Muitos outros senhores tem pella terra dentro sogeitos de q̄ naõ tiue particular intelligencia, entre elles naõ ha nenhum modo nem forma de justiça; O q̄ mais pode e mais tem acaba tudo com Principes a quem peitaõ, e elles mandaõ azagayar, e matar como lhe uem a uontade porq̄ como carecem de todo genero de culto, e conhecim<sup>to</sup> de D's carece de tudo; e contaõ me os Portuguezes q̄ coma la hiaõ, eraõ m<sup>tas</sup> uezes tomados p̄ Juizes de differenças q̄ tinhaõ entre si, e inda q̄ dessem sentença contra hum, o condenado ficaua satisfeito, por lhe parecer q̄ fisera rezaõ, e Justiça e nem por isho o deixaua outra uez de tomar por Juiz em outra diferença se a tinha.

Saõ comum<sup>to</sup> homens de guerra, e quasi sempre andaõ inquietos entre si: esta fazem em campo, e naõ em boscados, nem usaõ

de Ciladas m<sup>to</sup> encubertas, nem cometem de noite, senão em rompendo a alua. Vsaõ de arcos e frechas e alguãs azaguayas. Trazem os mais huãs espadinhas de dous palmos na cinta e bainhas de pao. Trazem hum simbo q̄ he hum pao curto e com cachaporra no cabo, e he a derradeira arma q̄ despedem na guerra. Tem suas bandeiras, e insignias de diuersas figuras de Boi, elefante, e de outros bichos, tudo de vulto, e de palha, uestidos por cima com pano, e p̄ estas insignias saõ conhecidos os Capitães, e s<sup>mos</sup> com suas gentes na guerra recebem e daõ as embaixadas por palaura, e contaõ ao Rey des q̄ partiraõ te tornarem te a minima cousa das q̄ lhe aconteceraõ, e gastaõ nestes contos m<sup>tas</sup> horas, e quando alguãs cousas lhes esquecem os Companheiros lho a lembraõ. Tem pouco cerco sobre hua terra, e dizem q̄ o mais de tres dias, porq̄ he toda taõ falta de mantim<sup>tos</sup> q̄ com comerem todas as immundicias naõ se pode nenhum corpo de gente por mais pequeno q̄ seia sustentar em campo com hua so parte mais q̄ estes tres dias, e com isto naõ deixaõ cousa verde.

Andaõ todos comum<sup>te</sup> uestidos com huns panos de algodão mal tapados q̄ se fazem da outra banda do Rio, em teares baixos, mas muy denagar, os quais eu ui tecer perto de Sena, e chamaõ se Machiras. Podem ser de duas uaras e mea de comprido, e de hua uara e mea de largo. Estas Machiras cengem ao redor do corpo, e nos peitos a modo de Cruz, e o mais descuberto. Trazem cornos nos cabellos por galantaria os quais fazem dos proprios cabellos reuirados com hua inuenção estranha; e saõ estes cornos na Cafraria toda muy geraes, e ficaõ com elles m<sup>to</sup> bem ashombrados. No meo da cabeça fazem hum q̄ apanha os cabellos por m<sup>ta</sup> ordem e compasso, os quais fazem ser compridos prim<sup>o</sup> com pedacinhos de cobre, ou calaim, q̄ ataõ na ponta de alguns poucos juntos, para q̄ como peso se uaõ fasendo compridos, e ashi trazem a cabeça cuberta destes pesinhos.

Depois q̄ saõ grandes apanhaõ daquelles cabellos no meo da cabeça hua boa quantidade p<sup>a</sup> ser o corno mayor, e os amarraõ com certa herua e fazem com ella hum trincaffio m<sup>to</sup> bem feito por hum espaço; e na pontinha q̄ sempre uay declinando a delgado, deixaõ como remate hum espaço por amarrar. Depois com m<sup>ta</sup> ordem fazem outros cornos pequenos, e saõ nisto muy curiosos, e as molheres trazem m<sup>tas</sup> manilhas de cobre nos braços e pernas, e tiraõ no muy delgado p<sup>ta</sup> feira, e o mesmo fazem do ouro q̄ o tiraõ em extremo delgado, e deste fio fazem manilhas, e

destas mandou oito o Monomotapa a fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto como adiante direi. Tem m<sup>tas</sup> mulheres, e quanto maiores s<sup>tes</sup> são, maior numero tem dellas. Do Monomotapa dizem ter mais de tres mil, e tem alem de sua corte em hua granja grande numero onde ellas são as q̄ cauaõ e semeaõ a terra, tudo pasha por sua maõ, como inda oje o fazem as Galagas da nosha espanha; e uai la estar com ellas o tempo que quer, e veo de la hua uez doente da cabeça, e dizem q̄ mandou matar mais de 400 dizendo q̄ lhe deraõ feitiços. Tem sempre entre estas alguã principal cujos f<sup>tes</sup> herdaõ. São muy facis p<sup>a</sup> crer, uarios e inconstantes. Aconteceo o tempo q̄ la estiuie morrer o Rey das Manicas e dizem q̄ se mataaõ por si mesmas m<sup>tas</sup> molheres das suas dizendo q̄ la no outro mundo o auiaõ de seruir. Isto ouui som<sup>to</sup> do negro, o qual diziaõ participar m<sup>to</sup> de Mouro, e daqui uinha as molheres matarem se com pretexto da outra uida; porq̄ os de mais Cafres não tem mais q̄ morrer e uiuer posto q̄ alguns chamaõ a Deos Mulungo, mas isto em confuso, e treuas e escuridade.

São todos generalm<sup>to</sup> muy escassos e ingratos. Tem para si q̄ tudo o q̄ lhe dais por força lhe auia de uir a maõ, e q̄ ia era seu. Chamaõ a isto Nacibo; costume quasi geral assi naquellas partes, como nas da India. O modo dos casamentos he concertarem se com os pais das molheres q̄ tomaõ e daõ lhes certa copia de fato, porq̄ ellas não trazem nada consigo, mas os maridos as compraõ desta man<sup>ta</sup> a seus pais, e se se enfadaõ dellas facilm<sup>to</sup> as engeitaõ, e quando as tornaõ tornaõ lhes os panos q̄ lhe tinhaõ dados. Não tem palauras nenhuas nem forma certa de casam<sup>to</sup>, mais q̄ desta maneira as tomarem em seu poder, e da dada desta roupa e consentim<sup>to</sup> do pai e da moça ficaõ casados, q̄ parecem sinais bastantes p<sup>a</sup> ficar os casam<sup>tos</sup> ualidos e naturaes. O comer uniuersal de toda a Cafraria he papas de milho mal moido, ou pilado em huns piloens q̄ são como grandes graes, de q̄ ia em Lisboa ui alguns na Ribeira, e porta do mar. Da sua farinha q̄ he de feyoes pisados fazem bolos q̄ cozem derredor do fogo todas as uezes q̄ são de comer ao gentar e cea porq̄ elle frio parece sezina e não se deixa tratar. Desta mesma farinha fazem hua bolla redonda de maca como cabeça de hum homem, q̄ chamaõ enjunda e ashi a trazem a mesa e alguns usaõ antes della q̄ do bollo de milho. Tem azeite de palma em boa copia, q̄ tambem p<sup>a</sup> a gente q̄ o não usa he penitencia; O uinho tambem he de palma, parecesse com Almeice<sup>o</sup>. Comem as galinhas abertas pellas Costas, sem as

depenar, nem lhe tirar o recheo ; e ashi escorchadas as poem sobre as brasas, e sou<sup>to</sup> alimpaõ a cinza das penas e ashi as comem. Ashaõ os carneiros inteiros com a pelle e tudo e assi os comem, e da mesma man<sup>ta</sup> os capados de q̄ ha m<sup>tos</sup> e bons. Frutas tem poucas e a melhor de todas saõ huãs como ameixas ; naõ tem caroço mais q̄ hũs bagulhinhos ou graõs pequenos. Chamaõ se sangomas. Saõ m<sup>to</sup> milhores q̄ da India e ha m<sup>tas</sup> pellos matos. Bebem uinho feito de milho, e o mais comum de Nacqueny ligume da feiçaõ de mostarda, e despois q̄ pouoaraõ aquellas partes q̄ deue de auer milhares de annos nunca usaraõ nem inuentaraõ mais manjares q̄ estes ; nem mudaraõ trajos nem costumes, nem nunca souberaõ por pedra sobre pedra p<sup>a</sup> edificar casa nem parede ; tudo saõ casas de palha pequenas barradas com barro a feiçaõ de Pombaes redondos. A terra pella mayor p<sup>to</sup> he esteril, bem q̄ naõ tanto como elles saõ pregiçosos, q̄ ainda nas Varzeas a q̄ elles chamaõ Anteuaras semeaõ pouco, e se acontece algum entre elles ser mais diligente, e grangeador e por isho colhe milhor nouidade, e copia de mantim<sup>to</sup> ; logo lhe armaõ cousas falsas por onde lhe tomaõ, e comaõ ; dizendo porq̄ rezaõ auera aquelle mais milho q̄ outro naõ attribuindo isto a mayor industria, e diligencia ; e m<sup>tas</sup> uezes por esta culpa o mataõ por lhe comerem tudo, e o mesmo he do gado, e esta he a causa por onde ha esterilidade. Naõ saõ nada prouidos comem e bebem e gastaõ em festas e beberes m<sup>ta</sup> despesa, e depresha o q̄ ha nas nouidades. Naõ se seruem nem ajudaõ de animal algum, p<sup>a</sup> genero de seruiço, e por isho uinhaõ m<sup>tos</sup> a Sena onde estauamos, e se espantuaõ e faziaõ grandes gestos de riso, quando uiraõ os bois com arado, e leuar os carros cheos de pedra p<sup>a</sup> o forte ; cauaõ com huas enxadinhas na face da terra, e alli nas arranhaduras e couinhas lançaõ o milho ou mantim<sup>to</sup> q̄ semeaõ, e ashi o cobrem logo com huã pequena de terra, e nace boa copia. Tinha p<sup>a</sup> mim q̄ se cauaraõ mais fundo q̄ se dera melhor, mas disseraõ me os da terra q̄ naõ sabiaõ dar a causa, e a q̄ achei he porq̄ he muy seca no interior, e se lançaõ a semente m<sup>to</sup> a dentro secasse e morre, e a de cima he mais penetrada dos orualhos q̄ saõ m<sup>tos</sup>, chega aquella humidade ao graõ q̄ acha mais perto, e ficasse logrando della porq̄ as chuvas duraõ muy pouco tempo, e as calmas saõ muy grandes. E daqui se pode colligir qual sera a terra e o clima, e quaõ seco como experimentamos.

Ha m<sup>ta</sup> caça de mato, coelhos perdizes, da feiçaõ de Portugal,

mas não tão gostosas. Ha m<sup>tos</sup> Veados sem esgalhos nos cornos, e tudo o mais como os noshos som<sup>te</sup> os cornos são direitos hum pouco reuirados p<sup>a</sup> tras. Ha m<sup>tas</sup> Gazelas, e Meruz q̄ são como grandes Veados sem cornos. Ha muy grande uarietade de passaros, e m<sup>tos</sup> de estranha feição. Alguns são da cor da gente da terra, algũs são pintados de outras cores alegres como uerde, e uermelho. Ha alguns Pelicanos, cujas pelles são p<sup>a</sup> o peito, e estomago muy acomodadas de aquella brandura do ueludo de Bragança. São tamanhos como patos e brancos mas o bico he tamanho q̄ aberta a boca lhe cahê hum couado da ponta do bico debaixo ao de cima. Outros ha cujas pelles tem o mesmo effeito dos Pelicanos, são todos brancos, e as pernas muy compridas, e uermelhas. São tamanhas como hum homem medindo o do bico aos pees. Ha alguns coruos q̄ parece q̄ nem Aristoteles nem Porfirio tiueraõ noticia delles, porq̄ ashi como dizem q̄ nigredo Corui est inseparabilis, tambem puderaõ dizer Albedo Corui est separabilis porque são pello pescoço e peito tão brancos, como neue. Ha tambem outros pasharos os quais quando querem criar, o macho depena a femea, de modo q̄ não posha uoar e com isto he forçada estar no ninho sobre os ouos, e alli lhe leua o macho de comer todos os dias te q̄ os f<sup>os</sup> são grandes, e como lhe uai crescendo a pena crece a da may e uem a sair e uoar juntam<sup>te</sup> com os f<sup>os</sup> do seu ninho, e desta man<sup>ra</sup> se conseruaõ e criaõ. Huns ui q̄ tem hum papo tao grande q̄ leuaia hua grande quarta de trigo, grande bico, e grande pees e azas e pouco rabo, e parecia q̄ ourinaua, porq̄ deitaua hum humor branco como cousa de ourina, e come oshos e carne; O Corpo do tamanho de hum Galipauo. A terra comum<sup>te</sup> he bem ashombrada ao menos ao longo do Rio. A uerdura do mato he mal enconizada, e sempre esta de cor de Oliuaes. Ha pouco aruoredo senaõ em alguns ualles, e o mais sem fructo. Ha m<sup>tas</sup> palmeiras brauas, mas não se aproueitaõ dellas como na India. Alifantes ha de muy grande corpo: Indo nos caminhando pella terra se uieraõ huns Cafres a mi, e me mostraraõ huã grande aruore, p<sup>a</sup> a qual corriaõ m<sup>tos</sup> Soldados chamados tambem delles, e ui hum braço da aruore q̄ saia p<sup>a</sup> fora della do alto e estaua hum pedaço delle quebrado, mas cheo de cabellos de Alifante q̄ se hiaõ alli eoçar e ficaua alli o sinal delles. Era a altura como hua lança larga de 25 palmos, e inda me pareceo q̄ era mais alto; e estauaõ alli as pegadas e cabellos do Alifante. E não he de marauilhar

porq̃ eu vi hum dente de Alifante taõ grande q̃ pesana perto de . . . quintaes, donde se pode colligir sua grandeza. A terra naõ he de m<sup>tas</sup> cobras como a India e brasil; mas cria m<sup>tos</sup> lagartos em toda man<sup>ta</sup> de Rios e alagoas. Tem lioês m<sup>tos</sup> e tigres, mas em todas aquellas partes naõ achei q̃ fizeshem mal a gente nem a nenhum outro bicho da terra. Os tigres saõ taõ brauos como os destas p<sup>tes</sup> Huns caens q̃ leuauamos mataraõ hum bem grande, q̃ quatro Cafres ualentes tinhaõ bem de trabalho em o leuar; Isto indo nos ia Junto das terras do Mongaz, e em outras p<sup>tes</sup> os caês saõ mui grande medo delles; Estes tigres saõ da feiçaõ dos da India com as mesmas manchas, e pelle. Do cabo das Correntes trazem m<sup>tos</sup> a Moçambique ashi delles como de outros animais grandes e dalli uem os Cornos q̃ querem parecer com os de Abada de Malaca. Dizem q̃ saõ de animal q̃ som<sup>to</sup> tem hum na testa, e querem tambem dizer q̃ tem uirtude contra a peçonha, mas eu naõ o experimentei; dandome alguãs peshoas q̃ de la uieraõ em tanto como coco de Maldiuu. Estes saõ os costumes dos Cafres; As suas feitiçarias saõ m<sup>tas</sup> e de diuersas maneiras, com q̃ o Diabo os traz enganados, e se alguã cousa daõ em modo de culto he ao Diabo nestas feitiçarias; He gente muy incapaz p<sup>a</sup> receber o Baptismo, e ainda os criados entre nos e feitos xpaõs, se uaõ e fogem cada dia p<sup>a</sup> os seus, porq̃ estimaõ em m<sup>to</sup> seus costumes; e como ja dishe facil<sup>to</sup> se fazem Christaõs, e facilmente o deixaõ de ser porque naõ entendem o q̃ tomaõ.

As minas de Ouro estaõ junto do Monomotapa, e nos proprios seus senhorios: ha m<sup>tas</sup> Elle deu ja a alguns Portugueses alguãs dos q̃ la andauaõ, mas por ser maior o gasto q̃ se faz em o tirar do ouro, e tirar se taõ pouco cada dia as naõ quiseraõ: o comercio e trato he de mayor proueito. Cauaõ os negros a terra e fazem couas altas e fundas de q̃ alguãs uezes a ruina cae sobre elles e os mata. O Monomotapa quando quer ouro manda Vaca aos seus q̃ lho cauem; E reparte se pellos cauadores conforme ao trabalho; e dando lhe certos dias; cada hum tirara por dia ao mais hum cruzado, ou cruzado e meo, e se achaõ algum pedaço grande escondemno porq̃ lho naõ achem, e manda tapar as minas, como dizem q̃ fazem alguãs uezes deixando alli feitiços postos p<sup>a</sup> q̃ ninguem caue alli mais; E tem nisto m<sup>tos</sup> abusos os quais me contaraõ por diuersas man<sup>ras</sup> de q̃ o intento se naõ pode saber, sendo elles muy amigos de Ouro; e fazem delle peças q̃ trazem ao pescoco como contas, e tambem p<sup>a</sup> o resgate da roupa.

A terra he muy trabalhosa p<sup>a</sup> se poder conquistar, como experimentamos. E quanto mais fora gente tanto menos se pode conquistar, e sustentar, e a pouca naõ pode fazer nada senaõ por uia de comercio, e este he muy grosho especialm<sup>te</sup> o de Machiras, do qual direi pois por esta uia se podem uir a ganhar naquellas partes m<sup>tas</sup> almas, como uemos q̄ abrio nosho s<sup>r</sup> o comercio p<sup>a</sup> a India p<sup>a</sup> dilatar nella sua s<sup>ta</sup> fee.

Arriba de Sena da banda do Leste, q̄ he da outra p<sup>to</sup> do Rio ao longo delle e pella terra dentro ha m<sup>tos</sup> algodoës, de q̄ os moradores d'alli fazem fiado de que tem as Machiras, de q̄ ha em toda aquella Prouincia grande copia e chamashe aquella terra o Bororo. Compraõ se as contas com q̄ se resgataõ estas Machyras em Chaul comum<sup>te</sup> a 50 pardaos o bar q̄ tem quatro quintaes, este bar posto na Sena com os gastos pode ualer cem H<sup>dos</sup> q̄ he o mayor gasto q̄ se pode dar. Alli de hum bar de contas se fazem mil, e mil e quatro centas montanas q̄ saõ hũs molhinhos de ramaes dellas infradas, e feitas ao modo de borla de Cavallo. Estas montanas postas no Bororo ual cada huã duas Machiras, e ashi fazem no bar duas mil, e quatro centas e mais, Estas uendidas aos negros da outra banda da loeste do Rio q̄ se chama Botongas, daõ p̄ cada huã, hum matical d'ouro q̄ pesa pello peso d'alli hum cruzado, e hum tostaõ; E desta man<sup>ra</sup> de cem H<sup>dos</sup> se fazem bem feitos tres mil H<sup>dos</sup> auendo boa ordem nisto, e naõ auendo Portugueses q̄ andem la danando o trato, como faziaõ a nosha partida. Afora este ha outro da roupa preta Bertangil, matazes tafeciras, q̄ tambem com as contas de mestura fazem grosho resgate. O p<sup>a</sup> q̄ querem esta roupa p<sup>a</sup> a desfiarem, e dos fios cheos das contas por hum artificio sutil fazerem peças ao seu modo ricas, e panos de uestir com lauoses diuersos, conforme as diuersas cores das contas; e fazem dellas Cordoës como de chapeos torcidos q̄ trazem ao pescoço em lugar de colares.

Das minas de prata tiuemos a mostra de cinco ou 6 barras piquenas despois da nosha uinda a India. Dizem q̄ as descobrio hum Gonçalo de Araujo, q̄ la foi por mandado do G<sup>or</sup> Vasco f<sup>rs</sup> estando ja em Moçambique tinhamos por fama na Sena serem groshas, e q̄ estauaõ perto do Rio. Ha tambem muito ferro e cobre, e calaim de q̄ usaõ m<sup>to</sup> os naturaes fazerem suas joyas e cousinhas m<sup>tas</sup>.

De Moçambiq̄ e p<sup>la</sup> Costa de Melinde te aqui morreraõ de doencas alguãs 90 pessoas. Nesta terra achamos te 10 Portugueses

como moradores, delles mesturado com outros tantos Mouros de touca. Aqui uinha sempre huã fusta carregada de fato dos capitaes de Moçambiç e se uendia este fato aos Portugueses e Mouros de aqui de Sena, e despedida a fusta mandauã hũs e outros o fato as minas do Masapa onde tinhaõ seus correspondentes e andauã todos xpaõs e Mouros taõ mesturados como se foraõ de hua mesma seita, e como os Mouros sempre foraõ maos aos q̄ queriaõ dar uida pello proueito de fato a dauã e aos q̄ queriaõ matar com peçonha faziaõ e o executauã mais isto nos Capitaens e gente q̄ uinha na fusta por lançarem fama ser a terra doentia e em algũs moradores principalm<sup>te</sup> quando lhes deuiaõ dr<sup>o</sup> com nossa chegada se enfadauã m<sup>to</sup> entendendo q̄ os arisamo, de desapossar da terra e trato, e como taes, determinauã de nos acabar com peçonha.

Esteue este rio de Cuama todos os annos dos descubrim<sup>tos</sup> de Çofala encuberto pellos Mouros de Çofala e Costa q̄ o faziaõ muy difficultoso, te o tempo de hum G<sup>ar</sup> da Veiga q̄ descobrio delle o mais q̄ agora temos, e outros q̄ começaraõ nelle o resgate. Auia ao tempo q̄ chegamos a Sena neste rio em diuersos lugares, huns 20 Mouros de touca honrados, e ricos os q̄ uinhaõ a fazer o resgate com os nosos a pouoaçaõ de Sena onde uinha a fusta. Esta pouoaçaõ era pequena de casas de palha ao longo do Rio metida entre hum mato; e aqui nem os Portugueses fazer resgate, assi com os da terra, como com os Mouros. Chegados nos aqui começou logo a terra a dar o q̄ tinha S. m<sup>tas</sup> doenças; e no tempo q̄ aqui estiuemos q̄ foi perto de hum anno morreraõ mais de cem pessoas; e isto antes de entrarmos a terra e adoeceo a mayor parte da gente, e adoeceo Ruy Nunez Barreto de peçonha q̄ lhe deraõ os Mouros de q̄ morreo, porq̄ era seu costume daremna, p<sup>a</sup> ashi pella calada irem matando os nosos; E inda q̄ fr<sup>o</sup> Barreto leuaua regim<sup>to</sup> q̄ lançasse os Mouros fora, e o mesmo fizeshe saber ao Monomotapa; elle pellas honras fingidas q̄ lhe fiserãõ a entrada e faziaõ sempre dishimulaua com isho, naõ attentando o mal q̄ lhe faziaõ dissimuladam<sup>te</sup>. Todauia uindo a entender fr<sup>o</sup> Barreto a treiaçaõ, mandou logo os Capitaes com sua gente a prender os Mouros q̄ estauã em casas apartadas da pouoaçaõ e da outra banda do Rio huã e duas legoas o q̄ os soldados fizeraõ de boa uontade, porq̄ alem de se uingarem nos Mouros lhes coube a mayor p<sup>to</sup> do ouro q̄ elles tinhaõ, da qual ueo a ElRey mais de 15 V maticaes. Prenderãõ 17 principes, em q̄ entrou o

Xeque, e hum dos Mordomos q̄ foi na confraria q̄ fiseraõ sobre a morte do P<sup>o</sup> D. G<sup>o</sup>. Estes foraõ condenados e mortos com estranhas inuencões; Hũs foraõ espetados uiuos; outros atados a aruores nas pontas dellas q̄ com força ajuntauaõ, e depois as alargauaõ, e ficauaõ partindo pello meo; Outros abertos pellas costas com machados, outros com Bombardas, tudo a fim de se por terror e espanto a gente da terra; outros entregaraõ aos soldados q̄ se desenfadauaõ nelles as arcabuzadas.

Mandou hum embaix<sup>or</sup> com grandes presentes fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto ao Monomotapa por hum Portugues\* Morador em Sena q̄ ia lá estiuera na sua corte ao q̄ elles chamaõ Zimbaõ, q̄ de Sena dista de 250 leg. onde ha as minas de Masapa, donde se uem fazer m<sup>tas</sup> uezes resgate a Sena. Foy o Embaix<sup>or</sup> e a uinda morreo no caminho afogado no Rio em huã Almadia. A embaixada dezia q̄ nos eramos alli chegados, e q̄ queria o Gou<sup>or</sup> tratar com sua A. negocios de m<sup>a</sup> importancia e de m<sup>to</sup> proueito p<sup>a</sup> elle e todos os seus da parte do muy grande alto e poderoso D. Sebastiaõ Rey de Portugal, e do Mar, e da India seu S<sup>r</sup> que p<sup>a</sup> isho o mandaua p<sup>a</sup> tratar tambem com elle paz e amizade e q̄ a gente q̄ consigo trazia era p<sup>a</sup> alimpar os espinhos dos caminhos e abrilos p<sup>a</sup> o Comercio dos noshos e suas terras e q̄ p<sup>a</sup> lhe dar embaxada lhe pedia embaix<sup>or</sup> a q̄ elles chamaõ Mutume. Vendo (como digo) q̄ tardaua tanto o embaix<sup>or</sup> determinou fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto de entrar a terra no fim de Julho de 72, e fisemos nosho caminho ao longo do Rio, pello qual leuamos mais de 20 luzios de mantim<sup>tos</sup> fato e muniçoẽs, e por terra em nosha companhia 25 carros, q̄ leuauaõ bois da terra taõ grandes, como os grandes de Francoso, e muy domaueis, e de gado q̄ uinha (como ja dishe) de Butoa, e escapou da peçonha dos Mouros. Fez o Gou<sup>or</sup> a Vasco fernandez Homem Mestre do Campo, e repartio a companhia toda em 4 bandeiras, de q̄ a principal tinha dado a seu f<sup>o</sup> e p̄ sua morte tomou a p<sup>a</sup> si, esta tinha bem feitos 200 arcabuzeiros: Outra Bandeira tinha Ant<sup>o</sup> de Mello mancebo fidalgo f<sup>o</sup> de hum Desembargador; teria 150 homens: A 3<sup>a</sup> Thomé de Sousa fidalgo da Casa de Bragança, Commendador de Christo com outros tantos. A 4<sup>o</sup> leuaua hum

\* Depois da nosha chegada a Sena determinou o G<sup>or</sup> mandar recado ao Monomotapa em q̄ lhe mandaua pedir hum embaix<sup>or</sup> e declaraua o recado q̄ trazia delRey N. S. e porq̄ dos da terra naõ auia quem ousasse de ir m<sup>tas</sup> dos nossos especialm<sup>te</sup> Vasco f<sup>o</sup> Homem se ofereceo a isso determinou se hum M<sup>al</sup> Bernardez dos m<sup>tas</sup> do Rio a ir a pedir esta embaixada.

Jeronimo daguiar fº de hum Desembargador de lixª com o mesmo numero. Alem destas 4 ordenou franº Barreto outra de Canaris e homens da terra, em que entravaõ 60 Portuguezes, e dos outros seriaõ 80 e entregou a Jeronimo de Andrada q̄ la andava por Capitaõ do Rio, e seriaõ por todos os soldados te 650 homens Apercibidas todas estas bandeiras tinhaõ seus officiais q̄ as governavaõ soldados uelhos e praticos na guerra. Começamos de caminhar sempre ao longo do Rio, e andauamos de uagar fazendo jornada de legoa e mea por dia, sempre ao longo do Rio, com ordenança de fileiras, e a Vanguarda, e Retaguarda ao dia que a cada hum dos Capitaes cabia e ashi o Gouºr quando hia na dianteira ficava o Mestre de Campo na retaguarda, e ao contrario. Pello rio hia huã frota de luzios, onde hiaõ m<sup>tos</sup> doentes; E assi como adoecia o soldado logo embarcavaõ naquelle lugar onde encontrauamos, com os luzios por as uezes se pasharem dias q̄ os não uiamos pellas uoltas do Rio, e uarzas da terra; mas comũ era alojarmos todos juntos ao longo do mesmo Rio. Tinhamos de noite uigias com suas sobreroldas, e m<sup>tas</sup> noutro Mre de Campo e o Gouºr uisitauaõ e castigauaõ aos descuidados. Tiue mos m<sup>tos</sup> rebates falsos q̄ nos dauaõ os Cafres por onde hiamos porq̄ he esta gente dos Mongazes tam temida mais de 150 legoas de terra ashi de huã como de outra p<sup>te</sup> do Rio q̄ saõ mais temidos e cruéis, q̄ Turcos em Italia. Franº Barreto hia em hum caualllo dos q̄ escaparaõ da peçonha em Sena, Sempre armado com hum cottaõ grosso da malha, acudindo a huã, e outra p<sup>te</sup> p<sup>a</sup> q̄ o campo foshe em boa ordem. Alem disso leuaua mais de 2 V escrauos com fato, mas as carretas eraõ muy molestas pello uagar com q̄ hiaõ de modo q̄ em 50 legoas q̄ saõ de Sena te as portas de Mongaz pusemos hum mes.

Chegados aqui como o intento nosho era ir destruir os Mongazes e saiamos do Rio, e entrar lhes a terra foi neceshario deixar em huã Ilha os doentes q̄ ia eraõ pashante de 80 e ficou por Capitaõ e goarda delles hum homem principal natural de Euora q̄ chamauaõ Ruy de Mello, tambem doente e ferido de huãs Bufaras brauas q̄ no mato o acharaõ so a caualllo, e o trataraõ mal, estiue mos junto destas terras do Mongaz antes de as entrar huns 8 dias descansando do trabalho do caminho, e negociando os q̄ auiaõ de ficar na Ilha a bom recado. Os Mongazes he huã gente q̄ se governa por Fumos ao modo de Rep<sup>ca</sup>; mas saõ de mais dura q̄ He os outros destas partes e quasi como s<sup>ras</sup> da terra ao

tempo o proprio q̄ estes senhoreaõ He pouco mais de 30 legoas sairaõ de suas terras a conquistar pello rio abaixo movidos segundo elles deziaõ por hum Portugues q̄ chamou huns poucos delles p<sup>a</sup> se uingar de hua certa gente da outra banda do Rio, a qual destruiaraõ e roubaraõ, e com o gosto da uitoria, e presa q̄ fazendo, se animaraõ de tal man<sup>ra</sup> na conquista e roubos q̄ auia 20 annos q̄ corriaõ nella prosperam<sup>to</sup>, e tinhaõ conquistado perto de 200 legoas. He gente muy bellicosa grandes ladroes e salteadores, e pellas grandes cruexas q̄ faziaõ na gente q̄ conquistauaõ eraõ muy temidos em toda a parte. Estes tinhaõ roubados a m<sup>tos</sup> Portugueses e mortos; E os noshos q̄ la andauaõ, q̄ se uingarem delles, uindo de Tete huns 20 pello Rio abaixo saltaraõ em terra e lhes matareaõ algũs, e queimaraõ naõ sei q<sup>tos</sup> lugares Os negros por se uingarem se foraõ a Tete q̄ estaua despejado dos noshos, q̄ eraõ uindos a buscar fato da fusta q̄ estana em Sena. Saltaraõ com as escrauas Christãs e minimos, e matareaõ alguãs 70 peshoas. Tinha isto acontecido hum anno ou dous antes da nossa chegada, e por estes e outros males q̄ tinhaõ f<sup>to</sup> era muy importante naõ deixar estes imigos taõ uezinhos nas costas sem os sogeitar.

Hum s<sup>r</sup> Cafre da banda do Bororo de fronte das terras do Mongaz q̄ se chama o chombe tera obra de 30 legoas de terra ao longo do Rio, e como 30 V uashalos. Naõ he Fumo mas s<sup>r</sup> absoluto e grande nosso amigo. Este ueo uer a fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto de fronte de suas terras ja iunto do Mongaz e nos deu 200 Cafres p<sup>a</sup> leuarem o fatto, e guiarem pella terra dentro. Este se quisera fazer xpaõ mas pellas m<sup>tas</sup> molheres, e costumes q̄ tinha, os quais eraõ difficultosos de tirar, e por a terra naõ estar quieta se naõ fez. Depois q̄ estinemos negociados p<sup>a</sup> nos sair do Rio e entrar a terra, e deixar a Ilha dos doentes o melhor negociado q̄ pudemos nos pusemos ao caminho, onde fora a mais gente Cafra hiaõ te 500 Portugueses; e como começamos de entrar a terra começaraõ logo de adoecer m<sup>tos</sup> como faziaõ cada dia; e foi necessario depois de duas jornadas q̄ poderiaõ ser 4 legoas mandar a Ilha 30 doentes com gente de cauallo, e alguns soldados em sua goarda. Entrados pellas terras d'esta senhoria nos fomos alojar ao longo de huã Ribeira, onde tiuemos boa agua fazendo chouas no arrayal lugar muy humido, e q̄ foi causa de ao diante adoecerem, e morrerem m<sup>tos</sup> de Camaras. Ao outra dia pashamos pella mesma Rib<sup>ra</sup>, com pouca quantidade de agoa por entre duas serras muy altas, e

achamos no areal della m<sup>tos</sup> riscos, e pellas eruas huns nos dados, ao modo de pousos de esparrelas no trouisco p<sup>a</sup> tomar folosas. Os negros q̄ leuauamos por guias interpretauão os riscos serem ronca dos Mongazes q̄ deziaõ q̄ se dalli pashashemos nos auiaõ de amarrar, como estando os noos daquellas eruas. Depois de pashada a Ribeira q̄ seria mea hora depois de meo dia, mais pello uagar dos carros q̄ pella caminho ser m<sup>to</sup> ouemos uista de huns poucos, os quais estauã de nos como dous tiros de espingarda, e no areal leuantauã grande poo, e faziaõ grandes rocas com cabos q̄ trazem nas maõs de cabellos de Bufaras, e com outras mostras de homens q̄ nos esperauã no campo. Correrã os de caualo depos dellea, e os fiseraõ fugir; parece q̄ estes eraõ suas espias. Aqui neste areal por toda a Ribeira q̄ nos ficaua atras se agasalhou o campo bem contra uontade da mayor parte dos soldados mais desejosos de pellejar q̄ sabios dos tempos e occasioẽs em q̄ se deuia fazer, o q̄ bem sabia o Capitaõ e Gou<sup>or</sup> q̄ leuauamos q̄ em estas e em outras semelhantes murmuraçoẽs sabia bem dissimular. Digo isto porq̄ toda aquella noite ouue grande rumor no campo e enfadam<sup>to</sup> por naõ acometerem os Cafres no dia dantes, parecendo lhes q̄ naõ achauã ja com quem pellejar, e q̄ seriaõ idos, o q̄ aconteceo pello contrario, como se uio na manham seg<sup>ta</sup>.

*Como pelleiamos com os Mongazes, e das Uitorias q̄ N. S. nos deu delles, e sogeitamos suas Terras.*

Ao outro dia em rompendo a Alua começamos de caminhar por boa ordem; a gente de cauallo com algũs negros por espias e as bandeiras duas diante da carriagem, e duas nas Ilhargas e huã detras, lançadas mangas de Arcabuzeiros de tal maneira q̄ ficauã tomando no meo a fardagem. Fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto aquelle dia hia na Vanguarda; e eu na dianteira com hum Crucifixo q̄ aruorey, depois q̄ tiuemos uista dos imigos. Hia aqui a bandeira real e duas peças de artilheria S. hum falcaõ pedreiro, e hum caõ de marca mea, q̄ este dia seruiraõ. Ouemos uista dos imigos em hum campo raso, ainda q̄ em m<sup>tas</sup> partes estaua cheo de ernaçal, e canaueais altos. Deraõ mostra de dez ou doze mil homens. Vinhaõ em seus esquadroens ordenados pellas ilhargas, e no meo o mayor com o mais peso da gente, e por entre escrauos lançaraõ por cada lado huã bandeira com copia de gente emboscada.

e uieraõ taõ escondidos, q̃ quando começaraõ a despedir suas frechas chegaraõ junto da bandeira real. Mas como uinhaõ contra uento naõ traziaõ tanta força. Contra estes despediraõ dous esquadroës de soldados q̃ as arcabuzadas os fizeraõ fugir. Entre tanto se uieraõ chegando os esquadroës mayores, os quais como uieraõ a espaço q̃ a artelharia os podesse uarejar, despararaõ em hum cardume delles as duas peças, q̃ mataraõ huns quinze ou dezaseis, e juntam<sup>te</sup> arremeteraõ os noshos de caualo com algũs soldados e todos os escrauos q̃ leuauamos com grande grita, e logo os fizeraõ fugir. Antes da briga os negros do Chombe q̃ uinhaõ em nosha companhia quando uiraõ tantos Mongazes juntos, como estauaõ acostumados em suas terras auer medo de hum so m<sup>tes</sup> delles se puseraõ em p<sup>ta</sup> donde podeshem fugir, quando uishem os noshos ficarem uencidos, o q̃ elles tinhaõ por certo porq̃ nos naõ uiaõ com arcs e frechas como aos contrarios senaõ com huns pedaços de paos as costas como elles deziaõ q̃ eraõ os arcabuzes, sem entenderem o q̃ hia dentro naquelles paos; Mas como uiraõ fugir os imigos ficaraõ algum tanto mais quietos, Estaua perto do campo da briga hum lugar de hum Capitaõ grande caualleiro q̃ se chamaua O Capote, o qual defendia a entrada da terra do Mongaz e trabalhou m<sup>to</sup> por defender este lugar de q̃ era Capitaõ; As guias nos encaminhaõ p<sup>a</sup> o lugar onde tinhamos assentado alojarnos, por ter agoa, inda q̃ m<sup>to</sup> roim E indo nos na mesma ordem p<sup>a</sup> o entrar, uoltaraõ sobre nos Os Cafres a uolo defender, e tomaramna pella retaguarda; E porq̃ nella uinha a bandeira de menos Portugueses, com licença do Gou<sup>or</sup> me fui com hum Crucifixo aos animar na briga a qual elles trauaraõ muy fortem<sup>te</sup> metendoshe com os noshos e cobrindo o Ar com frechas. Vinhaõ a modo de lua, e nos tinhaõ quasi cercados por todas as p<sup>tes</sup>. O Mestre do Campo ordenou q̃ ninguem tirashe, te q̃ estiueshem mais perto, e os podessem depois de ceuados acometer com mais perda sua; o q̃ foi causa de nos ferirem mais de 25 homens mas naõ de feridas perigosas. Aqui se notou q̃ onde eu estaua com o Crucifixo, eraõ as frechas m<sup>tas</sup> q̃ tirauaõ, e por espaço de dez, ou doze pashos do lugar delle naõ feriraõ ninguem; e olhando eu p<sup>a</sup> o ar com algum medo das frechas, ui q̃ uinhaõ m<sup>tas</sup> deferir sobre minha cabeça, mas o S<sup>r</sup> cuja imagem eu tinha nas maõs a afastaua, de maneira q̃ faziaõ hua aberta do espaço q̃ digo sem ferir a ninguem, estando na dianteira, e trazendo m<sup>ta</sup> força, por amor do uento q̃

era ja por elles. Desparouse o tiro mayor por hum desastre, e foi q̄ estando ceuado ja e acabado de o atacar o Condestable, hum soldado desparou hum arcabuz sobre a escorua, a qual com as faiscas q̄ cairão tomou fogo, e leuou os braços de hum carreteiro Portugues, e lhe pashou as queixadas o corpo p̄ m<sup>tas</sup> partes com as pedras das rocas com q̄ estaua o tiro ceuado alem do pelouro, e ao Condestable as pontinhas de dous dedos da mão direita. Ao desparar deste tiro deraõ os noshos Santiago nos imigos, atirando toda a nosha arcabuzaria, e arremetendo a elles com m<sup>ta</sup> furia, e tomaraõ m<sup>tos</sup> delles entalados entre hum espesho mato, onde foi grande a mortandade que nelles fizeraõ, e lhe tomaraõ quatro bandeiras, as quais eraõ de uulto de hum boi encima de hum pao, e outro uulto de elefante, e recheados de palha por dentro; Outros eraõ da feiçaõ de sombreiro da India. Aqui morreo tambem o Capitaõ Capote. A outro homem deraõ huã frechada p̄ huã Verilha q̄ em poucas horas morreo ambos os Portugueses foraõ confeshados estes sos dous matareaõ, e dos feridos naõ morreo nenhum,

Auida esta uitoria nos recolhemos a hum lugar a horas de meo dia, e os negros de chombe ja sem medo, os quais ainda nesta segunda batalha o tiueraõ taõ grande q̄ postos entre as escrauas e fardagem chorando suas uidas, parecendo lhes q̄ naõ poderiaõ escapar, porq̄ nos uieraõ cercar por todas as partes, as negras os consolaraõ e meteraõ debaixo dos carros por amor das frechas dizendo q̄ naõ oueshem medo, q̄ os Mosungues (nome q̄ elles poem aos Portugueses) faziaõ risco no chaõ e corriaõ p<sup>a</sup> diante, e naõ p<sup>a</sup> tras, e q̄ pr<sup>a</sup> todos alli auiaõ de morrer antes q̄ os matashem a elles, e desta man<sup>ta</sup> os detiueraõ o tempo da pelleja. Antes de entraremos no lugar foraõ os escrauos a buscar a elle algum mantim<sup>to</sup> q̄ ficassa escondido, e acharaõ milho pouco, e nachenij, e Mexoeira, e despois poseraõ fogo ao lugar, e despois de nos aposentarmos nelle bem cansados, e cheos de calma q̄ afazia muy grande, e poucas aruores, e o chaõ feito cinza, estiuemos este dia, e o outro descansando, e curando os feridos. Começaraõ de adoecer m<sup>tos</sup> dos noshos, de q̄ morreraõ muitos principalm<sup>to</sup> de Camaras. Pashados tres dias pella menhã em saindo a estrella nos fizemos prestes p<sup>a</sup> caminhar, e estando ja p<sup>a</sup> sair, senaõ quando nem como hum grande pee de uento fazendo grande roido o exercito da Cafraria, e Mongazes reforçados com mayor copia de gente q̄ segundo deziaõ seriaõ 16 V homens, e com mores accordos,

e atabaquinhos, e com mayor confiança de uitoria, porq̄ traziaõ hum feiteceiro q̄ pellos feitiços q̄ trazia em hum cabaço q̄ eu despois ui, lhes tinha metido em cabeça q̄ nos auia de entregar a todos, e q̄ os noshos Nafutes, q̄ saõ os arcabuzes naõ auiaõ de aproueitar nada, e como s<sup>ros</sup> da uittoria lhes fez trazer m<sup>tas</sup> cordas de cascas de aruores, as quais despois seruiraõ de boõs murroes aos soldados p<sup>a</sup> arcabuzes, estas traziaõ p<sup>a</sup> nos amarrar, e o seu santiago era funga Muzungo, q̄ quer dizer, Amarra ao homem branco; e p<sup>a</sup> me naõ deter em materia, q̄ naõ faz tanto ao caso. quatro uezes nos acometeraõ esta manham, e de todas os fizemos fogir com morte de m<sup>tos</sup>; e quiseramnos entrar por mais de oito partes foi tam grande o fumo esta manham da Arcabuzeria, e Artelharia q̄ alem da dita seruiraõ tambem seis meos berços q̄ hiaõ nos carros, de q̄ fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto se quis fazer Bombard<sup>ro</sup> e se escureceo o Ar de man<sup>ta</sup> q̄ nos naõ uiamos huns aos outros, e ajudaua ser a isto a pelleja em hum ualle e naõ fazer uento, de q̄ elles ficaraõ espantados dizendo q̄ eramos grandes feiteceiros, pois q̄ do dia faziamos noite. E segundo despois soubemos delles mesmos, lhes matariamos em todas estas brigas, mais de 4 V Cafres ficando m<sup>tos</sup> d'elles feridos e aleijados, q̄ despois morreraõ, em q̄ entrou tambem o feiteceiro, ao qual hum mosquete fez alargar o cabaço dos feitiços no chaõ com as queixadas fora. Fizeraõ sinal q̄ queriaõ pazes e mandaraõ seus embaix<sup>ores</sup> a isso, os quais se espantaraõ de uer a fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto em tempo de guerra estar ashentado em huã cad<sup>ra</sup> a qual elle q̄ os tinha em pouco mandou uir p<sup>a</sup> dalli ashentado ordenar sua gente como ordenaua muy bem como bom Capitaõ, e que entendia a guerra. Concederaõ lhe as pazes, com condiçaõ que logo no outro lugar que estaua diante, mandassem seus embaix<sup>ores</sup>; se naõ q̄ tudo auiamos de abrazar, o q̄ elles cumpriraõ como adiante se dira.

*Dos Pazes q̄ fizemos com os Mongazes, e como naõ podemos correr todas suas Terras pellos muitos Doentes e Mortes que tiuemos.*

Era ja mais de meo dia quando acabamos estas ultimas brigas, por onde foi necessario esperar aquelle dia e descansar; Ao seg<sup>to</sup> fomos ter a hum lugar q̄ se chama Terr onde uieraõ dous Cafres principais com hum presente de Vaccas e Carneiros, e hum pingo d'ouro q̄ pesaria 40 H<sup>dos</sup> a feiçaõ de rosario de contas, e huns ougrinhos, e certas Machiras, e dous dentes de Marfim grandes, e

uinhaõ pedir licença p<sup>a</sup> poderem abrir boca e fallarem os embaix<sup>ros</sup> q̄ auiaõ de uir ao outro dia em outro lugar adiante onde nos auiamos de alojar. Auida a licença se foraõ e ao dia seg<sup>to</sup> no mesmo lugar em q̄ apontaraõ uieraõ ter cõnosco doze Cafres de m<sup>ta</sup> auctoridade com seus cornos na cabeça trouxeraõ de presente 50 Vacas, e outros tantos Carneiros e pediraõ q̄ lhe naõ queimashemos a terra, q̄ queriaõ dalli por diante ser noshos uassallos, e amigos fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto os despedio com lhe dar enxadas q̄ he sinal de paz, e q̄ na sua Musinda grande, q̄ he a principal pouoçaõ sua, onde nos determinauamos de ir se acabariaõ de concluir. Contaraõ estes Cafres cousas muy graciosas q̄ lhes aconteceraõ no tempo da batalha com o effeito dos pelouros dos arcabuzes, e faziaõ grandes gestos espantandose daquella mesinha q̄ fazia cair o Cafre quando estaua fallando com outro, e outros se achando sem maõs, e outros sem dedos, e outros cahiraõ no chaõ, bolindo m<sup>to</sup> com a cabeça e o corpo, e morriaõ q̄ dor e mal era aquelle q̄ lhes uinha daquella Mesinha; Isto tudo porq̄ naõ uiaõ as frechas no corpo dos mortos, nem os pelouros, dizendo q̄ eramos grandes feiticeiros, e q̄ naõ auia cousa q̄ se tiueshe comnosco, e q̄ auia m<sup>tos</sup> aleijados da guerra. Preguntamos lhe se uieraõ alli os dous irmaõs fumos da terra, disseraõ q̄ naõ, mas por outra uia entendemos q̄ o quiseraõ encubrir q̄ realmente se acharaõ presentes.

Idos estes Cafres determinamos fazer nosho caminho p<sup>a</sup> a sua Muzinda. Os doentes recreceraõ tanto q̄ ia naõ auia Cafres p<sup>a</sup> os leuarem, e tinhaõ fogidos dos q̄ uieraõ comnosco dos q̄ deu o chombe 60 dos 200, e os doentes e feridos passauaõ de 120; e cada dia enterrauamos dous ou tres, e recayaõ outros de nouo. He este terra de Mongaz mal assombrada, e de hum mato roim e m<sup>to</sup> montuoso de poucos campos e de m<sup>ta</sup> falta de agoa, como he toda a Cafraria. As agoas naõ se podem imaginar peores, porq̄ eraõ hũs Charcos q̄ ficauaõ das inuernadas, recozidos com o sol e nata de lodo por cima taõ uerde como timos, e desta ainda pouca, e tal bebiamos, q̄ sabia a esterco humano e destas roins agoas, ares e orualhadas, e calmas entre dia e os mantim<sup>tos</sup> roins, e o comer da m<sup>ta</sup> Vaca q̄ aqui tiueraõ faziaõ adoecer de Camaras, sem nenhum remedio de uida, e como naõ auia quem leuasse os doentes, foi necessario, irmos todos a pee e darlhes as caualgaduras; te fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto leuaua nas ancas do caualllo os doentes, esta foy a causa por onde naõ podemos ir por diante na Conquista do Mongaz, o allem destes doentes hia o campo muy debilitado e

fraco, e cairão depois todos enfermos por onde forçados da necessidade, e dos negros do trabalho q̄ queriaõ fogir, nos fomos caminho da praya do Rio, acima da Ilha dos doentes, onde tinhamos entrado a terra, por linha direita dez ou doze legoas, mas alguãs 25 por caminho reflexo a modo de arco. Chegamos a borda do Rio, ia m<sup>to</sup> faltos de mantim<sup>tos</sup>, ainda q̄ m<sup>tas</sup> carnes das q̄ deraõ de presentes os negros, donde despedimos huã Almadia a Ilha, porq̄ uiessem as embarcações, e nos pashashem da outra banda do Bororo não deixando nada concluydo com os Mongazes, q̄ são falsos e sem uerdade como em toda a Cafraria; e creio q̄ uiraõ o nosso desbarate, e mortandade q̄ so neste caminho enterrej mais de 20 fora os q̄ depois morrerãõ. Chegaraõ dous luzios, e duas ou tres Almadias grandes em q̄ uinhaõ algũs soldados ja conualecentes, dos q̄ ficaraõ doentes na Ilha. Isto era ja fim de Settembro e entrada de Outubro do anno de 72. Aqui achamos Cartas do Rey<sup>o</sup> com as quais ouue grande festa no arrayal com as nouas de D. Joã d'Austria e outras do Rey<sup>o</sup>. Pashados todos da outra banda e os doentes q̄ eraõ perto de 200 embarcados nos partimos por terra queimando os carros. Neste caminho te Sena bem de trabalho leuamos sem acharmos nem huã fonte ao longo delle, por os ualles serem m<sup>to</sup> fundos e finalmente em toda a Cafraria e Costa de Melinde não ui fonte. Vendo isto propos o Gou<sup>or</sup> as difficuldades do caminho ao Monomotapa, q̄ era dahi mais de 200 legoas; terra muy seca e despouoada e sem mantim<sup>tos</sup> segundo o dito dos q̄ andauaõ cada dia o caminho por onde pareceo q̄ nos deuiamos tornar a Sena, e q̄ ahi auia mais mantim<sup>tos</sup> pellos Cafres serem lauradores e conualecerem os doentes e esperarem pello nauio do trato da India q̄ chega em feurereiro, e Março, e q̄ com prouim<sup>to</sup> iriamos sobre as Manicas. Fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto se embarcou deixando em seu lugar a Vasco fernandez e se foy em huã Almadia grande a Sena. Na Ilha dos doentes morrerãõ mais de 50 peshoas. Depois chegou o campo a Sena, e no caminho queimou huns lugares q̄ estauaõ leuantados contra o Chumbe nosso amigo.

*Como recebemos Embaixador do Monomotapa.*

Depois de chegados a Sena deraõ nouas a fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto de como uinha o embaix<sup>or</sup> do Monomotapa; e da morte do nosho embaix<sup>or</sup> em huã almadia no Rio em que tambem se perdeo hum bom

golpe d'ouro q̄ elle fisera em fazenda q̄ leuara.\* Era o embaix<sup>or</sup> ja de jdade, trazia consigo 200 Cafres, todos bem despostos, e dez ou doze honrados q̄ uinhaõ em nome dos officiais do Monomotapa, e ashi se chamauaõ, hum q̄ era mayor delRey, o outro a molher grande do Rey; o outro o seu moço Moagem q̄ he o seu General e Capitaõ das Portas do Rey<sup>o</sup> e sempre esta com gente de guerra no campo aposentado, em diuersas Aldeas a roda e na Comarca onde elle reside, e saõ seg<sup>do</sup> dizem 30 V Cafres; Ashi q̄ estes traziaõ estes nomes. A embaxada era q̄ o Monomotapa queria ser amigo delRey de Portugal, e q̄ naõ desejava outra cousa, senaõ alimpar o caminho dos espinhos, q̄ folgaria de ter trato e commercio cõnosco; Fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto lhe declarou os tres pontos essenciais q̄ leuaua por regim<sup>to</sup>. O P<sup>ro</sup> q̄ lançasse os Mouros fora. O Seg<sup>do</sup> q̄ auia de receber os P<sup>tes</sup> e goardar a fee; o 3<sup>o</sup> q̄ auia de dar m<sup>tas</sup> minas de ouro q̄ tinha em suas terras. Dishe lhe mais fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto q̄ elle determinaua de yr a Moçambiã com pouca gente a buscar fato, e recado delRey D. Sebastiaõ Rey de Portugal, e da India, e de tantas mil legoas, e Conquistas q̄ da uinda acabaria de alimpar, outros espinhos q̄ ficauaõ e impediaõ o caminho, assi como fizera aos Mongazes; ao q̄ elle respondeo q̄ fazia m<sup>to</sup> bem q̄ os Mongazes eraõ grandes ladroës, e q̄ o Monomotapa tambem auia de mandar sobre elles, como depois mandou e os castigaraõ bem; queimando lhe quasi a mayor p<sup>te</sup> da terra. E tambem q̄ mandaria o Monomotapa hum embaix<sup>or</sup> em nome delRey N. S<sup>e</sup> e q̄ a elle podia dar a reposta de aquelles apontam<sup>tos</sup>. Estauaõ alli tres Portugueses q̄ fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto mandaua com elles, e lhos amostrou, dos quais o embaix<sup>or</sup> era fr<sup>co</sup> de Magalhaens. Fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto lhe mandou hum bom presente de roupas, e mandou hua embaixada, cujo Embaix<sup>or</sup> era fr<sup>co</sup> de Magalhaens homem fidalgo e de sua peshoa; o segundo chamasse fr<sup>co</sup> Rafaxo q̄ lhe auia de suceder se no caminho morreshe, como de f<sup>to</sup> aconteceo, e outro se chamaua G<sup>ar</sup> Borges. Chegou la fr<sup>co</sup> Rafaxo com as peças ricas q̄ leuaua ao Cafre, com q̄ elle folgou m<sup>to</sup> e os despedio m<sup>to</sup> contentes, e cheos de fato q̄ montaria mais de 6 V H<sup>dos</sup> porq̄ fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto naõ sabia dar pouco recebendo do Cafre, oito manilhas de ouro de fio, e muy delgado, duas p<sup>a</sup> cada perna; as outras, duas p<sup>a</sup> cada braço honra que elle naõ faz a

\* Determinou fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto refazer o forte q̄ tinha deixado de Madeira de taipa qual lhe ficaua por sposito e tinha dentro hua hermidã de S. Marçal e a casa da feitoria.

ninguem e q̄ reserua somente p<sup>a</sup> si: Isto seg<sup>do</sup> alguns deziaõ. Eu tenho p<sup>a</sup> mim, q̄ mandou esta embaxada com medo das nouas q̄ lhe foraõ da destruiçaõ dos Mongazes, q̄ os noshos fizeraõ. As manilhas naõ pesariaõ des maticaes, porq̄ a honra e proueito naõ ficashem iguaes.

*Como Francisco Barreto ueyo, e foi a Moçambique e das Cousas q̄ nisho socederaõ.*

Despedido o embaix<sup>or</sup> do Monomotapa trataraõ com fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto sobre o prouim<sup>to</sup> do Arrayal q̄ seriaõ 450 homens por estarem muy faltos de roupa q̄ he a com q̄ fazemos mantimentos e paga de soldados, e todo o meneo necessario. E por q<sup>to</sup> os homẽs de Moçambique e outros estauaõ escandalizados das tomadas das fazendas q̄ lhes eraõ feitas, arreceauaõ se m<sup>to</sup> estar tapada a porta p<sup>a</sup> uir a Sena remedio necessario do fato q̄ se esperaua da India. E p<sup>a</sup> remediar isto determinou fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto de leuar algum dinh<sup>to</sup> e elle mesmo em peshoa ir buscar o necessario; e p<sup>a</sup> isso quis q̄ eu o acompanhasse, e ashi nos partimos com alguns criados seus, e uinte ou trinta soldados. O P<sup>e</sup> Esteuaõ Lopez ficou em companhia de V<sup>co</sup> fer<sup>o</sup> homem, a quem o Gou<sup>or</sup> deixou em seu lugar como mestre de campo. Chegamos a Moçambiç. Tinha deixado fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto Ant<sup>o</sup> Per<sup>a</sup> Brandaõ p̄ Capitaõ em Moçambique, e teue com elle m<sup>tas</sup> differenças por algũs meixericos, e outras cousas, por onde lhe tirou o cargo. Chegou o nauio do trato de Chaul em o qual uinha o sustancial da roupa p<sup>a</sup> este campo. Tomashe por sua Alt<sup>a</sup> esta roupa em Moçambique a seis e sete cruzados; uende se neste frete de Sena a 15 correndo o risco delRey de Moçambique p<sup>a</sup> ca, e aqui logo perto se torna a dobrar o dinh<sup>to</sup> em Machiras q̄ a troco de Bretangis se daõ q̄ ualem dobrado. Nelle uinha Joaõ da Sylua f<sup>o</sup> bastardo de fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto com m<sup>ta</sup> fazenda e outras muniçoẽs e cousas p<sup>a</sup> a Jornada, e algũs mercadores e homẽs honrados q̄ o acompanhauaõ. Despois de prouer o de Moçambiç, e deixar o feitor Gonc<sup>o</sup> Godinho p̄ Capitaõ se embarcou outra uez p<sup>a</sup> Sena no meo da Coresma a 3 de Março de 573, bem negoceado de tudo, e tambem de alguãs cousas de Ormuz q̄ alli uieraõ ter trazendo seu f<sup>o</sup> consigo em embarcaçoẽs bastantes p<sup>a</sup> o fato. Tiuemos a torna uiagem m<sup>to</sup> roim, porq̄ com bom tempo se poem neste caminho quatro ou cinco dias, nos te Quilimane pusemos perto de tres meses, tomando muitos Rios da Costa por

causa do vento contrario. Chegados a Quilimane deraõ nos nouas ser morta a mayor p<sup>te</sup> da gente do campo, e q̄ estaua Vasco fernandez e os P<sup>es</sup> m<sup>to</sup> doente; eraõ mortos dous Capitaes, S. Jeronimo de Aguiar e Anton<sup>o</sup> de Mello, neto do Abbade de Pombeiro, e os officiais todos das bandeiras, e o q̄ mais sentimos foy a morte do Condestable homem experimentado e official do seu officio, de fazer poluora e outras municoes; e cada dia nos uinhaõ Almadias com recados, e nouas dos q̄ morriaõ. Escreueo me o P<sup>e</sup> Esteuaõ Lopez q̄ por nenhum caso sobissemos acima por estar a terra muy inficionada, e os Ares corruptos, e foi cousa estranha q̄ tambem aos naturaes alcançou a doença pellas inuernadas la serem m<sup>to</sup> grandes, e auer grande desemparo do prouim<sup>to</sup> necesario. Todauia fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto naõ quis deixar de sobir, e nos pareceo milhor morrer ajudando os nossos, antes q̄ uiuer com macula de os desemparar; E segundo elles estauaõ desconfiados da nosha uolta naõ ha duuida senaõ q̄ pasmaraõ todos se nos naõ uiraõ na Sena, por onde naõ ouue duuida nenhuã na ida. Aqui em Quilimane achamos nouas serem perdidos dous Pangayos q̄ leuauaõ municaõ, e m<sup>to</sup> salitre e mantim<sup>to</sup>. Partimos pello Rio acima ja em principio de Mayo. Em 15 dias chegamos a Sena indo em nossa comp<sup>a</sup> hum fidalgo chamado Lourenço de Brito; o qual chegara da India antes da nosha partida dous dias por seruir ao Gou<sup>or</sup> franc<sup>o</sup> Barreto; e tambem com algũs agrauos do Visorrey D. Antonio chegados a Sena achamos na Praya do Rio alguns soldados, e seriaõ p̄ todos 50 com as Band<sup>ras</sup> todas 4 sem Capitaes nem officiais proprios, e elles escassam<sup>te</sup> se podiaõ ter em pee, e pashando pello hospital uimos os doentes estar ashen-tados na ramada, mais com cores de mortos q̄ de homens uiuos, todauia alegres com a nosha uinda, e tinhaõ os arcabuzes postos no chaõ, e hum q̄ tinha mais saude pos o fogo a todos, q̄ os outros naõ podiaõ e era cousa estranha, q̄ nenhum so homem auia sao; expectaculo bem diferente do q̄ tinha mostrado no campo de Sena quando alli de nouo chegamos, e naõ auia quem tiuesse as lagrimas com a magoa de tanta mortandade; q̄ ate os 80 homens q̄ auiaõ ficado das naos do anno de 72 e idos a Conquista naõ eraõ uiuos cinco. O Mestre do Campo ueo a praya emcima de hum rocim com homens que o tinhaõ aonde lhe ueo hum accidente grande, e o tiuemos por morto o fisico estaua espirando ao tempo q̄ chegamos, e todos de maneira q̄ bem mostrauaõ estar tudo acabado.

*Da Morte de Francisco Barreto, e Succeshaõ de Vasco Fernandez.*

Despois de chegados a Sena começou fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto logo em peshoa de prouer as necessidades com conseruas, uestido, biscouto, e outras cousas de q̄ hiamos prouidos, uisitando os a todos, e ao hospital; e com isto começaraõ a conualecer algũs. Eu hia ia melhor algum tanto de huã doença q̄ neste caminho tiue; os q̄ uieraõ de nouo começaraõ logo de adoecer, e caio logo Josõ da Silua, e criados seus e outros q̄ foraõ cõnosco. A fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto acudio huã febre despois de comer peixe a huã s<sup>a</sup> feira, oito dias despois da nosha chegada; e naõ era tal q̄ o fiseshe estar em cama, antes com ella andaua; Todauia como elle andaua arreceoso, e te aquelle tempo nunca adoecera, logo se confeshou, e na hermida tomou o Sant<sup>mo</sup> Sacram<sup>to</sup> em pe. Huã noite 7 dias despois de se achar mal lhe deu hom Mordexim de arrebeçar mortal; mas os seus deziaõ ser dor de colica q̄ lhe uinha m<sup>tas</sup> uezes em Portugal. Fui uello a manham seg<sup>ta</sup> e achei lhe o pulso sumido e mortal, e frios os braços e pees. Dei lhe a S<sup>ta</sup> Vnçaõ estando ainda em seu acordo e fiz chamar Vasco fernandez homem q̄ o uiesse uer antes da sua morte q̄ sem duuida morria, o qual alli com elle ajudando o naquelle pasho, e mais com febres q̄ tinha e tremia quasi todos os dias. Junto da mea noute deu a alma a D's em huã casa de palha, sem se achar em seu escritorio nem em seu poder hum Cruzado p<sup>a</sup> suas exequias, nem para dispor de sua Alma. Ao outro dia pella manham o enterramos na hermida de S. Marçal, aonde q̄ o corpo da Igr<sup>a</sup> estar cheo de corpos mortos, e frescos naõ auia lugar pera elle, e foi necessario ao longe do altar fazer a coua atrauessada q̄ ate isto lhe faltou na morte; homem taõ prospero, e q̄ com tantos gastos uiueo na India. Despois de o Vigairo o encomendar antes de o enterrar se abrio a segunda uia (porq̄ a p<sup>a</sup> sahio de P<sup>o</sup> Barreto o qual era ja morto) em q̄ elRey mandou q̄ socedesse Vasco fer Homem, e assi ficou em sua lugar achando tudo bem despeso, e indiuidado. Enterramos o corpo de fran<sup>co</sup> Barreto, com m<sup>to</sup> sentim<sup>to</sup> de todos, e m<sup>tos</sup> despois da sua morte morreraõ mais de pasmo q̄ de doença, em q̄ entraraõ huns quinze ou desaseis dos q̄ uieraõ de nouo. O f<sup>o</sup> a este tempo estaua tambem m<sup>to</sup> mal, e se partio muy doente p<sup>a</sup> Moçambique onde morreo deixando m<sup>to</sup> fato na feitoria delRey q̄ lhe seu Pay tinha tomado por emprestimo, e

sostentam<sup>to</sup> dos soldados, com outro m<sup>to</sup> de partes, de q̄ S. A. deue ainda boa copia de dinheiro.

*Da Reposta da Embaixada do Monomotapa e da Junta q̄ fez o Governador Vasco Fernandez sobre a Jornada.*

Quando fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto q̄ D's aja chegou a Sena, achou ter uindo alli outro Embaix<sup>or</sup> do Monomotapa com a reposta do q̄ lhe tinhamos pedido nos apontam<sup>tos</sup>, cuja summa era q̄ elle mandaria logo lançar os Mouros fora como fez; e q̄ elle não tinha espada pera o P<sup>e</sup> D. G<sup>lo</sup> q̄ elles lho fizeraõ matar; e q<sup>to</sup> ao se tornar a fee, q̄ nos iriamos, e entraõ trataria sobre isso cõnosco; e q̄ q<sup>to</sup> as Minas q̄ elle nomeara huãs certas em grande quantidade, q̄ as foshemos tomar, e ashi nos dara tambem as da prata de q̄ tinhamos noticia não estarem m<sup>to</sup> longe de Tete nem do Rio, e tiuemos a mostra dellas em cinco ou seis barras; e q̄ elle não queria senaõ ter paz e amisade com suas molheres (q̄ assi nos chamaõ não p̄ desprezo, mas por honra, e mostras de amor) e q̄ bem tinha entendido serem os nossos gente de guerra principalmente despois das Vitorias q̄ ouemos do Mongaz, do q̄ elle segundo deziaõ estaua muy temeroso, e na uerdade facil cousa fora desbaratalo e senhorealo por guerra, ainda q̄ poem em campo mais de cem mil Cafres senaõ foraõ as doenças, fomes e dificuldades da terra.\* Despedido este Cafre com bem de roupa, dizem q̄ o Monomotapa o mandou matar, porq̄ não dera a embaxada a sua molher grande, q̄ era fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto, e não quem ficara em seu lugar; e saõ elles tais q̄ por menos culpas mandaõ matar. Não era chegado a este tempo fr<sup>co</sup> Rafaxo, mas chegou logo despois da morte de fr<sup>co</sup> Barreto a poucos dias. Era ja tempo p<sup>a</sup> se tomar conclusaõ sobre o q̄ auiamos de fazer. No campo não auia mais q̄ 180 homens uiuos, seg<sup>do</sup> dezia o Almojarife dos mantim<sup>tos</sup>; nem poderiaõ ser mais; e estes (como disse) doentes. P<sup>a</sup> esta determinaçaõ se juntaraõ perto de trinta p<sup>as</sup> principais em casa do Gou<sup>or</sup>; o qual propos, o

\* Pesou me de V<sup>o</sup> fer<sup>e</sup> Homem tomar esta gouernança em estado q̄ o não pude ajudar a elle em nada p<sup>a</sup> proseguir a empresa, q̄ elle de sua p<sup>ta</sup> ainda q̄ doente se ajudara e inda com o espirito e desejo q̄ se nelle sempre enxergou a obra de seruir a seu Rey, e bem se uiu q̄ em seu seruo perdeo molher e f<sup>ta</sup> taõ caualeiros e taõ bons fidalgos especialm<sup>te</sup> agora em Goa a P<sup>o</sup> Homem da Sylua q̄ em q<sup>to</sup> Goa durar durara a fama de sua cauallaria e uirtude, e porq̄ delle uay bem cheo D. Luis d'Ataide e o ficou D. Ant<sup>o</sup> e toda India não digo mais.

sobre auíamos de tomar conclusãõ, acerca do estado da Conquista, e do q̄ auíamos de fazer. Onne 25 uotos de parecer q̄ nos uiessemos a Moçambique, e q̄ dalli com ajuda das naos se determinaria o q̄ foshe mais seruiço de D's e delRey; e q̄ dalli de Sena não se podia fazer nada, senãõ indiuidar a S. A. e matar lhe a gente da qual estauamos taõ mal prouidos, e ashi das cousas necessarias p<sup>a</sup> acometer nouas empresas, uisto mao successo do Mongaz e q̄ seria temeridade intentar outra cousa; esta foi em summa a conclusãõ q̄ nesta junta se tomou, e ashi se determinou, e nos uiemos a Moçambique aonde chegamos com algum trabalho da uiagem por uirmos todos doentes, deixando bem prouido a forte de S. Marçal, ashi de Capitaõ e soldados, como das mais cousas necessarias.

Das Minas e abundancia de ouro e prata escreueraõ outros largamente; mas em summa o q̄ se sabe he m<sup>to</sup> menos das informaçõs q̄ se tem em Portugal. Todauia a terra la por dentro he chea de Minas, mais ou menos groshas; e cauãõ mais ou menos ouro conforme a groshura de ellas. Cauãõ em certos tempos quando querem comprar roupa p<sup>a</sup> se uestirem; fazem m<sup>to</sup> mais caso do Ouro q̄ nos, ashi p<sup>a</sup> o comutarem no resgate como p<sup>a</sup> fazerem joyas, e peças q̄ trazem. Alguãs Minas deu o Monomotapa a Portugueses q̄ la andauãõ; mas q̄ lhe importar mais o comercio da roupa a deixaraõ, o qual he mais grosho; especialm<sup>to</sup> o das Machiras como fica ditto.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
JOURNEY MADE BY FATHERS OF THE COMPANY  
OF JESUS  
WITH FRANCISCO BARRETO  
IN THE CONQUEST OF MONOMOTAPA  
IN THE YEAR 1569.

*By Father Monclaro, of the said Company.*

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*Of the intention of the king Dom Sebastian in this conquest.*

From what I could gather when I was in Almeirim preparing to come with Francisco Barreto,\* and afterwards in those parts from the orders and letters of his Majesty, his intention was to fulfil the obligation by which he and the kings his predecessors had bound themselves to the sovereign pontiffs to cause the gospel to be promulgated, by whose authority they have justly and righteously acquired possession of these conquests and their commerce. Secondly, to aid in meeting the ordinary large expenses of his kingdom and of India, and if our Lord should so please that wealth resulted therefrom, to conquer Africa [*i.e.* Northern Africa]. And because he had more favourable reports of the abundant riches of the realms of Monomotapa than were borne out by facts, or came within our experience, he determined to carry out what the king, his grandfather, and the queen, his grandmother, wished to attempt during their reigns. The unjust

\* Francisco Barreto was a man of many years experience in war; he was of the king's council and general of his galleys. He was married to Dona Beatrice de Ataide, who died two days after his departure.

death of Father Gonçalo da Silveira, whom the monomotapa caused to be executed, being thereto persuaded and bribed by the Moors of those parts, was also another great motive. For these and other reasons, this expedition was ordered to be undertaken. Everything was decided in the kingdom, in a council of conscience, by learned persons of approved lives, whose articles we carried with us as a guide according to which, in order to acquire a just title to the lands that might be gained, the conquest was to be made. For this purpose the king thought it would be well to send four fathers of the Company, which he did.

*Of the difficulties which beset the commencement of this journey.*

Although the decisions of our Lord are so hidden from us that He only makes known what He chooses, and we comprehend no more than what he is pleased to manifest to us by revealing many matters to his servants, besides what he has revealed and declared to his church in the holy scriptures, there are nevertheless always events by comparing the beginnings and endings of which we are enabled to cast the eyes of our understanding upon some issues. And if in any case this can be asserted with reason, it is in the circumstances which attended the commencement of this journey.

When his Majesty had decided to send Francisco Barreto upon this conquest, induced by the reasons above stated, many of the members of his council endeavoured to prevent it, and the motives they urged were so forcible that they moved our lady the queen to come from Lisbon to Almeirim at a time of heavy rains to dissuade the king, her grandson, from this purpose. I well believe that her only motive in this was a zeal for conversion, and a most Christian desire to see him govern well in everything, especially at the beginning of his reign; but the king brought forward so many good reasons that she consented to the expedition. And when the fathers went to take leave of her, she gave them several objects of devotion from her chamber for the monomotapa in case he should be converted, among which was an *Ecce Homo* as big as the quarter of a sheet of paper of the largest size, of a very strange fashion and material. It was made of birds' feathers so fine in colour and so skilfully set that they depicted the image of Christ in that suffering, very

naturally. This picture was sent as a great present to his Majesty from the Spanish Indies. There was also a crucifix of ivory, of medium size, very well carved.

The next obstacle was that while his Majesty was in Almeirim intelligence was received that a large fleet of Lutherans had proceeded against the islands. Upon which the king came post haste to Lisbon in holy week, and all the council were of opinion that the fleet of Francisco Barreto ought not to set out, but should remain to succour the islands. This was not done, because of the resolution which the king had come to respecting this conquest.

The fleet began to make ready in the port of Lisbon. It consisted of three ships, one of six hundred tons, in which the chief captain was to sail,\* and the other two small, from Villa de Conde, of about one hundred and fifty tons each. In one of them went Vasco Fernandes Homem, a nobleman who was formerly master of the order of Santiago, which office is now held by the king, with his son Antonio Mascarenhas. In the other ship went Lourenço de Carvalho. Many persons were desirous of taking part in this expedition, both on account of the hope of the gold and riches expected from it, and because of the chief captain and so many noblemen. At Belem, before we set out, it was necessary for the overseer of the revenue, who was then Baron d'Alvito, with the chief captain to select those who could go from among the many who had embarked, and in two galleys they made their choice, and took in the most suitable of all. Even then many remained hidden in the ships for fear they should not be admitted, and I do not think that those who remained were less fortunate than those who were chosen, for they came out to India in other ships, as I myself saw in

\* The king and the members of his council chose as captain-general of this fleet Francisco Barreto, second son of Ruy Barreto, chief magistrate of Faro, overseer of the revenue in the kingdom of Algarve, also captain and governor of the city of Azamor, where no cavalcade [*i.e.* troops of Moorish horsemen] attacked him that he did not conquer, nor did any fail to be attacked by him. His mother was called Dona Branca de Vilhena, daughter of Miguel de Mello, chief magistrate of Olivença, brother of the count da Villa, Dom Rodrigo. Francisco Barreto was a notable cavalier, and very fortunate in war, both during the time when he was captain of the galleys, and in the fleet which went from this kingdom to succour Pinhão, of which he was chief captain. He had also been governor of India.

Mozambique. Barreto took with him many soldiers well trained in [Northern] Africa, many servants of the king, and other soldiers who had served with him in the galleys. In the opinion of many it was the best and most illustrious company that ever set out from the harbour of Lisbon. There went also with Francisco Barreto his son Ruy Nunes Barreto, and Antonio Pereira Brandão, a nobleman born at Porto, and of many years experience in India. Many other young noblemen of high rank embarked in this fleet, but it would take too long to mention each by name.

We set sail with great sound of trumpets and other warlike instruments, with which it is usual to take leave, and while saluting the churches of the saints which were visible from the sea as we passed by them, it happened that in saluting our Lady of Help a cannon burst, and one of the pieces struck the hat of Francisco Barreto \* and another the main brace, passing among the people without injuring any. Nearing the Cachopos the wind shifted until it was right against us, and we drifted with the ebbing tide, and could not turn after we had cast anchor. With the rising tide and the wind astern we returned to the port of Belem, where we remained eighteen days with a contrary wind, during which time the king came to Lisbon as has been stated, and we ran the risk of remaining on account of the reports of the Lutheran armada.

On the 16th of April of the said year, it being already late in the season, we set sail with a wind from the land, which lasted two days, but was so gentle that it only served us to reach Valdas Egoas. Here one night we were overtaken by a heavy storm, which drove one of the small ships of our squadron ashore, with a broken mast and other damages, of which ship Lourenço de Carvalho was captain, and it did not accompany the expedition farther. The other ship, commanded by Vasco Fernandes

\* The governor in such moments of peril devoutly commended himself to our Lady, to whom he had much devotion, in imitation of the great Affonso de Albuquerque, who, seeing himself in similar danger in one of the sieges of Goa, had just commended himself to our Lady when in a salvo of artillery another cannon by accident discharged a ball of iron sheathed in lead, which also struck his hat, doing no further harm than to thrust it on one side, the distance of the cannon being so small that it was not more than eight paces. These were certainly prognostics and presages of the unfortunate issue which was to attend this enterprise.

Homem, withstood the weather better, and accompanied us as far as the equator.

*Of what befell us in our voyage as far as Mozambique.*

We were seventy-seven days in reaching the equator, where a thunderstorm overtook us. Here we frequently saw flying fish, which are as numerous as large flocks of birds, and fly a great space in the air. They are preyed upon by large fish which follow them constantly under water. These fish are called albacores. They are very swift, and however fast the ship goes with all her sails full of wind, they follow her, and this during the whole voyage, except at the Cape of Good Hope, which they avoid because of the intense cold; and this happens to the ships both coming from and going to the kingdom. A great quantity of fish followed us all the way to Brazil, and this is the sign of a bad voyage, for very few accompany those whose navigation is prosperous. The flying fish are also preyed upon by birds of the air, which subsist solely upon them and such other small fish as they can get, and this persecution which they suffer both in the air and the sea which they take as their refuge is very worthy of note.

Among many species of birds, there is one which is greatly persecuted by the others, and when they have made it drop its excrement they let it alone while they eat it, fighting in the air among themselves to get it first, and then they return to pursue the poor bird, and never leave it till they have made it drop its excrement again. This is common, and I saw it several times, but I cannot believe that this is the ordinary food of those birds, but rather that it must have some great virtue which causes them to seek it with such avidity.

Near the coast of Brazil, before we came in sight of land, we saw from the ship, but at a good distance, a combat between a thrasher and a whale. I saw a fish as long as a lance rise in the air to the height of about three lances from the water, and moving through the air with its body quivering let itself fall upon the whale. Some said it was only the whale moving its limbs, which could not be, because it was a separate thing, and afterwards in the bay of All Saints I saw many whales half out of water, and they use their limbs very differently.

On the 4th of August we got sight of the bay. Two galleons which in past years had been sent there to guard the coast, thinking we were French or English, came out, but recognising us, we proceeded in company, and disembarked at the port of All Saints, where we remained six months. There we had intelligence of a great plague in Lisbon, which commenced at the time of our departure, and that the wife of Francisco Barreto was dead. Of the men who accompanied us from Portugal, five hundred and fifty very capable soldiers, as I have said, sixty remained in Brazil, and as many others embarked in their stead; and we set sail at the end of January 1570.

After setting out we passed the Cape of Good Hope and along the other side over the bank of Agulhas, which there has a depth of seventy and eighty fathoms. Here, while all the fishermen in the ship were ready to catch codfish, roach, and other fish like those of Portugal (as is customary in ships passing that place), there arose such a storm that we were driven back more than two hundred leagues, in which we went to and fro for thirty six days, using up our provisions and water. At the end of these days the wind freshened behind us, and we went towards the land of Natal.

At this time we began to catch fish, and some days took more than a hundred albacores. There was also a great fishing for sharks, a very ugly fish like a large sea-lamprey, with three rows of teeth, very greedy, and easy to catch. One soldier caught more than a hundred to his own share. In the stomach of one which was cut open they found a pewter plate, a gimlet, and a shoe. It happened that a ham which lay with others in the sun fell overboard, and a shark came immediately and swallowed it. The owner arranged with a soldier, who caught the shark with the ham in its stomach, still fresh and entire. The owner gave it to the soldier when he saw it, through abhorrence of the shark, and the soldier and his companions ate it without the least disgust.

With these pastimes we reached the port of Mozambique on the 16th of May 1570, nearly seven hundred souls, of whom five hundred and fifty were soldiers, such a picked company as had not been seen in the island of Mozambique for many years.

*Of the Island of Mozambique.*

The island of Mozambique is very small, being scarcely a league in length, and so narrow in the middle that a stone may be thrown from one side to the other. It is of sand, and covered with palm groves. There is no fresh water, except in some pools which they call fountains, where it is brackish. That used for drinking is brought from a distance of five leagues. It has an ancient fortress, but a very fine new one is now being built, on which large artillery which we brought from the kingdom will be mounted. There is a ruined Moorish village. The Portuguese village has about a hundred inhabitants, and of people of that country, namely Kaffirs and Indians mixed, there are about two hundred. It is about half a league distant from the mainland. It is healthier at present, because of different refreshments which are sent from the gardens on the other shore, and a certain quantity of oranges and lemons. Many deaths take place here from the ships which arrive from the kingdom. The captain of Sofala resides here, it being a more convenient port for all the coast of Melinde. The currency is gold dust, the least quantity or weight being half a vintem. Many hens are brought from the mainland, which they call Kaffirs, because they are small and not very good; the capons are excellent, but the fish here is very unhealthy food.\*

On reaching the port of Mozambique, which is difficult to enter but is capacious inside, we learned that the ship in which Vasco Fernandes Homem was had arrived, and had not returned to the kingdom as some imagined. We found all the people in that ship ill, and some dead, among whom was Antonio Mascarenhas, son of Vasco Fernandes. We also learned that Goa and Chaul were in a state of siege, and other news of India.

Pedro Barreto, nephew of Francisco Barreto, hearing of his

\* A small arm of the sea divides it from the mainland, but it is very narrow, being about the same width as the river of Lisbon between Belem and the other bank of Caparica. This island is a station for the ships which come from the kingdom, where they take in water, leave their sick, and obtain meat and the necessary victuals for the remaining nine hundred leagues of the voyage to Goa. The fortress is very strong, and according to the reports of those who come from the island, it is the best which his Majesty has in those seas and lands of the East. It has still the same artillery that was conveyed to it by Francisco Barreto, which is very large, and made of iron.

nucle's departure, would not finish his term as captain of Sofala, but embarked for the kingdom in the ships which had put in, and died upon the voyage, leaving by his death a large sum of money to the brotherhood of Misericordia of Lisbon. And in Mozambique he left nearly seventy thousand cruzados in the hands of his factor. Vasco Fernandes Homem, who acted as captain until the arrival of Francisco Barreto, took possession of this money, as funds for the expedition, and delivered it to him on his arrival, and he very soon spent it.

Here we remained a year and a half without Francisco Barreto proceeding on the expedition, and in that year George de Mendocça passed that way as chief captain of the Indian trade. After a year Francisco Barreto told me that he repented not having gone on with the expedition, as we advised him, for then he had money, his people were healthy and willing, and there still remained some provisions from the kingdom, namely more than six hundred quintals of biscuit, with powder, ammunition, and boats. We asked the chief captain to proceed in the meantime to the islands of Comoro, and to conquer them for the crown, because they would be very advantageous, and to build a fortress there and put a strong garrison in it. These islands are eighty leagues from Mozambique. The captain answered that he thought it would be better to go to the coast of Melinde, and from it proceed against the islands; and so in the beginning of the following October we set out in the small ship of Vasco Fernandes, in which there went nearly three hundred soldiers, he going as captain.

After our departure there arrived a caravel which we had left behind in Brazil, which Francisco Barreto had commissioned to explore the coast from the Cape of Good Hope, according to the king's order. The pilot thereof was a skilful seaman, and very daring, as he showed by adventuring upon this most difficult navigation in so small a vessel, where none had ever been before. And having counted the stones (as the saying is) from the Cape along the whole coast as far as Mozambique, he went twelve leagues up the river Velloso, where he landed, and being deceived by some cunning Kaffirs who were fugitives from the Portuguese of Mozambique, was killed by them on shore, he trusting them and being off his guard. With him they killed two young Brazilians. This, besides being a great grief to all,

was a great loss, for he had with him a record of all the latitudes he had taken, and the journal of the exploration of the Cape and other bays, for his own use, and which he alone could understand; and he had only one Portuguese seaman in the ship, who came with him from Brazil as sailor and master of the caravel, and he could give but a poor account of the other's profitable labour. The caravel returned with the currents as best it could to Mozambique, which it had passed by, although the new pilot and some two or three Portuguese who came with him from Brazil were aware that they were going in the wrong direction.\*

After this intelligence had arrived Francisco Barreto left for the coast with the greater number of the people in a small vessel and some pangayos, and came to the city of Kilwa, where we had arrived a month before. The coast from Mozambique to Kilwa is for the most part lofty, with such high mountains so strangely and marvellously shaped, and so beautiful that it might lead one to imagine the terrestrial paradise lay on their summits, which some conjecture was situated in these eastern parts. The marvellous beauty of the mountains is no small argument in the question, but the country and climate are the worst in the world, and only fit for inhabitants as savage as the Kaffirs. In this journey we were nearly lost upon the rocks two leagues below Kilwa.

*Of the city of Kilwa and others of that coast.*

The king of Kilwa is a Moor, as are all his subjects, and, as I was informed, was once the principal and greatest king here, because his possessions extended to Sofala before the Portuguese came to India. The city is on an island near the mainland, and according to what I observed in other Moorish cities and villages, they are all on islands or near the sea. It would appear that they adopted the same method in conquering this land that we did in India, commanding only the sea shore.

The city was formerly very large and prosperous, the houses were all of stone and lime with tiled roofs, but it was twice destroyed by our people because of the treachery of its inhabitants. I saw some Saracens with bows where they say (obscure) they weigh there the gold which comes from Sofala to the

\* The ship *Rainha* was lost this year on the coast opposite Mozambique.

harbours. These Moors have some commerce with the islands of Comoro, and in the interior in ivory, which they buy from the Kaffirs to sell to the Portuguese who are always in those parts, or to the factor of the captain of the said coast, whence there come also quantities of honey and wax. Here we were received and well treated by the Moors, who fearing we would attack the country deserted it, so that we traversed it at will. Twenty days later Francisco Barreto arrived with the other fleet of Pangayos, and remained here eight days longer, holding conferences with the king, who was black, and the prince, who was blind of one eye.

We left in the pangayos, the ship being useless, as the coast is studded with shoals. These vessels are sewn with cocoa-nut fibre, and have not a single nail in them; the sails are of mats or plaited palm leaves; and they are very safe. They are the only vessels which can be used there, for even if they strike upon the shoals they run no risk, unless the waves are strong enough to shatter them, because they have two forks upon which the vessel is left supported when the tide goes down, like a cripple on crutches. They sail so near the wind that they seem to go against it.

In these vessels we went along the coast, and reached an island called Monfia, which is subject to the king of Kilwa. It has an abundance of tar, which is extracted from the trees, and a quantity of cocoa-nut fibre, obtained from the numerous palm groves. It is very cool and pleasant. It has a Moorish chief, and a factor of the captain of the coast to conduct the trade in tar and cocoa-nut fibre.

After we had been here two or three days, we went to another island which has a king of its own, larger than Monfia, named Zanzibar. It is about twenty-five leagues in length and ten or twelve in width. It is a very fertile island, and abounds with yams, fruit, and other produce of the country. It rains very frequently here, and it is very unhealthy, as are all the islands of that coast. It has a city, which was once as large as Kilwa, but is now much destroyed and in ruins. Here there were many Kaffir rebels from the mainland, who kept the country in confusion, and the inhabitants were so weak that they dared not go to their properties through fear of them. We penetrated seven or eight leagues inland, fought the rebels, and expelled them

without resistance; therefore the king, besides the homage which he renders to the king of Portugal, made him a gift of the island with great solemnities, and playing upon musical instruments upon our taking possession of it.\*

The soil is very rich, and if the town was in a different place it would be healthy, but its site is sickly. It has a great quantity of wood, and a forest of trees so high and thickly set that we travelled through it more than two leagues during which for the most part we did not see the sun. Here I saw for the first time the areca-nut trees, which are shady Indian trees much esteemed for their fruit, which is eaten with the betel that twines about the trees like ivy. They resemble palm-trees, but are more shady; they grow along a stream of water. The trees are the best and yield the most beautiful timber I have ever seen.

There is much to be obtained here with which India can be assisted in case of necessity. There are many apes in the woods, and wild pigs, but little other game. There are small oranges, very yellow, which are eaten with the skin, and yet are very sweet, but they are unhealthy. There is abundance of tamarind, that drug so valued by apothecaries, and there are many others of different kinds. The country itself and the trees resemble Portugal very much. There are hills, but they are not very high. The harbours are not very secure, being small bays and curves in the coast.

Before reaching this island, from the pangayo in which I was, I saw a fish about three ells in length and four palms in thickness, which at the back appeared like a large sole. All the sailors said that this was a mermaid, and exactly resembled a woman in front. They find many of these, and catch them, and relate many wonders of nature concerning them. I set this down, so that any who shall hear sirens spoken of may understand that there are no others in all the sea navigated by the

\* There are generally some Portuguese residing in this island, though but few; they have their chapel and chaplain. From this island they have a trade with the mainland, which is about half a league distant across the arm of the sea. The trade is in cloth, beads, iron, ivory, and some ambergris. The island is very fertile, and has many thorny fruit trees, such as orange-, limes, lemons, and pineapples, which latter is a fruit resembling the pinecones of this country, but larger, and is very delicious. It is peeled before the fruit is eaten.

Portuguese, and it is certain that it was this fish which gave rise to the fables about this coast.\*

From the island of Zanzibar we went to Mombasa, which is also an island, but is set in the mainland like Goa, though the sea beats upon part of it. It has a very good and safe port, which is most convenient; it is about two leagues in circumference, and has its Moor [ruler] like the others and a large and populous city. Here for the first time I saw large vessels drawn up on shore, all sewn with cocoa-nut fibre, without nails of any kind. There is abundance of fruit of thorny trees, and the oranges of Mombasa are celebrated, but we did not find them so good. Here at the entrance are the foundations of a fort which the viceroy Dom Pedro [Mascarenhas] commanded to be built to guard the port, but the work was not continued, neither was the culture of Christianity which our people then pretended to establish there, because of the Moors; and thus little or nothing can be done with them upon that coast. It is their custom to administer poison, so that our people are always exposed to danger there.†

Thence we went to Melinde, which is also a Moorish city, in a very ruinous condition, for the sea has encroached upon almost every part of it, but what remains standing shows that it must have been very noble in ancient times, as is related in the histories of India. The Moors here are very friendly with the

\* I wish to make a note of this curiosity, that when persons shall at any time hear talk of sirens, they may know that they are not fabulous, as some believe, but have been found in that part of the sea, which has been many times navigated, and also at the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Comorin, as I have seen in letters from men of great authority in those parts.

† The Portuguese resort to this island of Mombasa for purposes of commerce, as above stated. The iron which they trade in is used by the negroes to make assagai and musios, that is daggers much larger than ours, with ivory handles. Here there is an abundance of \_\_\_\_\_ in which they trade, which is like the tar that we use for our ships. In the bazaar, that is the market-place, a silver coin is current like the scale of a fish, and worth 4 reis. The king is very friendly to us, for his own interest, because if he offended our people no ships would go to his port, which he considers a great honour. From this place onwards all those of this coast are the white, hooded Moors, for there are three castes in India, those of one caste wear hoods, others wear small caps, and others turbans. Those who wear turbans are the most honourable. In general those of this coast are very faithful to the Portuguese, and we hold them to be the best of all.

Portuguese, and in features and appearance in no way differ from ourselves. Many of them speak Portuguese very well, our principal trade with them being carried on here, and it being the residence of the captain.

These Moors have as neighbours in the interior a race of Kaffirs different from all the others of the coast. They are called Mocegejos, and the name alone declares their barbarity. They have neither holy days, cultivated lands, nor houses; they live in the fields or woods, and cover their heads with stinking clay, the smell being caused by its being mixed with different oils, and to them it is very delicious. They have large numbers of cattle, and subsist upon their blood and milk mixed together, which they eat raw, and they have no other ordinary food, according to report; they bleed the oxen on alternate days. They are very warlike, and it is said that their habit in warfare is to cut off foreskins and swallow them, afterwards casting them up out of their mouths when they appear before the king, that he may make them knights. Their dress consists of the skins of animals, and they have many other very barbarous customs. The Moors here are much molested by these Kaffirs, and to prevent them from spoiling their crops and making war upon them, they buy them off with cloth and other things, but their usual dress is made of skins, as I have said.

Here in Melinde, a quarter of a league from the city, along the sea-shore, they showed me a large stretch of sand, beyond which towards the interior, about a musket-shot away, they say, and it is true, that there is a great and mighty river, which penetrates far into the interior, and, as they report, reaches the country of Prester John. A nobleman named João Freyre prepared some boats at Melinde to go and explore this great river, but the Moors killed him with poison before he could effect his purpose. They say the river flows through great plains where horses, oxen, and other cattle graze; and recount other advantages which would result from the discovery of Prester John, which might be done at a small cost, by guarding against the Moors.

From Melinde we went to Cambo, which is a large city, with several fine edifices, and is situated on the shore of a strait which runs between it and an island. It has a very good port, and large trading ships sewn with cocoa-nut fibre. The country

is sterile and sandy, and is part of the mainland. A queen governs here, who is very friendly to the Portuguese, so much so that she exposed herself to great danger for their sake. Certain Turkish galleys and other vessels came into her port, and hearing that there were some Portuguese in the place, demanded them; but she refused to give them up, and rather provided for their safety and concealed them. The Turks thereupon worked great havoc in her country, and carried her as a captive to their fleet, with other Moorish women; but she, being upon the poop of a galley at night, threw herself into the sea, and escaped by swimming. And because she had endured this for us, our late king, now with God, commanded that she and her affairs should be cared for by all his realm of India, and that great consideration should be shown to her. Francisco Barreto went to visit her with a large military escort, and in the name of his Majesty bestowed upon her many privileges and safe conducts to traverse the coast.

Here I saw for the first time some trees common in India, which throw out roots from above towards the ground, and so multiply very much; it was wonderful to see some already fixed in the earth, some just taking root, and others growing downwards. They are so grasping and covetous that they would overgrow everything if they were not relieved of many roots.

Thence we went to Pate,\* which was our principal destination, with intention to destroy it because of the harm which is done there to the Portuguese. It is about twelve leagues distant from the city of Cambo, along the coast. It has a bad port, and at low tide the sea retires more than three leagues, and with the rising tide the water rushes in very furiously. Nevertheless it has a large commerce with Mecca and other parts. The city is very large, and has many fine edifices. Its Moorish priest was the chief of all on the coast.

When we arrived we found the country deserted by all but

\* It is a very large Moorish city, and a different trade is carried on, for there are very rich silk cloths, from which the Portuguese derive great profit in the other Moorish cities where they are not to be had, because they are only manufactured at Pate, and are sent to the others from that place. The Portuguese exchange iron ware, beads, and cotton cloths, which the people of Pate do not possess, for these silks. Ships from India resort to this city. It is a separate kingdom. At the time when the fleet arrived there the country was deserted.

the king and principal Moors, who begged for mercy, which was readily granted upon their paying the soldiers twelve thousand cruzados, partly in money and partly in cloths and provisions. These Moors are very proud, and the worst enemies we have upon that coast, and so they proved themselves after we had left for Mozambique, for they took revenge by killing some peaceable Portuguese merchants who were in those parts. They also robbed and killed some Christian young men, with the excuse that a Moor was killed by the people of the captain of the coast, and they are in rebellion.

We were here nearly twenty days, until we returned to Zanzibar, and thence to Mozambique, without going to the islands of Comoro. Many of our people fell sick and died during this journey. The principal kings here were those of Kilwa and Melinde; all are now petty rulers, poor and without power, more worthy to be called sheiks than kings. The people are generally poor and wretched in nearly all these parts, and the Portuguese are becoming so already through the loss of the commerce and navigation taken from them by their enemies.

*Of the manner in which we reached Mozambique and prepared to proceed to Monomotapa.*

During this sojourn in Mozambique and on the coast of Melinde, which occupied rather more than a year and a half, over one hundred men of the expedition died. They were replaced by two hundred and odd who had remained sick in the hospital from the fleet of the viceroy Dom Antonio de Noronha, who arrived from the kingdom very ill, as were also many in the fleet, so that he set out almost without heart to succour India. A letter had previously arrived for Francisco Barreto from the viceroy Dom Luis [de Ataide], saying that he would rejoice to have him in that place, but he did not clearly ask him to assist in person or with men, but with heavy artillery and other stores. Of these he supplied what he could, and he was also ready to go to the assistance of Dom Luis when the new viceroy arrived and prevented his departure, being of opinion that he had sufficient men with him.

Thus in November 1572 we set out upon our expedition, in nearly twenty small vessels, a caravel, and a small galleon used

in the trade to Cape Correntes, which being a lofty ship steered a straight course for the river of Cuama at the mouth of . The small vessels proceeded along the shore, putting in at many ports, the first of which was the islands of Angoxa.

These islands are peopled by Moors and Kaffirs intermixed, the lands are low lying, and very marshy and unhealthy. There is a great abundance of cocoa-nut fibre, from the large number of palm trees,\* of which they make very fine mats. They catch turtles here, from the shells of which they make very pretty coffers and boxes. This coast is well provided with hens and capons, which are the best meat they have in these parts, though we generally found the hens tasteless. There are no cows except on the coast of Melinde, and there they are small. We were received here by the sheik and other Moors with outward rejoicing and welcome, although we were very odious to them in their hearts.

We remained here three days, and afterwards put in at some other islands three leagues farther on, because of a contrary wind, and remained there eight days. Opposite the place where we put in was the mainland, where there were many apes as big as large greyhounds, and when the tide was low they came to the shore to gather shell fish, crabs, and other things, with their usual caperings and antics. The soldiers derived amusement from them, and from a man in the fleet who, having been on these shores in former years, landed, and was pursued by the apes till he took refuge in the boat.

After this we reached the shoal, and were scattered by the weather, any wind being sufficient to raise huge waves and make the navigation perilous. South-easters are the most usual, and are contrary here. We therefore put into a river called Quizimguo. Ruy Nunes Barreto and Vasco Fernandes Homem were in their vessels ten leagues in advance, and put into this river first. It is a large river, with a good port and bay. The land is very marshy, and water is scarce; there were only

\* The pangayos and other vessels used upon this coast have no nails of any sort, and as we have spoken several times of the cocoa-nut fibre, this seems the proper place to note how it is obtained. It must therefore be known that upon this coast there are many palm groves, as numerous as the plantations of oak between Douro and Minho, but they do not yield dates like those of Africa and Barbary.

some pits near the shore made by the sailors, from which we drank. The people came to our boats with fish, figs, and other produce.

The higher the rank of the negroes here, the more red ochre mixed with oil they put upon their heads to make them look like figures from hell, and they use many other stinking things, which smell sweetly to them. Their lips are all pierced, and they thrust pieces of copper and pewter through the holes, so that their lips being dragged down by the weight, they are always slobbering. Their teeth are filed. They are very barbarous, and are called Machijas, not Machuas. They are girded round the loins with pieces of cloth which are given to them by the Portuguese who resort to these rivers to trade for ivory, some kinds of provisions, and ambergris, which is often found on this coast. These negroes have no form of worship, they are great sorcerers, very treacherous, and great thieves. They are also both weak and malicious, characters which invariably go together, not only in the nature of man, but also in that of brute beasts, from which the paradox is verified that every weak character is malicious in cunning.

The ordinary food of these people is millet, rice, and many seeds of wild fruits, because on account of the climate they cannot cultivate from seeds of ripe fruit, as is our custom; and those seeds which they have are very strange to us who live in Europe, but it is said that though we are not used to them, when we are in those parts we find them more delicious than those to which we have been accustomed. Though there are animals in the country which serve for food, such as hens, goats, sheep, different kinds of game, and many tame fowls and wild birds, they make more use of fish, which they eat raw, and which is very abundant, both of such kinds as are found upon our coast of Portugal and of other kinds very strange to us. There is no king upon this coast, except those who are called fumos, who are the chiefs of the country, some great and some petty, and always at war among themselves. There are some half-caste Moors among them, and the whole of the coast is infested by this infernal race.

The villages are of very small straw huts. The men carry bows and arrows with iron heads very well made, they have very good assagais, but are only skilful in manufacturing arms

of this kind. They have no manner or form of justice, and this is universal among all these barbarians, thus they slay lightly and for small causes. From this it follows that they are most barbarous, which is the general case through all the realms of Monomotapa. They have no priesthood, nor ceremonies, nor any form of doctrine, nor do they strive after any. Even in mechanical arts they have no skill. In short they are such a barbarous nation that many of their neighbours, who are woolly-haired negroes, have more policy and better skill in mechanical arts than they have.

These people deserve nothing better, for they dwell in a fertile country, where there are many animals which might be reared for their wool, watered fields to grow flax, and suitable places to sow all the cotton they could require, and yet they live in their brutish sloth, generally dressed in raw skins, and he who wears them prepared is very elegant. These garments are so short that they cover but a small part of their bodies, and it causes shame to see them go about without the pieces of cloth worn by the nobles, which come from India. These people, as we have said, are principally those of the interior, who have no skill either to clothe themselves or to snare fish, birds, or beasts, but are only such adepts in thieving that even our wandering gipsies are not equal to them. There are many among them who steal boys, deceiving them and luring them into their canoes, and then bringing them to our people for sale; and if at any time when they are thus brought our people refuse to buy, they say they will kill them that they may not be betrayed.

Before reaching this river we went to another called Mafuta, which is near Quilimane.

Afterwards, we reached Quilimane at the end of November. For the better understanding of what I have to relate concerning this great river of Cuama, it is to be observed that as far as I could gather it enters the sea by seven or eight mouths, of which the first and last are navigable to the body of the river in the interior, where they unite. The first, which is called Quilimane, is only navigable for six months, when there is sufficient water during the winter, and this arm has the least depth. The last mouth, which is Luabo, and which has the greatest quantity of water, is navigable all the year.

At this river we found two or three married Portuguese settlers, who formerly dwelt at Sofala. We also found a negro, the chief or fumo of the land, who was more than a hundred years old, and was called Mongalo. This man remembered the time when Vasco da Gama came to the mouth of the river, and related that he had with him two ships, of which he burnt one and put the other on shore to careen it. According to him, they called this river the river of Good Omens. Here Francisco Barreto ordered several boats to be made, which might be used on the river; they are called luzios, are smaller than pangayos, and are sewn together with coir. They have a cabin in the middle, with a gallery above, in which they place the luggage and other goods.

From this river of Quilimane, we went to the mouth of another arm, which is called Linde, and passing by the other mouths by which the great Cuama enters the sea, we reached the last, which is called Luabo. These first and last mouths are thirty leagues apart. The country here is very marshy, low-lying, and unhealthy.

#### *Of the great river Cuama.*

The latitude of the river Cuama taken at the mouth of Luabo is about  $17\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  S. The direction of the stream is from north-west to south-east. The country through which it flows is a level plain for nearly a hundred leagues inland. The inhabitants are Kaffirs, chiefly Macuas, but not so hideous and barbarous in their customs as those upon the sea-shore. Their teeth are filed, but their lips are not pierced. They wear their hair done up in a kind of horn. Their trade with our people along this river consists of a little ivory, but mostly of provisions. This river is all divided among fumos, and there is no great chief to whom they pay tribute, but they live as in a republic, as will be more fully explained hereafter. The sea does not enter this river more than ten or twelve leagues, because of the strength of its current. There is sufficient fish of many kinds, but it is unwholesome. Thirty leagues upward the two principal mouths, Quilimane and Luabo, unite, the others flow from these two arms, in which they rise.

There are many hippopotami in this river, very hideous and badly proportioned animals; their heads are like a horse's, but

much larger. I have often seen them raise their necks out of the water, and open their mouths so wide that a man of medium stature might have stood upright in the aperture of their jaws. I have seen them also on shore, and their tails and buttocks are like those of a clipped mule; their legs are short and their foot-prints like stars or silver stamps. They have manes and forelocks like a horse, short ears, and all have stars on their foreheads. In the breeding time they are very dangerous, and pursue the luzios and canoes, and sometimes kill some of the people when they overtake or meet these vessels. They feed on shore at night, and seek the plains which have most grass, at which time they make a great noise with their neighing.

Francisco Barreto fired at one with his arquebuss in the breeding time, and struck it on the head. We heard from our boat the sound of the ball when it struck, and, as others say, it bounded off without doing much damage. The animal was stunned, but made several dives, and came up farther down the river alive and unhurt, though stunned. When they rush from the land to the river their course is very furious, and they unheedingly overthrow and break everything they meet, even good sized trees. Up the river there are many well beaten tracks which they have made along the watercourses of the country, and they are not found except in the valleys of rivers or on islets.

There are also many large alligators, with such big shells (*sic*) that a good-sized breastplate can be made of them, and it is not a bad weapon of defence. I saw one which nothing could pierce, which a young man found near the river when we entered that country, and he made a good breastplate of it. They have large fins on their tails, with which they help themselves when they seize anything. Their chief strength is shown in the water. They have short legs and nails, and leave a foot print like a lion. The liver of these animals is the most deadly poison known as yet in these parts. These alligators are common in the whole of Kaffraria, and also in the Congo and the Nile, and are the crocodiles of Pliny which gave rise to the famous proverb of the schools *Ut Canis ad Nilum*. These alligators hunt their prey in the following manner: they lie in wait quietly in the river for the stags, gazelles, and wild buffaloes which come down from the thickets to drink, and seize upon them and carry them off to eat

them. In some places they hide themselves to devour men and cattle, even though it might be a very large bull, as we saw in the lair of a huge alligator.

One incident I cannot refrain from relating. Going up the river with Francisco Barreto, we put in at a wide and shady cove, and having landed some Kaffirs came to speak to us, who related that three or four days previously there had been a fierce combat in that place between a lion and an alligator. The lion was pursuing a wild buffalo-cow to kill it, which wearied by its flight stopped to drink on the bank of the river, where a huge alligator seized its muzzle, but as it was very large could not succeed in dragging it into the water. The lion came upon the scent of the buffalo, and found it struggling with the alligator, which was holding fast to it. He gave it such a blow upon the buttock with his forepaw that it sent both alligator and buffalo some distance from the river, the alligator being killed by a blow which tore it open. This was seen by some Kaffirs, and I saw the footprints of the lion, and the mark of the forepaw from the extremity of the last nail was more than a good span in length, and the marks of the nails were long and curved, which showed their size, and they were still quite fresh. The Kaffirs ate the flesh of the alligator, and the lion sated himself with the buffalo.

One Jeronimo Dalmeida, a Portuguese soldier who was fifteen years in those parts, says of these alligators that he saw one dead in the river, which was sixty feet in length and ten in width, according to his measurement. The emperor of Monomotapa is so cruel that when he wishes to judge a cause he commands the accused to swim across the river, and if he succeeds in doing so without being devoured by the alligators he is held guiltless, but if not he is devoured, and that is his punishment.

We proceeded up this river during sixteen days, and when the wind failed we were towed along. A canoe went first with a cable many fathoms in length and an anchor or large grapnel, this canoe was rowed as far as the cable would permit, when the anchor was dropped, those in our vessel then hauled on the cable until we reached the other end, when we cast anchor, and the canoe went on again. In this manner, and also by towing, we made the greater part of the journey. This river is very pleasant, on account of the many islands which it forms, of which the two principal, before reaching Sena, are Caija and Inhangoma. Caija

is about twelve leagues long, and has a large village with its fumo, governing itself. The other island, Inhangoma, two leagues before reaching Sena, is five leagues in length, and the width of this and the other is about two leagues, or three in parts. It also has its village with its fumo and rulers.

The navigation of this river was very cheerful, we had abundant provisions in hens, capons, and fish from the river, as we carried nets for the purpose. The land along the river as far as Sena, which is sixty leagues, is the most fertile I have ever seen, except the flat lands of India, but the cultivators are extremely slothful, and the country is also very unhealthy for them.

Francisco Barreto reached Sena, which is a small village of straw huts in a thicket, in the year 1572, on the feast of our Lady of . . . . The country is ruled by a Moor, the son of Mopango, a great chief, but a vassal of Monomotapa, who succeeded to the kingdom while we were there, through the death of his father. He often came to Sena for love of the wine and cloths which the Portuguese gave him. Here our people disembarked, a select and well equipped company, more in the humour to fight Turks or other skilled soldiers than Kaffirs. In all they numbered more than seven hundred arquebusiers, with many good officers, and soldiers of long experience in war. The Kaffir chief accompanied Francisco Barreto with great courtesy.

In Sena the Moors began to wish to kill the Portuguese secretly with poison. There came large oxen from the interior, so handsome and tame that those of this kingdom cannot excel them, and these were bought in the interior for beasts of burden and provision for the soldiers. But the Moors sent in the mornings and put poison on the grass used for their pasture, and made the governor believe that when any died it was from the effect of a certain noxious herb which grew in the country. They also made the inhabitants believe this, to the end that there might be no cattle in that country, and that it might not be occupied by our people; and even to this day those in Sofala live in this error. The oxen died suddenly, though fine and in good condition, and were given to the soldiers for food. When I saw this I always suspected the cause, and maintained that it was poison, so that the governor was vexed and cast black looks upon me when I spoke to him about it.

At this time the horses arrived from India, and though most of them were bad and old, yet among twenty-five or thirty which came there were two very fine Arabs and some others passably good. As they could not kill these as easily as the oxen, they bribed the Moorish grooms who had charge of them to admit some Moors to give them poison in the mornings, which they agreed to, and the bribe was about ten cruzados. This was not discovered until they had killed fifteen of the best, and I always asserted that it was caused by the poison of the Moors, but it was of no use. While they were killing these horses, the governor saw that his son from taking a little milk from the Moors—for he was so careless with them that he ate of all they sent, with those of his household—and all those who partook of the milk died in one day, namely a page of his who went for it, a gazelle which he had in the house, and his horse, for the groom who took care of it had given it poison that day.

It happened that there was a very fine large stallion among the horses, which, having been poisoned in the morning, while it was being led out to drink fell upon the way and cast up some yellow matter with all the symptoms of poisoning. Seeing this, the steward of Francisco Barreto, whom I had persuaded to believe that all had died of poison, fell upon the groom with a cudgel, saying that he would hang him unless he spoke the truth. He brought the intelligence to the governor, who was almost forced to give him leave to put the groom to the torture. While they were setting about it, the groom bade them desist, saying that he would speak the truth, and he made known the whole plot of the Moors; and the governor, convinced at last, ordered them to be arrested.

All the deaths among our people were not caused by poison, but some were due to sickness, bad provisions, and scarcity of food, for the land only yields a little millet and meixoeira, which is like the hemp-seed of Portugal, resembling that which is given to birds and which the negresses sell to children in Lisbon, like sesame, and a few vegetables. There is another kind of grain, which they call nachenim, and the negroes murume, which resembles mustard seed. They grind this by hand, by rubbing it between two stones, and of the flour they form a paste which they eat. Of this also they make their wine, and it is more plentiful than any other. All this time, however, the soldiers had not

sufficient of it to satisfy them, and it seems to me that this grain is in substance like the panic that is grown between Douro and Minho, but that this is an inferior kind of food. The cause of the scarcity of millet is the love the locusts have for it, and it is commonly current among the Moors, Kaffirs, and old Portuguese settlers, that there were never any locusts in this country until after the death of Father Dom Gonçalo, and I have heard all of them openly confess as much.

As to the introduction of Christianity, there is very little hope, for the people do not understand what it is to be a Christian. They are so wrapped up in their own customs and the pleasures of the flesh, that they know nothing of the soul, which they cannot see, and they think that to be a Christian has nothing to do with the next life, but simply means to be a friend of the Portuguese. They all have many wives, and beyond this vice they think it an honour to him who has the most. Lastly they are thieves, with neither faith nor truth, and therefore they will not trust even their own children; they are extremely ungrateful, and if anything is given to them they think it is from fear, or because it is their fate and must necessarily come to them. Therefore I conclude that this land is a sepulchre for Portuguese.

Your Majesty may draw a revenue from this country by leasing the river, the profit of which will increase greatly from the trade in squares of calico which is now beginning, gold will be current as it has ever been in large quantities, and orders may be given to regulate the commerce. For this purpose I say it should be leased, because the officials now draw all the profit; but if the trade is not carried on by Your Majesty, but by a lessee, something will be saved, and not so little but that the whole of this government may yield in gold, ivory, ambergris, which is found on the coast of Sofala, at Cape Correntes, and Inhambane, and the seed pearls which are also found there, more than a hundred thousand cruzados, without any expense to the exchequer. To endeavour to conquer these territories is to waste money and Portuguese, and as it is impossible to attend to so many things none of them are properly mastered and executed. He who would have all loses all. *Omne regnum in se divisum, &c.*

Of this river we have explored about one hundred and forty leagues, and the proof of its size is that though no tributary runs

into it below Sena except a small one along a mountain which is called Chire, and above near Mongas another, and with so many and such large sandbanks as to form islands, the volume of water is so great that opposite Sena and in other places it is nearly half a league wide and keeled boats go up it sixty leagues, and in the winter could continue for the whole distance which is yet discovered, were it not for the violent current. The water of this river is very pleasant to the taste, but they say it is unhealthy. I drank it more than two years, and always found it very good.

We heard from the Moors and Kaffirs that about a hundred leagues above Sena, a little more or less according to their account of the distance, there was a very large river of which this Cuama is an arm, and that it was so wide that the opposite shore was not visible, that it was full of many large islands, and that the Moors go up it to collect ivory. We conjectured from this that it must be the river which flows to Cape Delgado, or to Kilwa, which, in the interior, as they informed us on the coast of Melinde, is very large, as that of Melinde which, it is said, goes to Prester John or near his country, may be believed to be so large, though at the mouth, where it enters the sea, it looks like a brook, going under the shore, and passing near it, as has been stated elsewhere. They reported many other things of this river, which I do not believe, for as it flows from the north-west to the east-north-east this other larger river cannot be that which goes to Prester John, or to which his people resort, as some say, for that kingdom is opposite the Red sea, which is distant from this Monomotapa, as may be seen, more than eight hundred leagues, or nearly a thousand.

Up the river of Cuama silver mines are being discovered, of which reports have already been received, as will also be received of others which are as distant as Tete, a place where the Portuguese formerly traded, which is a hundred and twenty leagues up the river.

*Of the Customs of the Kaffirs, and of the Country, Mines, Commerce, and other matters.*

Although I have already said something of this barbarous people, I think it well to devote a chapter in itself to their

customs and principal affairs, according to what I have seen myself or learned upon trustworthy information. The greater part of this Kaffraria is governed by fumos and petty rulers, and though it has powerful kings whom it obeys, it has nevertheless these fumos and headmen by whom the people are governed. The fumos near Sena are Kaffirs, natives of the country, and very often the lowest are elected to this dignity. Most of them are forced against their will to accept the office, for when one has cows, millet, or naqueny which he can give them and spend, they elect him fumo, and his dignity lasts as long as he has anything to spend. When they have eaten up his property, they cast him out of the office, and pre-eminence is the most that they give him.

When an outsider has to speak to these fumos, he can only do so through others, and the word is passed through three or four before it reaches the fumo, even though he understands it. All are on mats in his presence, and he alone is seated on a quite, which is a sort of small three-legged stool, and before they speak to him they clap their hands a little. They have great ceremonies among themselves, and no council is held without the fumo, who is often kept rather for ceremony than for any substantial obedience shown to him. The sons of these fumos are held in honour among them, though few care for a dignity which entails such loss, but they are forced to take it by those who bestow it on them.

Over these is the Monomotapa, who is like a king, both in the obedience rendered to him and in the mode of succession, because his eldest son inherits. He is very powerful, and has many leagues of territory and kings and great lords for his vassals. Of these, one is the fumo Pango, who also governs as a king, and they say that he can bring more than seventy thousand men into the field.

He has also for vassal the king of Butoa, where they say there is a great quantity of gold, and his territory is situated in the direction of the Cape. Many cattle come to us from this kingdom, and it is said that they are very plentiful there.

The king of Manica is also his vassal. He is less powerful in land, his kingdom extending only twenty or thirty leagues. It is full of mountain ranges, and therefore very strong and difficult of conquest, even by the forces of the Monomotapa. They say

that it contains much gold, and when the country is at peace the Portuguese go and trade there, both from Sofala and from Sena. There is a great scarcity of provisions in the country. The Kaffirs there make much use of poison: the king is half a Moor and half a wizard, and they have learned its use from those wicked people.

The Mongazes are also vassals of the Monomotapa, and pay tribute to him. There are also many other lords in the interior who are subject to him, of whom I had no special information.

There is no method or form of justice among them. They who have most are most powerful with princes whom they can bribe, and these order people to be stabbed with assagais and killed according to their will, because as they lack any form of worship or knowledge of God they lack everything else. Portuguese who have been there have related to me that they have been often chosen as judges in quarrels which had arisen among them, and even though they gave sentence against one, he who was condemned was quite satisfied, because he thought they had acted according to reason and justice, and this did not prevent him from choosing them as judges again in any other difference he might have.

They are generally warlike, and are nearly always at variance among themselves. They fight in the open field, and not under cover or in secret ambush, and they do not attack during the night, but after early dawn. They use bows and arrows and some assagais. Most of them carry daggers in their belts two spans in length, with wooden hilts. They carry also a simbo, which is a short piece of wood with a knob at the end, and this is the last weapon they throw in battle. They have their banners and ensigns with various imitations of oxen, elephants, and other animals, all figures made of straw covered with cloth, and by these ensigns they know the different captains and lords with their people in war. They send and receive their embassies by word of mouth, and these relate to the king the least incident that occurs from the time of their departure until their return, spending many hours in these narratives, and if they forget anything their companions remind them of it. They make only short expeditions into a country, and they say the longest lasts three days, because the scarcity of provisions is such that even eating all kinds of rubbish, no company, however small, can

subsist in the field more than the said three days, and even so they leave nothing green.

Generally they are all dressed in pieces of cotton cloth, but are poorly covered. These cloths are made on the other side of the river [Zambesi], and are woven on low looms, very slowly. I saw some at work near Sena. These cloths are called machiras, and are about two varas and a half long and one and a half wide. They gird these machiras round their bodies and cross them over the breast, and the rest of the body is uncovered.

They wear horns in their hair by way of finery, which are made of their own locks strangely twisted. These horns are in general use in all Kaffraria, and they shelter the head very well. They make one in the middle of the head, to which their hair is gathered up in very good order. They first cause their hair to grow long, by fastening pieces of copper or pewter to the ends of the locks, that the weight may stretch them, and thus they go with their heads covered with these little weights. When it has grown long, they take up some hair in the middle to make the largest horn, and fasten it with a kind of grass, braiding it in very neatly for a space and bringing it to a point where they leave a tuft unbraided. When this is done they make other little horns in good order, and these are very curious.

The women wear upon their arms and legs many bracelets of copper drawn very fine, and gold is also drawn very fine, and then made into bracelets. The monomotapa sent eight of these to Francisco Barreto, as I will relate further on.

They have many wives, and the higher their rank the greater number they have. They say the monomotapa has more than three thousand, and besides those at his court he has a great number on a farm, where they dig, sow, and do everything with their own hands, like the Galagas of Spain. He goes there and spends as much time with them as he likes, and once when he returned with a headache they say he ordered more than four hundred to be put to death, asserting that they had cast spells upon him. Among these wives there is always one who is the principal, and whose sons inherit. They are very credulous, variable, and inconstant. It happened while I was there that the king of the Manicas died, and many of his wives killed themselves, saying that they must go and serve him in the other world. This I heard only from a negro who partakes a

good deal of the Moor, and thus it came about that these women killed themselves with the pretext of a future life, for most of the Kaffirs think they have nothing to do but live and die, though some of them call God Mulungo, but confusedly and in darkness and obscurity.

They are generally all very miserly and ungrateful. If anything is given to them they think it was fated to come to their hands, and was already theirs. They call this *nacibo*, a custom which is almost as common in those parts as in India. The method of marriage is to agree with the wife's father and give him a certain quantity of goods, for the wives bring nothing to their husband, but the latter buys them from their fathers in the manner aforesaid. If they are vexed with them, they very easily repudiate them, and when they send them back the cloths they gave for them are also restored. They have no set words or form of marriage beyond taking possession of the wife and giving the cloth to the father, and thus with the consent of the father and the girl the marriage is completed, which signs seem sufficient to make it valid and natural.

The general food in Kaffraria is a paste of millet badly ground or pounded in their mortars, which are like the large mortars I have sometimes seen in Lisbon along the river and seaport. From their flour, which is beans crushed, they make cakes which they cook round the fire every time they eat, at dinner and supper, because when cold it is like metal, and cannot be touched. Of this flour they make a round mass as large as a man's head, which they call *enjunda*, and bring it to the table; and many prefer it to the millet cake. They have also a large quantity of palm-oil, which is a penance to those who are not accustomed to its use. The wine is also from the palm, and resembles mastic.

They eat the hens cut open along the back, without plucking or disemboweling them, and thus opened they place them on embers, and eat them without doing more than clean the ashes off the feathers. They roast sheep whole, skin and all, and eat them in this way, and capons in the same manner, of which there are many, and they are very good. There are but few fruits, and the best are some which resemble plums; they have no stone, but only small kernels or little seeds. They are called *sangomas*, are much better than those of India, and are very

abundant in the thickets. They drink wine made of millet, or more generally of nacqueny, a vegetable resembling mustard.

Since they have inhabited this country, which must have been thousands of years, they have never used or invented any other articles of food than these, or varied their dress or customs, or raised a stone upon a stone to build a house or wall. Their only houses are small straw huts plastered with clay, resembling round dove-cotes. The land is sterile for the most part, but its sterility does not equal their sloth, for even on the well watered plains, which they call antevaras, they sow very little, and if there is one among them who is more diligent and a better husbandman, and therefore reaps a fresh crop of millet and has a larger store of provisions, they immediately falsely accuse him of all kinds of crimes, as an excuse to take it from him and eat it, saying why should he have more millet than another? never attributing it to his greater industry and diligence; and very often they kill him and eat all his provisions. It is the same with cattle, and this is the cause of the scarcity. They are not provident, but quickly waste and consume the new crops in feasts and drinking.

They do not make use of any kind of animal for labour, and therefore many came to Sena, where we were, and showed much surprise and laughed heartily when they saw the oxen at the plough or drawing carts full of stones for the fort. They dig the earth with small hoes, and in the furrows and little trenches they throw the millet or other seed they are to sow and cover it lightly with earth; and it yields a good crop. I thought that if they were to dig deeper the crop would be better, but those of the country said it was not so, though they could assign no cause. It occurred to me that the earth deeper down is very dry, and if the grain is sown deep it dries up and dies, but the surface is penetrated by the dews, which are very heavy, and the moisture reaches the grain there and benefits it, because the rain only lasts a little while, and the heat is very great. From this may be gathered what the soil and climate are like, and how great the drought, as we experienced.

There is abundance of game in the thickets: rabbits and partridges like those of Portugal, but not so good. There are many stags with no branches on their horns, in all things like ours except that the horns are straight and turn back a little.

There are many gazelles and stags like large deer with no horns.

There is a great variety of birds, many of a very strange kind, some are the same colour as the people of the country, others are decked with cheerful colours, such as green and red. There are some pelicans, the down upon whose breasts and stomachs is soft as Braganza velvet; they are of the size of geese, and white, but their beaks are so large that when they are open the space between the upper and lower extremities measures a covado. There are others whose skins resemble those of pelicans; they are all white, with very long red legs. They are as long as a man, if measured from the beak to the feet. There are some crows which seem to have been unknown to Aristotle and Porphyry, because if they say *nigredo corvi est inseparabilis*, it may also be said *albedo corvi est separabilis*, for their necks and breasts are white as snow.

There are other birds, which when they wish to breed, the male plucks out the feathers of the female so that she cannot fly, but is forced to remain in the nest upon the eggs, where he brings her food every day until the little birds grow big, and as their feathers grow the mother's feathers grow also, until she is able to leave the nest and take flight at the same time as the young birds; and in this way they breed and are preserved. I saw some which have such a large crop that it can hold a good peck of grain; they have large beaks, feet, and wings, and a small tail, and discharge a sort of white humour like urine; they eat bones and meat, and their bodies are the size of a peacock.

The land is generally pleasant, at least along the river. The foliage of the forest is not varied, and is always the colour of olive trees. There are few trees except in the valleys, and for the most part they are without fruit. There are many wild palms, but they do not make use of them as in India.

There are very large elephants. As we were travelling through the country some Kaffirs came to me and showed me a large tree round which many soldiers were gathered, whom they had also summoned. I saw a branch at the top which was broken, and it was covered with elephant's hair, where the animal had scratched itself against the tree and had left these traces. The height was that of a lance twenty-five palms in

length, and it seemed to me higher; and there were the foot-prints of the elephant and the hairs. This is not surprising, for I have seen an elephant's tusk which weighed nearly quintals, from which one may judge of its size.

There are not so many snakes in the country as in India and Brazil, but there are many alligators in the rivers and lakes. There are many lions and tigers, but in all those parts I never found that they did harm to the people or any other animal. The tigers are as fierce as those of India and Brazil. Some dogs we had with us killed a very large one, and four strong Kaffirs could hardly carry it. This was when we were near the territory of Mongas, and in other parts the dogs are very much afraid of them. These tigers resemble those of India: they have the same markings and skins.

From Cape Correntes many of those and other large animals are brought to Mozambique, and from that part of the country come the horns which are like those of the female rhinoceros of Malacca. They say these horns belong to an animal which has only one on its head, and they pretend that they have some virtue against poison, but I did not learn this from experience, and some who came from those parts told me as much of the cocoa-nut of the Maldivé islands.

These are the customs of the Kaffirs. Their sorceries are many, and of many kinds, by which the devil deceives them, and if they have any form of worship it is rendered to the devil by these spells. These people are very unfit for baptism, and even those who are brought up amongst us and made Christians leave us every day and return to their own people, for they value their own customs very highly; and, as I have said, they easily turn Christian and easily leave Christianity, because they do not understand the meaning of it.

The gold mines are near the monomotapa, and within his dominions. There are many of them, and he gave some to several Portuguese who were there, but because the expense of extracting the gold was so great, and so little was taken out every day, they would not have them, for commerce is more profitable. The negroes dig the earth, and make high and deep trenches, in which the ground sometimes falls upon them and kills them. When the monomotapa wants gold he sends a cow to those of his people who are to dig, and it is divided among them

according to their labour and the number of days they are required to work; each one extracts at the most a cruzado or a cruzado and a half a day. If they find a large piece of gold they hide it that it may not be discovered, and the mine is ordered to be closed, as they say has sometimes been done, after laying charms that no one may be able to dig there again. In this there is something strange, the reason of which is unknown, as they have a great love of gold, and make different things of it which they wear round their necks like beads, and also use it in trading for cloth.

The country is very difficult to conquer, as we experienced. The larger the force the greater would be the difficulty of finding sustenance, and a small force could do nothing except by commerce, which is very flourishing, especially the trade in machiras, of which I shall say that this might be a means of winning many souls in these parts, as we see that our Lord opened the commerce with India in order to spread his holy faith there.

Above Sena to the eastward, which is the other side of the river, along it and in the interior there is much cotton, and of it the inhabitants weave the cloth for the machiras, which are very plentiful in all that province; and that country is called Bororo. The beads for which these machiras are bartered are bought in Chaul, generally at fifty pardaos a bar, each bar containing four quintals. This bar, however, in Sena, with the expenses, may be worth one hundred cruzados, which is the highest rate at which it can be estimated. There of one bar of beads they make a thousand to a thousand four hundred montanas, which are bundles of strings of beads held together in the fashion of a horse's tassel. These montanas in Bororo are worth two machiras each, and thus they make two thousand four hundred and more from the bar. These machiras are sold to the negroes on the western bank of the river, who are called Botongas, at a mitical of gold apiece, which there is the weight of a cruzado and a testoon. In this way one hundred cruzados may well be made to yield three thousand cruzados, if order is kept, and Portuguese are not allowed to go about spoiling the trade, as they did on our departure.

Besides this article of trade there is another in the black cloth called Bertangil, for which, and mixed beads, there is a large

sale. The reason why they want this cloth is to unravel it, and with the threads full of beads with clever artifice to make rich pieces after their fashion, and cloths to wear, worked in different patterns according to the colour of the beads; and they also make of it twisted cords like hat cords, which they wear round their necks instead of necklaces.

We received a sample of five or six small bars of silver from the silver mines, after our arrival in India. It is said that they were discovered by one Gonçalo de Araujo, who was sent there by the governor Vasco Fernandes. When we reached Mozambique we heard from Sena that they were very rich, and were near the river. There is also a great deal of iron, copper, and pewter, which the natives use extensively in making their ornaments and many other little things.

From Mozambique and along the coast of Melinde to this place, about ninety persons died of sickness. In this land we found ten Portuguese settlers, with about as many turbaned Moors. A small vessel always comes here laden with merchandise belonging to the captains of Mozambique, and this merchandise is sold to the Portuguese and Moors here in Sena; and when the vessel is gone both send their merchandise to the mines of Masapa where they have their agents. The Moors and Christians are as mixed as if they belonged to one creed, and as the Moors have always been wicked they let those live who were necessary for their profit, and killed those they chose with poison. This they did more especially to the captains and crews of the vessels, that they might spread a report that the land was unhealthy, and also to some of the inhabitants, principally to those to whom they owed money. They were very wroth at our coming, fearing we would dispossess them of the land and the trade, and therefore they resolved to kill us with poison.

The existence of this river of Cuama at the time of the discovery of Sofala was kept secret by the Moors of Sofala and the coast, who made it very difficult to reach it until the time of one Gaspar da Veiga, who found out what we now know of it; and others then commenced to trade there. When we came to Sena there were on this river in different places about twenty turbaned Moors, men of position and rich, who traded with our people at the station of Sena, where the vessel came. This was a small town of straw huts, in a thicket along the river, and here the

Portuguese come to trade with the natives of the country and the Moors.

When we arrived there the land began at once to yield what it has, namely much sickness. During the time we remained there, which was nearly a year, more than a hundred persons died, and this before we advanced into the country; and the greater number of the people fell sick. Ruy Nunes Barreto fell ill of poison, which was given him by the Moors, of which he died, for it is their custom to administer it, and thus to continue secretly killing our people. And though Francisco Barreto had an order to eject the Moors, as he made known to the monomotapa, because of the feigned honours they rendered him at his coming and ever after, he did not put it in force, not considering the evil they did him in secret.

But at last, when he became aware of their treachery, Francisco Barreto immediately sent his captains and their men to arrest the Moors, who lived in houses apart from the town and on the other side of the river, at a distance of one or two leagues, which the soldiers did very willingly, for besides being revenged on the Moors, most of the gold which they had fell to their share, of which more than fifteen thousand miticals went to the king. They arrested seventeen of the principal men, among whom was the sheik and one of the plotters of the death of Father Dom Gonçalo. These were condemned and put to death by strange inventions. Some were impaled alive; some were tied to the tops of trees, forcibly brought together, and then set free, by which means they were torn asunder; others were opened up the back with hatchets; some were killed by mortars, in order to strike terror into the natives; and others were delivered to the soldiers, who wreaked their wrath upon them with arquebusses.

Francisco Barreto sent an embassy and rich presents to the monomotapa by a Portuguese\* inhabitant of Sena, who had already been at his court, which they call Zimbaœ, distant two hundred and fifty leagues from Sena, where are the mines of

\* After our arrival at Sena the governor resolved to forward a message to the monomotapa, to ask him to send an ambassador and to give him the message he had brought from our lord the king, and as there was no one among those of the country who dared attempt it, many of our people, especially Vasco Fernandes Homem, volunteered, and at last one Miguel Bernardes, one of the inhabitants of the river, resolved to go and ask for this ambassador.

Masapa from which they often come to trade in Sena. The ambassador set out, and died on the way, being drowned in the river in a canoe. The message sent by him was that we had arrived, and that the governor wished to treat with his highness of matters of importance and of great advantage to himself and all his people, on behalf of the most great, high, and mighty Dom Sebastião, king of Portugal and of the sea, and of India, his master, and to that end he sent to him to treat of peace and friendship, and that the men he had with him were to clear the briars from the roads and open them for the commerce of our people with his lands, and that in order to send an embassy he asked for an ambassador, which they call mutume.

Seeing (as I have said) that the ambassador delayed so long, Francisco Barreto resolved to proceed on the expedition at the end of July 1572, and we marched along the river, upon which we had more than twenty boats laden with provisions, merchandise, and ammunition. On land with our company we had twenty-five waggons drawn by oxen of the country, as big as the large oxen of France and very tractable. These cattle came (as I have said) from Butoa, and escaped the poison of the Moors.

The governor made Vasco Fernandes Homem colonel, and divided the company into four bands, the principal one of which he had given to his son, and upon his death took it himself: it consisted of fully two hundred arquebusiers. Another band was commanded by Antonio de Mello, a young nobleman, son of a judge, and consisted of about a hundred and fifty men. The third, of the same number, was commanded by Thomé de Sousa, a nobleman of the house of Braganza and commander of the order of Christ. The fourth by Jeronimo d'Aguiar, son of a judge of Lisbon, composed of the same number.

Besides these four companies, Francisco Barreto formed another, which was composed of about eighty Canarins and natives of the country with whom were sixty Portuguese, which he gave to Jeronimo de Andrada, who was there as captain of the river. The total number of soldiers was about six hundred and fifty trained men. All these bands had their officers to command them, veteran soldiers well skilled in warfare.

We began our journey, keeping along the river; we travelled slowly, about a league and a half a day, always keeping in our ranks, with a vanguard and rearguard, which the captains took

in turn day by day, and thus when the governor went first the colonel kept in the rear, and so on. On the river was the fleet of boats with many sick; and when a soldier fell ill he was embarked wherever we met the boats, for sometimes we were several days without seeing them, on account of the windings of the river and the evenness of the ground. Generally, however, we all encamped together on the bank of the river. At night we had watches and rounds, and many times the colonel and the governor visited them and chastised the negligent.

We had many false alarms from the Kaffirs as we went on, for these people are the Mongazes, feared for more than a hundred and fifty leagues on both sides of the river, and more cruel and dreaded than the Turks in Italy. Francisco Barreto rode a horse which was one of those that escaped the poison at Sena, always clad in a thick coat of mail, attending on every side to the good order of the camp. Besides all these, there were more than two thousand slaves with the baggage, but the waggons were an incumbrance, because they travelled so slowly that it took us a month to cross the fifty leagues between Sena and the gates of Mongaz.

On arriving there, as our intention was to destroy the Mongazes, in order to leave the river and enter their lands, it was necessary to place the sick, who numbered more than eighty, upon a little island, one of the principal men, named Ruy de Mello, a native of Evora, remaining as their guardian and captain, he being also sick and wounded by some wild buffaloes which he met when he was alone on horseback. We were near the lands of Mongaz, without entering them, for eight days, resting from the fatigue of the journey and arranging for the safety of those who were to remain on the island.

The Mongazes are a people governed by fumos in the style of a republic, but the dignity of these rulers lasts longer than that of the others in these parts, and they are almost like lords of the land. There was a time when they only possessed thirty leagues, but they went forth to conquest down the river, moved thereto, as they say, by a Portuguese who summoned some of them to revenge himself upon certain people on the other side of the river, whom they destroyed and robbed; and encouraged by their victory and spoils, they continued their conquests and robberies, and persevered in them for twenty years successfully,

and have now conquered nearly two hundred leagues. They are very warlike and great thieves and highwaymen, and from the cruelty with which they treat those they have conquered they are greatly feared on every side.

They killed and robbed many Portuguese, and our people who were in those parts revenged themselves upon them, twenty of them coming down the river from Tete landed and killed some of them, and burned I know not how many villages. The negroes, to revenge themselves, went to Tete,—which was deserted by our people, they having gone to obtain merchandise from the vessel which was at Sena,—and attacked the Christian female slaves and children, killing about seventy persons. This happened a year or two before our arrival, and for these and other evils they had wrought it was very important not to leave these enemies so close behind us without subduing them.

A Kaffir chief on the side of Bororo, opposite the lands of the Mongazes, who is called Chombe, has about thirty leagues of territory along the river and about thirty thousand subjects. He is not a fumo, but an absolute lord, and is our great friend. This man came to see Francisco Barreto opposite his territory and close to that of the Mongazes, and gave him two hundred Kaffirs to carry the baggage and guide us into the interior. He wished to become a Christian, but because of his many wives and other customs which it would have been most difficult to turn him from, and because the land was not at peace, this wish was not attended to.

When we were ready to leave the river and enter the country, and had made the best arrangements we could for the sick upon the island, we set out upon our journey, with the additional number of Kaffirs and about five hundred Portuguese. As we penetrated the country the people began to fall sick, as many did every day, and after two days' journey, in which we had travelled about four leagues, it became necessary to send thirty sick, with horsemen and soldiers as their guard, back to the island.

Having entered the lands of that dominion, we encamped along a river, where we had good water, and dug trenches in the camp, which was in a very damp place. This was the cause that afterwards many fell ill and died of dysentery. The next day we crossed the same river, with very little water, between two high

mountains, and on the sand we found many strokes, and knots tied in the reeds like the snares which are set to catch little birds. The negroes who guided us explained that the strokes were a piece of bravado on the part of the Mongazes, meaning that if we went forward they would bind us, as they had tied knots in those reeds.

When we had crossed the river, which was about half an hour after midday, because of the extreme slowness of the waggons upon the road, we caught sight of a few men who were within two musket shots of us, raising a great cloud of dust, whirling sticks with buffalo tails attached to them, which they carried in their hands, and making other demonstrations as of men who were waiting us in the field. The horsemen pursued them and put them to flight, and it would seem that they were spies.

Upon the sand, along the bank of the river, we encamped, much against the will of the majority of the soldiers, who were more desirous of fighting than wise in the choice of a fitting time and occasion, which was well known to the captain and governor who led us, who in this and all other murmurings knew how to dissemble. I mention this, because that night there was much disturbance in the camp and displeasure because the Kaffirs had not been attacked the day before, as it was feared that they would flee and there would be no foe to meet, though the contrary proved the case, as was seen the next morning.

*Of how we fought the Mongazes and the victories which our Lord gave us over them, and how we conquered their lands.*

The next day at dawn we began our march in good order, the horsemen with some negroes acting as scouts, and the companies going two before the waggons, two on the sides, and one behind, with parties of arquebusiers thrown out, so that the baggage was in the middle. Francisco Barreto led the van that day, and I went before with a crucifix, which I raised as a standard after we had sight of the enemy. Here also went the royal standard and two pieces of artillery, namely a swivel falcon and a demi-cannon, which were of use that day.

We had sight of the enemy on a level plain, although in many parts it was covered with grass and tall reeds. They seemed to be about ten or twelve thousand men. Their light parties were

drawn up on either wing, and the heaviest force in the middle; and they threw out companies of slaves on either side, and had many in ambush, who were so well concealed that when they began to discharge their arrows they fell close to the royal standard, but as the wind was against them they came with less force. Against these skirmishers two squadrons of soldiers advanced, who put them to flight with their arquebusses.

Meanwhile the main divisions were drawing near, and when they had approached within range of our guns, both pieces were fired among them, killing fifteen or sixteen, and at the same time our horsemen with some soldiers and all our slaves attacked them with loud cries, and put them to flight. Before the battle Chombe's negroes who were with us, when they saw so many Mongazes together, being accustomed in their own country to fear a single one, placed themselves where they could easily flee when they saw us vanquished, which they looked upon as certain, as they saw we had no bows and arrows like our enemies, and only pieces of wood upon our shoulders, as they called the arquebusses, not knowing what those pieces of wood contained. But when they saw the enemy put to flight they were somewhat reassured.

Near the field of battle was the kraal of a chief, a great warrior, named Capote, who guarded the entrance of the lands of the Mongazes and made great efforts in defence of his village. The guides were leading us to the said village, as we had decided to camp there, because there was water, though very bad. As we were entering it in the same order, the Kaffirs returned to defend it, attacking us in the rear, and as this was the post of the company that contained the fewest Portuguese, I went there with a crucifix, by the governor's leave, to encourage them in the fight, which the enemy sustained very vigorously, attacking our people and darkening the air with arrows. They advanced in the form of a crescent, and almost surrounded us on every side. The colonel ordered no one to fire till they drew nearer, that having closed in we might attack them with heavier loss; and this enabled them to wound more than twenty-five of our men, though not dangerously.

It was noticed that wherever I was with the crucifix, although the arrows were numerous, no one was wounded by them within ten or twelve paces of it; and looking up in some fear of the

arrows I observed that though many seemed falling on my head, the Lord whose image I carried in my hands diverted them, so that they left as it were an open space, within which no one was wounded, although I was in the front, and they came with great force, the wind being now in their favour.

The discharge of the largest gun was attended by an accident. It was loaded, and just as the gunner had finished ramming the charge, a soldier fired his arquebuss over the priming, which took light from the falling sparks, and carried away the arms of a Portuguese waggoner and wounded him in many parts of the body with the pieces of rock with which it was charged as well as the ball, and also took off the tips of two fingers from the gunner's right hand.

When this gun was discharged, our people fell upon the enemy, firing all the arquebusses and attacking them with great fury. They found a company of them in a thick wood, where they killed many of them and captured four of their standards, one of which was the figure of an ox at the end of a stick, one of an elephant, both stuffed with straw, and the others were like Indian hats. The chief Capote was also killed here. Another man was wounded by an arrow in the groin, and died in a few hours. The two Portuguese were both confessed, and were the only ones killed, and none of the wounded died.

After this victory we encamped in a village at midday, and the negroes of Chombe now recovered from their fear, which even during the second battle was so great that they remained among the female slaves and the baggage, bewailing their lives, for it seemed to them that they could not possibly escape, as they saw us surrounded on every side. The negresses consoled them, hiding them under the waggons from the arrows and telling them not to be afraid, because the Mozungues, which is the name they give the Portuguese, were firm on the ground, and would run forward and not back, and that all the army must die before the enemy could kill them, and thus they kept them quiet during the battle.

Before we entered the village the slaves went there to look for some provisions which had been concealed, and they found a little millet, nacheni, and mexoeira, and afterwards they set fire to the village. Then we encamped there, overcome with the heat, which was intense. There were very few trees, and the

ground was burnt to a cinder. We remained there that day and the next, resting and tending the wounded. Many of our people began to fall sick, and many died, principally of dysentery.

After three days, at dawn in the morning we made ready to set out, and were just leaving when there came like a great dust storm with loud clamour the army of Kaffraria and Mongazes, reinforced with a number which was said to be sixteen thousand men, and with greater intrepidity and noise of drums, and more confident of victory, for they had with them a wizard who by the spells he carried in a gourd, which I afterwards saw, had persuaded them that he would deliver us all into their hands, and that our nafutes, which are the arquebusses, would be of no use. As sure of victory, he made them bring many ropes made of the bark of trees, which afterwards served the soldiers as very good match for their arquebusses. These were intended to bind us with, and their war cry was *Funga Muzungo!* which signifies *bind the white man*.

Not to delay too long upon this matter, which has not much bearing on the subject, they attacked us four times that morning, and each time we repulsed them with heavy loss. They tried to break our ranks in eight different places. The smoke was so great from the arquebusses and artillery, for beside the guns before mentioned six small pieces which were in the waggons were also used, of which Francisco Barreto made himself the gunner, that the air was obscured so that we could not see each other, and this was increased as the battle took place in a valley, and there was no wind. At this the enemy was astonished, saying that we were great wizards, since we could turn day into night.

As we afterwards heard from them we killed more than four thousand Kaffirs in these engagements, and many were wounded and maimed, who afterwards died. Among these was the wizard, a musket making him drop his gourd of spells upon the ground, with the loss of his jaw-bone. They made signs that they wished for peace, and sent their envoys for this purpose, who were astonished to see Francisco Barreto seated in a chair in time of war. He showed them small ceremony, ordering them to come to him where he sat reviewing his men, which he did well, like a good captain skilled in warfare. He granted them peace, on condition that they should send their ambassadors to the

village which was before us, or otherwise we would set fire to everything; and they fulfilled this condition, as will be afterwards related.

*Of the peace which we concluded with the Mongazes, and how we could not traverse all their country because of the sickness and mortality amongst us.*

It was after midday when the last battle was ended, and therefore it was necessary to wait that day and rest. The next day we went to a village called Terr, where there came two of the chief Kaffirs with a present of cows and sheep, a pingo of gold which weighed about forty cruzados and was like a rosary of beads, some pellets of gold, certain cotton cloths, and two large tusks of ivory. They came to ask leave for the ambassadors to open their mouths and speak, who were to go the next day to a village farther on, where we were to encamp. Having obtained permission they withdrew, and the next day at the appointed place there came to us twelve Kaffirs of great authority, with horns upon their heads, who brought fifty cows and as many sheep as a present, and begged that we would not destroy their country, and thenceforward they would be our friends and vassals. Francisco Barreto dismissed them, giving them hoes, which is a sign of peace, which was to be finally concluded in their great musinda, that is their principal village, and where we were resolved to go.

These Kaffirs related many curious things which happened to them during the battle, from the effects of the bullets from the arquebusses, and they made great show of surprise at the medicine which could strike down a Kaffir while he was talking to another, at others finding themselves without hands, others without fingers, and others falling to the ground with their heads and bodies in convulsions, and they wondered what pain and evil it was which came to them from that medicine. All this because they saw no arrows nor balls in the bodies of the dead, and they said we were great magicians, and nothing could stand against us. They informed us that there were many maimed in the war. We asked them if the two brothers fumos of the country were among them, and they replied that they were not, but we heard from other sources that they were present, though they wished to conceal it.

When these Kaffirs had gone we resolved to continue our journey to their muzinda. The sick increased so much that there were no Kaffirs to carry them, and of those given to us by Chombe sixty of the two hundred had fled, and the sick and wounded were more than a hundred and twenty. Every day we buried two or three, and others fell ill.

This land of Mongaz has few trees and only a poor kind of thicket; it is very mountainous, has few plains, and there is a great scarcity of water, as in the whole of Kaffraria. Worse water cannot be imagined, for it was obtained in stagnant pools left from the winter, exposed to the sun, and covered with green slime; and even this was scarce. This we drank, though it tasted of human filth, and from this bad water, air, and dews, the heat during the day, the bad provisions, and eating so much beef as we had there, the people fell sick of dysentery, with no hope of recovery. As there was no one to carry the sick, we were all obliged to go on foot and leave them the horses, and even Francisco Barreto carried the sick behind him on his horse.

This was the reason that we could not continue the conquest of Mongaz, and besides the sick, the whole company was weak and enfeebled, and all fell ill afterwards, so that we were forced by necessity, and by the negro servants who wished to desert, to take the road to the bank of the river, above the island of the sick, from which point we had penetrated the country ten or twelve leagues in a straight line, but about twenty-five leagues by having shaped our course like a bow.

We reached the bank of the river in great want of provisions, although there was plenty of meat from the cattle presented by the negroes. Here we sent a canoe to the island for the boats to come and carry us to the side of Bororo, leaving nothing concluded with the Mongazes, who are false and without truth, as in the whole of Kaffraria. I think our loss and mortality upon this return road alone amounted to more than twenty, whom I buried, not counting those who died afterwards.

There came two boats and two or three large canoes, in which there were some soldiers, now convalescent, of those whom we left sick upon the island. This was at the end of September and the beginning of October of the year 1572. Here we found letters from Portugal, which caused great rejoicing in the camp

over the news of Don John of Austria, and other intelligence from the kingdom.

When all had crossed to the other side, and the sick, who were more than two hundred, had been sent away in boats, we set out by land, after burning the waggons. On this march to Sena we endured great hardship, not finding a single spring upon the way, the valleys being very deep, and indeed in the whole of Kaffraria and on the coast of Melinde I did not see a fountain. Observing this, the governor discussed the difficulties of the road to the monomotapa, who was at a distance of more than two hundred leagues, through a very arid and uninhabited country, where there was no provision, according to the report of those who frequently traversed it; and therefore it appeared that our best plan was to return to Sena, where there would be more provisions, the Kaffirs being cultivators, where the sick might recover, and we would await the trading vessel from India, which arrives in February and March, and having obtained supplies we would go against the Manicas.

Francisco Barreto embarked, leaving in his place Vasco Fernandes, and he went to Sena in a large canoe. More than fifty persons died on the island of the sick. After this the company arrived at Sena, on the way having set fire to some villages which had rebelled against our friend Chumbo.

#### *How we received the Ambassador of the Monomotapa.*

After we had reached Sena, Francisco Barreto received intelligence of the arrival of the ambassador of the monomotapa, and of the death of our ambassador in a canoe on the river, also that a considerable quantity of gold which he had realised from the merchandise he took with him was also lost.\* The ambassador was old, and he had with him two hundred Kaffirs, all in good order, and ten or twelve men of rank who came in the name of the officers of the monomotapa, who have the following titles: one the king's greatest, another the king's chief wife, and another his young moagem, who is his general and captain of the gates of the kingdom. This officer is always

\* Francisco Barreto resolved to rebuild the fort which he left there of wood and mud, which served him as a lodging, and within it was a chapel of St. Marçal and the warehouse of the factory.

encamped with forces in different villages round and in the district where the king resides, and it is said that his army consists of thirty thousand Kaffirs, and also that such are the titles of the officers.

The embassy declared that the monomotapa wished to be a friend of the king of Portugal, and desired nothing else but that the briars should be cleared from the road, and that he would rejoice to have trade and commerce with us. Francisco Barreto mentioned the three essential points of his instructions. First that the Moors should be expelled from the country. Secondly that he should receive the fathers and keep the faith. Thirdly that he should give [to the king of Portugal] many of the gold-mines which were in his kingdom. Francisco Barreto also said that he was resolved to go to Mozambique with a few men to obtain merchandise and a message from Dom Sebastião, king of Portugal, India, and other vast territories and conquests; and on his return he would finish clearing the remaining briars which obstructed the road, as he had done with the Mongazes.

The ambassador replied that it was good, for the Mongazes were very great thieves, and that the monomotapa also intended to send an army against them, which he afterwards did, punishing them severely and burning the greater part of their country.

Francisco Barreto also said that he would send an ambassador to the monomotapa in the name of the king of Portugal, to whom he could give his answer to the three points above mentioned. There were three Portuguese present, whom Francisco Barreto introduced to him and directed to accompany him on his return, of whom Francisco de Magalhães was appointed ambassador.

Francisco Barreto sent to the monomotapa a valuable present of cloth and a message by the ambassador Francisco de Magalhães, who was a nobleman and a man of honour. The second person in the embassy was named Francisco Rafaxo, who was to succeed Francisco de Magalhães in case he died on the way, as did in fact occur; and the other was named Gaspar Borges. Francisco Rafaxo arrived with the rich cloths which he carried to the Kaffir, with which he was delighted, and well satisfied with presents which were worth more than six thousand cruzados, for

Francisco Barreto did not know how to give a little, he dismissed the two Portuguese.

Francisco Barreto received from the Kaffir eight bracelets of very fine gold wire, two for each leg and two for each arm, an honour which he grants to none, and reserves for himself alone, at least as some report, but in my opinion he sent this embassy out of fear, intelligence having reached him of the defeat of the Mongazes by our people. The bracelets did not weigh ten miticals, the honour and value not being equal.

*How Francisco Barreto went to Mozambique and returned, and of what occurred at that time.*

Having despatched the ambassador of the monomotapa, the officers conferred with Francisco Barreto concerning the providing for the camp, which consisted of about four hundred and fifty men, there being a great scarcity of cloth, with which we provide maintenance, pay the soldiers, and transact all necessary business. And as people at Mozambique and others were alarmed at the quantity of merchandise taken from them, it was greatly feared that the door would be closed for the necessary supply to Sena of merchandise expected from India. To remedy this, Francisco Barreto resolved to take some money and go himself in person for what was required; and he desired me to accompany him. We set out therefore with some of his servants and twenty or thirty soldiers. Father Estevão Lopez remained with Vasco Fernandes Homem, whom the governor left in his place as colonel.

We arrived at Mozambique. Francisco Barreto had left Antonio Pereira Brandão as captain in Mozambique, and there had been much unpleasantness with him because of some malicious reports and other matters; therefore he deprived him of that office. The trading ship arrived from Chaul, in which there came the most necessary part of the cloth for the camp. This cloth is bought for his Highness in Mozambique at six or seven cruzados, and being sent to Sena is sold for fifteen, the king bearing the risk from Mozambique to that place, and then the money is almost doubled in machiras which are given in exchange for Bretangil, and are worth twice as much. In the ship came João da Silva, a natural son of Francisco Barreto, with much

merchandise and other stores and articles necessary for the expedition, and with him were several merchants and men of position.

After providing for Mozambique, and leaving there the factor Gonçalo Godinho as captain, Francisco Barreto embarked again for Sena in the middle of Lent, the third of March 1573, well provided with everything, including some articles from Ormuz which were brought there. He took his son with him, and sufficient vessels to convey the merchandise. We had a very bad return passage, for with good weather it is accomplished in four or five days, and it took us nearly three months to reach Quilimane, putting into many rivers on the coast because of contrary winds.

On reaching Quilimane we received news of the death of most of the people in the camp, and that Vasco Fernandes and the fathers were very ill. Two of the captains were dead, namely Jeronimo de Aguiar and Antonio de Mello, grandson of the abbot of Pombeiro, and all the officers of the companies; and what we most regretted was the death of the chief gunner, a man of experience and skilful in making powder and other ammunition. Every day canoes arrived bringing intelligence of fresh deaths. Father Estevão Lopez wrote to me that we should not go up the river on any account, the land being very full of infection, and the air pestilential. It was a strange thing that sickness also attacked the natives, because the rains had been very heavy, and there was a great scarcity of necessary provisions.

However Francisco Barreto would not desist from going forward, for it appeared to us better to die in assisting our comrades than to live with the disgrace of having abandoned them. As they despaired of our return, there is no doubt that all would have been grieved if they had not seen us at Sena, so that we were resolved to go on. Here in Quilimane we had news of the loss of two pangayos which carried ammunition, a quantity of saltpetre, and provisions.

It was already the first of May when we set off up the river. In fifteen days we reached Sena, with a nobleman in our company named Lourenço de Brito, who arrived from India two days before we set out, to serve the governor Francisco Barreto and also with some grievances against the viceroy Dom Antonio.

Upon reaching Sena, we found some soldiers on the bank of

the river, about fifty in all, with the four banners, but no captains or officers, and they themselves in such a state that they could hardly stand. Passing by the hospital we saw the sick seated in the huts, looking more like dead men than living beings, but rejoiced at our coming. They had the arquebusses on the ground, and one who was a little stronger than the rest fired them all, for the others were unable to do it. It is a strange thing that there was not one man in good health: a very different spectacle from what was witnessed on the plain of Sena when we first arrived, and no one was able to restrain tears of sorrow for such mortality, as even of the eighty men who had come with the ships of the year fifteen hundred and seventy-two, and had joined the expedition, not five remained alive. The colonel came to the bank upon a horse with men to lead it, but had a severe seizure there, so that we took him for dead. The doctor was dying at the time of our arrival, and all were in such a state that it was evident everything was at an end.

*Of the death of Francisco Barreto and the succession of Vasco Fernandes.*

After our arrival at Sena, Francisco Barreto began to provide for all necessities in person, giving out preserves, clothing, biscuit, and other things which we had brought, and visiting all without and within the hospital; thus some began to be convalescent. I grew better of an illness from which I had suffered on the journey, but the new comers fell sick directly, João da Silva being taken ill at once, with his servants and others who came with us. Francisco Barreto was seized with a fever after eating fish upon a Friday, eight days subsequent to our return. It was not so bad as to confine him to his bed, but as he was anxious, having never been ill before, he went to confession, and received the blessed sacrament in the chapel, still on his feet.

One night, seven days after he was first taken ill, he was seized with colic and deadly vomiting, but his people said it was only a kind of indisposition to which he had been subject in Portugal. I went to see him in the morning, and found his pulse imperceptible and dead and his arms and feet cold. I gave him the holy unction, he being still conscious, and sent for Vasco Fernandes Homem to come and see him before he died, for his

decease was certain. He came and remained to assist him, though he himself was suffering from fever and ague nearly every day. Close upon midnight he yielded his soul to God, in a straw hut, and we could not find in his desk or elsewhere as much as a cruzado for his obsequies, or for the benefit of his soul.

The next morning we buried him in the chapel of St. Marçal, where, as the body of the building was full of fresh corpses so that there was no room for him, it was necessary to make him a grave crossways along the altar, even this being wanting at his death to a man who had been so prosperous, and who had lived in India with such display. After the vicar had prayed for him before his interment the second letter of succession was opened (for the first contained the name of Pedro Barreto, who was already dead), in which the king appointed Vasco Fernandes Homem to succeed him, and he took his place, finding everything spent, and many debts.

We buried the body of Francisco Barreto amidst universal grief, and after his death many died rather from sorrow than sickness, among whom were fifteen or sixteen of the new comers. His son was also very ill at that time, and left for Mozambique in a dangerous condition, where he died, leaving much of his property in the king's factory, which his father had borrowed for the maintenance of the soldiers, as he had also done from many others, for which his Highness still owes a considerable sum of money.

*Of the answer brought by the embassy from the monomotapa, and the council which the governor Vasco Fernandes called to consider what should be done.*

When Francisco Barreto, whom may God have in His keeping, reached Sena, he found that another ambassador had been there from the monomotapa with the answer we had demanded to the different points. The substance of his reply was that he would expel the Moors at once, which he did; that he had not used the sword against Father Dom Gonçalo, but it was they who had caused his death; that as to returning to the faith, when we went there he would treat with us upon the subject; and as to the mines, he would select a certain large number, which we might come and take, and he would also give us the silver mines

we had heard of as being not far from Tete and the river, and of which we had seen specimens in five or six bars; that he did not wish for anything but peace and friendship with his wives (for so he called us, not in contempt, but as an honour and as a sign of affection); and that he was well aware that our people were warriors, especially after our victory over the Mongazes.

Of the Mongazes it is said he was much afraid. It would indeed be an easy matter to defeat him and take possession of his country by conquest, even though he can bring more than a hundred thousand Kaffirs into the field, were it not for the unhealthiness, scarcity of food, and natural difficulties of the country.\*

The Kaffir ambassador was dismissed with a present of cloth, and it is said that the monomotapa ordered him to be put to death because he did not deliver the message to his *chief wife*, that is to Francisco Barreto, but to him who held his place; and they are accustomed to inflict death for smaller faults. At that time Francisco Rafaxo had not returned, but he arrived a few days after the death of Francisco Barreto.

It was now time to decide what course we were to pursue. There remained only one hundred and eighty living men in the camp, according to the officer who had charge of the provisions, nor could there be more, and even these were sick, as has been said. To consider the matter nearly thirty of the principal persons assembled in the house of the governor, who proposed the subject upon which we were to decide, that is the state of the expedition and what was best to be done. There were twenty-five votes that we should go to Mozambique, and there with the assistance of the ships decide what was best for the service of God and the king, as here in Sena nothing could be done except involve his Highness in debt and lose men with whom we were so badly provided, as we were also with everything necessary for undertaking new enterprises, seeing what had occurred with the

\* I am sorry that Vasco Fernandes Homem took the command when it was in such a state that it was impossible to continue the enterprise, for on his part he would have acquitted himself, though he was ill, with the spirit and zeal he always showed in the service of his king, as is very evident, he having lost in that service his wife and such gallant and truly noble sons, especially now in Goa Pedro Homem da Silva, the fame of whose virtue and gallantry will live as long as Goa exists, for it is well known to Dom Luis d'Ataide and also Dom Antonio and the whole of India, so I need say no more.

Mongazes; so that it would be foolhardy to attempt anything further.

This was in brief the conclusion arrived at in this council, and having so decided we came to Mozambique, where we did not arrive without some difficulty on the passage, all of us being in bad health. We left the fort of St. Marçal well provided, with a captain, soldiers, and everything necessary.

Of the mines and the abundance of gold and silver many have written at great length, but the sum of what is known is much less than the reports that are current in Portugal. Nevertheless the land in the interior is full of mines more or less rich, and more or less gold is extracted from them according to their size. They dig in them at certain times when they want to buy cloth to cover themselves. They value gold much more than we do, both to trade with and to make the jewels and ornaments which they wear. The monomotapa gave some mines to the Portuguese who were in those parts, but they left them, the trade in cloth being more profitable, especially that in machiras, as has been said.

## EXTRACTOS

DA

DECADA COMPOSTA POR ANTONIO BOCARRO,

*Chronista de Sua Magestade, do Estado da India, dos Feitos dos Portuguezes no Oriente.*


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[Antonio Bocarro succeeded Diogo do Couto in the office of Keeper of the Archives and Chronicler of India, after a vacancy of many years, and held that post from 1631 until his death in or about the year 1649. The work from which the following extracts are taken was therefore drawn from authoritative sources. It was dedicated to King Philip III of Portugal, and was first published in 1876 by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon.—G. M. T.]

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Mandou tambem sua Magestade n'este anno de 612 dois galeões a Moçambique em direitura, pelas novas que teve de se aprestarem para este Estado grandes esquadras de naus inglezas e hollandezas; para que, provida a dita fortaleza de gente e de tudo o mais de que tivesse necessidade, se viessem os dois galeões para Goa. Vinha n'elles por capitão mór em um Antonio Pinto da Fonseca, que havia militado em Flandes e ganhado grande nome e fama; por onde o mandava sua Magestade por visitador e provedor geral das fortalezas da India: o capitão do outro galeão se chamava João Cortez de Mendonça; os quaes chegaram a Moçambique, onde acharam dom Estevam de Ataide por conquistador e descobridor das minas da prata. E depois de ficar a fortaleza provida, querendo-se Antonio Pinto vir para Goa com os dois galeões, sobre querer trazer dois parentes seus, que achou casados na dita fortaleza de Moçambique, chegou a desavir-se com dom Estevam, dizem que induzido dom Estevam de algumas más vontades, com que chegou a abalar-se da fortaleza com soldados, e o ouvidor que então era d'ella, Pedr'Alvares Pereira, com muita gente a vir prender Antonio Pinto, que n'este tempo estava na igreja dos padres da Companhia. E esteve a causa bem arriscada, porque Antonio Pinto tinha tambem gente comsigo; porém metteram-se de permeio religiosos, e não se chegou a mais.

João Cortez de Mendonça não quiz vir por capitão do seu galeão para a India, ficando com licença de Antonio Pinto, com pretensão de passar aos rios de Cuama, prometendo dom Estevam de Ataíde dar-lhe a prata que achasse ou descobrisse, para levar a sua Magestade; o que não houve effeito, por não achar prata, e assi veiu em seu logar, no galeão, Manuel de Tavora, que tinha ido a Moçambique com gente de soccorro, mandado pelo visorei Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, e parece que ainda com a paixão atrazada fez dom Estevam de Ataíde a este Manuel de Tavora capitão mór tambem do galeão de Antonio Pinto, que vinha por capitão mór por sua Magestade, e chegando á barra de Goa ambos com bandeiras de Christo, em setembro de 612, indo o visorei Ruy Lourenço á barra viu dois capitães môres de dois galeões, e informando-se da verdade mandou a Manuel de Tavora tirasse logo a bandeira de Christo.

As naus de viagem se negociaram este anno de 612 e partiram de Lisboa para este Estado, a 27 de março, tres; por capitão mór em uma dom Hieronymo de Almeida.

## CAPITULO XVII.

*Do que em Goa se ordenou depois da vinda das naus, sobre a fortaleza de Moçambique, e do estado d'ella e das minas da prata.*

Mandou sua Magestade nestas naus de dom Hieronymo de Almeida ordem ao visorei d'este Estado mettesse de posse da fortaleza de Moçambique a Ruy de Mello de Sampaio, que havia sido tirado d'ella pelo contracto que fez o visorei Ruy Lourenço com dom Estevam de Ataíde sobre a conquista e descobrimento das minas da prata; e ordenava que servisse o seu triennio por em cheio, sem lhe ser descontada nenhuma cousa do tempo que tinha servido quando o tiraram. Para o que mandou notificar a Ruy de Mello em Portugal esta ordem, e quando não viesse, aos mais providos da dita fortaleza a que coubesse entrar, para que o pudessem vir fazer; e quando nenhum d'elles se achasse n'este Estado, ordenava ao visorei mandasse pessoa de qualidade e partes conforme ás que se costumam despachar com similhante praça, e que tractasse mais do que conviesse a seu real serviço do que de tractos e mercancias. O que pondo-o em conselho de estado o visorei dom Hieronymo de Azevedo, assentaram todos que podia

mandar por capitão da dita fortaleza a dom João de Azevedo, seu irmão, porque n'elle ficava bem cumprido o mandado e ordem de sua Magestade. E no tocante á pensão de quarenta mil xerafins, que cada anno pagavam os capitães para as ordinarias e presidios da fortaleza, assentaram que visto ir dom João de Azevedo só por um anno até vir provido por sua Magestade, que não podia faltar nas primeiras naus, pagasse só vinte cinco mil xerafins, para tractar, conforme sua Magestade mandava, mais da segurança da fortaleza do que de proveito e de interesses. O que sua Magestade não approvou, antes mandou que pagasse o visorei de sua fazenda os quinze mil que faltavam para os quarenta.

Sobre as minas ordenava sua Magestade entregasse dom Estevam de Ataide a conquista e descobrimento d'ellas a Diogo Simões Madeira, que havia muito tempo andava nos rios de Cuama e fôra mui cabido do imperador de Manamotapa, particularmente quando vendo-se pelos seus despojado do seu reino se facilitava muito mais para comnosco, e querendo-nos obrigar ao favorecer, como a mostrar o agradecimento do muito que por elle tinham os portuguezes feito, fez doação a sua Magestade de todas as minas de prata, ouro, e quaesquer outros metaes que houvesse em todo o seu imperio, como largamente vaé adiante descripto tudo, com a relação de todas as terras, e graças atrazadas, em que recebeu a dita ajuda e favor nosso, aindaque seja de outros tempos fóra d'aquelles que vou escrevendo; porque como o intento só d'esta historia é dizer a verdade, tudo o mais fica sendo menos, e assi tambem se teve por menos inconveniente ir lançada esta relação adiante, per se não alcançar senão depois do livro acabado, com que apenas houve logar de se metter. Em fim, não devem os leitores reparar em circumstancias de ordem, comtanto que lhe não impida saberem o que pretendem, porque é tão pouca a que tem os que dão as informações, que se não padece n'isto menos do que em as buscar e averiguar.

Mandava tambem sua Magestade que juntamente com o capitão de Moçambique fosse um desembargador da rolação de Goa devassar, e tirar rezidencia dos capitães de Moçambique atrazados, e do mesmo dom Estevam de Ataide. Nomeou-se logo o desembargador Francisco da Fonseca Pinto para ir juntamente com o capitão da fortaleza dom João de Azevedo, a quem o visorei seu irmão deu um regimento com muitas particularidades do que havia de obrar na fortaleza de Moçambique, como quem havia

estado n'ella e sabia o que lhe convinha muy bem, entre as quaes a que mais lhe encomendou foi fazer a cava pela banda da terra, como cousa tão necessaria, apontando-lhe da sorte que se havia de aproveitar dos moços, dos casados e toda a mais gente do serviço, com que pudesse fazel-a com menos gasto, pois a obra era de tanto serviço de sua Magestade, como em beneficio de todos. Partiram este capitão e desembargador em janeiro de 1613, e chegando a Moçambique sem contradicção, tomou um posse da fortaleza, e outro se pôz a tirar as devassas como lhe era mandado.

Dom Estevam, depois de vir dos rios, lhe deram em Moçambique umas febres das que alli são tão ordinarias, que foram bastantes para lhe tirar a vida; e fazendo-se inventario de seu fato se achou que em ouro e marfim, e outros miudezas, lhe ficaram cento e dez mil cruzados, os quaes depositou o dito desembargador na mão do feitor de sua Magestade para se fazer d'elles o que fosse justiça, e deixando as cousas da conquista entregues a Diogo Simões Madeira, como levava por regimento, se veio para Goa com as regidencias que tinha tirado.

Este foi o fim de dom Estevam de Ataide, e das promessas e esperanças com que o mandaram por conquistador e descobridor das minas da prata que de as haver não ha duvida pelo testemunho das mesmas pedras, e quanto ser na paragem da Chicova, onde as primeiras se acharam enterradas, postoque alguns ministros tem averiguado que não é o logar nem disposição da terra conveniente para minas, adiante se verá onde se acharam muitas pedras; e estas, como se não houverem de descobrir por pessoa que tenha mais intento em o fazer do que a resgatar o muito ouro que por alli se faz, com muita facilidade e grandes ganhos, nunca se ha de alcançar mais que fazer grandes despezas á fazenda de sua Magestade e opprimir os vassallos moradores de Moçambique, que merecem a sua Magestade todos os favores e accrescentamentos, pelo como tem defendido aquella fortaleza, e por viverem em terra tão doentia, d'onde só os pode obrigar algum interesse e ganho para sua sustentação.

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Propôz tambem no principio d'este mez de janeiro de 614 o visorei, em conselho, como pela grande falta que havia de gente estava impossibilitado de poder mandar alguma a Moçambique,

para que, em caso que alli não estivessem as naus do reino que tinham faltado o anno passado, não ficasse a dita praça desprovida, e sem bastante defensão contra quaesquer inimigos que a viessem demandar; e pareceu a todos que estando lá as naus tudo estaria seguro, pois era certo que, haviam de deixar na dita fortaleza a gente necessaria, porém que, por quanto poderia succeder que não houvessem tomado aquelle porto, por trazerem outra ordem de sua Magestade, como se deu ás do anno atrás, se não podia n'esta duvida deixar assi arriscada uma fortaleza de tão grande importancia, e convinha acudir-lhe de todo o modo logo, e pois n'este Estado se não achava gente que lhe pudessem logo enviar, se ordenasse a Diogo Simões Madeira acudir-se com a que lhe tinha deixado dom Estevam de Ataide nos rios, visto que não havia lá que defender nem conservar com ella, nem tão pouco havia com que a sustentar, por dom Estevam não haver entregue nenhum resgate, nem outra cousa de fazenda de sua Magestade com que se pudesse fazer, e que além d'isto se davam grandes queixas do dito Diogo Simões tomar o fato das partes, que havia nos rios, a titulo e com pretexto da sustentação d'esta gente, e se temia que de tudo lançasse mão, e que a este respeito seccasse totalmente o commercio, pelos homens não quererem arriscar suas fazendas, e que ainda quando isto não estivera de permeio, e o dito Diogo Simões tivera cabedal para sustentar a gente, sempre em caso de necessidade precedia a conservação e segurança da fortaleza a tudo o mais, porque com ella sempre a conquista se poderia fazer, e sem a fortaleza não podia haver conquista. E assi na forma d'este accordo se mandaram as ordens a Moçambique a Diogo Simões, e juntamente que se lhe notificasse não bulisse com nenhuma fazenda das partes, porque se houvesse de faltar o commercio por essa causa, era a maior guerra que á fortaleza podia fazer.

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Mandou sua Magestade do reino duas urcas em direitura á fortaleza de Moçambique, que partiram de Lisboa tambem no anno de 615. Vinha n'uma, chamada *Boa Fortuna*, Ruy de Mello de Sampaio para capitão da dita fortaleza, onde chegou e tomou posse d'ella; e na outra vinha por capitão Francisco de Sousa, que se perdeu no cabo de Santo Agostinho. E assim, estando o dito Ruy de Mello servindo a dita capitania, escreveram os

moradores de Moçambique n'este anno de 616 muitas queixas ao visorei, de que lhe tomava toda a roupa que alli ia e juntamente a todos os que de fóra a levavam; por onde, havendo-se perdido o anno atrazado a nau do tracto que para lá ia com ellas, sem passar nenhuma outra embarcação, não havia na presente monção quem se dispuzesse a mandar nenhuma, nem fato, temendo-se do mesmo; particularmente sabendo que Ruy de Mello não mandava ordem nem dinheiro para lhe levarem roupas, ou parece que por estar alcançado, ou por fazer estas contas, como todos cuidavam, que os fazia mais confirmar em seu receio; por cuja causa o provido com a viagem de Moçambique, e os moradores da mesma fortaleza, representaram juntamente ao visorei que faltando o tracto ficava impossibilitado o capitão de poder cumprir as obrigações do contracto feito com a fazenda de sua Magestade, e não tendo com que sustentar o presidio e fortaleza, nem tambem elles em que poder tractar para sustentarem suas casas e familias, com que estavam determinados a desamparar aquella terra, se n'isto não havia melhoramento.

A conquista do descubrimento das minas da prata, que estava entregue a Diogo Simões Madeira, se havia melhorado, por ter descoberto Diogo Simões muitas pedras de prata, na mesma paragem onde d'antes se tinham tirado, em mais quantidade do que se tirou de nenhuma outra vez; e assim as mandou ao visorei dom Hieronymo, avisando que parte d'ellas se cavaram em sua presença, e as mais na de um parente seu, chamado Diogo Teixeira Barros, que estava por capitão do forte que na mesma paragem fez Diogo Simões, o qual affirmava serem aquellas as verdadeiras minas de prata; e outras pessoas escreviam tambem sobre esta materia, e davam a entender que as minas estavam descobertas, postoque tambem diziam que as pedras que se tiravam estavam em terra solta; o que podia fazer alguma duvida, e cuidar-se que se poriam alli, como succedeu já quando d'outras vezes se tiraram pedras de prata, postoque as de presente eram em muito mais quantidade.

Diogo Simões tanto que achou estas pedras se veiu a Tete para negociar mandal-as a Goa, deixando ao dito forte da Chicova o capitão acima nomeado com obra de quarenta soldados, e alguns cafres captivos dos portuguezes, e outros vassallos de sua Magestade. O que sabendo o Manamotapa mandou ajuntar gente de guerra e dar no dito forte, como em effeito deram muitos cafres,

com pretensão de o tomarem, e chegaram a pegar nos paus de que era feito, porém o dito capitão e soldados o defenderam valorosamente com morte de muitos cafres; com que, desengañados de o não poderem tomar, se foram e o deixaram. O qual forte estava situado á borda do rio Gembeje, de modo que lhe não podiam os cafres impedir aos de dentro embarcarem-se em conchos (que são embarcações pequenas de um pau) para poderem passar á outra banda quando lhe fosse necessario; com que ficava o forte sempre mui defensavel e accommodado para o podermos sustentar, com não pequeno freio do Manamotapa; mas por faltar sustentação para os soldados o queriam largar e virem todos para baixo (e adiante se dá mui larga razão assim de tudo o atrazado, como do que depois succedeu no descobrimento d'estas minas); e como a conquista corria por Diogo Simões, não deixava elle de fazer tambem suas forças, tomando parte do que passava aos rios, com pretexto de dizer era para o sustento da gente que tinha sobre o descobrimento d'estas minas. O que juntamente fazia estar mais impedido o commercio dos rios; com que de dentro e fóra d'elles vieram muitas queixas ao visorei, pedindo com muita instancia e brevidade o remedio conveniente; e elle, considerando a importancia de uma e outra cousa, fez conselho de Estado, onde chamou não sómente os que de ordinario lhe assistiam, senão tambem alguns desembargadores da relação de Goa, particularmente o chanceler do Estado e juiz dos feitos, o provedor mór dos contos, ouvidor geral do crime, o védor da fazenda geral Pero Correia de Azevedo, e o procurador da coroa, porque, como entravam materias de justiça e fazenda, quiz o visorei que por todos se consultasse o que devia n'ellas determinar-se; e assim de commum accordo, depois de conferidas e discutidas as materias com todas as circumstancias que n'ellas se offereciam, assentaram que em primeiro logar devia o visorei provêr ás queixas dos mercadores, assim forasteiros, como moradores de Moçambique, para que se continuasse o tracto e commercio, pois era só o meio porque se podiam elles conservar, e juntamente o capitão, presidio e fortaleza; e para segurança d'isto se mandasse um desembargador de auctoridade e confiança, que fosse por ouvidor geral e com poderes de védor da fazenda, o qual assistisse aos mercadores para os desaggravar e defender, com os ditos poderes, das forças que Ruy de Mello lhes quizesse fazer, por dois meios: ou obrigando-o a que desse satisfação aos mercadores das roupas que lhe tomasse,

de maneira que elles se devessem contentar e dar por satisfeitos ; ou passando o mesmo ouvidor geral com ellas aos rios, por conta do mesmo capitão, entregues a seus feitores, fazendo-as lá vender e dar do procedido d'ellas aos mercadores o preço por que se houverem concertado com o capitão e a seus feitores tudo o mais que se houver ganhado n'ellas ; com que uma e outra parte se deviam haver por satisfeitos ; tendo-se considerado para este segundo meio que não podia o capitão, no estado em que estava, ter com que lhes pagasse logo em Moçambique de contado, nem segurança que lhes pudesse dar para lhes pagar depois, e que elle era só o comprador que alli havia, por ter o estanque dos rios onde a roupa se gastava. E juntamente accrescentaram que quando todos estes meios não bastassem, e Ruy de Mello usando de violencia, e com o poder de capitão, tomasse por força as roupas aos mercadores sem as pagar, nem respeitar as notificações e intimações que o ouvidor geral sobre isso lhe fizesse, como se podia recear pelo mais que tinha precedido, devia o dito ouvidor geral levar poder e ordem para n'este caso, tendo justificado tudo por auto e papeis bastantes, o suspender ; assim porque entendiam que sem isto se não disporiam os homens a mandar suas fazendas, como porque se podia temer muito que mandando-as, vendo-as assim tomar, de desesperados, e estando os da terra pelo mesmo respeito tão escandalizados, succedesse alguma desordem, com que aquella fortaleza ficasse de todo offerecida e exposta a se perder. E tambem se assentou que o mesmo desembargador passasse a Chicova e visse o lugar dónde se tiravam as pedras da prata, examinando mui bem se eram de terra solta, ou de veia onde houvesse mina, e que, achando havel-a, dêsse a Diogo Simões em nome de sua Magestade as graças de seu descubrimento, e assegurando-o das mercês que para isso havia de ter do dito senhor, lhe deixasse provimento para seguir esta obra e segurar o forte que alli estava feito ; e quando alcançasse que não havia alli minas, e que as pedras que se tiraram foram alli postas como das outras vezes, procurasse por bons meios haver ás mãos Diogo Simões e trazel-o a bom recado, para que não ficasse continuando em tomar o fato dos homens com a capa de minas ; porém que não o podendo colher, por nenhum modo não soubesse de tal ordem ; porque, como andava tão mettido com os cafres, ficaria sendo antes de prejuizo e damno ao serviço de sua Magestade. E assim, conforme a esta determinação do conselho de Estado, se nomeou

logo o desembargador Francisco da Fonseca Pinto com as ordens na fórma que aqui vñõ declaradas, accrescentando mais ir em sua companhia Salvador Vaz da Guerra, que se mandou a requerimento seu, manifestando que em caso que houvesse de despor ao capitão Ruy de Mello de Sampaio da fortaleza de Moçambique, conforme as condições e ordens que levava, ou lhe nomeassem pessoa em que houvesse de provêr o dito logar, das que lá estivessem, ou a mandassem logo de cá para esse effeito; por quanto nunca convinha que praça de similhante importancia estivesse sem pessoa de muita consideração para tudo o que podia succeder, conforme era trazida em olho e pretendida dos inimigos de Europa. E n'esta fórma partiu este desembargador em janeiro de 616, para Moçambique, indo em sua companhia muita copia de roupas que mandaram todos, em confiança de que se lhe não havia de fazer força alguma, senão pagarem-lhas pelo que justamente valessem; porque, se houvera isto em todas as cidades e fortalezas d'este Estado, foram os commercios e tractos tão avengejados que ficaram d'ahi os vassallos com não menos interesse do que a fazenda de sua Magestade, que sempre os havia de ter maiores, sendo que não são pequenos ter vassallos ricos e poderosos.

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Francisco da Fonseca Pinto chegou a Moçambique a salvamento, com as embarcações que foram em sua companhia na monção de março seguinte de 616; e começando a inquirir o estado da fortaleza e do capitão Ruy de Mello, com os casados e mais gente d'ella, achou muitas queixas do capitão, particularmente dos depositarios dos orphãos e ausentes, que diziam os prendia e avexava, e lhe tomava por força o dinheiro que tinham em seu poder.

Achou tambem Francisco da Fonseca os soldados da fortaleza amotinados contra o dito capitão Ruy de Mello, porque tinha, havia pouco, preso a tres, a quem mandou dar garrote dentro na fortaleza, de noite, por dizer que se queriam alevantar contra elle; ao que tambem acrescentavam os soldados que não queria pagar Ruy de Mello os quatro cruzados de mantimentos cada mez, que sua Magestade lhe mandava dar. Do que resentidos, (postoque tambem não faltaram opiniões de que juntamente os induziram) se foram um dia metter todos na ermida de Santo Antonio, amotinados, dizendo não haviam de ir para a fortaleza

em quanto Ruy de Mello fosse capitão ; que lhe dessem outro e logo se iriam metter n'ella. O desembargador Francisco da Fonseca se foi á ermida ter com os soldados, e como melhor pôde os apaziguou e fez tornar para a fortaleza ; e como levava ordem para passar aos rios e ir a Chicova a verificar as minas da prata, começou em Moçambique a se apparelhar para a jornada.

O capitão da fortaleza, Ruy de Mello, como se temia que Francisco da Fonseca o desaposasse, tinha fechadas as portas da fortaleza, e um dia andando-se o desembargador apparelhando com muita pressa, já em vespera da partida, abriu Ruy de Mello um postigo da porta da fortaleza, não se receando já pelo vêr tão a pique ; e como Francisco da Fonseca andava á lerta para lançar mão da occasião, se metteu logo pelo postigo da fortaleza com dois homens velhos moradores de Moçambique, deixando a Salvador Vaz da Guerra com soldados em uma paragem perto, para que, tanto que o mandasse chamar, acudisse logo com muita brevidade : e assim chegando o dito desembargador a Ruy de Mello o desapossou de capitão da fortaleza, e de tudo o que com ella lhe pertencia, conforme os poderes que para isso levava, postoque não conforme as ordens, que com elles lhe foram dadas, como depois se verificou ; e mettendo de posse e tomando menagem da dita fortaleza a Salvador Vaz da Guerra, se foi para os rios de Cuama, contractando-os primeiro a quintos com alguns moradores de Moçambique, onde as roupas e fazendas estavam mui caras, pela perda da nau do tracto do anno atrazado, como já temos tocado.

Ruy de Mello, tanto que se viu desapossado, não tractou mais que de se vir a Goa, como fez na mesma monção, e chegou a ella em maio de 616, onde se poz a direito para lhe darem culpas porque o desapossaram ; e o deixaremos n'este requerimento, por dar razão mais particular do imperio e terras do Manamotapa, (para onde dissemos que era partido o dito Francisco da Fonseca Pinto) não obstante o pouco que atraz tocamos n'elle.

## CAPITULO CXXII.

*Das terras do Manamotapa, suas minas, feiras e resgate de seu ouro.*

O grande imperio do Monamotapa é cortado de um rio principal, e caudaloso, a que os naturaes chamam Zambeze, no qual se vem

metter outros em espaço de tresentas leguas, que até o presente d'elle temos descoberto: desemboca no mar Oceano, entre Moçambique e Sofala, por quatro bocas para a parte do Sueste; a principal é Quilimane, que dista de Moçambique noventa leguas; a segunda Cuama, que esta mais para o Sul vinte e cinco leguas; a terceira Luabo, que fica mais abaixo cinco leguas; a quarta finalmente, que tambem esta mais para o Sul outras cinco leguas, a que chamam Luabo Velho. Estes braços com que o rio grande entra no mar fazem entre si mui grandes e fertilissimas ilhas de mantimentos, e uma d'ellas tem de circuito, assim por dentro dos rios como pelo mar que a cerca, perto de sessenta leguas de roda. É capaz cada qual das barras de Quilimane, Cuama e Luabo, para entrarem por ellas embarcações de cem toneladas, que são galeotas e pangaiois, carregados de roupas e mantimentos; e como entram pelo rio, descarregam em outras embarcações ligeiras e muito compridas, a que chamam almadias, e em cada uma se recolhem vinte até vinte e cinco fardos de roupa, de vinte e cinco corjas cada uma, e n'ellas se navega pelo rio acima sessenta leguas até á povoação de Sena, onde vivem trinta portuguezes casados e outros solteiros, pouco mais ou menos, com seus escravos homens de guerra, que servem de marinheiros das almadias, e de darem guarda aos seus senhores, e ás mercadorias com que vão pela terra dentro. D'aqui sahem os mercadores com seus escravos carregados de roupas, e vão fazer resgate do ouro a Manica, que fica na corda de Sena para o Sul vinte dias de caminho, e a Mocaranga, que é o reino do imperador de Manamotapa.

D'esta povoação de Sena vão as mesmas embarcações pelo rio acima outras sessenta leguas, até outra povoação nossa chamada Tete, onde ha menos moradores que em Sena. D'aqui os mercadores d'esta terra, da mesma maneira que os de Sena, vão fazer o resgate do ouro ás feiras que ha no Mocaranga, onde commummente vem os cafres comprar com os portuguezes. O primeiro logar e feira se chama Luanze, o qual está distante de Tete trinta e cinco leguas tambem para o Sul, entre o rio Inhadiri e o da Aruenha, os quaes ambos se mettem no rio Manzovo e por elle no Zambeze, cinco leguas abaixo de Tete. Faz-se o caminho de Tete até Luanze em cinco jornadas apressadas, que assim as costumam fazer os cafres.

A segunda feira se chama Bocuto, que tambem está entre dois

braços de rios pequenos, distancia de Tete de quarenta leguas, e de Luanze, quasi ao travez na mesma corda, treze.

A terceira feira é a de Massapa, que está situada quatro leguas do rio Manzovo. Esta é a principal e maior de todas. D'aqui a Tete são cincoenta leguas, e dez do Bocuto. Junto d'esta feira está a grande e rica serra chamada Fura, riquissima de ouro, da qual por antiga tradição dizem os naturaes mouros que a rainha Saba levou quantidade de camelos carregados de ouro. N'este logar de Massapa, e no de Bocuto e Luanze, estão egrejas com religiosos da ordem de São Domingos; n'ellas se celebram os officios divinos para os portuguezes e seus escravos, que são muitos, porque alguns portuguezes ha que tem mais de tresentos, todos christãos. Tambem aqui em Massapa reside um capitão portuguez, que se chama das portas, pedido pelo Manamotapa, e apontado pelos mercadores por ordem do capitão de Moçambique. Com este capitão tracta o Manamotapa tudo o que lhe parece e se offerece entre os seus e os portuguezes, e por elle se lhe responde. Chama-se capitão das portas, porque d'alli para dentro ninguem entra, nem vae fallar ao rei sem sua licença e por ordem sua.

Esta terra de Manamotapa tem de circuito mais de tresentas leguas, e a mór parte d'ella é rica de ouro em grande quantidade, aonde vão os portuguezes e seus escravos resgatar ouro com as roupas, e os naturaes vem a estas feiras nomeadas a vendel-o. E é cousa notavel vêr a excessiva força com que a natureza produz e cria este metal; porque se sabe, por pessoas dignas de fé, que da serra de Fura se desfez de uma pedreira misturada de ouro, em pouco tempo, mais de quatrocentos mil cruzados; e alguns portuguezes viram pelo amago do tronco de arvores acharse veia de ouro que foi crescendo por dentro d'elle; e cavando no logar onde a arvore esteve em breve tempo tiraram dez ou doze mil cruzados, e não procederam ávante com medo dos senhores titulares das terras, que defendem gravemente cavarem-se minas ricas, e assim muitas estão por cavar. Em algumas partes se tem achado á frol da terra pedaços de ouro nativo de peso de quatro mil cruzados, e outros de mil e quinhentos cruzados, e menores, e de lascas grandes e pequenas infinitas. Em outras minas se sabe que não cavam os caíres por não terem ribeiras em que lavar a terra com que o ouro está misturado; porque o não sabem tirar de outra maneira, nem sabem fazer as machinas necessarias para o tirar das entranhas da terra, e são tão preguiçosos e dados á boa

vida, que nunca se dispoem a buscar ouro senão constringidos de necessidade do vestido, ou mantimento, que não falta na terra, porque é abundante d'elle, a saber: milho, algum arroz, e muitos legumes, gado vaccum e miudo, muitas gallinhas. A terra é cheia de ribeiras de boa agua, e pela mór parte são os cafres inclinados a lavouras e pastos, em que consiste sua riqueza.

### CAPITULO CXXIII.

*Dos Reinos e Senhorios sujeitos ao Manamotapa, officiaes de sua casa, e mulheres que tem proprias. E outras por estado.*

Já fica dito como os reinos e terras do Manamotapa tem de circuito mais de tresentas leguas, cujo senhorio se divide em regulos, e em outros senhores de vassallos menores, a que chamam encosses, ou fumos, e todos são vassallos de Manamotapa. Dos quaes nomearei aqui os principaes: o reino de Mongas, de que é rei Inhamorera; Baroe, de que é rei Macobe; Manica, de que é rei o Chicanga; Boessa, de que é rei Inhachiroy; Maungo, de que é rei Macone; o reino de Zimba, que tem da parte do Sul o reino de Butua, e do norte as terras de Urupande; Chigue, de que é rei Inhanguu; Chiria, de que é rei Macota; Chidima, de que é rei Inhamozama; Boquiza, de que é rei Inhampunga; Inhabanzo, de que foi rei Maximira, e foi senhor d'elle Diogo Simões Madeira, que lho deu o Manamotapa, por quanto lançou fóra d'elle ao levantado Matuzianhe, de que adiante tractarei largamente; o reino de Chiruua, de que é rei Bucurume; Condesaca, de que é rei Mocomoaxa; Daburia, de que é rei Ningomoxa, segunda pessoa do estado de Manamotapa, e seu governador; Macurube, de que é rei Antoua, tio do Manamotapa; Mungussy, reino de Inhacanemba, mulher grande do Manamotapa; Antauara, reino de Chicuma; Choe, reino do Ambuya; Chungue, reino do Chicoapa; Diza, reino de Madungue; Romba, reino de Inhacarenga; Russini, reino de Inharuca; os reinos de Chirao, e outros muitos senhorios, que não tem nome de reinos. Além de todos estes reinos, ha tambem outro reino maior e mais principal, que é o Mocaranga, onde o Manamotapa reside com sua corte, e n'ella assistem os mais d'estes senhores ou seus filhos, de que o Manamotapa se serve. Tem mais outro reino annexo a este Mocaranga, que é o reino de Beza, onde estão uns paços dos Manamotapas

antigos, que os cafres tem por cousa suprema, e n'elles se enterram todos os Manamotapas, e servem-lhe de cemiterio.

Os aposentos em que mora Manamotapa são mui grandes e de muitas casas, cercadas em roda de uma grande cerca de madeira. Tem dentro tres aposentos, um para sua pessoa, outro para a rainha, outro para seus criados que o servem das portas a dentro; e assim tem tres portas em um pateo grande, uma para onde se serve a rainha, da qual para dentro não entra homem algum, senão mulheres; outra para a sua cosinha, por onde não entram mais que os cosinheiros, que são dois mancebos senhores principaes de seu reino, e seus parentes, de quem mais se fia, e os moços que servem na cosinha, que tambem são nobres, de idade de quinze até vinte annos; os quaes tambem servem de pôr a mesa ao rei quando quer comer, que é no chão sobre uma alcatifa ou esteira, e por cima um canequim estendido, onde lhe poem muitas differenças de carnes, tudo cosido e assado, como são gallinhas, pombos, perdizes, capões, carneiros, veado, lebres, coelhos, vacca, e ratos, e outra differença de caça; das quaes eguarias, depois que o rei come, dão algumas a certos criados, que sempre as tem de sua mesa. A terceira porta serve para os aposentos do rei, por onde não entram mais que os moços fidalgos de que se serve das portas a dentro, que todos são de quinze até vinte annos de idade, a que chamam massacoriras, e são filhos dos grandes de seus reinos, e tem seu capitão que olha por elles e os manda. Como estes são de vinte annos para cima, tiram-se do serviço do rei das portas a dentro, e mettem outros moços em seu lugar; e a razão d'isto é porque o rei não se quer servir de gente que conheça mulher, senão d'estes moços, os quaes tem preceito de serem castos em quanto servem o rei, e se algum se acha comprehendido n'este vicio é gravemente castigado, e lançado fóra do serviço do rei; de modo que como tem vinte annos de idade servem ao rei de fóra, e moram fóra dos paços, chamam-se maueiros, e logo o rei lhe dá terras de que comam. E estes tambem tem seu capitão, e n'este serviço andam alguns annos e depois os acrescenta a outro nome de chureiros, e com este nome servem de embaixadores, e nos cargos e officios em que o rei os ecarrega, até que vagam terras e casas grandes de que os faz senhores, ou que foram de seus paes, ou de mercê nova.

Os officios que ha na casa do rei são os seguintes: Ningomoza, que é governador dos reinos; Mocomoza, capitão geral; Ambuya,

mordomo mór, que tem cuidado quando morre a Mazarira, mulher grande do rei, nomear outra Mazarira, que herde aquella casa e estado; e esta ha de ser das irmãs do rei; Inhantouo, tangedor mór, a quem são sujeitos todos os tangedores do rei, que são muitos, e este é grande senhor; Nurucão, capitão mór da guerra da dianteira; Bucurume, que significa mão direita do rei; Máguende, feiticeiro mór; Netambe, boticaireiro do rei, que guarda seus feitiços e unguentos; Nehonho, porteiro mór. Todos estes são senhores de terras e vassallos. Outros muitos officios ha menores, que será cousa infinita e perluxa nomeal-os.

Tem o Manamotapa muitas mulheres grandes, que são como rainhas, as mais d'ellas suas parentas e irmãs, e outras filhas de reis e senhores seus vassallos. A principal se chama Mazarira, que sempre é das irmãs do rei; esta é mãe dos portuguezes, e falla por elles, e tracta suas cousas com o rei, a quem os portuguezes mandam por isso seus presentes; e nenhum embaixador manda o Manamotapa aos portuguezes que vá sem um criado da Mazarira. A segunda mulher se chama Inhabanda, a qual falla pelos mouros. A terceira se chama Nabuiza; esta é a sua verdadeira mulher, porque só esta mora dentro nos paços com o rei. A quarta se chama Nauemba; a quinta Nemangore; a sexta se chama Nizingoapangi; a septima Nemangoro; a oitava Nessianhi; a nona finalmente, se chama Necharunda. Todas estas são mulheres grandes do rei, e tem casas e estados sobre si, com todos os officiaes que o rei tem, e muitas terras e vassallos, e algumas d'estas tem reinos apoticados a suas casas; e em morrendo alguma d'estas, logo lhe succede na mesma casa e estado e nome outra mulher que o rei põe em seu lugar. Estas todas tem jurisdicção sobre seus vassallos, para os castigar e matar por seus delictos. Em casa d'estas mulheres tem o rei outras muitas mulheres de que usa quando quer, mandando-as ir a sua casa, e todas tem obediencia ás mulheres grandes em cuja casa estão, e as servem como suas criadas. O rei vae algumas vezes a casa d'estas mulheres grandes, outras vezes as manda chamar e vem a sua casa; mas a principal mulher de que usa é a Nabuiza, que mora com elle em seus paços, onde tambem tem seu serviço e officiaes como o rei.

## CAPITULO CXXIV.

*Dos costumes dos Mocarangas, seus dias santos, suas audiencias e superstições.*

Os Manamotapas ordinariamente são da casta dos mocarangas, os quaes são gente fraca; não tem armas defensivas, nem fortalezas, nem cidades cercadas, e as armas offensivas de que usam são arcos, frechas e azagaia. É gente barbara, sem lei e sem idolos, nem adoram cousa alguma; mas contudo sabem que ha Deus que está nos céus; tem para si que os seus reis vão ao céu, aos quaes, depois que lá estão, chamam muzimos, e a estes pedem o que hão mister. Tambem sabem que ha diabo, e que é mau, a que chamam Muzuca. Não tem livros nem escripturas, nem sabem lér nem escrever; e todas as cousas passadas, que succederam entre elles, sabem por tradição. É gente dispota para receber o bauptismo, como nos tem mostrado a experiencia, pois em nenhum dos que vieram a poder dos portuguezes houve repugnancia para se fazer christão, e depois de doutrinados não se sabe algum deixar a fé.

Duas propriedades tem o Manamotapa, não de barbaro, como é, senão de christão temente a Deus; a primeira é não se servir das portas a dentro com mulheres, senão com moços castos que não tenham conhecido mulher, e se a conhecem andando no serviço, logo são lançados fóra d'elle, e castigados gravemente, como fica dito. A segunda é ter muita caridade com os cegos e aleijados, porque a estes chamam pobres d'elrei, e tem terra e renda de que comem, e quando querem passar pelos reinos, a qualquer terra que chegam, se lhe dá de comer e beber á custa do povo em quanto alli estão; e sabindo d'alli para outra terra se lhe dá o necessario para o caminho, e guia, e quem lhe leve o alforje até outro logar; e a cada logar a que chegam tem a mesma obrigação, sob pena de serem castigados pelo rei os que o não fizerem.

Tem seis dias santos em cada mez, o qual repartem em tres semanas, de dez dias cada uma, começando a contar do dia que vem a lua nova até que se acaba; e assim dão a cada mez trinta dias. Na primeira semana guardam aos quatro dias de lua e ao septimo; e acabados os primeiros dez dias começam a contar outros dez, e aos quatro dias, que são quatorze da lua, guardam, e ao septimo, que são dezesepte de lua; e acabados estes segundos dez, que são vinte de lua, começam a contar outros

dez dias, e guardam ao quarto dia, que são vinte e quatro da lua, e ao septimo, que são vinte e sete; e acabados estes tres dez, começam outro mez com a lua nova que apparece, e andam n'isto tão certos que não erram dia de lua. N'estes dias santos se vestem os cafres dos melhores pannos que tem, e o rei nos taes dias ouve as partes, de modo que para elles são dias de audiencia, e em quanto faz estas audiencias sempre está em pé, com dois bordões nas mãos, pequenos, de obra de um covado cada um, e as partes prostradas em terra; e muitas vezes dura a audiencia de pela manhã até vespera, sem nunca o rei se assentar, e quando elle não póde fazer audiencia por algum impedimento que tem, então a faz o Ningomoxa seu regedor. No oitavo dia da lua ninguem falla com o rei, nem lhe vão ao paço, porque tem agouro n'este dia, e nada de importancia começa, nem manda fazer n'elle.

O dia que apparece a lua nova costuma o rei pemberar em sua casa com duas azagaias nas mãos, que é correr de uma parte a outra, fingindo que peleja em guerra, e que se desvia do golpe que lhe tiram. A esta festa que o rei faz se acham presentes todos os grandes e senhores que assistem na corte; e depois de pemberar, manda vir uma grande panella que tem mandado coser de milho em grão, e com sua mão o espalha pelo chão, dizendo aos seus que comam d'elle, porque o milho nasce da terra, e elle é senhor d'ella, e elles seus vassallos; e os cafres que presentes estão apanham aquelles grãos de milho do chão, à porfia de quem mais apanhará, e o comem logo diante do rei, com tanto gosto como se foram confeitos.

No dia da lua nova do mez de maio é a sua festa grande, a que chamam chuauo, na qual comparecem todos os senhores de seus reinos, tirando os reis de titulo, que estes, postoque são vassallos do Manamotapa e lhe pagam seus tributos, comtudo nunca vão á sua corte, nem sahem fóra de seus reinos; mas todos os mais senhores, que são innumeraveis, se acham presentes a estas festas; e todos pemberam, que é escaramuçarem com azagaias nas mãos, remetendo uns aos outros, e ameaçando com ellas, como quando pelejam na guerra; e o Manamotapa está assentado vendo esta escaramuça; e n'estas festas, que se fazem ao som de muitos tambores e cornetas, se gasta o dia todo. O rei se recolhe como é noite, e ninguem o vê mais oito dias, nos quaes os tambores do rei estão sempre tangendo de dia e de noite com grande estrondo,

porque são muitos e mui grandes, ao modo de atabales; e no oitavo dia da lua manda o Manamotapa matar um d'aquelles grandes, a quem elle tem alguma má vontade, e com esta morte, que elle offerece aos seus mozimos como sacrificio, se acaba a festa, e cessam os tambores, e cada um se vae para sua terra e casa. Outros muitos abusos e superstições tem estes mocarangas, que seria mui largo dar razão de todas. E pois já fica mostrado quão grande senhor é o Manamotapa, assim de terras como de vassallos, e quão temido, venerado e obedecido era de todos elles, agora se mostrará como a fortuna inconstante virou sua roda contra elle, e o pôz em mui miseravel estado, como se verá na historia seguinte; pela qual razão se valeu dos portuguezes, e lhe fez doação das minas da prata, que é o intento d'este tractado, postoque para elle seja forçado tornar atraz alguns annos d'aquelles de que começa esta historia.

#### CAPITULO CXXV.

*De como um cafre rei poderoso, chamado Chunzo, fez guerra ao Manamotapa; e de como os portuguezes o soccoreram e defenderam dos capitães do Chunzo.*

N'esta grande região da Ethiopia vive um cafre, por nome Chunzo, rei poderoso de vassallos, cujo senhorio e reinos que tem correm ao longo do rio Zambeze pela terra dentro, da parte do ponente; ficando-lhe algumas terras do Manamotapa defronte, da outra parte do mesmo rio, de modo que é o rio a estremadura de ambos os reinos. Este Chunzo, invejoso do grande poder e senhorio do Manamotapa, determinou fazer-lhe guerra e conquistar-lhe os reinos que tinha visinhos, confiado em sua gente ser mais bellicosa que a do Manamotapa; e para isso elegeu dois capitães que tinha mui esforçados, e mandou a cada um por sua parte com gente de guerra, para que passassem ás terras que tenho dito, e entrassem por ellas e as conquistassem. Isto foi no anno do Senhor de 1597, sendo capitão de Moçambique Nuno da Cunha. Os capitães do Chunzo tomaram esta empreza á sua conta com muito cuidado.

O principal d'elles, chamado Capampo, foi entrando pelas terras do reino de Maboe, que estão ao longo do rio Zambeze, e as senhoreou todas, e d'ellas salteava as terras do Chirungo e da

Chironga e da Nhanha, que são terras de muito ouro, onde o capitão de Massapa e os mais portuguezes mercadores faziam seu resgate. Sabendo o Manamotapa o grande damno que o Capampo fizera em suas terras, em breve tempo mandou ajuntar muita gente de guerra, e mandou por capitão mór d'ella ao Ningomoxa, seu governador e segunda pessoa de seu reino, e juntamente mandou por seus embaixadores aos portuguezes que andavam no Mocaranga, pedindo-lhe quizessem acompanhar o seu exercito para ajudarem a lançar o Capampo fóra de suas terras; e os portuguezes vieram n'isso com muito gosto, pelo proveito que tinham de vêr aquellas terras livres de ladrões; e logo se puzeram ao caminho e foram acompanhar o exercito do Manamotapa; mas o Capampo, sabendo da guerra que sobre elle vinha e que trazia portuguezes com suas espingardas, não nos quiz esperar, e foi-se retirando e sahindo das ditas terras; e de caminho foi queimando todos os mantimentos que achava, de modo que indo-lhe os nossos no alcance não acharam que comer, e constringidos da fome se tornaram todos, deixando de seguir o inimigo. Tomou o Manamotapa isto tão mal, e ficou tão apaixonado, que mandou matar ao Ningomoxa, seu capitão geral, não tendo respeito a ser seu tio e a segunda pessoa de seu reino; da qual morte succederem todos os males que depois vieram ao Manamotapa, ordenados pelos parentes do Ningomoxa, como adiante direi.

O segundo capitão do Chunzo, por nome Chicanda, entrou por outra parte nas terras que correm ao longo do rio Marope, aonde havia muitos escravos dos portuguezes seus mercadores, e desbaratando-os e roubando todas passou ávante, e foi fazer seu assento ao longo do rio Motambo, que está perto da corte do Manamotapa; e temendo que o rei dêsse logo sobre elle e o destruisse, mandou-lhe seus embaixadores com um grande presente, dizendo que elle se viera metter em seus reinos sem sua licença, de que lhe mandava pedir perdão, mas que sua tenção com que alli viera fóra servil-o a elle e ser seu vassallo antes que do Chunzo, e que n'essa conta o quizesse acceitar, e dar-lhe licença para se aposentar n'aquella terra em que estava. O Manamotapa o acceitou por vassallo fazendo do inimigo fiel, querendo antes ser obedecido d'este capitão que fazer-lhe guerra, em que lhe succedesse outra desgraça, como na do outro capitão Capampo; e deu-lhe licença para estar n'aquella terra, que pedia. Aqui esteve o Chicanda quieto dois annos, e no fim d'elles rebellou contra o Manamotapa,

e começou de saltear algumas terras das mulheres do Manamotapa, que estão para aquella parte, fazendo tantos estragos n'ellas, que obrigou o Manamotapa a pedir soccorro ao capitão de Moçambique, que então era dom Alvaro de Abranches, e por elle n'este tempo ser ja fallecido, os moradores de Sena e Tete ordenaram soccorrer ao Manamotapa, assim pelo agradar, como pelas perdas e roubos que recebiam do levantado Chicanda; e para isso se ajuntaram septenta e cinco portuguezes, e dois mil cafres vassallos de Sena e Tete, e elegeram por capitão d'este soccorro a Belchior de Araujo, que actualmente era capitão de Tete.

Juntos pois em Tete partiram em companhia dos embaixadores do Manamotapa, que lhe foram franqueando os caminhos, e provendo de muitos mantimentos até chegarem ao forte do Chicanda, o qual acharam cercado de trinta mil mocarangas vassallos do Manamotapa, cujo capitão geral era o Mocomoaxa; mas o Chicanda, tendo consigo sómente seiscentos homens de peleja, estimava tão pouco os trinta mil mocarangas que o tinham cercado, que de dia e de noite os salteava, feria e matava. Chegando os nossos á vista do forte, foram-se alojar perto d'elle, e fizeram suas tranqueiras. O forte do inimigo era de madeira muito alta, grossa e forte; tinha em roda uma cava de altura de vinte e cinco palmos, e outros tantos de largo; tinha um vallo da terra que tiraram da cava, encostado á madeira, muito alto, com suas setteiras por onde offendiam os mocarangas. Tanto que os nossos descanzaram do caminho, fizeram logo grandes cestões abertos por detraz, e cubertos por cima, em cada um dos quaes cabiam cincoenta cafres que os levavam diante de si como muro, até chegarem ao forte do inimigo, sem suas frechas fazerem damno a quem os levava. N'estes cestões havia setteiras, por onde os nossos cafres tiravam com suas frechas, e os portuguezes com as espingardas; e d'esta maneira foram commetter o forte e lhe entulharam a cava. Começou-se a briga de pela manhã até noite, na qual os inimigos, vendo-se já quasi desbaratados, e com muita gente morta, a mais d'ella de pelouro, pediram aos portuguezes que lhe assegurassem as vidas, e que se lhe entregariam; o qual partido lhe não quizeram acceitar, por respeito do Manamotapa que os desejava consumir de todo, antes lhe responderam que no dia seguinte lhe acabariam de dar o castigo que mereciam. Vendo os inimigos sua resposta, não quizeram esperar a manhã, mas como foi alta noite sahiram do forte, e rompendo pela parte

dos mocarangas, fugiram, não tanto á sua vontade como cuidaram porque muitos ficaram mortos n'este rompimento que fizeram. Os nossos entraram o forte em amanhecendo, onde acharam muitos despojos que tomaram, e mandaram dizer ao Manamotapa o que tinham feito, e que visse sua alteza se queria d'elles mais alguma cousa. O Manamotapa lhe mandou agradecer o serviço que lhe fizeram, e que se podiam tornar para suas casas. Com esta resposta do rei se despediram os portuguezes dos mocarangas, e se vieram para Massapa, e d'alli para Tete, e de então para cá consentiu o rei que os portuguezes entrassem por suas terras com espingardas, cousa que elle d'antes defendia muito.

### CAPITULO CXXVI.

*De como se levantaram contra o Manamotapa muitos Cafres poderosos, seus vassallos, e das victorias que os Portuguezes alcançaram dos levantados.*

Já fica dito como o Manamotapa mandou matar a seu tio Ningomoxa, cuja morte foi sentida de seus parentes e amigos que eram os melhores do reino, e por este respeito conspiraram todos em se levantar contra o Manamotapa, como fizeram. Chiraramuro se levantou e deu nas terras de Antauara, e senhoreou muita parte d'ellas; o que sabendo o Manamotapa armou logo um exercito contra elle, e juntamente mandou pedir soccorro ao capitão de Massapa, que era Francisco da Cunha, o qual ajuntou os portuguezes que pôde, e foi-se com elles ao exercito do rei, para o acompanhar; mas o Chiraramuro, sabendo de sua vinda, fugiu antes que chegassem a elle, e querendo-se valer de outro cafre grande do reino, seu amigo, que perto estava, se foi para elle, cuidando ter alli refugio, e amparo. O que não achou; porque o cafre lhe cortou a cabeça, e a levou ao Manamotapa, temendo que lhe desse em culpa recolher seu inimigo, e defendel-o; pela qual razão o exercito se tornou sem pelejar, mas queimou todas as povoações do levantado, que eram muitas. Este Chiraramuro tinha um capitão por nome Matuzianhe, do qual se dizia que fóra pastor de vaccas, mas era homem de grandes espiritos e altos pensamentos, porque depois da morte do Chiraramuro, seu amo, se levantou em seu logar contra o Manamotapa, e teve tanto brio que se fez cabeça de todos os levantados,

intitulando-se por rei do Mocaranga, por consentimento dos mais que o seguiam em odio do Manamotapa; e logo, como cabeça, repartiu os levantados pelas terras do Manamotapa, para que cada um por sua parte lhe fizesse guerra e todo o mal que pudesse. Ao levantado Anconhe pôz nas terras de Antauoa. Ao segundo chamado Chirouadanda, couberam as terras de Nhemboe, abundantissimas de mantimentos. O terceiro, por nome Inhamazino, foi para a serra de Quizinga, ficando elle Matuzianhe nas serras do Matarira, que estão entre Massapa e a corte do Manamotapa.

Estando estes quatro levantados d'este modo espalhados pelo reino do Manamotapa lhe faziam guerra, e lhe comiam e destruiam as terras circumstantes, e impediam os caminhos de tal maneira que não podiam os portuguezes, nem seus mercadores, ir nem vir por elles seguramente com suas fazendas. Pela qual razão se resolveram em dar no levantado da Quizinga, e no de Antauoa, porque estes estavam mais perto de nossas feiras; e para este effeito se ajuntaram os mercadores de Tete, e levaram gente de guerra até Massapa, e d'alli foram dar na Quizinga, indo Diogo Simões Madeira por capitão d'esta companhia, e pelejaram com os inimigos, e os desbaratarem, de modo que os obrigaram a dar obediencia aos portuguezes, e não bulirem mais com suas cousas. Por outra parte o capitão de Massapa, que então era Antonio Ferreira, ajuntou os mercadores que andavam no Mocaranga com seus escravos, e foi commetter o Anconhe, que estava nas terras de Antauoa, mas o Anconhe não quiz pelejar com elle, antes lhe mandou dizer ao caminho que a terra era sua e dos portuguezes, e elle seu amigo, e não queria guerra com elles, antes os favoreceria sempre no que fosse em sua mão. Com esta embaixada, que o Anconhe lhe mandou, se tornou Antonio Ferreira para Massapa sem lhe fazer guerra. O cafre cumpriu o que prometeu, não fazendo mal a cousa de portuguezes; mas ao Manamotapa fazia toda a guerra que podia, como inimigo que era seu.

Vendo o Manamotapa que seus inimigos se multiplicavam, e não cessavam de o perseguir, determinou formar campo, e fazer lhe guerra para os destruir de todo; e para isso mandou pedir soccorro aos portuguezes de Sena em tempo do capitão de Moçambique, Sebastião de Macedo, o qual lhe não foi dado, pelo capitão estar em Moçambique, e o seu feitor João Fragoso, que estava em

Sena, se escusar d'isso; e por essa razão tornou o Manamotapa a mandar seus embaixadores ao capitão de Massapa, Antonio Ferreira, e aos mais portuguezes que com elle estavam, fazendo-lhe grandes queixas de o não socorrerem; e juntamente lhe mandou dizer, que pois de Sena o não quizeram socorrer, que elle, e os mais portuguezes que estavam nas suas terras, se apparelhassem para o ajudar contra seus inimigos; e quando o não fizessem que elle estava prestes para ir contra Matuzianhe, e que iria primeiro contra Massapa, e mandaria roubar quantos portuguezes andavam em seus reinos. Com esta embaixada ficou o capitão assombrado, e não se sabendo resolver no que responderia, mandou os embaixadores do rei a Diogo Simões Madeira, casado em Tete, de quem já temos atraz fallado, o qual, como tinha ja ajudado ao dito imperador em suas guerras contra estes alevantados, e estava prendado com beneficios que por isso tinha recebido, não recusou pôr-se a caminho, e assim, ajuntando os mais portuguezes que pôde de Sena e Tete, se foi pelas ditas nossas feiras, d'onde tambem levou outros, e com os captivos de todos fez um esquadrão mui conveniente, com que se foi apresentar ao dito imperador, que o recebeu com grande contentamento e alegria, como quem tinha experimentado o muito effeito de que lhe era sua ajuda e favor; e não tardando a formar o seu campo, sahio com elle fóra, e foi dando nos inimigos, de que teve alguns bons successos, de que se não pode alcançar tão perfeita noticia como dos mais, a cujo respeito se não descrevem com a particularidade que os outros; Porém sabemos que a principal causa de todos foram os portuguezes, d'onde o Manamotapa, obrigado a Diogo Simões, cabeça d'elles, lhe fez promessa com grande liberalidade de todas as minas da prata que houvesse em seu imperio, como cousa que elle mais estimava; e depois, ainda pelos mesmos e outros melhorados successos, obrigou Diogo Simões ao imperador fizesse doação a sua Magestade de todas as minas de ouro, e quaesquer outros metaes que tambem houvesse em todo o seu imperio, como adiante se fará menção.

## CAPITULO CXXVII.

*Da doação que fez o Imperador do Manamotapa, Gasse Lucera, a sua Magestade, de todas as minas de prata e ouro que houvesse em todo seu Imperio.*

Como o principal intento porque tornei atraz com o tempo, d'onde vae enfiada esta historia, foi para dar perfeita noticia da muita justiça com que sua Magestade procura o descobrimento e senhorio das minas da prata do imperio do Manamotapa, pareceu necessario pôr aqui a mesma doação, que achei authentica na mão de pessoa de credito, e fica na Torre do Tombo d'este estado da India, na cidade de Goa, cuja copia verdadeira é a seguinte :

*Treslado da escriptura e doação que o imperador Manamotapa mandou fazer n'este campo de um rio por nome Manzovo.*

“ Ao primeiro de agosto da era de mil seiscentos e septe, estando o imperador Manamotapa em campo ao longo de um rio que se chama Manzovo, defronte de umas povoações, a saber, uma que se chama o Marenga, e outra Inhamacoto, Diogo Simões Madeira, capitão da guerra, que veiu em favor do dito imperador Manamotapa, tractou no mesmo dia acima declarado algumas cousas de importancia ao serviço de Deus e de sua Magestade, como já tinha feito por muitas vezes, e alcançou com razões que deu ao dito imperador Manamotapa que desse a sua Magestade todas as minas de ouro, cobre e ferro, estanho e chumbo, que em todo o seu imperio houvesse; o que o dito imperador concedeu assim e da maneira que por Diogo Simões Madeira, capitão da guerra, lhe foi pedido; e logo disse a elle dito Diogo Simões Madeira, capitão, em presença de mim escrivão, que trouxesse comsigo todos os portuguezes que comsigo tinha, que em presença d'elles todos queria dar á sua Magestade as minas que lhe pedia; e logo no mesmo dia, mez e era acima declarado, mandou o dito capitão mór tanger tambor com pregão, que dizia que toda a pessoa, de qualquer condição que fosse, o acompanhasse, porque queria ir com todos diante do imperador Manamotapa, porque cumpria assim ao serviço de sua Magestade. Mandou a mim escrivão que fizesse este termo, e dou minha fé tudo acima passar na verdade, por a tudo estar presente, e em fé do qual me assignei

aquí com o dito capitão em este campo do imperador Manamotapa no mesmo dia, mez e era acima declarado. E eu Miguel Nunes, escrivão que o escrevi, e me assignei de meu signal raso e acostumado, que tal é como se vê.

“E logo no mesmo dia Diogo Simões Madeira, capitão da guerra, se foi ter aos paços do dito imperador Manamotapa com todos os portuguezes que estavam na sua companhia, e disse ao imperador Manamotapa que ahí estavam todos os portuguezes, em presença dos quaes podia dizer o que com elle dito Diogo Simões Madeira, capitão da guerra, tinha assentado, e logo o dito imperador em presença de todos disse o que se segue.

“Eu, imperador Manamotapa, hei por bem e me praz dar a sua Magestade todas as minas de ouro, cobre, ferro, chumbo e estanho, que houver em todo o meu imperio, com tanto que elrei de Portugal, a quem dou as ditas minas, me conserve em meu Estado, que eu possa pôr e dispôr, e assim e da maneira que atégora o fiz, e fizeram os meus antepassados; e que sua Magestade me dê guerra para me ir metter de posse em minha corte, e destruir um ladrão alevantado, por nome Matuzianhe, que tem roubado algumas terras de ouro, e impede os resgates das fazendas dos mercadores.

“E assim disse mais elle dito imperador que pedia a sua Magestade o acceitasse por seu irmão em armas, e que não mandava os seus embaixadores logo pelas muitas occupações que tinha da guerra, mas que pedia a Diogo Simões Madeira, capitão da guerra, que escrevesse ao visorei da India, e lhe dêsse conta de tudo o que se passava, para que lhe mandasse alguma gente para conservação de seu imperio; e assim lhe mandasse um par de cavallos para elle dito imperador andar n'elles, e para o anno, Deus querendo, entregaria a Diogo Simões Madeira, capitão, o principe seu filho, e Samangana seu embaixador, para o levar ao visorei da India com sua embaixada.

“E outrosim disse o dito imperador Manamotapa, em presença do dito Diogo Simões Madeira e dos mais portuguezes que presentes estavam, que elle dava o seu filho principe, para o levar á India em companhia do embaixador Samangana, para confirmação de tudo aquillo que com elle dito Diogo Simões Madeira, capitão, tinha assentado e estava n'esta escriptura.

“E assim disse mais elle dito imperador, em presença de todos, que elle tinha dado dois filhos para os ensinar e lh'os ter em sua

casa, e assim lhe tinha promettido duas filhas, e disse em presença de todos que uns e outros elle dito Diogo Simões Madeira os podia fazer christãos, porque d'isso era elle dito imperador contente.

“E Diogo Simões Madeira, capitão da guerra, tractando ao dito imperador ácerca das minas da prata, lhe respondeu em presença de todos,—as minas de prata eu vol-as tenho dadas pelos muitos serviços que me tendes feito em minhas guerras; vós as podeis dar, se quizerdes, a sua Magestade, pois são vossas, e vol-as tenho dadas. E logo o dito Diogo Simões Madeira lhe respondeu ao dito imperador, em presença de todos, que pois as minas de prata lh'as tinha dadas, que elle dito Diogo Simões que elle largava as ditas minas e dava a sua Magestade, pois para elle as pediu e grangeou como seu vassallo. E logo pelo dito imperador foi dito a Diogo Simões Madeira que de tudo o que elle dizia publicamente mandasse fazer papeis, que elle dito imperador Manamotapa se assignaria n'elles. E perguntando lhe o dito Diogo Simões Madeira, capitão, o signal que havia de fazer, pois não sabia lér, nem escrever, em presença de todos disse:—farei assim,—e fez tres cruces no chão com sua propria mão, e disse:—‘este é meu signal.’ E disse elle imperador que o que elle dava, e promettia a sua Magestade, protestava cumprir e guardar e manter, e que em nenhum tempo o pudesse quebrar o conteúdo n'esta escriptura; e que elle imperador o queria assim, e mandava e ordenava, e de tudo era contente. Em fé do qual se assignaram aqui com o dito Diogo Simões Madeira, capitão da guerra, e com as mais testemunhas que presentes estavam, as quaes, são as que se seguem: frei João Lobo, vigairo da Igreja de Luanze, e o padre frei Manuel de São Vicente, vigairo e assistente n'esta guerra e campo do imperador Manamotapa, Estevam Moreira, Francisco Gago, Francisco Madeira, Fernão Rodrigues, Manuel Borges, Domingos Cardoso, Nicolau Alvares, Manuel Fernandes Leitão, Francisco Nunes Malho, Francisco de Moura, Gaspar Pereira Cabral, Francisco Dourado, Manuel da Fonseca, Manuel Pinto, Luiz Aranha Caldeira, Antonio de Montarroio, Diogo Nunes, Matheus Rodrigues, Pero de Abreu, Manuel Castanho, Antonio Rodrigues, Francisco Rodrigues, Domingo Fernandes de Almeida, Gaspar Coelho Bandeira. E assim se acharam outros muitos portuguezes, que aqui não nomeio por seus nomes por não saberem escrever, mas vão aqui

assignados (*sic*). E eu dito Miguel Nunes, escrivão, dou minha fé achar-me a tudo presente, e tudo passar na verdade, pelo juramento que tenho de meu officio, em fé do qual me assignei aqui, e o dito imperador Manamotapa, e Diogo Simões Madeira, capitão da guerra, e eu Miguel Nunes escrivão d'este dito campo do imperador tresladei do proprio original, que em meu poder fica, bem e fielmente, sem acrescentar nem diminuir cousa alguma: em fé do qual me assignei aqui de meu signal raso e acostumado, que tal é como se segue, n'este campo do imperador Manamotapa, no mesmo dia, mez, e era atraz declarado. Miguel Nunes. Diogo Simões Madeira."

Este abaixo é o signal do Manamotapa.

O im + perador

Mana + motapa

Gasse + Lucere.

Gasse Lucere é o seu proprio e particular nome. Lucere quer dizer o oitavo dia da lua nova, ao qual dia chamam Lucere, e é dia santo entre os mocarangas; e assim se chama Gasse Lucere, que quer dizer grande santo.

### CAPITULO CXXVIII.

*Do que succedeu ao exercito do Manamotapa em companhia dos Portuguezes, em demanda do Anconhe, e como o desbarataram.*

Feita esta doação na fórma referida se partiu o exercito do imperador, levando os nossos cafres vassallos de Tete na dianteira, ficando os mais portuguezes com Diogo Simões na retaguarda. Aqui succedeu que levando-se o arraial, e indo ja caminhando, ficava alli um soldado, por nome Gaspar Pereira Cabral, ferido de uma frechada que lhe deram na serra da Chibenga, e ficava por lhe fugirem os cafres que o levavam ás costas em um andor, a que chamam machira; e sabendo Diogo Simões que ficava alli este soldado queixando se da fortuna e d'elle pelo deixar assim ficar, tornou logo em busca d'elle com um seu mulato captivo, e ambos tomaram o andor ás costas, e levaram o dito Gaspar Pereira ferido um pedaço de caminho, até lhe buscarem outros cafres que o levassem. Aponto aqui este acto de piedade e humildade de que Diogo Simões, sendo capitão, usou com este soldado, para

exemplo de outros que quizerem ser bemquistos de seus soldados, como este foi n'esta guerra de que vou fallando.

O exercito do Manamotapa ia caminhando com a gente ordenada da maneira que fica dito, de que os imigos não tinham noticia, pela qual razão lhe tornaram a dar pelo dianteira, como de antes tinham feito, mas achando n'ella a resistencia differente do que cuidavam, e que os nossos matavam n'elles como em gallinhas, voltaram as costas, indo-lhe os nossos no alcance ferindo e matando quantos alcançavam; e aqui lhe tornaram a tomar as bandeiras, que o dia de antes tinham tomado á gente do Manamotapa; e foi tal o desbarate, que os nossos fizeram nos inimigos, que nunca mais o Anconhe tornou a erguer a cabeça, antes fugindo desbaratado se foi recolher á serra da Quizinga, onde os mais levantados se faziam fortes; da qual era senhor o Gurapaza, de que tenho fallado, e os nossos lhe saquearam nove povoações mui grandes em que vivia com sua gente, onde se acharam muitos despojos, e finalmente lhas queimaram todas, e puzeram por terra.

Vendo o Manamotapa que não havia aqui mais que fazer, mui satisfeito d'esta victoria se tornou a recolher e aposentar no rio Manzovo, d'onde tinha sahido e tinha suas mulheres e filhos, e chegando a elle mandou chamar Diogo Simões, e lhe disse que estava mui satisfeito das victorias que em sua companhia tinha alcançado de seus inimigos, e que não queria fazer mais guerras n'aquelle anno, pelo que se podia tornar embora com sua gente. Diogo Simões que já andava enfadado de tanta guerra com gente barbara, folgou muito com a resolução do Manamotapa, e logo se fez prestes e voltou para Tete, d'onde era capitão, e trouxe comsigo dois filhos do Manamotapa, que lhe tinha dado para os doutrinar e fazer christãos.

Estes moços teve Diogo Simões em sua casa, e os doutrinou e criou como filhos, e depois de instruidos na fé os baptisaram os religiosos de São Domingos, que em Tete residiam por vigairos da terra. Ao mais velho baptisou o padre frei Jeronymo Baptista, e pôz-lhe nome dom Filippe, e ao segundo, a que puzeram nome dom Diogo, baptisou o padre frei Francisco do Avelar; e foi padrinho de ambos Diogo Simões Madeira; o qual baptismo se fez com muita festa. D'alli a alguns mezes tornou o Manamotapa a pedir o filho mais velho dom Filippe, dizendo que tinha sua mãe saudades d'elle e que o queria vêr, e logo o

tornaria a mandar; e Diogo Simões lho mandou mui bem vestido de seda á portugueza; mas o Manamotapa não o quiz tornar a mandar, e lá o teve muitos annos, até que o mesmo moço dom Filippe se tornou fugindo para nos, como adiante direi em seu logar mais largamente. O mais moço, dom Diogo, que sempre esteve em casa de Diogo Simões, sabe muito bem fallar portuguez, lér, escrever, e a doutrina christã, e ajudar á missa, como fez em quanto esteve na Chicova, de que adiante tractaremos. Dom Filippe não sabe as mesmas cousas por culpa de seu pae, que o teve comsigo entre os cafres, onde não havia quem o doutrinasse, nem ensinasse mais que costumes dos mesmos cafres.

### CAPITULO CXXIX.

*De como o Manamotapa foi ao reino de Baroe, onde o desbarataram, e no Mongas lhe mataram um filho, e Matuzianhe senhoreou todo seu reino.*

Ficou o Manamotapa tão contente de sua pessoa e soberbo com as victorias que tinha alcançado de seus inimigos, em companhia dos portuguezes, que cuidou que elle só com sua gente bastava para senhorear a cafraria toda; e com este pensamento sahio do rio Manzovo, onde havia um anno que estava, e foi demandar o reino de Baroe, para o castigar por lhe não querer pagar seu tributo, como d'antes fazia; e atravessando pelas terras do Mongas, que tambem lhe eram tributarias, o senhor d'ellas, seu vassallo, o foi receber ao caminho, levando-lhe um grande presente; mas como o Manamotapa estava tambem mal com este, por lhe dizerem que era da banda de Matuzianhe, logo em chegando o mandou matar, cuja morte foi mui sentida e mal tomada dos mongazes. Pela qual razão logo se levantaram todos e publicamente se declararam por seus inimigos, e tiveram aqui alguns recontros com elle, nos quaes sempre ficaram vencedores, por serem mais esforçados e melhor gente de guerra que os mocarangas. D'aqui passou o Manamotapa a Baroe, onde lhe não succedeu como elle imaginava, porque os baroes se defenderam d'elle valorosamente; e não sómente se defenderam, mas tambem lhe mataram muitos mocarangas, e o puzeram em tanto aperto de guerra e fome, que esteve arriscado a se perder de todo, e lá passou o inverno com muita miseria.

O levantado Matuzianhe, que ficava de posse da Mocaranga, vendo que o Manamotapa não lhe fazia guerra a elle, senão a outros vassallos que tambem lhe não queriam obedecer, senão ser isentos e livres de tributos, foi-se senhoreando de todo o reino, e adquirindo assim alguns amigos do Manamotapa, para que lhe não impedissem sua conquista; e assim foi sujeitando todas as terras até dentro de Inhabanzo, visinhas de Tete. Diogo Simões, que actualmente era capitão de Tete, vendo a soltura com que Matuzianhe viera sujeitar as terras suas visinhas, armou sobre elle para o lançar fora de Inhabanzo, como fez, levando em sua companhia cinquenta espingardas, e quatro mil cafres mui esforçados, que são os vassallos e amigos de Tete; e com elles foi commetter o inimigo e o desbaratou, e desapossou das terras de Inhabanzo, (que são muitas e de muitos vassallos) ficando sómente n'ellas os naturaes, que logo deram a obediencia a Diogo Simões; e Matuzianhe se foi outra vez retirando para a Mocaranga. N'este logar, onde foi a briga, fez Diogo Simões um forte da madeira, em que pôz vinte espingardas e tresentos cafres, e d'esta maneira segurou estas terras.

O Manamotapa, que estava mui atribulado em Baroe, mandou dizer a Diogo Simões que lhe pedia o fosse esperar ao caminho, porque se queria tornar de Baroe, e como havia de tornar a passar pelo Mongas, temia que n'este caminho lhe fizessem alguma guerra, como já começaram a fazer. Diogo Simões o mandou logo soccorrer com doze espingardas e tresentos cafres de guerra; mas, antes que este socorro lhe chegasse, os mongazes deram no Manamotapa, e lhe mataram muita gente, em que entrou o seu filho primogenito, e elle foi ferido com duas frechadas; e determinando os mongazes dar n'elle outra vez no dia seguinte, o não fizeram, por lhe chegar então o socorro que lhe mandava Diogo Simões, e com elle passou seguramente sem os mongazes o commetterem mais; e d'esta maneira foi fazendo seu caminho até chegar ao forte que Diogo Simões tinha feito em Inhabanzo, onde o mesmo Diogo Simões o estava esperando, e n'elle esteve o Manamotapa tres mezes descansando e provendo-se das cousas necessarias para sustentar sua gente, que vinha despida, pobre e faminta. E bem cabia n'este Manamotapa agora o rifão que diz, foi buscar lã de seus vassallos e ovelhas e ellas o tosquiaram. Aqui esteve tambem com fome, porque como n'esta terra tinha estado Matuzianhe, deixou-a roubada e falta de mantimentos;

pela qual razão Diogo Simões aconselhou ao Manamotapa que se fosse para as terras da Chidima, onde havia mantimentos em abundância, as quaes estão no caminho da Chicova, com tenção de lhe ficar d'alli mais facil a entrega d'ella e o descobrimento da prata.

O Manamotapa acceitou seu conselho, e Diogo Simões lhe deu para o acompanharem vinte espingardas, e mil cafres vassallos de Tete, com os quaes o Manamotapa se foi para a Chidima, onde esteve aquelle anno, no qual dom Nuno Alvares Pereira entrou n'estes rios por capitão geral da conquista, como se verá no capitulo seguinte.

### CAPITULO CXXX.

*De como dom Nuno Alvares Pereira mandou Diogo Simões com gente de guerra a metter o Manamotapa de posse do seu reino, e de caminho foi a Chicova e tomou posse d'ella.*

No anno do Senhor de 1609, estando o Manamotapa fóra de seu reino, como fica dito, e encantoado na Chidima, chegou dom Nuno Alvares Pereira em março aos rios de Cuama, por capitão geral da conquista das minas da prata, por ordem do governador dom frei Aleixo de Menezes, e sabendo o miseravel estado em que o Manamotapa estava, logo no mez de abril seguinte mandou a Antonio de Bairros de Almeida que fosse a Chidima com trinta soldados, para o acompanharem e defenderem de muitos assaltos que os alevantados lhe davam; e no mez de junho logo seguinte mandou a Diogo Simões Madeira por capitão mór da gente de guerra, com mais septenta espingardas, que com as que estavam na Chidima eram mais de cento, entre portuguezes e mulatos filhos da terra, e dois mil cafres vassallos de Tete. D'esta maneira foi Diogo Simões a Chidima onde o Manamotapa estava, e deu-lhe o presente do visorei da India, que dom Nuno Alvares lhe trouxera. Muito se alegrou o Manamotapa com o soccorro e presente, e vendo-se tão obrigado, disse logo a Diogo Simões que lhe queria dar posse das minas da prata que tinha promettido, que estavam d'alli tres dias de caminho; e em cumprimento d'isso, d'alli a poucos dias mandou levar seu arraial, e caminhar para a Chicova, e antes que lá chegasse um dia de caminho, mandou chamar o cafe que era senhor da Chicova, e vindo elle o mandou entregar

a Diogo Simões Madeira, para que o reconhecesse em nome de sua Magestade por senhor da Chicova; o qual cafre, em reconhecimento da nova vassallagem que tinha d'elrei de Portugal, dando logo a Diogo Simões tres barrinhas de prata fundidas, e a escoria que ficou da pedra d'onde se fundiram, que trazia comsigo, no dia seguinte disse o Manamotapa a Diogo Simões que era necessario tornar-se o cafre, senhor da Chicova, diante d'elles, para pôr em cobro sua mulher e filhos, porque a gente de guerra sempre se desmandava, e temia que lhe fizessem algum damno em sua familia, e logo o despediu; e Diogo Simões mandou com elle quatro soldados mulatos filhos da terra, por serem correntes na lingua, para tomarem posse da povoação da Chicova, como fizeram. Mas o senhor da terra os deixou n'ella e se fôi secretamente, sem mais apparecer; o que parece foi invenção do Manamotapa, que mandou o senhor da terra diante, para que se escondesse, por não descobrir as minas. O que logo se viu mais claramente, porque estando elles na Chicova dezoito dias, e pedindo-lhe Diogo Simões lhe mandasse descobrir as minas da prata, sempre o rei se escusou de o fazer, dizendo que não sabia das minas mais que o senhor da terra que era fugido; de que Diogo Simões ficou mui enfadado, e se não tivera expresso regimento que fosse metter de posse do reino ao Manamotapa, sempre se viera d'alli para Tete com toda sua gente, como elle mesmo disse.

N'estes dias que o Manamotapa esteve na Chicova, o padre frei Manuel de São Vicente, que n'esta conquista ia por vigairo, levantou aqui uma cruz mui grande, e ordenou um oratorio defronte da cruz, onde disse missa todos aquelles dias, por consentimento do Manamotapa; e alli ficou a cruz arvorada. A cabo de dezoito dias sahiram da Chicova, e caminhando ao longo do rio Zambeze, rio acima, foram assentar o arraial defronte de um ilheu pequeno que estava no meio do rio, onde estiveram dois dias, por respeito de muitos cafres vassallos de Manamotapa, levantados, que estavam no dito ilheu fugidos com suas mulheres e filhos, por lhe não fazer mal a gente de guerra, e do ilheu deshonoravam o Manamotapa com nomes infames e deshonestos, sabendo que não havia alli embarcações em que os nossos passassem ao ilheu. De que o rei estava mui sentido e apaixonado, vendo que se não podia vingar d'elles; e chamando a Diogo Simões lhe perguntou que remedio haveria para os castigar, e elle lhe respondeu que logo os castigaria, como sua alteza veria; e

para isso mandou assestar á borda do rio alguns esmerilhões de pião que levava, e com elles mandou varejar a gente do ilheu, de modo que matando-lhe muita obrigou aos que ficavam a largar o ilheu com todo o movel que n'elle tinham, e passaram á outra banda do rio com tanta pressa, que algumas embarcações se alagaram no meio do rio com a muita carga de gente que levavam. Com este castigo ficou o rei mui satisfeito dos opprobios e nomes affrontosos que lhe chamaram.

### CAPITULO CXXXI.

*De como os Portuguezes em Companhia do Manamotapa desbaratarem a Muzipa e Motoposso, cafres poderosos, e Matuzianhe rei levantado.*

D'este logar onde desbaratarem os cafres do ilheu sahiu o Manamotapa em companhia dos portuguezes, e andariam quando muito duas leguas até chegarem a uma serra grande, e caminhando ao longo d'ella lhe sahiram de emboscada os cafres que fugiram da ilha, vindo em companhia de um poderoso cafre chamado Mambo Muzipa, que quer dizer rei negro, e deram no arraial pela retaguarda com muita furia e grita, e n'este não esperado encontro foram mortos muitos cafres do Manamotapa, e mais lhe mataram os inimigos se os portuguezes lhe não acudiram logo com suas espingardas, as quaes tanto que os inimigos ouviram, e sentiram seu damno, logo se foram retirando, pelo medo que d'ellas tinham, pelas terem já experimentado o dia d'antes.

Daqui foi o Manamotapa continuando seu caminho que levava, em busca de outro cafre poderoso, que tambem tinha estado de rei, chamado Motoposso, porque tambem este lhe não obedecia já, e folgava do Manamotapa não ser imperador, para elle ficar rei absoluto, e isento de pagar tributos; porque nem ao Matuzianhe havia de reconhecer por sua cabeça. Sabendo este Motoposso da vinda do Manamotapa, o esperou mui confiado na boa e muita gente de guerra que tinha, e lhe resistiu nos primeiros encontros valorosamente; mas como os muitos tiram a virtude aos poucos, assim o fizeram aqui os do Manamotapa, que eram muitos mais e ajudados das espingardas dos portuguezes, que lhe davam mais animo; pelo que, vendo o Motoposso que não tinha parrelha com os nossos, e que os seus andavam desanimados, e alguns d'elles

fugiam, elle tambem lhe fez companhia na fugida, deixando os campos cheios de sua gente morta. E os nossos lhe foram no alcance e lhe entraram dois fortes que tinha e lhos saquearam de muitas presas e mantimentos que n'elles havia, e finalmente lhos queimaram e arrasaram. Queiando se Motoposso vingar d'esta perda e affronta que padecera, se reformou de muita mais gente, e no dia seguinte em amanhecendo commetteu o arraial do Manamotapa mui secretamente, cuidando achal-o desaperebido, e com a gente ainda dormindo; o que não achou, porque o Manamotapa, tendo noticia de sua vinda, mandou que todos estivessem áleria com as armas na mão, e d'esta maneira os achou o Motoposso, e foi recebido dos nossos com tão boa ordem que em breve tempo lhe desbarataram e mataram muita gente, e captivaram outra, em que entrou um seu genro, que vinha por capitão d'esta gente. N'este logar se deixou estar o Manamotapa oito dias, comendo e saqueando todas as terras circumstantes.

Concludas as guerras do Motoposso se partiu d'aqui o Manamotapa em busca de Matuzianhe, que estava de posse de sua casa e cidade, obedecido de todos os naturaes; o qual, sabendo de sua vinda, se fez prestes para pelear com elle, e além disso lhe mandou dizer ao caminho por alguns cafres, que se puzeram á falla com o nosso arraial de noite, sem serem vistos, senão ouvidos de todos, dizendo: "O Manamotapa bangueiro"! (que é o mesmo que bebado, porque comia uma certa herva a que chamam banguê, que faz embebedar) "diz o nosso rei Matuzianhe que lá te está esperando em o rio a que chamam Magida Cochena (que quer dizer rei de agua branca). E bradando pelos portuguezes lhe diziam: "Vós, portuguezes, não acompanheis esse ladrão." Accrescentando outras muitas infamias, e nomes que chamaram ao Manamotapa; e isto dito se tornaram, sem a nossa gente lhe poder fazer mal algum, de que o rei ficou mui magoado. Tanto que foi manhã, mandou levar o arraial e foi fazendo seu caminho paciêcamente, vindo-lhe obedecer n'elle alguns vassallos seus, que estavam da parte de Matuzianhe, os quaes elle recebeu alegremente e lhe perdoou o passado; e chegando ao rio Magida Cochena, onde o Matuzianhe lhe mandou dizer que o esperava, dormiu ao longo d'elle, cuja agua é branca como leite e muito boa, e d'estas aguas ha no Mocaranga algumas fontes de excellente agua. Estando aqui toda esta noite com grande vigia, nunca viram rumor, nem signal da guerra promettida, mas no dia

seguinte pela manhã, estando já todos prestes para caminhar, succedeu o seguinte.

Vinha Matuzianhe com sua gente armada e ordenada em meia lua, em que trazia mais de vinte mil homens, e d'esta maneira foi commettendo e cercando o exercito do Manamotapa, com grande grita, estrondo de cornetas e tambores, que parece que se vinha o céu abaixo, e elle mesmo com um terço da sua gente deu pela parte dos portuguezes, onde pelejou esforçadamente, animando os seus a pelear; mas nada lhe aproveitou seu esforço, porque em breve tempo foi desbaratado pelos portuguezes, e posto em fugida. Os outros dois terços da gente de Matuzianhe deram no Manamotapa, e o metteram em grande aperto; e se os portuguezes o não soccorreram, e acudiram aos logares onde os nossos andavam mais fracos, sem falta elle fóra aqui desbaratado. Vendo pois os inimigos que não podiam resistir ao novo soccorro que os portuguezes deram ao Manamotapa, voltaram as costas, e os nossos lhe foram dando nellas, matando muitos e captivando outros, e os que escaparam se foram todos recolher á cidade do Manamotapa e a seus paços, que estavam d'alli dois dias de caminho, onde Matuzianhe tinha sua casa e familia.

Vendo o Matuzianhe que o Manamotapa vinha já favorecido de fortuna e dos portuguezes, e mui victorioso, pois quebrára a cabeça a todos seus inimigos, não no quiz aguardar na sua cidade e paços, antes largando tudo se foi com suas mulheres, filhos, e mais familia que tinha, para a serra da Matarira, onde foi seu primeiro aposento e morada; e o Manamotapa, não achando resistencia alguma, se foi metter nos seus paços pacificamente com muito contentamento, acompanhado dos portuguezes.

## CAPITULO CXXXII.

*De como Matuzianhe tornou a commetter o Manamotapa em sua casa e de como foi desbaratado.*

Depois que Matuzianhe foi são de duas feridas com que sahiu da batalha, tornou-se a reformar de muita gente de guerra, e veio commetter o Manamotapa dentro aos seus paços, de noite, trazendo em sua companhia os levantados e ladrões da Quizinga, inimigos dos portuguezes; e repartindo sua gente em duas batalhas, elle com uma d'ellas deu na gente do Manamotapa, e

foi-lhe entrando e queimando muitas casas até entrar pelos aposentos de sua mulher grande, a qual, vendo-se n'este aperto, largou as casas, e guiada pelos seus cafres fugiu para a estancia dos portuguezes, os quaes já n'este tempo tinham desbaratado a segunda batalha, que Matuzianhe ordenou para dar n'elles, em que ia por capitão o levantado Anconhe, que confiado na victoria que o Gurapaza, senhor da Quizinga, tinha alcançado dos portuguezes do Bucuto, em que elle tambem se achou, teve aqui atrevimento para tomar á sua conta brigar com elles; mas achou-se enganado de seu pensamento, porque, se depressa e furiosamente commetteu os portuguezes, com muito mór medo e covardia virou as costas, e fugiu mal ferido, deixando aos pés dos portuguezes e de seus cafres muita gente sua morta. E sabendo Diogo Simões o aperto em que Matuzianhe tinha posto o Manamotapa, logo lhe soccorreu com sua gente, e deu sobre os inimigos. Com cujo soccorro a gente do Manamotapa cobrou novo animo, e a de Matuzianhe se foi desanimando de modo que fugiu toda, e o seu capitão com ella, indo-lhe os nossos dando nas costas e matando os que podiam; mas não quizeram continuar muito em seu alcance, por ser a noite escura e tenebrosa. Com estas victorias, que o Manamotapa alcançou de seus inimigos, e principalmente de Matuzianhe, a quem tinham por cabeça e homem de grande animo e esforçado como na verdade era, os mais dos levantados se reconciliaram com o Manamotapa, e lhe vieram dar a obediencia devida, desamparando ao levantado Matuzianhe, a quem seguiam injustamente e obedeciam como a rei.

Temendo o Manamotapa que Matuzianhe se tornasse a reformar de nova gente e tornasse a levantar cabeça, determinou de o ir buscar á serra Matarira, onde se fóra recolher; o que fez logo d'ahi a oito dias, pedindo a Diogo Simões que lhe dêsse alguma gente da sua companhia, e espingardas para levar comsigo, e elle com a mais que tinha ficasse em guarda de sua cidade e casa, a respeito dos ladrões lhe não virem dar n'ella, sabendo que ficava despejada de gente de armas. Diogo Simões lhe fez a vontade, dando-lhe trinta espingardas e seiscentos cafres vassallos de Tete, ficando elle nos paços do rei com a mais gente que tinha. Ordenadas as cousas d'este modo se partiu o Manamotapa para a serra da Matarira, e a entrou com facilidade, porque Matuzianhe tinha pouca gente comsigo que a defendesse, e assim fez pouca resistencia, e fugiu logo, largando serra, casa e familia, e foi-se

recolher na serra da Quizinga, onde era ladroeira e aposento de homiziados e levantados.

Com esta victoria se tornou o Manamotapa para sua casa mui contente, cheio de presas e despejos que tomou a Matuzianhe na serra, em que entravam suas mulheres, filhos e familia, e mais de oito mil vaccas; e vendo-se já obedecido, e restituído ao seu reino, cabeça dos mais, e com seus inimigos desbaratados, disse a Diogo Simões que se podia tornar para Tete com sua gente, e que lhe deixasse sómente dez soldados providos de munições para guarda de sua pessoa. O que Diogo Simões fez, e tornou-se para Tete, trazendo comsigo embaixadores que o Manamotapa lhe deu para irem dar posse das minas da prata, de que tinha feito doação, como fica dito; os quaes Diogo Simões entregou a dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, capitão mór da conquista, que estava em Sena.

Depois que Diogo Simões se foi para Tete, ordenou o Manamotapa como matassem ao levantado Matuzianhe á falsa fé, como se fez, por meio de um cafre amigo do levantado, o qual, movido pelas promessas e amizade que o Manamotapa lhe prometeu, se foi para Matuzianhe, como quem o ia visitar de seus desgostos; e estando fallando com elle em secreto com muita amizade fingida, levou de um punhal que trazia escondido debaixo de seu panno com que andava vestido, e deu-lhe com elle de punhaladas, e assim o matou sem ninguem dar fé do caso atraçoado que tinha commettido, e logo fugiu d'aquelle logar sem ser sentido seu maleficio, e se foi para o Manamotapa, e lhe deu conta do que fizera; e o rei festejou muito o caso e successo desaventurado, e d'alli por diante ficou desassombrado, quieto e obedecido dos reis que de antes lhe tinham desobedecido e quebrado a cabeça.

### CAPITULO CXXXIII.

*De como dom Estevam de Ataide succedeu na conquista a dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, e do Forte que se fez em Massapa com presidio, e guerras da Quizinga, e empata que se deu em todo o Mocaranga.*

Estando as cousas d'esta conquista no estado que fica dito, veiu da India dom Estevam de Ataide, enviado pelo visorei Ruy Lourenço de Tavora para continuar com a conquista das minas da prata, e chegou a Sena em julho de 1609, onde estava dom

Nuno Alvares Pereira, que até então fôra capitão geral da mesma conquista o qual lhe entregou o governo d'ella, e os embaixadores do Manamotapa, que Diogo Simões lhe trouxera para irem dar posse das minas da prata, e juntamente levarem a curua, que é um presente de roupas que vale quatro ou cinco mil cruzados, que é obrigado a lhe dar o capitão que de novo entra em Moçambique, por lhe o rei franquear suas terras e minas de ouro, onde se vendem as roupas do capitão e mercadores d'aquelles rios, e se tira d'ellas grande copia de ouro, que o mais d'elle vae ter á mão do capitão de Moçambique, que assaz de bem poucos direitos são os que leva o Manamotapa, de lhe tirarem de suas terras e minas tanta copia de ouro como se tira cada anno.

Tanto que dom Estevam de Ataíde ficou com o governo d'esta conquista, mandou a Diogo Carvalho por capitão de Massapa, a quem deu cincoenta soldados que estivessem com elle de presidio, por causa dos ladrões da Quizinga que lhe ficavam perto, e mandou com elle os embaixadores do Manamotapa, que Diogo Simões trouxera a dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, para que com elles e com o Manamotapa tractasse da entrega das minas da prata. O que se fez de palavra sómente, porque indo Diogo Carvalho lhe prometteu por ellas muito fato e roupas, que são as riquezas d'estes cafres; com cujas promessas o rei ficou mui contente, promettendo logo fazer entrega das minas com effeito, e n'esta conformidade se despediu Diogo Carvalho do rei, e se veiu para Massapa d'onde era capitão, e alli fez um forte de madeira, onde se recolheu com seus soldados, sem tractar mais de minas, nem de dar o fato que tinha promettido ao Manamotapa, nem a curua que lhe devia de direito.

Neste meio tempo os ladrões de Quizinga, sabendo que os portuguezes estavam já em Massapa de assento, os vieram commetter com mão armada uma noite, e lhe levaram muitas vaccas, e frecharam alguns soldados, e ao mesmo Diogo Carvalho deram uma frechada, e tornaram-se para a Quizinga sem os do forte lhe fazerem damno algum.

Tornando os mesmos ladrões segunda vez a dar sobre o forte feriram alguns soldados, e acabaram de lhe levar todas as vaccas que havia no dito forte. Sendo o Manamotapa informado do que passava em Massapa, mandou o Ningomoxa, segunda pessoa de seu reino, com muita gente de guerra, para que fosse defender a gente de Massapa dos ladrões da Quizinga, que se faziam fortes

na serra e d'alli sahiam a roubar as terras suas visinhas, assim dos mocarangas, como dos nossos mercadores. Chegando o Ningomoxa a Massapa se alojou ao longo do forte que alli estava feito, da banda de fóra, fazendo tranqueiras em roda com que cercou sua estancia, e alli esteve seis mezes, sem os ladrões mais tornarem a commetter os do forte, como d'antes faziam. Vendo o Manamotapa que Diogo Carvalho lhe não acudia com as roupas que lhe promettêra pelas minas, nem lhe fallou mais n'ellas, nem menos lhe pagavam sua curua que lhe deviam, e que os mercadores andavam livremente por seus reinos resgatando o seu ouro, sem terem cumprimento com elle, mandou então que tomasseu o fato e roupas que os mercadores vendiam em suas terras. O que se fez em todos seus reinos, onde se roubou muita fazenda e se mataram alguns portuguezes, e seus cafres mercadores que quizeram resistir ao roubo que lhe fazia. A este roubo, que o rei manda fazer, chamam os cafres empata. Sabendo Diogo Carvalho dos roubos e mortes que tinham succedido na empata que o Manamotapa mandou dar nos portuguezes, e temendo que tambem mandasse dar n'elle pelo Ningomoxa que estava em sua guarda alojado junto ao seu forte, por quanto lhe não dera o fato que lhe tinha promettido, nem a curua, que foram as causas principaes da empata que se deu, determinou mostrar ao mundo que se vingára do damno que o rei mandára fazer nas fazendas e pessoas dos portuguezes, matando tambem os vassallos do mesmo rei que actualmente o defendiam dos ladrões da Quizinga; o qual intento pôz em effeito, e para fazer isto mais a seu salvo se reconciliou com os ladrões da Quizinga secretamente, e lhe pediu que se viessem ajuntar com elle uma certa noite, para todos juntos darem sobre o Ningomoxa e mais mocarangas que em sua companhia estavam. Os ladrões, que sempre viviam d'estes assaltos e traições, vieram n'esta, e consentiram n'ella pelo odio que tinham á gente do Manamotapa, e chegada a noite assignada sahiu Diogo Carvalho do forte com todos os soldados, e deram sobre o Ningomoxa uma madrugada com muita panella de polvora e espingardaria, matando-lhe e ferindo-lhe muita gente, que estava ainda dormindo e descuidados do caso não esperado; e o Ningomoxa fugiu tambem ferido, e se foi, com a gente que lhe escapou da briga, para o Manamotapa, blasphemando do galardão que Diogo Carvalho lhe dera pelo acompanhar seis mezes e defender de seus inimigos. Depois que Diogo Carvalho fez este

effeito, de todos reprovado, no mesmo dia largou o forte e logar de Massapa, e se veiu com toda a gente que n'elle havia para a feira de Luanze, e d'alli para Tete, ficando a terra toda levantada contra os portuguezes.

N'este tempo estava Diogo Simões Madeira na feira de Urupandi, que é um mez de caminho de Tete pela terra dentro para o Sul, onde ha grossas minas de ouro, e aqui foi tambem roubado, na empata geral que se deu, de muitas e ricas roupas que tinha, sem os cafres lhe terem respeito, nem se lembrarem dos serviços que tinha feito ao Manamotapa em suas guerras; e ao deixarem com vida lhe fizeram muito favor, porque os cafres não se lembram do bem que lhe fazem mais que em quanto lho fazem, e do mal se lembram toda a vida, para se vingarem d'elle quando tem occasião.

#### CAPITULO CXXXIV.

*Do forte que dom Estevam de Ataíde mandou fazer acima de Tete, e elle foi soccorrer Moçambique, e do que lhe succedeu na volta que fez aos rios.*

Dom Estevam de Ataíde, que todo este tempo esteve em Sena, vendo o ruim successo que tiveram suas traças, que todas redundaram em não pagar curua ao Manamotapa, determinou de lhe fazer guerra, dizendo que com ella havia de conquistar as minas de prata, sem lhe pagar cousa alguma; e com este intento foi de Sena para Tete, d'onde não passou; e d'ahi mandou a Diogo Carvalho fazer um forte de madeira acima de Tete dois dias de caminho ao longo do rio Zambeze. Feito este forte, a que puzeram nome de Santo Estevam, chegaram cartas de Portugal a dom Estevam, em que lhe dizia sua Magestade que se recolhesse á fortaleza de Moçambique com os soldados que tivesse, para a defender dos hollandezes que se suspeitava iriam demandar a dita fortaleza. Com esta nova se fez logo prestes e partiu de Tete, e se foi para Moçambique, ficando por capitão de Tete Diogo Simões Madeira, que estava provido do dito forte em vida pelo visorei Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, em nome de sua Magestade, pelos serviços que n'aquellas partes tinha feito ao dito senhor. Isto foi em março de 612.

Depois que dom Estevam de Ataíde foi para Moçambique, vieram alguns vassallos do Manamotapa com mão armada fazer

guerra a um cafre visinho e vassallo de Tete, por nome Marenga, a quem o Manamotapa queria mal por ser amigo dos portuguezes, sendo seu vassallo de antes, o que agora não era; e por esse respeito mandou a estes cafres visinhos do Marenga que lhe fizessem guerra, e o matassem, e tomassem as terras de que era senhor; os quaes se ajuntaram, e commetteram o Marenga, dando-lhe tantos assaltos, que o fizeram fugir a recolher a uma serra, onde se fez forte, e d'alli mandou avisar a Diogo Simões do estado em que os inimigos o tinham posto, o qual o mandou logo soccorrer pelos cafres de Tete, que o defenderam, e fizeram fugir os inimigos, matando alguns, entre os quaes mataram o seu capitão, e trouxeram sua cabeça a Tete.

Não foi bastante este desbarate que os inimigos tiveram para desistir da guerra, antes reformando-se de novo de muita gente, tornaram a dar no Marenga, e o puzeram em muito aperto, e sempre fôra desbaratado e morto, se se não fizera forte na mesma serra de Sacumbe, que é muito ingreme e toda cheia de minas de cobre; d'onde tornou a avisar a Diogo Simões que lhe valesse com brevidade, porque sem duvida alguma seria entrado dos inimigos se lhe tardasse seu soccorro. Diogo Simões o mandou logo soccorrer com aventejado soccorro de espingardas, assim de portuguezes, como de filhos da terra, os quaes chegando aos inimigos brigaram com elles valorosamente e os lançaram fóra da serra; e o Marenga, vendo-se descercado, sahiu fóra com sua gente, e ajuntando-se com a de Tete foram dando nos inimigos que fugiam, e matando n'elles foram continuando em seu alcance até suas povoações, que todas queimaram, e trouxeram para Tete muitas presas e captivos. Com este desbarate ficaram os inimigos tão quebrantados e destruidos que nunca mais ergueram cabeça, antes largando as terras e sitio em que moravam se foram para mais longe, e assim ficaram as terras de Tete livres d'estes inimigos, que se queriam metter n'ellas, lançando fóra o Marenga nosso vassallo e amigo.

Já fica dito como dom Estevam de Ataide foi a Moçambique por mandado de sua Magestade, onde esteve sete mezes, e vendo que os hollandezes por quem se esperava não vinham, nem era já tempo de virem n'aquella monção, voltou para os rios com intento de levar ávante a conquista das minas por guerra, como elle apregoava. Sabendo o Manamotapa de sua tornada, e da tenção que trazia, lhe mandou dizer por seus embaixadores que lhe queria

dar e entregar a terra da Chicova pacificamente, com tanto que lhe dêsse a curua que lhe devia; e dom Estevam, por lha não dar, não quiz fallar aos embaixadores, antes mandou que os despedissem sem resposta: o que o rei sentiu grandemente. Muito melhor, e de mais honra e proveito, fôra para dom Estevam de Ataide pagar logo como chegou a estes rios a curua devida ao Manamotapa, que não apregoar-lhe guerra; porque com a curua, que valeria cinco mil cruzados, que lhe dêsse, elle lhe houvera de dar posse da Chicova, que lhe promettia pacificamente por escusar guerras; e além d'isso com a mesma curua franqueava as terras do Manamotapa para a venda de suas fazendas e dos mercadores; pois d'ellas e de suas minas se tira cada anno grande copia de ouro, que o mais d'elle lhe havia de vir ás mãos como é costume vir ás de todos os capitães de Moçambique; e com a guerra que lhe quiz fazer gastou mais muitas vezes do que valia a curua; porque so em Massapa, onde mandou Diogo Carvalho por capitão de cincuenta soldados, como fica dito, lhe descontou o dito Diogo Carvalho dezoito mil maticaes de ouro, que são perto de trinta mil cruzados, em gastos, despezas e pagas de soldados, em um anno que lá esteve sem fazer nada mais que deixar a terra levantada e roubada. Mas a culpa d'estes desconcertos não era tanto de dom Estevam, como de certas pessoas que elle trazia comsigo, que lhe aconselhavam não quizesse paz com o Manamotapa, senão guerra; e isto lhe diziam porque da guerra e de sua dilação comiam e se aproveitavam, e dom Estevam se perdia.

Tanto que dom Estevam mandou despedir os embaixadores do Manamotapa sem resposta, logo se fez prestes para fazer a guerra que dizia, e embarcou-se em Sena com os soldados que tinha, que ao todo eram cento e vinte e cinco, e com elles foi navegando pelo rio acima ao forte de Santo Estevam, e alli se deixou estar sem fazer guerra alguma, esperando as novas que viriam da India e de Portugal, como vieram, e chegaram-lhe as cartas de sua Magestade em julho de 613, em que lhe mandava que largasse a conquista e se fôsse para a India, e entregasse os soldados e todas as mais cousas pertencentes á conquista, e o resgate de sua Magestade, que tivesse, a Diogo Simões Madeira, a quem o dito senhor havia por bem encarregal-o novamente da dita conquista. E para a fortaleza de Moçambique mandou o visorei dom Hieronymo de Azevedo a seu irmão dom João de Azevedo, para que servisse de capitão da dita fortaleza, como atraz fica dito.

## CAPITULO CXXXV.

*Da entrega, que dom Estevam de Ataide fez da conquista a Diogo Simões Madeira, e da guerra que se fez ao Chombe, cafre levantado.*

Como dom Estevam de Ataide leu as cartas de sua Magestade, e viu que lhe mandava entregar a conquista a Diogo Simões Madeira, teve d'isso grande sentimento, mas muito mais o tiveram os que comiam d'elle; e como não havia replica que pôr ao mandado de sua Magestade, logo se foi para Sena, onde Diogo Simões tambem foi, e lá lhe fez entrega dos soldados, armas e munições, e não lhe fez entrega de resgate algum, nena com que pudesse sustentar os soldados que lhe deixava, que eram cento e vinte que trazia comsigo, e vinte e cinco mais que estavam de presidio nos fortes de Santo Estevam e Quelimane. Nem nos rios havia rendimentos de sua Magestade, de que Diogo Simões se pudesse valer; pela qual razão, vendo-se impossibilitado para sustentar os fortes e soldados, lançou mão de uma pouca de roupa e conta que dom Estevam deixava na sua feitoria, e por ser pouca quantidade, e não bastar para as despezas da conquista, tomou da nova feitoria de dom João de Azevedo, capitão de Moçambique, o fato que lhe foi necessario para o gasto d'aquelle anno, e juntamente escreveu ao visorei o que fizera, e que o mandasse prover para o anno seguinte do necessario para a dita conquista ir por diante.

Depois que dom Estevam se foi, ficou Diogo Simões em Sena negociando-se para conseguir a conquista, tendo ordem e carta do visorei dom Hieronymo de Azevedo, em que lhe dizia que podendo ir ávante na conquista o fizesse. Pelo que sabiu de Sena com este intento, determinando ir tomar posse das mias, sobre que tanto tinha trabalhado, como fica dito. Começou de navegar pelo rio acima aos dez de agosto de 1613, e chegando ás terras do Chombe, cafre poderoso e vassallo do forte de Sena, mandou-lhe dizer que pagasse o foro que devia d'aquelle anno a sua Magestade, das terras que possuia, que eram duas mil panjas de milho, que são como alqueires, para provimento d'esta conquista, como era obrigado; e assim mais mandasse entregar os escravos dos portuguezes de Sena e Tete, que estavam fugidos na sua terra.

Ao qual recado respondeu o Chombe que nem milho, nem escravos lhe havia de dar, e que se lh'os quizesse tomar por força, que tambem elle folgaria de provar a mão com o novo conquistador.

Este atrevimento, e soberba resposta do Chombe, nasceu de alguns moradores de Sena, desaffeioados de Diogo Simões, mandarem dizer ao mesmo Chombe que não fizesse caso de Diogo Simões Madeira, porque nem era capitão mór, nem tinha poder para cousa alguma; como o mesmo Chombe depois descobriu e publicou, tornando a culpa de seu levantamento aos que tal lhe aconselharam. Vendo Diogo Simões a soberba do Chombe e o desprezo com que o tractava, sem o querer reconhecer por capitão da conquista, e entendendo que não estava alli seguro nas suas praias, mandou retirar todas as embarcações, que estavam com as proas em terra, e foi-se com ellas para um ilheu que defronte estava no meio do rio. E não contente o Chombe de ter desobedecido ao capitão, determinou declarar-se de todo por levantado e desobediente, e para effectuar seu damnado animo, mandou secretamente passar alguma gente sua ao ilheu em que Diogo Simões estava, para dar n'elle e nas suas embarcações, e roubar o fato que n'ellas ia para as despezas da conquista. Mas não quiz Deus que este barbaro visse o cumprimento de seus maus pensamentos; porque os nossos, que vigiavam as praias, viram uma embarcação sua, em que os inimigos passavam ao ilheu, e Diogo Simões lh'a mandou tomar; mas a gente do Chombe que na praia estava a quiz defender, resistindo aos nossos com muito pelouro e frechas, mostrando-se claramente desobedientes aos portuguezes. O que mais claramente fizeram no dia seguinte, porque indo Diogo Simões continuando sua viagem pelo rio acima, os vassallos do Chombe o foram perseguindo e varejando com muitas espingardas por terra ao longo do rio, em espaço de dez leguas, e chegando a um logar chamado Bandar, se puzeram n'elle, por ser alli o rio mais estreito, para lhe impedirem a passagem; e d'alli mandaram dizer a Diogo Simões que se queria passar que lhe dêsse muito fato. Vendo Diogo Simões sua soberba e atrevimento se foi logo a elles, e pondo as proas em terra desembarcaram os nossos e deram nos inimigos, e os puzeram em fugida, matando e ferindo-lhe alguns; e tão escaldados ficaram d'este recontro que os nossos lhe deram, que nunca mais o seguiram, e Diogo Simões foi fazendo d'alli por diante sua viagem pacifica até á povoação de Tete, onde tomou conselho com os

moradores da terra e seus capitães, se seria mais serviço de sua Magestade castigar o Chombe, que estava levantado e impedia os caminhos e a navegação pelo rio de Tete para Sena, ou ir logo a Chicova sobre as minas da prata; e todos foram de parecer que se castigasse primeiro o Chombe e se franqueasse o rio, e depois se faria o caminho para a Chicova. Diogo Simões mandou logo fazer um assento d'este conselho pelo escrivão da conquista, e se negoceou das cousas necessarias para esta empreza, e partiu de Tete a dez de dezembro com cem espingardas pelo rio abaixo em embarcações, e mandou ir por terra dois mil cafres vassallos de Tete, e a gente do Mongás, e o Quitambo, cafre poderoso, que por todos seriam seis mil cafres, os quaes se foram ajuntar com Diogo Simões á entrada das terras dos inimigos, e dormindo alli, lhe mandou dizer o Chombe de noite, por um cafre seu, que não foi visto dos nossos, senão ouvido de todos, com altas vozes: "Diz o Chombe que folga muito com a vossa vinda e que venhaes depressa, porque elle está com fome, e tem já a massa feita para comer, mas que lhe falta a carne para conducto, e que espera por essa de vossos corpos para comer com ella." Além d'isso disse muitas infamias contra Diogo Simões e mais portuguezes que o acompanhavam, e dito isto se foi, sem se saber quem era, nem os nossos lhe responderem cousa alguma, pelo assim mandar Diogo Simões.

No dia seguinte se foi a nossa gente chegando ao logar do Chombe, mas antes que chegasse a elle obra de uma legua, mandou Diogo Simões fazer muitas portas grandes de cana tecida, que os cafres levavam diante de si como muro, e assim foram caminhando até se abarbarem com o forte do inimigo, o qual os recebeu com mór surriada de espingardaria e mosqueteria de que os nossos levavam, porque tinha o Chombe cento e cinquenta espingardas e mosquetes, e duas rouqueiras, com que pelejou todo aquelle dia até noite, trabalhando muito por fazer retirar a nossa gente do seu forte, e não se alojar perto d'elle; mas os nossos, com toda esta resistencia, pelejando sempre, fizeram suas tranqueiras onde quizeram junto a uma lagoa de agua, mettendo muita parte d'ella dentro na tranqueira, apezar dos inimigos que a defendiam; porque tambem elles bebiam da mesma agua. Este forte do Chombe era de meia legua de comprido e dois tiros de espingarda de largo, e todo cercado de muro de madeira grossa, com cava alta em roda, e a terra da cava encostada á madeira como vallo, e sobre ella havia muitas setteiras por onde os inimigos

tiravam seguramente, sem serem vistos dos nossos. Tinha muitos baluartes com seus revezes do mesmo feitio do muro, d'onde o defendiam de modo que lhe não podiam os nossos chegar sem serem mortos ou feridos.

## CAPITULO CXXXVI.

*Dos encontros que Diogo Simões teve com o Chombe, e do soccorro que lhe veiu de Sena.*

Tanto que a nossa gente se alojou com suas tranqueiras feitas, logo Diogo Simões se resolveu em combater o inimigo, e para isso no dia seguinte ordenou sua gente em tres batalhões, e commetteu o forte por tres partes com muita coragem, e todos pelearam esforçadamente, mas não no puderam entrar, porque os imigos o defenderam valorosamente, acudindo a todas tres partes com tauta copia de espingarderia e frechas que parecia estarem todos juntos em cada parte; e a razão d'isto era porque o Chombe tinha mais de oito mil homens de peleja comsigo, mui esforçados, e estava mui provido de polvora e municões que os portuguezes e filhos da terra lhe tinham dado e vendido a trocço de negras, e de milho, e de outras veniagas que o cafre lhe dava, e d'esta maneira surreticiamente e pela callada se foi enchendo de armas de fogo, para se ensoberbecer agora e fazer forte contra os nossos. A isto se havia de acudir com muito cuidado, porque os cafres, que antigamente se assombravam do estouro de uma espingarda, hoje tiram com ellas; e os mais dos cafres grandes d'estas partes tem melhor almazem de espingardas do que póde haver na feitoria do capitão. Vendo Diogo Simões a grande resistencia dos imigos, mandou recolher sua gente, e logo no dia seguinte tornou a commettel-os, por vêr se os podia cansar, amiudando-lhe a bateria da mesma maneira por tres partes; mas elles se defenderam com a mesma resistencia, sem os poderem entrar por parte alguma. Na noite logo seguinte, succedeu que fugiu um cafre do nosso arraial para o Chombe, e lhe disse que as nossas tranqueiras estavam com mui pouca gente, porque os mais dos soldados sahiram d'ellas á boca da noite e se foram a buscar de comer e roubar os logares visinhos, (o que se determinou fazer, mas não se fez, porque Diogo Simões o não consentiu, nem quiz dar licença para isso) e cuidando o Chombe que o nosso arraial

estava sem gente, como lhe disse o cafre que fugiu para elle, mandou fazer prestes a sua gente para em rompendo a manhã dar no nosso arraial, e sempre lhe fizera muito damno, se Diogo Simões não fôra avisado por uma negra christã que estava no forte do Chombe, a qual fugiu d'elle na mesma noite, e se veiu para as nossas tranqueiras, e contou a Diogo Simões o que passava no forte, e elle avisou logo do caso a todos os capitães, assim portuguezes como cafres, e mandou que todos estivessem com as armas na mão, e com muito silencio até os inimigos chegarem ás nossas tranqueiras, e em chegando todos juntamente dessem santiago sobre elles.

Vindo a manhã, os inimigos foram sahindo do seu forte com tanto alvoroço que lhes parecia tinham a victoria na mão, cuidando achariam pouca gente nossa e essa desaparecida; e assim desordenadamente commetteram as nossas tranqueiras, d'onde no mesmo ponto lhe sahiram os nossos com santiago na boca, e tanto impeto que em breve tempo os inimigos largaram o campo e armas, e muitos as vidas; e foi tanta a pressa com que se recolheram que não atinavam com as portas, nem cabiam por ellas; onde os nossos lhe mataram mais de mil homens. Isto foi em dia do glorioso archanjo São Miguel. Com este desbarate ficou o Chombe tão medroso que logo no mesmo dia mandou pedir pazes a Diogo Simões, as quaes lhe não concedeu, pelos partidos injustos que n'ellas pedia; antes todos os dias pela manhã e tarde havia escaramuças, em que se feriam muitos e morriam alguns de ambas as partes.

Vendo Diogo Simões como o Chombe estava fortificado, e que o não podia entrar, pela muita gente e munições que tinha, mandou pedir ao capitão de Sena, que então era Diogo Pires Brandão, que lhe mandasse alguma gente de soccorro para o ajudar a desbaratar este levantado. O que logo fez o Brandão, mandando-lhe quarenta espingardas, entre portuguezes e filhos da terra, indo por capitão d'elles Christovam de Brito Godins, fidalgo e esforçado cavalleiro, que os annos atraz tinha vindo da India por capitão de uma companhia de soldados para esta conquista. Mandou-lhe mais todos os cafres vassallos de Sena em companhia do Samacanqua, cafre poderoso e amigo de Sena, que ao todo seriam tres mil cafres. Com este soccorro sahiram de Sena, os portuguezes por mar, e os cafres por terra ao longo do mesmo rio, e chegando a um logar do Chombe, a que chamam Nayo, deram

os nossos cafres n'elle, e o destruíram, e lhe tomaram muitas negras e despojos que acharam, e d'aqui foram continuando seu caminho até chegarem ao forte do Chombe, onde querendo assentar seu arraial separado de Diogo Simões junto a outra lagoa de agua, o Chombe lhe sahiu a defender com tanto animo, que lhe queimou parte das tranqueiras que tinham feito. Ao que Diogo Simões acudiu com sua gente, e fez recolher os inimigos, dando logar aos de Sena para fazerem suas tranqueiras, como fizeram.

Como a gente de Sena descansou do caminho, logo Diogo Simões se apparelhou para commetter o inimigo por tres partes, a saber: a gente de Sena que dêsse por uma parte, e o Quitambo por outra, e elle com a gente de Tete pela parte da agua, onde estava alojado. Com esta ordem commetteram o forte por tres partes, pondo-lhe o fogo em todas ellas; mas os inimigos o apagaram logo e se defenderam com muito animo, ferindo, e matando alguma gente nossa. Por este respeito pareceu bem a Diogo Simões não lhe dar mais combates, visto morrerem os nossos ao pé do seu forte, sem lho poderam entrar, pela grande resistencia que tinha; mas foi-lhe dando alguns rebates e escaramuças no campo, a que os cafres sahiam fóra. E d'esta maneira lhe fazia gastar as munições que tinham e lhe matava muita gente fóra á espingarda, onde não havia muro, nem vallos que os defendessem; e n'isto se gastaram dois mezes e meio.

## CAPITULO CXXXVII.

*Do ultimo combate que os nossos deram ao Chombe, e da victoria que d'elle alcançaram.*

Entendendo Diogo Simões que o Chombe não podia já ter polvora nem munições, pela muita que tinha gastado, determinou de lhe combater e entrar o forte, e para isso mandou levar suas tranqueiras e foi-se chegando com ellas ao forte, e alli fez dois cavalleiros de madeira e taboas fortes, d'onde se descobriam os cercados, e a nossa gente de cima d'ellas matava os que dentro appareciam, e os que vinham buscar agua á lagoa, de maneira que já não vinham buscar agua de dia, senão de noite; e depois de ter feito estes cavalleiros, mandou ao Quitambo que se fosse pôr com sua gente da outra parte de alagoa, e tomasse um matto que junto a ella estava, de cuja madeira se fortificava o Chombe; e

mandou ao Samacanqua que batesse os inimigos do logar onde estava alojado, e assim cada qual por sua parte fizesse muito por abalroar e entrar o forte. Isto ordenado, commetteram todos o forte uma quinta feira pela manhã, 14 de novembro, e todos lhe puzeram fogo, e mataram muitos inimigos, e tiveram o forte quasi entrado; mas como os cercados eram muitos e esforçados, apagaram todo o fogo, e se defenderam dos nossos como costumavam; porém como este combate fosse grande, e desacostumado dos passados, cobraram os inimigos tanto medo que na noite seguinte fugiram muitos do forte, e alguns se vieram para o nosso arraial, e avisaram a Diogo Simões do que passava dentro, e que mandasse combater o forte pela parte da lagoa, que estava mais fraca, antes que o Chombe a fortificasse, como determinava.

Muito folgou Diogo Simões saber o estado em que os inimigos estavam, e a fraqueza da parte da lagoa; e logo no dia seguinte determinou commettel-os pela mesma parte, e para fazer isso mais a seu salvo mandou fazer muitas portas de cana tecida, em que se occuparam todo o dia da sexta feira, e ao sabbado pela manhã mandou ao Quitambo que commettesse pela sua parte, e elle com o Samacanqua deram pela alagoa, levando as portas diante de si, como muro, e assim chegaram a abalroar o forte, e o queimaram por tres partes, fazendo-lhe grandes portas, onde mataram tantos inimigos, que acudiam para apagar o fogo, que havia montes d'elles, á sombra dos quaes se amparavam outros como de traz de vallos, e d'alli pelejavam varonilmente, e continuaram na briga, sem cessar, até noite. Mas ja n'este tempo Diogo Simões lhe tinha ganhado o muro pela sua banda, e tomada a lagoa de todo, com outro cavalleiro de madeira que mandou fazer sobre ella, d'onde os nossos varejavam os inimigos, e os matavam, no que foram continuando toda a noite, porque não tivessem vagar para se tornarem a fortificar por alli. Vendo o Chombe que o seu forte estava aberto por tres partes, e que se não podia mais defender dos nossos, largou o forte e fugiu na mesma noite com poucos que o seguiram, não dando conta aos seus de sua fugida. Os nossos entraram o forte ao domingo pela manhã, onde ainda acharam alguma resistencia dos que não sabiam ser o Chombe fugido, que todos foram mortos e outros captivos.

Tanto que os nossos ficaram senhores do forte do Chombe deram xaque n'elle, e foi o despojo que acharam muito, porque só de escravaria se levaram d'aqui mais de oito mil negros

captivos, e outros tantos meninos, muito algodão e pannos que os cafres fazem d'elle, (a que chamam machiras) marfim e muitos mantimentos. Isto concluido, fez Diogo Simões mercê, em nome de sua Magestade, d'estas terras e forte de Chombe, ao Quitambo, porque n'esta guerra pelejou com muita coragem e fidelidade; com obrigação de pagar de foro d'ellas cem machiras, e duas mil panjas de milho, para os gastos da conquista, que era a mesma obrigação que Chombe tinha, e não quiz pagar; e logo despediu a gente de Sena, agradecendo-lhe o serviço que tinham feito a sua Magestade n'esta guerra, dando-lhe pannos a muitos para se vestirem; no que teve muitos gastos. Vendo que não havia alli mais que fazer, deixou cincoenta soldados em guarda do Quitambo, por estarem as cousas d'esta guerra tão frescas como vimos, e o Chombe vivo, postoque desbaratado; e foi se para Sena com os mais soldados, onde se tornou a prover do necessario para fazer a jornada da Chicova, porque na guerra do Chombe gastou muito do que tinha para isso. De Sena se tornou para Tete, onde sabendo que o Chombe estava fortificado em um matto cerrado, a que chamam Inhacatambara, d'onde fazia assaltos nos botongas amigos nossos, mandou vinte espingardas que se fossem ajuntar com o Quitambo e todos juntos dessem no Chombe. O que fizeram, e foram ao matto onde elle estava, e pelejaram com elle septe dias, no fim dos quaes o entraram e lhe mataram quasi toda a gente que tinha, e elle fugiu com muito poucos que escaparam com vida.

Com esta victoria se recolheram os nossos para Tete, ficando o Quitambo no seu forte com sua gente sómente, sem ter já medo do Chombe; e Diogo Simões se deixou estar em Tete, por ser já entrado o inverno, e as terras por onde havia de caminhar para a Chicova serem cortadas de muitas ribeiras e rios caudalosos, sem haver n'elles pontes; e passado o inverno fez sua jornada para a Chicova, como se verá no capitulo seguinte.

### CAPITULO CXXXVIII.

*Do caminho que Diogo Simões fez para a Chicova, e como tomou posse d'ella e cavou prata; e do mais que lhe succedeu n'esta jornada.*

Estando Diogo Simões Madeira invernando em Tete com todos seus soldados, foi adquirindo gente de guerra para o acompanhar

na empreza da Chicova, e para esse effeito mandou embaixadores com presentes ao Rundo, Quitambo, Inhampury, Samanongo, e Samacanqua, todos cafres poderosos, e senhores de muitos vassallos, pedindo a cada um d'elles lhe mandasse sua gente de guerra para o acompanhar na empreza da Chicova. Sabendo o Manamotapa como a conquista estava entregue a Diogo Simões, lhe mandou dizer por seus embaixadores, que pois elle era o conquistador que a elle lhe queria dar posse das minas da prata, pois a elle lhas tinha promettido; mas que lhe havia de dar por isso algumas roupas para vestir sua gente, e que não havia de ir a Chicova com gente de guerra, senão pacificamente. Diogo Simões recebeu os embaixadores com muita festa, e aceitou o partido que o Manamotapa lhe fazia, e mandou-lhe dizer pelos seus mesmos embaixadores que lhe mandasse uma pessoa grande de seu reino para o ir metter de posse da terra da Chicova, e que mandasse gente sua para lhe levar quatro mil cruzados de roupas, que lhe queria dar por esta mercê que lhe fazia. O Manamotapa mandou gente para lhe levar a roupa; e mandou, para metter de posse das minas a Diogo Simões a um cafre seu sobrinho, grande senhor, chamado Inhaxangue.

Como Diogo Simões teve o Inhaxangue comsigo para lhe dar posse da terra da Chicova, mandou ao Manamotapa os quatro mil cruzados de roupa que lhe prometteu, e logo mandou escusar toda a gente de guerra, que tinha apellidada para o acompanhar; e negociadas todas as cousas que convinham para sua jornada, se partiu para a Chicova em companhia de seus soldados, que ao todo eram cento, entre portuguezes e filhos da terra, e seiscentos cafres vassallos de Tete, e seus, que levavam o provimento necessario e petrechos, assim de guerra como para se cavarem as minas. Com esta companhia começou de caminhar aos quinze de abril de 1614 annos, e foram dormir aquelle dia a um logar chamado Ampane, tres leguas de Tete, e d'alli ao logar do Bunga, e no terceiro dia dormiram na Anteuara, logar fresco de muitas figueiras, e d'aqui foram dormir a Dossa, e no dia seguinte ao logar de Chibue, e d'alli a Chidima, e antes que chegassem a ella o rei da terra lhe quiz impedir o caminho, posto que é vassallo do Manamotapa, e mandou-lhe dizer que não haviam de passar por suas terras. O embaixador Inhanxangue, que acompanhava Diogo Simões, se tomou muito d'este recado do rei, e lhe mandou dizer que todos os caminhos eram do Manamotapa, e que elle

vinha por ordem sua para passar por elles com os portuguezes. Além d'este recado, por agradar ao rei, lhe mandou secretamente, sem o saber o embaixador, um presente de roupas e contas, com que ficou satisfeito, e afeiçoado a Diogo Simões; e logo mandou dizer ao embaixador que passasse embora, mas não se quiz ver com elle, nem com Diogo Simões; porem mandou a um filho seu e aos grandes d'aquella cidade que fossem acompanhando os portuguezes por todo seu reino, como fizeram, e em todos os logares povoados, a que chegaram, lhe fizeram muitas festas e tangeres, e diziam muitas cantigas em seu louvor, e juntamente lhe traziam os mantimentos e fructas, que havia na terra, que os nossos lhe compravam, de que os cafres ficavam mui satisfeitos, e muito mais da nossa gente lhe não fazer damno algum em todos estes caminhos, pelo assim ter mandado Diogo Simões.

Da Chidima foram dormir a Matandandua, e d'alli ao logar chamado Dinde, que quer dizer Mina, d'onde se mostra que não devem faltar minas onde a mesma terra se chama Mina. D'aqui foram a Chicova, onde chegaram aos oito de maio da mesma era, em dia do apparecimento do archanjo São Miguel; e por esse respeito pôz Diogo Simões nome ao forte que alli fez, de São Miguel; e postoque gastaram n'este caminho de Tete até Chicova vinte e tres dias, não foi por elle ser muito comprido, senão por se deterem, e descansarem em alguns logares d'elle, porque não caminharam mais que nove dias; e quem vae escoteiro não gasta n'elle mais que cinco até seis dias, por ser o caminho chão, sem serras, nem mattos espessos, como é o outro caminho, que depois Diogo Simões mandou descobrir pelo Bororo, de que adiante tractarei.

Tanto que Diogo Simões chegou a Chicova, escolheu um logar n'aquelle territorio ao longo do rio Zambeze, onde fez uma tranqueira em que se alojou com toda a gente que levava, e logo o embaixador do Manamotapa, que acompanhava Diogo Simões, mandou chamar o cafre senhor da Chicova, e disse-lhe, em presença de Diogo Simões e de toda a gente da conquista, que o Manamotapa tinha dado aquellas terras a elrei de Portugal. Portanto que d'alli em diante o reconhecesse por senhor d'ellas, e agora em seu logar a Diogo Simões Madeira, seu capitão, que presente estava para tomar posse d'ellas, e aos mais capitães que lhe succedessem no officio, e que lhe descobrisse as minas de prata que houvesse n'aquellas terras, porque essa era a vontade

do Manamotapa. O senhor da Chicova, e todos os seus grandes que com elle vieram juntamente a ouvir a embaixada do rei, em acabando de fallar o embaixador se prostraram todos por terra e bateram as palmas, que é signal de obediencia, e responderam que estavam prestes para fazer o que o Manamotapa seu rei e senhor lhe mandava, e obedeceriam a quem elle quizesse. Diogo Simões lhe deu logo alguns pannos para os contentar e com elles se foram para a sua povoação, que estava d'alli meia legua. D'ahi a poucos dias disse Diogo Simões ao embaixador que tornasse a mandar chamar o cafre senhor da Chicova para lhe descobrir as minas, e o embaixador o mandou chamar logo, e não querendo vir o tornou a chamar segunda e terceira vez, sem querer vir; antes se escondeu sem mais parecer. Vendo Diogo Simões a maldade do cafre, que lhe não queria obedecer, nem lhe dava do recado do Manamotapa, mandou ao mesmo embaixador, e com elle um soldado seu sobrinho, que fossem ambos ao Manamotapa e lhe dissessem o que passava, e o mau termo que o senhor da Chicova tivera com elle, não querendo vir a seu chamado; e que lhe lembrava que a primeira vez que viera áquella terra, em companhia de sua alteza, este mesmo cafre fugira, por lhe não mostrar as minas que sua alteza lhe queria mostrar, e pois elle era tão desobediente, que o não queria ter alli na Chicova por cabeça dos cafres d'ella, senão a outro mais obediente e que lhe fosse leal; pelo que lhe fazia a saber que havia de tirar este da terra, e lançal-o fóra d'ella, e pôr outro de sua mão que o reconhecesse por senhor e vassallo de sua Magestade. Os quaes embaixadores foram com este recado ao Manamotapa, e o que lhe succedeu se verá no capitulo seguinte.

#### CAPITULO CXXXIX.

*Da amisade que o Sapoe, senhor do Bororo, tractou com Diogo Simões; da prata que o Manamotapa mandou pelos embaixadores, e um cafre mais para descobrir as minas.*

Em quanto os embaixadores de Diogo Simões foram com seu recado ao Manamotapa, succedeu o seguinte. Defronte da Chicova, da outra banda do rio Zambeze, correm umas terras de altas serras mui fragosas, de que é senhor um cafre poderoso de vassallos, por nome Sapoe. Este, tanto que soube estar Diogo

Simões Madeira de posse da Chicova, e que tinha n'ella feito um forte, mandou-lhe seus embaixadores com um presente, dizendo que folgava muito de o ter alli por visinho, e que se tambem quizesse algumas terras da sua banda que lhas daria de boa vontade, onde podia pôr de sua mão quem quizesse; e lhe offerecia mais o caminho franco e seguro pelas suas terras, para os portuguezes poderem ir e vir de Tete para a Chicova, e mandar sua gente sem impedimento algum, e principalmente lhe offereceu a praia da sua banda, onde está uma povoação que se chama Churue. Além d'isto lhe mandou uma embarcação para se servir d'ella na passagem do rio; cousa que os nossos ainda não tinham.

Diogo Simões estimou muito o presente do Sapoe, e acceitou o logar da outra banda, que lhe offereceu, onde poz logo um cafre seu por capitão do logar; e mandou outro presente de roupas ao Sapoe, em remuneração da boa vontade que lhe mostrava e amizade que lhe offerecia; e d'aqui em diante nos communicaram e tractaram os cafres da outra banda com amizade e fidelidade, vindo ao nosso forte com tudo o que havia em suas terras para vender, que os nossos lhe compravam; e com a mesma segurança andava a nossa gente por suas terras comprando mantimentos, gallinhas, carneiros, cabras, fructas e legumes, que por alli não faltam.

Os embaixadores que Diogo Simões tinha mandado ao Manamotapa levaram sua embaixada, que elle ouviu; e porque estava então amigo de Diogo Simões, lhe quiz fazer a vontade, e por isso lhe mandou pelos mesmos embaixadores uma pedra de prata que pesava mais de meio arratel, e o cafre que lha deu, a que chamavam Cherema por ser derreado das cadeiras; e mandou-lhe dizer em resposta de sua embaixada que a terra da Chicova era d'elrei de Portugal, e pois elle, seu capitão, viera alli tomar posse d'ella em seu nome, que podia n'ella fazer o que quizesse, e tirar e pôr quem lhe parecesse, mas que lhe mandava aquella pedra de prata, e o cafre que lha dera, a quem pertencia o governo da terra, pois fôra de seu pae; e que este lhe podia descobrir as minas, pois se criou na mesma terra, e d'ella tirou aquella pedra que lhe mandava. Chegaram os embaixadores com esta embaixada ao forte, e Diogo Simões os recebeu com muita festa pela boa resposta que traziam, e logo lançou fóra da terra o cafre que lhe não quiz obedecer, e pôz de sua mão o cafre Cherema, (que o Manamotapa lhe mandou) assim por lhe fazer a vontade, como

por esperar do cafre que lhe mostraria as minas, pois tinha tirado a pedra d'ellas. Depois que Diogo Simões viu o cafre contente, por se ver cabeça dos mais cafres da Chicova, então lhe pediu, e o obrigou com dadas, que descobrisse as minas da prata; mas o cafre, fingindo que não sabia de minas, lhe disse que quando queria alguma pedra de prata fazia sacrificios de carneiros e gallinhas a seus defunctos, a que elles chamam muzimos, e elles então por sonhos lhe diziam onde a prata estava. Diogo Simões lhe respondeu que lhe mostrasse elle as minas, ou fosse por sonhos ou sem elles.

No dia seguinte fez Diogo Simões muita instancia ao cafre Cherema para que lhe mostrasse as minas de prata, e o cafre o levou a uma serra perto do forte de São Miguel, e cavou n'ella com uma enxada, e depois de fazer uma cova de altura de um covado, disse a Diogo Simões que cavasse elle; e tomando Diogo Simões a enxada cavou duas ou tres enxadadas, e tirou duas pedras pequenas de prata. E d'alli o levou o cafre a outra parte, onde cavou tres pedrinhas de prata, que ao parecer de todos foram alli enterradas por elle mesmo; e dizendo-lhe Diogo Simões que fosse continuando e mostrando-lhe mais prata, respondeu o cafre que não sabia de mais minas.

Vendo Diogo Simões que o cafre determinava de lhe não descobrir mais minas, e que fazia pouco caso de suas dadas, promessas e afagos, se encheu de colera e lhe deu logo duas bofetadas, e lhe mandou lançar um macho e prendel-o em um tronco, com guardas para que nenhum cafre lhe fallasse; e d'este modo esteve preso alguns dias. Considerando o cafre o mal que tinha feito em se cerrar á banda sem querer descobrir as minas, e enganar a Diogo Simões, e temendo que seu castigo fosse em crescimento, e o puzessem a tormento, mandou chamar a Diogo Simões, e lhe disse que era verdade haver minas de prata n'aquellas terras, e que lhas não mostrára com medo do Manamotapa; e postoque o mandasse para as descobrir lhe encomendára muito as não descobrisse, e que d'aquelle pouco que lhe tinha mostrado o rei se havia de agastar muito contra elle, mas pois estava preso, e debaixo da mão dos portuguezes, que lhe mostraria uma mina antiga, onde seus antepassados cavavam e tiravam prata todas as vezes que o queriam, e como tiravam a que haviam mister tornavam a cubrir a mina com terra. Diogo Simões lhe disse que o levasse a essa mina, que folgaria de a vêr;

e o cafre o levou a outra serra distante da primeira mais de uma legua, e ao pé da serra lhe mostrou uma cova grande entulhada de terra solta e pedras, ao redor da cova montes de pedregulho e terra que se tinha tirado da dita mina; e depois de lhe mostrar estes signaes de mina, lhe disse que aquella mina não se podia cavar senão no inverno, quando a terra estava mole, por ser toda de pedregulho e rocha viva. Diogo Simões, vendo estes signaes, que pareciam de mina, e ter já justificação de haver prata n'aquellas terras com pedrinhas que tinha achado, não quiz mais molestar o cafre, determinando de o fazer ao diante, quando não quizesse descobrir minas de substancia, e por então o mandou soltar e confirmou-lhe de novo em senhorio que lhe tinha dado sobre os cafres da terra, como capitão d'elles, a que chamam encosse; e juntamente lhe deu pannos e lhe fez muitos mimos, pelas esperanças que tinha de lhe mostrar as minas tanto que viesse o inverno.

#### CAPITULO CXL.

*De como se descobriu o caminho da Chicova pelas terras do Sapoe e mais terras do Bororo, e das povoações e senhorios que n'ella ha.*

Já fica dito como o Sapoe, senhor das terras do Bororo que correm ao longo do rio Zambeze defronte da Chicova, mandou dizer a Diogo Simões que se quizesse mandar sua gente a Tete pelas suas terras, que lhe daria o caminho seguro por ellas, por onde fossem e viessem; e parecendo a Diogo Simões ser cousa muito importante para o bem e serviço do forte da Chicova haver muitos caminhos abertos por onde se communicasse com Tete, lançou mão do offercimento do Sapoe, e logo determinou mandar descobrir este caminho, como fez, e para isso elegeu um soldado portuguez, por nome Antonio Lopes, homem de negocio, natural da cidade de Evora, e com elle mandou mais dois mulatos, filhos da terra, que sabiam a lingua, e alguns cafres que o acompanhassem e fossem pelas ditas terras ao longo do rio abaixo, e notassem todos os passos perigosos d'elle, e os mais caminhos d'aquelle territorio até chegarem a Tete.

Os novos descobridores de Bororo commetteram o caminho que lhe foi encommendado, guiado pelos cafres que lhe deu o Sapoe,

pelo qual caminharam pacificamente, postoque com muito trabalho por respeito de sua grande aspereza, porque acharam a mor parte dos caminhos cheios de serras ingremes e fragosas, as quaes subiam e desciam sempre por cima de grandes penedos e rochas mui alcantiladas, que em partes lhe era necessario saltarem de umas em outras para poderem passar. Viram mais que o rio Zambeze não era navegavel em distancia de vinte leguas, pouco mais ou menos, por causa das muitas rochas e grandes penedos que tem, assim pelo meio como pelas bordas, onde ha tão grandes correntes que fazem medo aos que de fóra olham para ellas, e particularmente em duas paragens onde parece que o rio mostra mais sua braveza. A primeira está abaixo da Chicova um dia de caminho, a que os cafres chamam Chipiriziva, onde está uma grande lagea que atravessa o rio de parte a parte, por cima da qual descem as aguas d'este impetuoso rio todas juntas de pancada em um pégo mais abaixo, com tanto estrondo que se ouve muito longe d'alli. A segunda paragem do rio, a que os cafres chamam Chipiry, está duas leguas ou tres abaixo de Chipiriziva, onde o rio é todo impedido de montes de pedras grandissimas, por entre as quaes correm as aguas com muito impeto, dando de umas pedras em outras, e fazendo grandes roleiros e remoinhos, com tanto ruido que parecem trovões.

Com estas novas chegaram os descobridores do Bororo e do rio a Tete a salvamento, postoque mui destroçados de caminharem por taes caminhos, como fica dito.

Foi de mui grande importancia o descobrimento d'este caminho do Bororo, porque depois que o Manamotapa quebrou com Diogo Simões e lhe fez guerra, impedindo os caminhos da Chicova pelas suas terras, como adiante direi, então se serviu a nossa gente d'este caminho, e por elle foi e veiu de Tete a Chicova; e porque pelo tempo em diante, descobrindo as minas de prata, como se espera, a nossa gente que houver de ir a Chicova ha de ser por este Bororo, que não é sujeito ao Manamotapa, portanto me pareceu cousa conveniente dar-lhe aqui um roteiro d'este caminho, e nomear os logares povoados, que n'elle ha, e os senhores d'estas terras, para que tenham noticia d'elles, e quando forem caminhando salbam por onde poem os pés.

De Tete se navega pelo rio Zambeze acima até um logar que se chama Cachengue, que são vinte leguas pouco mais ou menos, e d'aqui para cima não se póde navegar até a Chicova, por respeito

dos grandes impedimentos de pedras e correntes que tem o rio, como fica dito. As terras que correm ao longo d'este rio da banda do Botonga, d'ellas são sujeitas a Tete, d'ellas a um cafre vassallo de Tete, chamado Marenga, onde ha muitos logares povoados de cafres, e os principaes são Ampane, Sacumbe, Chipondoe, e Cachengue. Da outra banda do rio, a que chamam Bororo, as terras que correm de Tete para cima, até um logar a que chamam Empanzo, são de um cafre por nome Chicussy, amigo e visinho de Tete. De Empanzo para cima, até defronte de Cachengue, são terras de outro cafre, que se chama Inhampury, senhor de muitos vassallos. Nas terras d'este, defronte de Cachengue, desembarca a nossa gente e alli ficam as embarcações, e d'aqui começa a gente a caminhar por terra para a Chicova, e caminha uma só legua de pessimos caminhos sujeitos ao Inhampury, e entram logo nas terras do Samanongo, cafre poderoso, mas sujeito a um rei cafre, a que chamam Bundy, com quem os mercadores de Tete vão fazer resgate de marfim. O primeiro logar, sujeito a este Samanongo, onde os nossos chegam, se chama logar de Sacoenda, defronte do qual esteve o nosso forte de Santo Estevam, que se desfez por não ser alli de muita importancia. Do logar de Sacoenda se vae a outro, d'alli duas leguas de bom caminho, que se chama Cambacote. D'alli ávante outras duas leguas está outro logar, a que chamam Muzungo. Duas leguas ávante d'este logar está um grande rio, a que chamam Uruvy, que se vem alli metter no rio Zambeze. Ao longo d'este rio ha muitos logares povoados de cafres. De Uruvy adiante tres leguas de maus caminhos está outro rio mais pequeno, onde se acabam as terras sujeitas ao Bundy, e começam as do Sapoe, onde está o logar de Sacossera. D'alli ávante tres leguas de pessimos caminhos se vae a uma grande povoação a que chamam Zivy, e d'alli uma legua a outra a que chamam Nhumbo. D'alli se vae caminhando cinco leguas por serras asperas de pedra viva e rochedos ingremes, sem haver terra alguma, até um logar a que chamam Motaua, onde mora um filho do Sapoe. D'aqui se vae caminhando outras cinco leguas de maus caminhos até á praia do rio defronte do nosso forte de São Miguel, na qual praia tem o Sapoe um logar em que vive, e nós tinhamos o forte de Santo Antonio. De modo que vem a ser as leguas que se caminham por terra vinte e quatro. Algum d'este caminho em partes vae correndo ao longo do rio Zambeze, e em outras desviado do rio

meia legua, e mais e menos, conforme as voltas que o rio faz. Outros muitos logares povoados ha ao redor d'este caminho, que não nomeio, e sómente estes aponto aqui, por estarem na nossa entrada, onde a nossa gente pousava quando por aqui caminhava.

#### CAPITULO CXLI.

*De como Diogo Simões se tornou para Tete, e do presente que mandou ao Manamotapa, o qual lhe prendeu os embaixadores que lho levaram.*

Depois que Diogo Simões enviou os descubridores do caminho do Bororo, vendo que era tempo de se tornar a galeota para a India, e que lhe era necessario escrever ao visorei, e mandar-lhe a prata que tinha achado na Chicova, e dar-lhe conta do forte que fizera, e tambem por lhe faltar o provimento necessario para as despezas da conquista, por todas estas cousas se resolveu em tornar a Sena; mas, antes que fosse, reformou o forte de São Miguel de nova madeira e cerca forte, e deixou por capitão d'elle a Diogo Teixeira Barroso com quarenta e quatro soldados todos portuguezes, ficando as terras da Chicova pacificas, e os visinhos amigos do forte, vendendo-lhe todo o mantimento necessario por preços baratos.

Sahiu Diogo Simões da Chicova a vinte e quatro de junho de 1614, e tornou pelo mesmo caminho por onde foi a Chicova, trazendo em sua companhia o mesmo embaixador do Manamotapa, que levou; e em todo este caminho foram recebidos pelos moradores dos logares a que chegavam com muitas festas, trazendo-lhe os mantimentos necesarios, que lhe compravam; e chegando a Chidima, o rei d'ella os mandou receber honradamente, com tangeres, bailos, e cantigas que os cafres diziam em louvor dos portuguezes, e juntamente lhe mandou um presente de vaccas, gallinhas, e mantimento para toda sua companhia. O que Diogo Simões aceitou, e lhe agradeceu com outro presente de roupas que lhe mandou em retorno, de que o rei ficou mui satisfeito. Este rei é senhor de muitos vassallos, e fallam-lhe por sindico, como fallam ao Manamotapa, que quer dizer alteza.

Depois d'isto mandou o rei dizer a Diogo Simões que o queria ir visitar a sua casa, e Diogo Simões se negociou e apparelhou para o receber, e na casa em que lhe havia de fallar mandou

estender no chão uma alcatifa para se assentar o embaixador do Manamotapa, que tambem havia de receber a visita do rei, o qual embaixador n'este logar representava a pessoa do Manamotapa, e todos os senhores por onde passam similhantes embaixadores é costume fazerem-lhe a mesma cortezia que se faz ao Manamotapa, e nenhum d'elles se assenta diante d'elle em alcatifa, nem esteira, senão no chão; mas este rei é tão arrogante, e presume tanto, que zomba de haver outro melhor e mais cavalleiro que elle; e assim entrando na casa, onde Diogo Simões o esperava acompanhado de todos os soldados que levava, logo se foi assentar no meio da alcatifa com muita magestade, que elle sabia representar, sem fazer caso do embaixador, aindaque era sobrinho do Manamotapa. O que vendo o embaixador se assentou na borda da mesma alcatifa com muita humildade, ficando quasi assentado no chão, fora d'ella. Finalmente, depois que fallaram e tiveram seus cumprimentos costumados em similhantes occasiões, Diogo Simões se despediu do rei, e se veiu pacificamente para Tete, d'onde o embaixador se tornou para o Manamotapa, e Diogo Simões se foi para Sena.

N'este tempo chegou a galeota da India, que viera por Moçambique, em que vinha ordem do visorei dom Hieronymo de Azevedo para que Diogo Simões dêsse os soldados que lhe fossem pedidos pelo capitão de Moçambique dom João de Azevedo para soccorro da fortaleza, por suspeitar viriam de Europa inimigos sobre Moçambique. Ao que Diogo Simões obedeceu, e logo mandou embarcar trinta soldados com seu capitão, que trouxe consigo da Chicova, os quaes foram em soccorro de Moçambique, e elle ficou só com a gente de sua familia e alguns filhos da terra que o acompanhavam, e juntamente escreveu a sua Magestade e ao visorei da India o estado em que ficava a conquista, por lhe não vir da India provimento algum para sustentar os fortes e soldados que n'elles estavam, nem ter roupas que mandar ao Manamotapa em agradecimento de lhe ter dado a Chicova, como é costume entre estes cafres, depois de tomarem posse de alguma terra, que lhe o rei dá, darem-lhe então um presente de fato pela posse que tomaram. Assim convinha a Diogo Simões fazer para cumprir com esta obrigação, mas não tinha bons pannos que se requeriam para isso; pela qual razão ordenou mandar algumas cousas ao rei com que o agradasse, e para isso comprou um cavallo, que dom Estevam tinha deixado n'aquelles rios a um mercador de Sena, (que era cousa que o Manamotapa desejava) e mandou fazer uma

bandeira de campo, de seda de cores, que o Manamotapa já de antes tinha pedido a dom Estevam, e elle lha não quiz mandar; e além d'isto mandou fazer um andoro de ouro, rodeado de pedraria falsa, mas formosa, (o qual andoro é uma medalha redonda que os cafres mocarangas trazem na testa) e alguns pannos mais que acompanhavam este presente, e tendo isto prestes, mandou dizer ao Manamotapa que lhe mandasse alguma gente sua para acompanhar os embaixadores que lhe queria mandar com este presente; e o Manamotapa lhe mandou sua gente; e sabendo que Diogo Simões tinha cavallo para lhe dar, mandou-lhe dizer que lho não mandasse então, por ser verão, e as terras estarem mui seccas, e faltas de agua para o cavallo beber no caminho. Pelo qual respeito ficou o cavallo, mas tudo o mais lhe mandou Diogo Simões e o Manamotapa o acceitou, e em paga d'isso lhe prendeu os embaixadores que lhe levaram o presente, dizendo que escrevessem a Diogo Simões que lhe mandasse espelhos, alfinetes, agulhas, facas, tesouras, retroz, candeias, pimenta, açafão de Portugal, sabão, porcelanas, e alguns pannos de seda de muito preço, cuidando que Diogo Simões lhe não poderia mandar o que pedia, e tomaria d'ahi occasião para quebrar com elle, porque estava já mui arrependido de lhe ter dado a Chicova; e Diogo Simões, que isto entendia, buscou todas as cousas que o rei lhe pedia e tudo lhe mandou, assim pelo agradar, como por lhe soltar seus embaixadores, que tinha reteúdos, dos quaes um d'elles era seu sobrinho. Vendo o Manamotapa que Diogo Simões lhe mandára tudo o que lhe pedira, dessimulou sua paixão, e mandou soltar seus embaixadores, dando-lhe licença para se irem; os quaes, por se temerem que o rei os mandara esperar ao caminho e matar, como costuma fazer algumas vezes a quem quer matar secretamente, não quizeram tornar pelo caminho direito para Tete, mas foram-se para o forte da Chicova, que estava d'alli tres dias de caminho, com o mór segredo que puderam, e do forte se foram para Tete, onde estava Diogo Simões esperando sua vinda.

## CAPITULO CXLII.

*Da fugida que fez Dom Philippe, Filho do Manamotapa, para a Chicova, e do que n'ella fez em nosso favor; e do alevantamento dos Cafres da Chicova.*

No dia que o Manamotapa fez doação das minas a Diogo Simões Madeira lhe deu dois filhos seus, que foram dom Philippe e dom Diogo, que os religiosos de São Domingos fizeram christãos em Tete, como fica dito; mas depois que o dito rei esteve quieto e fóra de guerras, e de posse de seus reinos, mandou dizer a Diogo Simões que lhe mandasse dom Philippe, o mais velho, porque sua mãe desejava de o vêr, e que logo o tornaria a mandar. Diogo Simões lho mandou mui bem vestido ao modo portuguez; mas o pae o tornou a vestir de seus pannos ao uso dos cafres, e nunca mais o quiz mandara Diogo Simões.

Este dom Philippe sempre suspirava pela companhia e costume dos Portuguezes, e por algumas vezes fugiu de casa do pae para se tornar a Tete; mas o pae lhe mandou logo no alcance, e o tomaram sempre; e de uma vez lho levaram estando já nas terras de Tete, e o pae, com paixão de sua fugida, mandou matar toda a gente que acompanhou o filho na fugida, que foi muita, que servia ao mesmo filho, e a elle teve sempre comsigo sem o querer largar, até o tempo em que prendeu os embaixadores de Diogo Simões, como fica dito. Dom Philippe, que sempre imaginava como fugiria para os portuguezes, sabendo que os embaixadores de Diogo Simões se foram para o forte da Chicova em tres dias, logo pretendeu fazer outra fugida pelo mesmo caminho, por ser breve, e não ser tomado no caminho como de antes fóra; a qual determinação pôz em effeito, e veio ter ao forte de São Miguel em menos de tres dias, sem o pae saber por que caminho fugira. No forte foi recebido do capitão Diogo Teixeira Barroso, e dos mais soldados, com muita festa e alegria.

Alli esteve dom Philippe descansando alguns dias, nos quaes soube como depois de Diogo Simões se tornar para Tete nunca mais o cafre Cherema, senhor da terra, quiz vir ao forte a chamado do capitão d'elle, e que determinava não mostrar as minas da prata aos portuguezes. Pela qual razão logo lhe mandou recado que viesse ao forte vêr-se com elle, porque era necessario fallar

aos portuguezes estando elle presente; fingindo que vinha mandado a elles por embaixador de seu pae. O cafre Cherema, sabendo que o filho do Manamotapa estava no forte, tanto que lhe deram seu recado logo veiu a seu chamado, parecendo-lhe que seria verdade o que lhe mandara dizer; e chegando onde estava dom Philippe se lhe lançou aos pés, dizendo que alli vinha a seu chamado. Então o reprehendeu dom Philippe diante dos portuguezes com asperas palavras, por não obedecer ao forte, como era obrigado, e por não ter mostrado a prata, como seu pae lhe mandára; e logo o entregou ao capitão do forte, e lhe disse que o tivesse preso em quanto não mostrasse as minas, e o capitão assim o fez, mandando-lhe lançar um macho, e n'elle o teve até Diogo Simões tornar ao forte. Isto concluido, despediu-se do capitão e mais soldados da Chicova dom Philippe, e foi-se pelas terras do Sapoe, acompanhado de cafres nossos e seus, que fugiram com elle até Tete, onde estava Diogo Simões, que o recebeu como filho seu, e lhe deu uma terra em que se aposentasse, que Diogo Simões tinha, de muitos vassallos, onde esteve em quanto Diogo Simões a possuiu.

Sabendo o Manamotapa todas estas cousas que o filho fizera, e como fôra agasalhado, e favorecida sua fugida pelos portuguezes, e entregára o cafre Cherema na Chicova, para lhe descobrir as minas da prata, não no podia levar em paciencia, e tanta foi sua paixão que prometeu de fazer mercês a quem lhe matasse o filho. O que nenhum cafre faria, ainda que pudesse, pelo muito respeito que lhe tem, e dizem que não tem mão para derramar sangue real, salvo em guerra; nem o mesmo rei ousaria a matar seus filhos, porque, como tem muitos, podiam-se lhe levantar os que ficassem vivos, vendo que seu pae assim como matava uns mataria os mais, quando lhe viesse a vontade, e cada um d'elles temeria sua morte, nem se faria do pae.

Estando Diogo Simões em Tete, succedeu na Chicova que andando dois soldados do forte de São Miguel pelos mattos visinhos colhendo fructas, um d'elles subiu a uma arvore carregada de fructa, que estava no meio de uma seara de milho de um cafre filho do Inhamocucura, senhor da terra que corre do forte pelo rio acima, mui poderoso e cavalleiro, e por isso temido dos mais cafres d'estas terras. Este cafre seu filho disse ao soldado que lhe não pisasse o seu milho, nem comesse as fructas da sua arvore, porque não era d'isso contente. D'estas palavras ficou o soldado tão

sentido que logo se tornou para o forte, e fez queixa ao capitão do cafre lhe fallar muitas palavras soberbas e desconcertadas. Pareceu ao capitão que era descredito seu soffrer esta affronta que o cafre fizera ao seu soldado, e logo se encheu de colera contra o cafre, sem saber o que na verdade passára, nem ouvir ambas as partes; e levado d'esta paixão, tomou sua espingarda e chamou o soldado para que lhe fosse mostrar o cafre, como em effeito mostrou estando dentro de seu milho, e o capitão lhe tirou com a espingarda e o matou.

Mui sentida dos cafres d'estas terras foi a morte d'este cafre, e em particular de seu pae Inhamocucura; e por esse respeito d'alli em diante fez todo o mal que pôde aos portuguezes, nem lhe vendeu provimento algum, como costumava; e além d'isso foi sua terra coito e acolheita dos negros que fugiam do forte, captivos dos portuguezes, que elle recolhia e se servia d'elles, sem os senhores os verem mais, e d'esta maneira tomou ao forte passante de oitenta escravos, que para elle fugiram, e com elle ficaram. As queixas d'este Inhamocucura ácerca da morte de seu filho foram ter ás orelhas do Manamotapa, que já andava enfadado de ter dado a terra da Chicova a Diogo Simões, e da fugida de seu filho, recolhido por elle contra sua vontade; pelas quaes cousas se resolveu em fazer guerra a Diogo Simões e ao forte da Chicova, como se verá no seguinte capitulo.

### CAPITULO CXLIII.

*Da guerra que o Manamotapa fez ao forte da Chicova, e do soccorro que lhe levou Diogo Simões pela terra do Bororo, e da victoria que os nossos alcançaram dos inimigos.*

Tanto que Diogo Simões teve consigo seus embaixadores, que o Manamotapa lhe soltou, parecendo-lhe que o tinha contente com o presente que lhe mandou, pretendeu tornar-se para a Chicova com algum provimento que levava, postoque pouco, e fazer seu caminho pelo mesmo da Chidima, por onde já lá fôra e tornára. Sabendo o Manamotapa sua determinação, formou em breve tempo um exercito de nove ou dez mil homens de guerra, e lhe mandou que fosse esperar Diogo Simões ao caminho da Chicova, e o matasse com quantos fossem com elle. Ordenada esta cilada

com muito segredo, mandou dizer a Diogo Simões que já estava satisfeito do presente que lhe mandará, pelo que podia seguramente ir á Chicova, que lhe tinha dado possuil-a e logral-a como cousa sua; mas como Diogo Simões soubesse da guerra que lhe tinha armada no caminho em cilada, de que foi avisado por cafres seus amigos, não quiz fazer o caminho por alli, nem fiar-se mais do Manamotapa, mas passou-se da outra banda do rio Zambeze ás terras do Bororo, e por ellas foi fazendo seu caminho para a Chicova. Do qual foi logo avisado o Manamotapa, e mandou que toda a gente de guerra que o esperava fosse commetter o forte de São Miguel com muita pressa, e o desbaratasse e arrasasse, antes que Diogo Simões lá chegasse. Com este recado do rei se abalou o exercito, e foi a Chicova e commetteu o forte com grande impeto por todas as partes em roda, mettendo-lhe dentro muitas mil frechas, e as mais d'elles de peçonha, e tiradas de tão bom braço que muitas atravessaram os paus do forte de parte a parte, ficando n'elles atravessadas, que os nossos deixaram alli estar muito tempo, para que se visse a grande força com que foram despedidas do arco. E é de notar que os mocarangas que vinham no exercito, em chegando a estas terras, levaram todos os moradores d'ella comsigo, que são botongas bellicosos, e estes lançaram diante e foram os que commetteram o nosso forte; mas os portuguezes que dentro estavam, que eram sómente quarenta, e o capitão Diogo Teixeira Barroso, se defenderam valorosamente, e offenderam os inimigos com tanto pelouro que os fizeram retirar e fugir do forte, pondo-se longe d'elle onde o pelouro lhe não chegava, e ficando muitos d'elles mortos ao redor do forte; e de outros, que foram mal feridos, d'elles morreram, e d'elles ficaram aleijados, como os mesmos cafres contavam depois, e dos nossos portuguezes, postoque dois ficaram feridos, nenhum morreu. Esta victoria alcançaram os nossos aos dezoito de março de 1615.

Vendo os inimigos o ruim successo de sua guerra no primeiro assalto que deram ao forte, pretenderam dar-lhe o segundo, e abalroal-o mais a seu salvo, e para isso fizeram muitas portas de paus tecidos e dobrados, parecendo-lhe que os não passariam nossas espingardas, e detraz d'ellas determinavam commetter o forte, trazendo-as diante de si como muro; e tendo isto já ordenado para dar batalha no dia seguinte vinte do mesmo mez, n'esse mesmo dia pela manhã cedo chegou Diogo Simões com a gente que trazia ao logar do Sapoe, defronte do nosso forte, e logo

mandou tocar as charamelas e o tambor, e juntamente se embarcou nas embarcações que alli havia, e atravessando o rio se foi metter no forte de São Miguel. O que tudo viam os inimigos, que estavam á mira, e logo assentaram comigo voltar para suas casas sem tornar a commetter o forte, dizendo que se elles o não puderam entrar estando Diogo Simões fóra d'elle, como o entrariam e desbaratariam estando dentro com a gente que trouxe de soccorro? E este foi o parecer de todos, com o qual alevantaram seu arraial, e se foram alojar d'alli meio dia de caminho, d'onde avisaram o Manamotapa de todo o successo da guerra, o qual lhe mandou dizer que se recolhessem.

N'este mesmo tempo soube Diogo Simões que estava uma embarcação mettida pela terra dentro obra de uma legua, escondida pela não tomarem os nossos; e porque havia muita falta d'ellas no forte para a passagem do rio, mandou alguns soldados e cafres que a fossem buscar e a trouxessem. O que se fez, e vindo com ella, souberam os inimigos d'isso, e sahiram a defendel-a, e travaram uma cruel briga, pondo a nossa gente em muito aperto; e sendo avisado d'isso Diogo Simões, elle pessoalmente com mais soldados e cafres do forte sahiu a soccorrer os nossos, e deu nos inimigos, e os fez fugir, ferindo e matando muitos, de modo que ficou o campo despejado d'elles, e a embarcação livre, e assim a trouxeram ao forte. D'esta segunda briga, em que os imigos experimentaram o braço dos portuguezes, cobraram tanto medo que nunca mais quizeram ter com elles brigas, nem differenças. Passada esta guerra, que succedeu bem diferente aos cafres do que imaginava o Manamotapa, mandou o mesmo rei dizer ao forte, por seus embaixadores, que elle não mandára lá a guerra que lá tinha ido, e pois fóra lá sem sua licença que fizeram bem de matar e castigar os que n'elle foram. Este costume tem este barbaro, como manda fazer alguma guerra: se lhe succede mal, dizer que não mandou fazer tal cousa; mas se lhe succede bem, diz então que elle a mandou fazer, e que por isso se fez tudo o que elle queria e mandava. De modo que os nossos ficaram senhores do forte e terras da Chicova, apezar do Manamotapa e de seus vassallos botongas, que possuem este territorio, dos quaes pontarei aqui os visinhos da Chicova. O mais visinho é o Inhamocucura, de que já fallei; o segundo é o Inhamassacurira, senhor do Chitoro; o terceiro Inhabarabara, senhor de Dinde; o quarto Manguende, senhor da Matandanduva; ao quinto chamam

Churru; ao sexto Chiraya; ao septimo Inhamococo, e ao oitavo chamam Tauo, que é regedor supremo dos Mabangos, que são dois senhores dos quaes um se chama Cherengue, e outro Tambarica.

#### CAPITULO CXLIV.

*Do descobrimento da prata da Chicova e da que se mandou a sua Magestade por um religioso de São Domingos, e da fome que houve no forte da Chicova.*

Ficando Diogo Simões já sem brigas e guerras dos mocarangas, postoque com a terra ainda levantada pelos botongas, logo entendeu em buscar prata nas serras que estão dois tiros de espingarda distantes do forte de São Miguel; e para isso mandou a Diogo Teixeira, capitão do dito forte, e a Diogo Simões Batalha, seu sobrinho, capitão da infantaria, acompanhados de vinte soldados com suas espingardas, e alguns cafres tambem armados, para resistirem aos naturaes, se por ventura as quizessem impedir, e com elles mandou o Cafre Cherema, senhor da terra, que Diogo Teixeira tinha preso desdo tempo que lho entregou dom Philippe, como fica dito; e d'esta maneira chegaram ás ditas serras, onde o cafre que ia preso apontou n'ellas um lugar onde mandou cavar, e cavando-se perto de um covado de altura se achou uma pedra de prata que pesou dois arrateis e meio, e por ser já tarde se tornaram a recolher ao forte, e no dia seguinte, que foi o primeiro de abril do anno do Senhor de 615, tornou a mesma gente ás serras, e cavando no mesmo lugar, que cavaram o dia de antes, se acharam muitas pedras pequenas de prata, e outra maior de tres arrateis, e junto a esta outra grande, que pesou duas faraçolas e tres arrateis, sobre o qual estava nascida uma arvore bem arreigada, que liava toda a pedra com suas raizes; onde se viu claramente que as pedras eram alli nascidas e criadas, e não enterradas pelo cafre, como das primeiras se suspeitou, que o anno atraz Diogo Simões tinha mandado á India. Finalmente foram continuando com a cava da prata, postoque sempre com mão armada, e vigias sobre os cafres da terra.

E d'este modo se acharam n'aquelle lugar e em outros ao redor d'este, em espaço de um tiro de pedra, mais de trinta faraçolas de pedras de prata, umas grandes de duas faraçolas e meia, e de

duas, e de uma, e de meia faraçola, e outras menores, e miudas, das quaes se tiraram dezoito mainas de tres arrateis cada maina e todas estas pedras eram de tanto rendimento que as mais d'ellas fundidas respondiam com ametade de prata limpa, e ametade de escoria, outras pedras com uma parte de prata e duas de escoria, e algumas pedras se acharam tão puras de escoria que estava n'ellas a prata quasi limpa, como se fôra fundida, das quaes tinha Diogo Simões ainda uma grande de duas faraçolas com uma ponta de prata limpa; e afôra esta se viram outras duas mais pequenas, que tambem tinham a prata limpa e pura de seu nascimento; cousa formosa de vêr.

Com esta abundancia de prata que se ia achando, escreveu Diogo Simões ao visorei da India dom Hieronymo de Azevedo e a sua Magestade, dando-lhe conta das pedras de prata tão ricas que se acharam na Chicova, e que conforme ao rendimento d'ellas, se se dêsse na mãe d'ellas, seria sua Magestade senhor das mais ricas minas que se sabiam; e juntamente pediu ao padre frei Francisco do Avelar, religioso da ordem de São Domingos, que estava em Tete, quizesse ordenar com que estas pedras fossem a sua Magestade por via dos religiosos de sua ordem, pois tinham trabalhado muito n'esta conquista; e o padre se offereceu para elle mesmo levar as pedras, parecendo-lhe que n'isso fazia serviço a sua Magestade; e Diogo Simões lhe entregou tres pedras de prata que pesavam tres faraçolas e meia, e cartas para sua Magestade e para o visorei da India, e instrumentos authenticos, assignados pelos soldados da Chicova, em que se justificava achar-se aquella prata nas serras da Chicova, junto ao forte de São Miguel. E d'esta maneira negociado se partiu o padre para Sena, onde Lopo Velho Preto se offereceu para o acompanhar até o reino com tão boas novas, e o padre folgou com sua companhia, e n'esta conformidade se partiram para a India em julho de 615, onde chegaram a salvamento, e da India se embarcaram para o reino, onde tambem foram a salvamento, e as pedras de prata, cartas e papeis, se levaram a Madrid a sua Magestade, que muito folgou de as vêr, e com tão boas novas de prata houve muito alvoroço assim na côrte, como em Portugal, e com muita razão, porque se se conquistarem e descobrirem as minas de prata que dizem haver n'estas terras do Manamotapa, será o reino de Portugal mais rico do que é, porque são muitas as minas, cujo numero se verá no seguinte paragrapho.

1. Já temos visto como nas serras visinhas do forte de São Miguel se achou a prata que tenho apontado, e se achára mais, se houvera cavadores e mineiros que conheceram a terra e a veia da prata, o que nós não sabíamos. Estas são as minas que estão mais perto do nosso forte.

2. Afastado do forte de São Miguel uma legua, pouco mais ou menos, está uma povoação, a que chamam Inhacassy, que é cabeça das terras da Chicova, onde moram os principaes cafres vassallos do nosso forte, e porque é cabeça lhe chamam Muzinda. Junto a esta povoação dizem que ha minas de prata, que os cafres não querem descobrir, com medo do Manamotapa.

3. Perto d'esta Muzinda Inhacassy está outra terra a que chamam Chitoro, onde tambem dizem que ha minas de prata, e não na descobrem os cafres, com medo do Manamotapa.

4. Nas terras do Taue, distantes do nosso forte duas leguas pouco mais ou menos, dizem que ha prata que se não cava, nem descobre pelo mesmo respeito que as mais.

5. Nas terras do Inhamocucura estão umas serras mui grandes e altas, a que chamam do Motoposso, que estão distantes do nosso forte pelo rio acima dez leguas, e com estarem tão longe se vêem do dito forte mui claramente. N'estas serras dizem que ha muita prata tambem fechada, que se não descobre por respeito do Manamotapa o defender.

6. Além d'estas serras do Motoposso, indo pelo rio acima dez leguas, pouco mais ou menos, está um reino sujeito ao Manamotapa, a que chamam Beza, onde se vem metter um rio a que chamam Mossengueze. Nas terras, que rega este rio, dizem que ha muita prata em que se não bole.

7. Acima d'este rio Mossengueze, um dia de caminho, ao longo do rio Zambeze dentro no mesmo reino de Beza, está uma serra a que chamam Nobiry, onde se sabe haverem minas fundeadas, e abertas, d'onde se provê o Manamotapa da prata que ha mister, e na Chicova perguntou um padre de São Domingos a dom Diogo, filho do Manamotapa, que tambem lá estava com Diogo Simões Madeira, se sabia elle d'aquellas serras Nobiry, e elle lhe disse que vira por vezes levar d'estas minas prata fundida em barras a seu pae, e isto é publico entre os mocarangas.

8. Outras minas de prata dizem que ha nas terras do Mocota, cafre mui poderoso, visinho da nossa feira de Luanze, e que d'ellas levou um cafre uma pedra grande a vender a Luanze, e quem a

viu a pedra contou isto, que é pessoa de muito credito e verdade ; o que dizem se não duvida de que em outras muitas partes haja estas minas de prata, pois n'estes reinos ha minas de todos os metaes em grande abundancia, como são as do ouro, de que a terra é cheia, de cobre, de ferro, azougue, estanho, e as de prata que se tem apontado.

## CAPITULO CXLV.

*Do caminho que Gaspar Bocarro fez por terra da Cafraria, de Tete até Quiloa, com a prata que Diogo Simões Madeira mandava a sua Magestade.*

No tempo que Diogo Simões mandou a prata a sua Magestade por via dos religiosos de São Domingos, que de forçado haviam de passar pela fortaleza de Moçambique, e d'ahi para a India, houve nos rios de Cuama alguns desaffeioados de Diogo Simões, que diziam abertamente que o capitão de Moçambique lhe havia de tomar a prata e mandal-a por sua ordem a sua Magestade, e alguns houve que lhe escreveram o fizesse. De que Diogo Simões andava mui enfadado ; pelo qual respeito Gaspar Bocarro, homem nobre, criado do marquez de Ferreira, que n'estes rios andava havia muitos annos, se offereceu para fazer um caminho por terra de Tete até a costa de Melinde, por onde ficava mui desviado de Moçambique, e da costa passar a Ormuz, e d'ahi caminhar por terra para Hespanha, e levar a prata que Diogo Simões lhe desse a sua Magestade ; o qual caminho faria á sua custa, por servir ao dito senhor, e além d'isso emprestaria dois mil cruzados para ajuda de sustentar o forte da Chicova, em quanto lhe não vinha provimento da India.

Diogo Simões lhe agradeceu e acceitou o offerecimento, e recebeu o dito dinheiro, que Gaspar Bocarro lhe deu para sustentar o forte, e elle lhe entregou duas faraçolas de pedras de prata, em que entrava uma pedra pequena de prata pura e limpa de seu nascimento, que parecia fundida, e papeis authenticos e cartas de credito, para entregar tudo a sua Magestade. Isto ordenado e concluido, Gaspar Bocarro se aviou do necessario para tão comprido e arriscado caminho.

Partiu Gaspar Bocarro de Tete em março de 616, levando em sua companhia dez ou doze escravos seus, e passando á outra

banda do rio Zambeze foi caminhando pelas terras do Bororo, e aos dois dias de caminho chegou ao logar de Inhampury, onde comprou mil manilhas de fio de cobre, que os cafres d'aquelle logar fazem, por haver alli muito cobre. Estas manilhas servem de moeda em todos estes caminhos da cafraria, para os gastos miudos. Deu o Bocarro ao Inhampury um presente de roupas e contas, que importava septe cruzados. D'alli partiu e foi dormir a Baue, logar do mesmo Inhampury, onde morava uma sua mulher, á qual deu outro presente, que valeria tres cruzados. D'alli foi caminhando tres dias por mattos e terra deserta até Danda, cidade sujeita ao Muzura, que é o mór senhor cafre que ha nas terras do Bororo. Ao governador d'esta cidade deu o Bocarro pannos e contas que valeriam dois cruzados. D'alli foi dormir a Bunga, logar grande, sujeito ao Muzura, onde deu ao governador d'elle um cruzado de pannos e contas. D'alli mandou Gaspar Bocarro recado ao Muzura de sua vinda, e mandou-lhe diante de presente, a que os cafres chamam de boca, pannos e contas que valeriam cinco cruzados, e chegando á cidade em que elle mora, que se chama Maraay, foi logo vêr o Muzura, e deu-lhe roupas, e contas, e pannos de seda, que valeriam septenta cruzados. Deu-lhe mais a sua cama, em que entrava uma alcatifa, um travesseiro de damasco, e lençoes, porque lhe fazia muito pezo levar tamanha cama ás costas por tão comprido caminho. O Muzura deu ao Bocarro dois dentes de marfim que valeriam dezoito cruzados, e uma negra, e de comer quinze dias que alli esteve, e a toda sua gente muito milho, arroz, gallinhas, capões, vaccas, e figos; deu-lhe mais tres cafres seus vassallos, que fossem por sua guia e guarda para o levarem seguro por suas terras.

Com estas tres guias partiu o Bocarro do Muzura, e foi dormir a Moromba, cidade do Muzura, e deu ao governador d'ella, chamado Inhamocumba, roupas e contas que valeriam dois cruzados, e elle deu a Gaspar Bocarro outros tres cafres que o acompanhassem e fossem por suas guias. Perto d'esta cidade Moromba está o grande rio Manganja, ou lagoa que parece mar, do qual sahe o rio Nhanha, que se vem metter no Zambeze abaixo de Sena, ao qual chamam lá rio de Chiry. De Moromba sahio Gaspar Bocarro com estas tres guias mais, e foi caminhando ao longo d'este rio Nhanha, e dormiu nas praias d'elle, e no dia seguinte passaram o rio á outra banda nas embarcações que alli

tem os cafres naturaes, e foram caminhando ao Norte e dormir á cidade do Caramboe, filho do Muzura, ao qual deu o Bocarro roupas e contas que valeriam septe cruzados. D'alli foram jantar a um lugar chamado Mocama, e dormir a outro por nome Mogombe, onde deram ao governador d'elle pannos e contas que valeriam um cruzado. D'aqui foram dormir no fim das terras do filho do Muzura.

D'aqui por diante começam as terras a que chamam Manguro, sujeitas ao Chicoave, amigo e quasi vassallo do Muzura, por se temer d'elle. Por estas terras começaram a caminhar, e foram dormir ao lugar de Machambe, ao qual deram pannos e contas que valeriam dois cruzados. D'alli foram dormir ao lugar de Muzunguira, ao qual deram manilhas e contas que valeriam um cruzado. D'alli foram dormir á cidade em que mora o Chicoave, senhor d'estas terras, e antes que chegassem a ella, o Bocarro lhe mandou recado de sua chegada, e lhe mandou diante de boca cem manilhas e um panno e contas, que tudo valeria cinco cruzados, e quando fallou ao cafre lhe deu mais outro presente que valeria septe cruzados, e o cafre lhe deu um dente de marfim que valeria tres cruzados. O Muzura mandou a este cafre um presente para que dêsse caminho e guias ao Bocarro, o que elle fez dando-lhe um filho seu, que o acompanhou d'alli por diante juntamente com as mais guias do Muzura. Por aqui passa um rio a que chamam Ruambara, que se passa com embarcações. Da cidade de Chicoave foram dormir ao lugar Chipanga, e d'alli ao lugar do Changuessa, ao qual deram um panno e um mólho de contas, d'alli foram dormir em despovoado, e no dia seguinte ao lugar de Mauanó, ao qual deram um panno, e uma motava de contas. D'alli foram dormir a um lugar chamado Rupapa, de que é senhor Quitenga, ao qual deram tres pannos e vinte manilhas. D'alli foram dormir no matto, e no dia seguinte ao longo do rio Rofuma em o lugar de Muangongo, ao qual deram cincoenta manilhas, duas motavas de contas, uma machira, e um panno, e elle passou a Gaspar Bocarro, e a toda sua gente da outra parte do rio, em sua embarcação, e o acompanhou tres dias.

As terras que correm d'este rio Rofuma para diante até o mar salgado é senhor d'ellas o Manhanga. D'este rio foi o Bocarro dormir em casa de Darama, ao qual deu seis manilhas e umas poucas de contas. D'alli foi dormir ao lugar de Davia, ao qual deu vinte manilhas e uma motava de contas. D'alli foi dormir á

lambia lá no Zambeze lá caminhando pelas terras do Bororo, e nos dias das de caminho chegou ao lugar de Inhamury, onde encontrou um maula das de lá de côre, que os cafres d'aquelle lugar fazem, por haver allí muito côre. Estas manilhas servem de moeda em todos estes caminhos da cafraria, para os gastos mundaes. Deu o Bocarro ao Inhamury um presente de roupas e contas que importava sette cruzados. D'alli partiu e foi dormir a outra parte do mesmo Inhamury, onde morava uma sua mulher, a qual deu como presente, que valeria tres cruzados. D'alli lá caminhando tres dias por matto e terra deserta até a outra cidade se chama o Muxura, que é o môr senhor cafre que ha nas terras do Bororo. Ao governador d'esta cidade deu o Bocarro pannos e contas que valeriam dois cruzados. D'alli foi dormir a outra parte do mesmo Muxura, onde deu ao governador d'ella um presente de pannos e contas. D'alli mandou buscar Bocarro ao Muxura de sua vinda, e mandou-lhe trazer de presente, a que os cafres chamam de boca, pannos e contas que valeriam cinco cruzados e chegando á cidade em que elle estava, que se chama Manary, lá logo vê o Muxura, e deu-lhe roupas e contas e pannos de seda, que valeriam septenta cruzados. Deu-lhe mais a sua cama, em que entrava uma pessoa em travessão de lãmas e lençoes, porque lhe fazia muito peso levar a sua cama ás costas por tão comprido caminho. O Muxura deu ao Bocarro dois dentes de marfim que valeriam dezete cruzados e uma negra, e de comer quinze dias que elle estava, e a noite sua gente muito milho, arroz, gallinhas, capões, vacas e fôrças de bois mais tres cafres seus vassallos, que foram por sua guia e guarda para o levarem seguro por suas terras.

Com estas tres guias partiu o Bocarro do Muxura, e foi dormir a outra parte da cidade do Muxura, e deu ao governador d'ella, chamado Inhamoyenta, roupas e contas que valeriam dois cruzados e elle deu a Gaspar Bocarro outros tres cafres que o acompanharam e foram por suas guias. Perto d'esta cidade ha um lagoa e a grande rio Manganja, ou lagoa que parece mar, do qual nasce o rio Nbanba, que se vem metter no Zambeze abaixo de onde se qual chamam lá rio de Chiry. De Moromba saiu Gaspar Bocarro com estas tres guias mais, e foi caminhando ao longo d'este rio Nbanba, e dormiu nas praias d'elle, e no dia seguinte passaram o rio a outra banda nas embarcações que allí

tem os cafres naturaes, e foram caminhando ao Norte e dormir á cidade do Caramboe, filho do Muzura, ao qual deu o Bocarro roupas e contas que valeriam septe cruzados. D'alli foram jantar a um logar chamado Mocama, e dormir a outro por nome Mogombe, onde deram ao governador d'elle pannos e contas que valeriam um cruzado. D'aqui foram dormir no fim das terras do filho do Muzura.

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cidade em que mora o Manhanga, senhor d'estas terras, e antes que chegasse a ella mandou-lhe Gaspar Bocarro diante fazer a saber de sua vinda, e mandou-lhe de boca duzentas manilhas e uma machira, e quando se viu com elle lhe deu mais seiscentas manilhas. O Muzura mandou tambem a este cafre cem manilhas, e uma machira, e uma negrinha, para que franqueasse os caminhos por suas terras ao Bocarro; e elle deu ao Bocarro um dente de marfim, e ao Muzura mandou um presente de roupas que alli lhe vão da costa de Melinde, porque tambem este cafre obedece ao Muzura. D'alli se tornaram as tres guias do Muzura, e as tres de Inhamocumba, governador de Moramba, e o filho do Chicoave; e Gaspar Bocarro caminhou d'aqui por diante com os guias que lhe deu o Manhanga, aos quaes deu logo vinte manilhas, e foram caminhando septe dias por despovoado, por estar a terra destruida pelos zimbabue, que passaram por ella com guerra; e a cabo de septe dias chegaram ao logar de Chiponda, irmão do Manhanga, ao qual deram cincoenta manilhas e uma machira, e elle deu ao Bocarro um dente pequeno de marfim, e deu-lhe mais outro cafre seu por guia, para o acompanhar no caminho que lhe ficava d'alli até á praia, ao qual o Bocarro deu vinte manilhas. D'aqui foram caminhando quatro dias por terras desertas, e ao cabo d'elles chegaram ao logar de Ponde, onde deram uma pouca de conta, e d'alli foram ao logar de Morengue, ao qual deram uma machira e uma pouca de conta. D'alli caminharam por terra deserta quatro dias até chegaram a Bucury, logar de mouros, onde dormiram, e no dia seguinte chegaram á praia do mar salgado a horas de meio dia, e d'alli se embarcaram e passaram á ilha de Quiloa, que lhe ficava defronte, onde estava o feitor e mais portuguezes, que agasalharam Gaspar Bocarro. As terras povoadas d'estes caminhos são abundantes de mantimentos, a saber: milho, arroz, legumes, gallinhas, carneiros, vaccas e cabras, e tudo isto barato. De modo que gastou Gaspar Bocarro n'estes caminhos cincoenta e tres dias, e mais de cento e cincoenta cruzados em dadas e em seu comer, e da gente que o acompanhou n'este caminho, á qual dava de comer; e postoque Gaspar Bocarro gastou cincoenta e tres dias no caminho, comtudo os moços seus, que tornaram de Quiloa para Tete pelo mesmo caminho escoteiros, não puzeram n'elle mais que vinte e cinco dias.

De Quiloa se embarcou Gaspar Bocarro para sua viagem para Ormuz, e chegando a Mombaça soube como os caminhos da Persia

estavam impedidos pelo Xá, e a terra de guerra, pela qual razão se tornou para Moçambique, e d'ahi para os rios de Cuama, onde chegou a salvamento. Esereveu-se aqui todas as miudezas d'este caminho, nomes dos logares e terras, e senhores d'ellas, e os gastos que Gaspar Bocarro fez, porque, se se offerecer fazer-se este caminho mais vezes, saiba o venturoiro, que o fizer, por onde ha de caminhar e o que ha de gastar.

## CAPITULO CXLVI.

*Da fome que houve na Chicova, e da ida que fez ao forte de São Miguel o padre frei João dos Santos, da ordem de São Domingos, a chamado do conquistador e soldados da conquista.*

Depois que Diogo Simões mandou a prata a sua Magestade, ficou assistindo e sustentando o forte da Chicova com quarenta e quatro soldados sómente, porque os mais tinha mandado soccorrer Moçambique, como fica dito; e d'estes quarenta e quatro que ficaram, os mais d'elles adoeceram e morreram muitos de febres malignas, por causa das grandes calmas que ha n'aquelle territorio, por respeito das serras mineraes que tem; onde, tanto que são onze horas do dia não se póde estar n'ellas, pelo grande calor que de si lançam, e assim se se tomar uma pedra na mão n'este tempo, das muitas que por allí ha de ferro, queima como se sahira do fogo, o que alguns algumas vezes experimentaram, achando-se na serra ás ditas horas; e essa é a razão por que se não cavava na serra mais que pela manhã até as dez horas do dia. Notou-se mais outra cousa admiravel nos homens que morriam n'este forte, os quaes em quatro dias de doença e em menos morriam, andando de antes sãos, e quando morriam a nenhum se viram esmorecimentos, nem tremores, nem fazer termos com torcimento de olhos ou boca, como é ordinario aos que morrem, senão morrerem fallando, e quando a ultima hora lhe chegava abriam a boca, e morriam como passarinhos; e cuidando-se algumas vezes n'estas mortes tão acceleradas pareceu que seria a causa d'isso o clima da terra, que é mineral, e tem os ares calidissimos, a respeito dos metaes que tem dentro em si, cuja quentura quotidiana vae pouco a pouco consumindo e gastando os tutanos, e enfraquecendo os espiritos vitaes aos homens, de modo que quando adoecem logo enfraquecem de tal maneira, que chegando-lhe a hora da morte não tem já seus

membros força para lhe resistir, e assim facillimente se aparta aquella alma do corpo, por lhe faltar já de muitos dias o calor natural; e os que escapavam da morte andavam sempre achacosos sem acabarem de convalescer, por respeito da muita fome que no forte havia e falta de mantimentos, assim para os doentes, como para os saõs.

Além d'estas doenças e mortes, que padeciam os soldados da Chicova, o que mais sentiam era não terem consigo sacerdote que lhe administrasse os sacramentos, porque os padres da Companhia, que da India foram a estes rios com dom Estevam de Ataide, com titulo de capellães da conquista, como viram Diogo Simões com pouca posse para sustentar esta empresa, não quizeram estar com elle na Chicova, requerendo-lho elle por vezes; e por esse respeito esteve o forte de São Miguel sem elles quinze mezes, nos quaes falleceram treze soldados sem sacramentos. Por este respeito Diogo Simões e os mais soldados da Chicova escreveram uma carta a Sena a um padre de São Domingos, chamado frei João dos Santos (de quem se tomou a informação d'esta historia) onde elle então estava, pedindo-lhe pelo amor de Deus, com muita instancia, quizesse ir a Chicova para os confessar, e administrar os sacramentos da egreja, e não consentisse morrerem como brutos, pois eram christãos, e elle lhe podia dar o remedio de suas almas que pediam. Communicou o padre estas cartas com os seus padres de Sena, e a todos pareceu bem que fosse soccorrer esta gente, por ser serviço de Deus e de sua Magestade; pelo que logo se aviou do necessario e se embarcou de Sena para Tete, que são sessenta leguas pelo rio acima, de muitas e perigosas correntes; e de Tete foi caminhando por terra até Chicova, que são mais de quarenta leguas de maus caminhos, como já se tem declarado; mas quiz Deus que não tivesse perigo, nem desastre n'elles, e chegou a Chicova no fim de janeiro de 616, onde o receberam com muita alegria, e logo se confessaram e sacramentaram com elle todos os soldados e gente do forte de São Miguel.

No tempo em que chegou o padre a Chicova andava Diogo Simões occupado na reformação do forte, por ter novas que o Manamotapa lhe tornava a mover guerra, sabendo as necessidades, fomes, e mortes que os nossos padeciam; e para mais confirmação de lhe parecerem estas novas verdadeiras, lhes vieram um dia dar mostra de si quatrocentos cafres mocarangas nas praias do rio,

perto do nosso forte ; e postoque estes ameaços lhe davam em que cuidar, o que mais sentiam era a fome por falta de mantimentos, porque os cafres de Diogo Simões, que serviam o forte, uns d'elles, que andavam occupados em ir mercar o mantimento, e trazel-o das terras do Sapoe ao forte, fugiram para Tete, por fugirem á fome e ao trabalho de acarretar o milho ás costas, duas e tres leguas, e por isso ficavam todos tres e quatro dias sem ter que comer, até se mandarem outros cafres a buscar o milho, que tambem vinham a fazer o mesmo que os primeiros. Outros cafres se occupavam em cortar madeira nos mattos e trazel-a ao forte, com que o reformavam ; pelo que não ficavam cafres para poderem cavar prata, que era o com que se sustentou este forte quatro, ou cinco mezes, porque em se tirando da serra a pedra de prata logo se fundia e mandava a Tete comprar roupas e contas, com que se mercava o provimento para o forte, e isto se fez em quanto houve cafres que fossem cavar á serra, mas, como elles fugiram quasi todos para Tete, não houve quem cavasse e tirassem prata, e assim não tinham com que comprar esse pouco de mantimento que havia na mão dos cafres do Sapoe, e por essa causa havia tanta fome no forte que muitas pessoas d'elle não comiam outra cousa mais que tamarinho maduro envolto em cinza, porque a cinza lhe tirava a fortidão e o azedo que tem. E com estes trabalhos se sustentava este forte, esperando cada dia que lhe viria o provimento da India, que Diogo Simões tinha escripto ao visorei da India lhe mandasse, manifestando-lhe o pouco que lhe ficava para os gastos da conquista, o qual lhe mandou como se verá no seguinte capitulo.

#### CAPITULO CXLVII.

*Do provimento que o visorei dom Hieronymo de Azevedo mandou ao forte da Chicova, por um desembargador, o qual elle não quiz prover.*

Pela prata que Diogo Simões mandou á India e a Portugal, entendeu o visorei dom Hieronymo de Azevedo que se devia fazer muito caso d'esta conquista, e favorecel-a do necessario, e para isso mandou um desembargador, por nome Francisco da Fonseca Pinto, com titulo de capitão mór, ouvidor geral do crime e civil, provedor mór dos defuntos, e védor da fazenda de sua Magestade n'aquellas partes, para que provesse o forte da Chicova, e exami-

nasse as minas de prata, se havia alguma fundeada e fixa. O qual partiu de Goa em uma galeota carregada do provimento necessario, de roupas, contas, petrechos, assim de guerra, como para se cavarem as minas, e chegou a Moçambique em breve tempo; onde com sua chegada succederam tantas differenças entre os soldados da fortaleza e Ruy de Mello de Sampaio, e tudo o que atraz fica dito, de modo que se deteve o ouvidor em urdir estas meadas em Moçambique dois mezes, que eram dois mil annos para quem esperava seu soccorro na Chicova, morrendo á fome. Concluidos estes negocios de Moçambique se embarcou o ouvidor em uma galeota que Ruy de Mello tinha carregado para mandar aos rios de Cuama, e n'ella entrou em Quilimane em maio de 616, e tomou o fato a Ruy de Mello, que levava a galeota, dizendo que lho tomava como védor da fazenda de sua Magestade que era em pagamento da pensão que devia da dita fortaleza, que eram trinta mil cruzados.

Estas novas de sua chegada aos rios foram logo ter á Chicova, onde os ditos estavam esperando a olhos longos pelo soccorro e provimento da India, e como souberam que vinha muito fato para as despezas da conquista, tiveram tanto alento e soffrimento nos trabalhos, e fomes que padeciam, que logo Diogo Simões e o padre escreveram ao ouvidor que boa fosse sua vinda, e pois Deus o trouxera a tal tempo, em que a gente do forte de São Miguel estava perecendo e posta em risco de o largar com fome, mandasse sua mercê logo algum provimento de roupas para se comprar de comer para esta gente, em quanto elle não vinha ao dito forte, como se esperava. Estas cartas lhe foram dadas, e elle respondeu a ellas com palavras de cumprimentos, sem soccorro algum; e como as roupas valiam muito n'este tempo, por respeito de haver dois annos que não tinham vindo outras da India a estes rios, por se perderem as naus que as traziam, pareceu-lhe ao ouvidor ser mais acertado e melhor conselho, conforme a seu intento, vender o fato que trazia por muito e bom ouro e marfim, e leval-o para a India, que gasta-o com prover fortes e soldados; e n'esta venda se deteve em Tete e Sena, sem mandar provimento algum para o forte, havendo tres mezes que estava nos rios.

Vendo Diogo Simões, e os soldados do forte que o acompanhavam que as dilações que o ouvidor fazia em não prover o forte do necessario, (sabendo a extrema necessidade em que estava)

eram para destruir e desfazer quanto elles tinham ganhado e conquistado, então lhe escreveram de mão commum uma carta, e protesto feito pelo escrivão da conquista, em que todos se assignaram, no qual lhe declaravam, como já tinham feito por outras muitas cartas que lhe escreveram, o aperto de fome em que estavam havia muitos mezes, pelo que lhe pediam os soccorresse, e protestavam que se dentro em oito dias lhe não mandasse com que se podessem sustentar, que haviam de largar o forte de São Miguel da Chicova, e elle seria a causa principal de o largarem, e daria conta d'isso a quem fosse direito, pois estando em Tete tão perto do forte, e tendo com que o soccorrer, o não queria fazer. Este protesto lhe foi apresentado em Tete, e lido diante de testemunhas. A que elle respondeu: "Se Diogo Simões largar o forte, forças tenho eu e braço para o tornar a ganhar." E deu-se-lhe pouco do protesto; porque não proveu o forte com cousa alguma.

Depois que se fez este protesto ao ouvidor, começou a descobrir o animo damnado que trazia contra Diogo Simões, porque duas terras que elle possuia em Tete, havia mais de vinte annos, de que lhe fez mercê Lourenço de Brito, sendo capitão de Moçambique, em nome de sua Magestade, para que com sua gente defendesse a entrada que por ellas faziam os mocarangas nas terras de Tete, essas lhe tirou o ouvidor, e fez mercê d'ellas a outras pessoas menos dignas, como se Diogo Simões fôra levantado. Além d'isso lhe prendeu um sobrinho, que Diogo Simões mandou da Chicova a Tete para o acompanhar no caminho que dizia havia de fazer para a Chicova, e o mandou para Sena carregado de ferros.

Outro dia mandou tocar tambor e ajuntar os soldados que trazia comsigo e os casados de Sena e Tete, que alli tinha com seus escravos, e com bandeira de Christo arvorada foi dar nas casas e povoação dos escravos de Diogo Simões, que os mais d'elles estavam com o senhor servindo o forte da Chicova, e pôz por terra tudo a ferro e a fogo, oude houve muitos roubos e mortes de innocentes que estavam quietos em suas casas, e captivarem-se negras e negrinhas de Diogo Simões, que se foram vender a Sena e a outras partes. No que Diogo Simões recebeu muita perda, e muito mais desgosto quando soube que um homem que vinha da India para o soccorrer, e prover o forte da Chicova, o affrontava d'aquella maneira e lhe dava tanta perda, estando elle

actualmente servindo a sua Magestade, e sustentando-lhe o forte da Chicova com tantos trabalhos e fomes ; pelo que logo desconfiou de poderem permanecer as cousas da Chicova por elle conquistadas e ganhadas.

Além d'estas cousas, que o ouvidor fez publicas contra Diogo Simões, fez outras em segredo, que logo se descobriram. que foi chamar a sua casa os moradores de Tete que podiam mandar algumas roupas a Diogo Simões para se sustentar, e poz-lhe pena de caso maior, que nenhum d'elles, nem por si, nem por outro, mandasse fato a Chicova. D'onde se colligiu que o ouvidor queria pôr a Diogo Simões em mais aperto do que estava, para que largasse o forte, e elle ficasse então desobrigado de gastar com os soldados algum fato que ainda tinha. Intentou mais matar a Diogo Simões por via do Manamotapa, ao qual mandou dizer que Diogo Simões era levantado, e fôra a Chicova fazer forte sem licença do visorei da India ; pelo que lhe fizesse guerra, e o matasse, que essa era a vontade do visorei. O Manamotapa acceitou esta embaixada de boa vontade, pelo odio que tinha a Diogo Simões pelo mesmo respeito de lhe fazer o forte na Chicova contra sua vontade, e logo ordenou fazer-lhe guerra, como fez, e se verá adiante.

#### CAPITULO CXLVIII.

*De como o ouvidor, indo para a Chicova, se tornou do caminho sem chegar ao forte, nem o prover do necessario.*

Deteve-se o ouvidor Francisco da Fonseca Pinto em Tete até o primeiro de agosto, occupado nas traças que ficam ditas, que elle tinha ordenadas para destruir a Diogo Simões Madeira ; não considerando que com isto destruia tambem o forte da Chicova, que elle estava sustentando. Vendo pois que não achava causa legitima para deixar de ir a Chicova, e verificar as minas de prata, como trazia por regimento do visorei, então se resolveu em fazer esta jornada, e partiu de Tete no principio de agosto pelo rio acima embarcado em almadias, em que foi até o logar de Cachengue, que são vinte leguas de Tete, levando em sua companhia cento e vinte espingardas, e dois mil cafres vassallos de Tete, que caminhavam por terra ao longo do rio. N'este logar de Cachengue ficaram as almadias, e elle se passou da banda do Bororo com toda a gente ordenada em fileira, e assim toi cami-

nhando para a Chicova com muita paz e quietação, porque Diogo Simões tinha abertos os caminhos, francos e pacíficos, com muito fato que tinha dado aos senhores das terras, de tal maneira que vinha da Chicova a Tete qualquer menino, ou mulher, a buscar o que lhe mandavam seus senhores assistentes no forte, sem haver em todo este caminho quem lhe fizesse mal, senão bem; porque lhe davam pousada em suas casas e aldeias, e lhe vendiam os mantimentos que haviam mister. Com esta franqueza de caminhos foi o ouvidor fazendo suas jornadas até um logar que se chama Zivy, que está um dia de caminho da Chicova, onde descansou dois ou tres dias, informando-se do que passava no forte de São Miguel.

D'este logar mandou o ouvidor tres homens portuguezes com cartas a Diogo Simões para o segurarem com boas palavras, dizendo-lhe que o ouvidor vinha mui apostado ao servir, e lhe fazer muitas mercês em nome de sua Magestade, como trazia por regimento do visorei. O que tudo era fingimento, porque antes que estes chegassem teve Diogo Simões muitos avisos de Sena e de Tete de tudo o que o ouvidor lhe tinha feito, e que não esperasse na Chicova, nem se fiasse d'elle, porque não ia ao forte de São Miguel mais que a prendel-o, e dar-lhe uma noite fundo. E Diogo Simões mui bem entendia isto, e de todos era entendido, pelos agravos que lhe tinha feito em Tete, tirando-lhe suas terras e dando-as a outrem; prendendo-lhe o sobrinho, e quemando-lhe suas casas; matando-lhe seus escravos, e captivando-lhe outros, sem causa alguma mais que quebrar-lhe as forças e animo com que servia a sua Magestade, para que d'alli em diante não tivesse posses para isso.

Pelo que, inteirado Diogo Simões n'esta verdade, lhe respondeu logo por um dos tres portuguezes que tinham ido com as cartas do ouvidor, dizendo-lhe que boa fosse sua vinda tão desejada n'aquella Chicova, mas que sua mercê lhe fizera tantos agravos em Tete, e lhe dera tantas perdas com tantos estrondos, que se não atrevia a vel-o, nem fiar-se de suas palavras, porque bem se deixava vêr de todos que quem lhe fizera tanto estrago em suas cousas que melhor o faria em sua pessoa; e pois sua mercê não vinha para lhe fazer os favores e honras que merecia, pelos serviços que tinha feito a sua Magestade, que lhe não vinha bem esperal-o para lhe fazer affrontas; que fosse sua mercê embora a Chicova, pois já estava perto d'ella, e que n'ella

acharia dois fortes, um de São Miguel, situado junto ás minas da prata, outro de Santo Antonio, nas terras do Sapoe, da outra banda do rio, um defronte de outro, e ambos com seus capitães e soldados, e que elles lhos entregariam, e dariam relação das minas; porque todos o sabiam como elle mesmo. E deixou-se ficar no forte de Santo Antonio, determinando sahir-se d'elle e ir-se para Tete por outro caminho, tanto que o ouvidor chegasse ao mesmo forte.

O ouvidor esteve em Zivy esperando pela resposta de Diogo Simões, e pelas novas que seus embaixadores lhe traziam do que tinham assentado com elle; e tanto que lhe chegou o homem com a resposta acima declarada, na mesma hora em que leu a carta de Diogo Simões, em que lhe dizia que se não havia de vêr com elle, sem mais se deter voltou d'alli para Tete, e não quiz chegar a Chicova, nem vêr as minas d'ella, nem deixar roupas para provimento dos soldados; dando por razão que elle não vinha mais que a vêr-se com Diogo Simões, que lhe havia de mostrar as minas, e pois elle dizia que o não havia de esperar na Chicova, que não tinha lá que fazer. E voltou com tanta pressa que desandou em quatro dias o caminho que ordinariamente se faz em oito, e isto por temer que Diogo Simões lhe viesse no alcance para lhe tomar o fato que levava, e com elle se sustentasse na Chicova, e aos soldados d'ella.

Os que estavam no forte de São Miguel mui alvoraçados esperando pela chegada do ouvidor, e bem fóra de lhes parecer que se tornaria de Zivy para Tete, sem fazer o exame das minas, como trazia por regimento do visorei, quando souberam da volta que fizera não o podiam crêr; e para se certificarem do que passava mandou Diogo Simões quatro escravos seus, homens de recado, que fossem a Zivy, e vissem se estava ainda ahí o ouvidor, ou se era ido, como se dizia. Os cafres foram a Zivy, onde os moradores do logar lhe disseram que o ouvidor se tornára d'alli para Tete com muita pressa, e os cafres, como eram diligentes, lhe foram no alcance para se certificarem mais devéras do caminho que o ouvidor levava; mas nunca o puderam alcançar, e chegando á paragem do rio, onde ficaram as suas almadias, não acharam alli pessoa alguma, nem embarcações, porque o ouvidor era ido n'ellas para Tete com toda sua companhia. Com estas novas voltaram os cafres de Diogo Simões para a Chicova, e as deram a seu senhor e a todos os de sua companhia. Bem se deixa

ver que taes ficariam os corações d'aquelles que havia dois annos esperavam pelo premio de seus trabalhos, servindo a sua Magestade em lhe defender e sustentar o forte de São Miguel, de tanta importancia, opprimidos de fomes e guerra que n'elle tinham padecido, verem-se agora com todas suas esperanças frustradas, pobres e despidos, porque até as camisas venderam para comprar de comer, e finalmente verem a conquista desfeita, e perdido quanto tinham conquistado; e principalmente Diogo Simões, a quem mais tocavam estas cousas, elle as sentia mais que todos.

### CAPITULO CXLIX.

*De como se largou o forte de São Miguel, por respeito da fome que n'elle houve, e se veio Diogo Simões para Tete com toda a gente da conquista.*

Não se póde encarecer o grande sentimento que tiveram todos os que assistiam no forte de São Miguel da Chicova em vêr a grande deshumanidade que o ouvidor tinha usado com elles, sabendo que havia muitos mezes que estavam em extrema necessidade, sustentando por honra o forte de sua Magestade, que tanto havia de importar ao diante, sem os querer provêr do necessario, que da India trazia para isso. Vendo pois Diogo Simões, e todos os soldados do forte, que não podiam estar n'elle mais uma hora, porque nem para essa havia que comer, então se resolveram em largar o forte, e voltarem para Tete, pois não havia já soccorro que esperar, porque o ouvidor, que o trazia, se tornou com elle para Tete, deixando o forte no mais miseravel estado que se pode imaginar. Pelo que, vistas estas cousas tão urgentes, mandou Diogo Simões fazer um auto pelo escrivão da conquista, a requerimento dos soldados, em que todos se assignaram, no qual se declarava largarem-se os fortes de São Miguel e de Santo Antonio pelas causas que ficam apontadas acima; e n'esta conformidade se apparelharam todos para sahir do forte de São Miguel.

No dia seguinte, que foi dia de nossa Senhora d'Assumpção, 15 de agosto, se disse missa na igreja, que se tinha feita e acabada mui bem, da invocação de nossa Senhora do Rosario, que foi a derradeira que se disse na Chicova, a que todos assistiram, e a missa acabada, se desarmou o retabolo e mais ornamentos do

altar, com tanta magua que todos os que ajudavam o manifestavam com muitas lagrimas, considerando que havia de ficar aquella casa entregue aos cafres naturaes, barbaros, onde fariam muitas cousas indecentes ao logar onde se tinha muitas vezes consagrado o corpo de Deus; e logo se entendeu em despejar o forte das negras e meninos e passal-os á outra banda ao forte de Santo Antonio, que estava no logar do Sapoe. E porque o rio alli é largo e furioso, e não havia mais que duas embarcações pequenas, se gastou o dia todo na passagem d'esta gente miuda, e no dia seguinte, dezesepte do mesmo mez, se passaram os soldados poucos e poucos, e a derradeira pessoa que se sahiu do forte foi Diogo Simões Madeira, com tanto sentimento de vêr ficar perdido o que tanto lhe custára que não pôde ter as lagrimas que lhe não sahissem de borbotão; o qual sentimento se enxergava em todos geralmente. De modo que o forte de São Miguel se ficou reformado de novo, e todos passaram á outra banda do rio, e se metteram no forte de Santo Antonio, onde o Sapoe, senhor d'aquellas terras, tambem morava em companhia dos nossos soldados, que alli assistiam com seu capitão para segurança da passagem do rio. Este Sapoe e seus vassallos eram nossos amigos pelo interesse que tinham de nossa assistencia na Chicova, assim pelo fato que Diogo Simões lhe dava para conservar sua amisade e nos franquear seus caminhos, como pelos mantimentos que nos vendiam a troco dos nossos pannos, que é a riqueza de todos estes cafres; pelo que sentiram muito nossa sahida d'aquellas terras.

D'este forte de Santo Antonio se partiram aos dezoito de agosto da dita era, e vieram fazendo suas jornadas para Tete com muito trabalho, porque os mais dos soldados, como vinham debilitados de fome, cansaram logo, e incharam-lhe os pés sem poderem caminhar. O que vendo Diogo Simões, se descia de um andor em que vinha, e o dava aos mais debilitados, e elle por esse respeito veio a pé o mais do caminho; e com tudo isto falleceram dois soldados no caminho, que sahiram doentes da Chicova, e o mais certo é que morreram com fome. D'esta maneira caminharam seis dias até chegarem ao rio e logar onde o ouvidor deixou as almadias, e d'alli se tornou n'ellas para Tete. N'esta paragem, que se chama Cachengue, atravessaram o rio para virem caminhando pelas terras do Marenga, que são sujeitas a Tete. Aquí tiveram muito trabalho, por não acharem embarcações para atravessar o rio, pelas ter levado todas o ouvidor, assim suas, como da mesma terra.

Finalmente Deus lhes deparou duas, aindaque pequenas, em que passaram poucos e poucos, não havendo perigo, nem desastre n'esta passagem; mas houve-o logo em terra, porque mandando Diogo Simões dois escravos seus, moços de preço, pedir ao Marenga, que estava d'alli um dia de caminho, que lhe mandasse algum mantimento para dar aos soldados, porque vinham perecendo, o Marenga, que estava congraçado com o ouvidor, lhe prendeu os moços, e os mandou a Tete ao ouvidor; e do mais que passaram n'este caminho se verá no seguinte capitulo.

## CAPITULO CL.

*Dos impedimentos que tiveram os nossos, por onde tomaram outro caminho, e não foram pelo direito para Tete; e outra carta de editos contra Diogo Simões.*

Depois que passaram o rio, e entraram nos rios de Marenga, acharam novas que o ouvidor em chegando a Tete, da volta que fez do caminho da Chicova, logo pôz uma carta de editos contra Diogo Simões, em que lhe mandava que dentro em nove dias apparecesse em Tete no seu juizo, para se livrar de casos crimes que tinha, sob pena de o sentenciar á revelia. Já fica dito que de Tete a Chicova são oito dias de caminho, e de volta são outros oito. Como era logo possivel o homem que estava na Chicova acudir em novo dias, quando para a nova lhe chegar, e elle vir pela posta, havia mister dezeseis dias? Além d'isto, como era justo que o ouvidor obrigasse a Diogo Simões vir a Tete a seu juizo, estando elle actualmente sustentando só com sua assistencia o forte da Chicova, tendo quasi por força os soldados que n'elle estavam? Antes, por mais casos crimes que tivesse, era bem dissimular-lhos por então, para que se não sahisse da Chicova, onde servia a sua Magestade; mas a paixão faz ordinariamente cegar os homens, aindaque lettrados, para que não vejam o que mandam, nem o que julgam, como se vê n'esta carta de editos que este ouvidor passou.

Acharam aqui tambem novas que o ouvidor tinha posto no caminho por onde haviam de passar para Tete dois mil cafres de guerra, assim de Tete, como do Marenga, com um capitão portuguez, que não nomeio por sua honra, e outros soldados portu-

guezes em sua companhia, para darem n'elles em certa paragem, onde estavam postos em cilada. Averiguada esta nova por certa, deixaram este caminho direito, por fugirem d'estes encontros, e caminharam pelos mattos, rodeando muitas leguas dois dias. Sabida sua retirada pelo capitão portuguez e cafres que os esperavam, ordenaram de lhes ir no alcance, e atravessaram os mattos, para lhes tomarem a dianteira, como fizeram, postoque nenhum portuguez foi em sua companhia, senão os cafres sómente, os quaes os seguiram com tanto cuidado e segredo que á segunda noite da sua retirada foram ter ao logar onde elles dormiam; e allí se deixaram estar embrenhados no matto, sem elles terem noticia d'elles; e esperavam dar n'elles como fosse alta noite, estando elles dormindo, e matar e roubar a todos; o que puderam fazer facilmente, porque elles estavam cansados e descuidados, e os cafres eram muitos e maus, sem piedade, nem temor de Deus.

Estando pois as cousas n'estes termos, cuidou o capitão portuguez no desatino que tinha commettido em mandar os cafres que fossem dar n'elles, sabendo que o cafre, por furtar, a ninguem perdoa, e mais ainda de noite, e que de todas as mortes e males que succedessem a elle se havia de dar a culpa, tanto como ao ouvidor que o mandára com tal empreza. Pelo que, remordido da consciencia, ou do mal que lhe podia vir ao diante, mandou logo um filho da terra, mulato, que sabia a lingua, que fosse com muita pressa onde os seus cafres estavam, e lhe dissesse da sua parte que não ferissem, nem matassem portuguez algum, mas que somente prendessem a Diogo Simões, se pudessem, e o trouxessem comsigo.

Fez o mulato o que lhe mandou o capitão, com tanto cuidado e diligencia, que sempre foi correndo por todo o caminho (como elle depois d'isto contou) até chegar onde estavam os cafres postos em cilada, e deu-lhes o recado do capitão. A que elles responderam: "Como é possível prendermos nós Diogo Simões sem haver mortes; e mais de noite, que ninguem se conhece? Pelo que, se nós não havemos de pelegar, escusemos de commetter os portuguezes, e tornemo-nos; porque se Diogo Simões escapar d'este assalto, e ficar vivo, não teremos nós vida: porque todo lho havemos de pagar depois, que ficamos na terra com elle, e o ouvidor vae-se para a India, e não se lhe dá de nós." Com este arrasoamento que alguns cafres fizeram, e com as amoações que lhe fez o mesmo mulato para que não déssem n'elles,

pareceu bem a todos tornarem-se logo para o seu capitão portuguez, como fizeram na mesma noite.

Os nossos, que estavam bem fora de lhes parecer que tal caso lhes podia succeder, no dia seguinte e dois mais foram seguindo sua derrota pelos mattos (sem saberem o perigo de que Deus os livrou aquella noite) até chegarem ás terras de Inhabanzo, que eram de Diogo Simões, onde seus vassallos o receberam, e lhe obedeceram como a senhor que era seu. Estas terras deu o Manamotapa a Diogo Simões, por quanto lançou d'ellas por força de armas ao levantado Matuzianhe, que as tinha tomado ao mesmo Manamotapa; nas quaes ha vinte e cinco povoações mui grandes, em que ha mais de dois mil homens de guerra. N'estas terras o deixaram os soldados e o dito padre, e os mais se vieram d'alli para Tete, que são nove, ou dez leguas de caminho, de modo que deixaram o caminho direito que vinha para Tete, em que haviam de pôr dois dias, ou tres quando muito, e vieram rodeando pelos mattos, em que gastaram seis dias; porque sahiram de Cachengue, e foram dormir a Inhamabira, e d'alli a Inhangoma sujeita ao Munguzy d'elrei, e d'alli passaram pela Antauara, e foram dormir ao rio Mufa, que tem de uma parte as terras da Bunga, e da outra as de Chambo. D'alli vieram a Inhabanzo, e dormiram no logar Inhambiroto, e d'alli a Mangindo, e d'alli a Tete.

## CAPITULO CLI.

*De como o ouvidor quiz encubrir a prata da Chicova, e declarou por levantado a Diogo Simões, e da guerra do Manamotapa, que veiu sobre Inhabanzo.*

Quando chegaram os nossos a Tete estava ainda n'elle o ouvidor, o qual, sabendo da chegada dos soldados da Chicova, os mandou chamar a todos juntos, e depois a cada um em particular, e perguntou-lhe se havia prata na Chicova; e todos lhe responderam que sim havia, e se tinham tirado das serras visinhas ao forte mais de trinta faraçolas. De que o ouvidor ficou mui sentido, porque pretendia encubrir esta prata, e apagar sua fama, por lhe ficar menos culpa de não justificar as minas, como o visorei lhe mandava; e para levar seu intento ávante, dizem que chamou a sua casa alguns soldados d'estes, e lhe fez testemunhar que não havia prata na Chicova; o que as mesmas testemunhas

depois descobriam, dando por sua má defeza que com medo do ouvidor testemunharam o que não era. Este instrumento diziam que levava o ouvidor para a India, em sua defeza; não advertindo que na mesma India, e n'estes rios, tinha testemunhas em contrario, mais verdadeiras, que era a mesma prata que se tirou da Chicova, feita em peças de pucaros e salvas, que não havia casado em Sena e Tete que deixasse de as ter, e na mão do visorei e de muitas pessoas da India pedras de prata que Diogo Simões lhe tinha mandado da Chicova, grandes e pequenas.

Vendo o ouvidor que não tinha remedio para prender a Diogo Simões, porque estava já seguro em suas terras, e obedecido dos cafres d'ellas seus vassallos, tornou a mandar recado ao Manamotapa que fizesse guerra a Diogo Simões, que estava em Inhabanzo, e lhe tomasse a terra que lhe tinha dado, e o matasse, se pudesse. Depois d'isto formou uma sentença contra Diogo Simões á sua revelia, em que o havia por levantado, por quanto largára o forte de São Miguel da Chicova; sem lhe dar mais outras culpas dos crimes que elle dizia ter em seu juizo contra Diogo Simões, quando lhe pôz a carta de editos, que se viesse livrar d'ellas a Tete; porque, se as tivera, vinha-lhe bem nomeal-as n'esta sentença para aggravar mais o caso, e ficar sua sentença mais justificada. Mas sómente a culpa de largar o forte lhe nomeou; não considerando que essa culpa se lhe podia dar a elle mesmo, pelo não querer soccorrer com o provimento que trazia da India para isso; e que primeiro que se largasse lhe manifestou, Diogo Simões, por cartas e protestos, que lhe acudisse com o necessario para sustentar o forte, e que não no fazendo que o haviam de largar; e que indo elle para a Chicova, e chegando já perto do forte de São Miguel, se tornou para Tete, sem deixar provimento aos soldados para a sustentarem. Finalmente, depois que promulgou esta sentença, se foi para Sena.

Estando o ouvidor em Sena quasi de caminho para se ir para Moçambique, lhe mandou dizer o Manamotapa, por seus embaixadores, que elle em pessoa viera com a guerra que lhe mandára pedir para dar em Diogo Simões e lhe tomar as terras de Inhabanzo; portanto que lhe mandasse o fato que lhe promettêra por isso. Os quaes embaixadores despediu o ouvidor, e não se soube com que resposta; mas d'ahi a um mez souberam que o Manamotapa deu sobre Diogo Simões e o fez sahir das terras de Inhabanzo, e lhas tomou, e d'alli veiu tomando e senhoreando as

mais terras de Tete, destruindo e roubando tudo por onde passava ; e depois de senhorear todo o territorio de Tete, mandou dizer ao capitão e povo do dito forte que o ouvidor Francisco da Fonseca Pinto lhe promettêra muito fato, se viesse tomar as terras de Inhabanzo a Diogo Simões, o que elle veio fazer em pessoa, e pois o ouvidor o enganou, e se foi sem lhe dar o fato que lhe prometeu, que elles lho haviam de dar, e quando lho não déssem que elle o viria buscar dentro a Tete. Ficaram os moradores de Tete mui inquietos com tal embaixada, e quasi que estiveram resolutos em largar Tete, e fugir para Sena ; mas tornando a considerar o mal que n'isso faziam e perda que recebiam deixando suas casas e egrejas aos cafres, que tudo haviam de pôr por terra, ajuntaram entre todos um presente de roupas e peças que mandaram ao Manamotapa, e com isso se quietou, por tambem estar contente de ter senhoreado todos os logares ao redor de Tete, e posto n'elles capitães de sua mão, e senhores novos, cafres seus mocarangas, ficando Tete como cercado de inimigos.

Diogo Simões, vendo-se perseguido de christãos e cafres gentios, se foi para outro cafre christão, por nome Quitambo, seu amigo, a quem tinha feito senhor das terras do Chombe e do forte que lhe tomou, como fica dito atrás. Com este cafre esteve pouco tempo, que foi em quanto o ouvidor esteve n'estes rios, e depois que elle se foi se tornou para Tete para sua casa, onde ficou esperando outra melhor ventura da que lhe veio com Francisco da Fonseca Pinto, ouvidor geral, e capitão mór. Onde se vê bem verificado o vulgar dito, que se diz, que cada um tracte em seu officio e deixe o alheio, o ouvidor e lettrado de sua judicatura e de revolver os livros para bem julgar os casos que lhe vieram á mão ; o capitão tracte das armas da milicia, e semelhantes empresas se entreguem a estes, porque sabem o estylo da guerra, sustentar e defender os fortes de sua Magestade, e premiar os soldados que os servem. E se um d'estes fora por capitão mór a provêr os fortes da Chicova nunca se elles largaram, nem perderam, nem Diogo Simões ficára no estado em que o ouvidor o deixou, depois de ter gastado quanto tinha n'esta conquista e serviço de sua Magestade ; postoque não deixa de haver excepção d'esta regra em muitos lettrados, que são mui sufficientes para a guerra e qualquer outro serviço de sua Magestade, como pelo discurso d'esta historia se poderá vêr.

O ouvidor Francisco da Fonseca Pinto se foi de Sena para Moçambique, levando, alem do muito porque vendeu as roupas de

Ruy de Mello, outra grão copia de dinheiro, de muitas penas que levou aos homens d'aquelles rios, em cuja viagem o deixaremos, para dar razão do que por outras partes n'este tempo succedeu.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

## EXTRACTS

FROM THE

DECADE WRITTEN BY ANTONIO BOCARRO,

*His Majesty's Chronicler for the State of India.*

### OF THE PERFORMANCES OF THE PORTUGUESE IN THE EAST.

His Majesty dispatched two galleons in the year 1612 direct to Mozambique,—on account of intelligence he had received that large fleets of English and Dutch ships were being fitted out to proceed to that place,—in order to provide the fortress with men and with all that it further required, after which the two galleons were to proceed to Goa. Antonio Pinto da Fonseca sailed in one of these galleons as commander in chief; he had fought in Flanders and won great fame and renown, for which reason his Majesty sent him to be inspector and chief superintendent of the fortresses of India. The captain of the other galleon was named João Cortes de Mendonça. Upon their arrival at Mozambique they found Dom Estevão de Ataide in the position of conqueror and discoverer of the silver mines.

After provisioning the fortress, Antonio Pinto, wishing to proceed to Goa with the two galleons, and desiring to take with him two of his relations whom he found married at Mozambique, quarrelled with Dom Estevão upon this matter. It is said that the latter, on the instigation of various ill-intentioned persons, set out from the fortress accompanied by soldiers, and by Pedro Alvares Pereira, who was judge of the fortress at the time, with a number of people to seize Antonio Pinto, who was then in the church of the fathers of the Society of Jesus. The plan was

attended with great risk, as Antonio Pinto also had men with him, but the fathers separated the combatants, and no further harm was done.

João Cortes de Mendonça did not wish to go to India as captain of his galleon, and received Antonio Pinto's license to remain behind for the purpose of proceeding to the rivers of Cuama, promising Dom Estevão de Ataíde to give him the silver which he should find or should discover there to take to his Majesty, which was not carried out, as no silver was found. His place in the galleon was taken by Manuel de Tavora, who had gone to Mozambique with reinforcements of men sent by the viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Tavora. It appears that Dom Estevão de Ataíde, still moved by the ill feeling referred to above, appointed Manuel de Tavora also commander in chief of Antonio Pinto's galleon, though the latter had been sent out as commander in chief by his Majesty. They arrived at the port of Goa in the month of September 1612, both flying the standard of Christ, and the viceroy Rui Lourenço on going down to the port saw two commanders in chief of two galleons, and having enquired into the matter, he commanded Manuel de Tavora immediately to lower the standard of Christ.

The trading vessels transacted their business in this year 1612, and three set sail from Lisbon bound to this State on the 27th of March, Hieronymo de Almeida sailing in one of them as commander in chief.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Concerning the orders given in Goa after the arrival of the ships, with reference to the fortress of Mozambique and its condition; and concerning the silver mines.*

His Majesty sent orders to the viceroy of this State by the ships of Dom Hieronymo de Almeida to put Ruy de Mello de Sampaio in possession of the fortress of Mozambique, from which he had been removed by the contract which the viceroy Ruy Lourenço had made with Dom Estevão de Ataíde concerning the conquest and discovery of the silver mines; and gave order that he should serve three years in full, without abating any of the time which he had served before he was removed. For which

purpose he commanded that Ruy de Mello should be notified of this order in Portugal, and that if he did not come, the other persons appointed to the succession of this fortress should be notified of it, that the one whose turn was reached might proceed to take command ; and if none of them should be found in India, he commanded the viceroy to send a person possessing qualifications and abilities in accordance with those usually required of the persons appointed to fortresses of this kind, who should employ himself in matters conducive to his royal service rather than in those of trade and commerce.

The viceroy Dom Hieronymo de Azevedo placed this before the council of state, when all were agreed that his brother Dom João de Azevedo could be sent as captain of the said fortress, because he had the qualifications required by his Majesty's order and command. As regards the sum of forty thousand xerafims per annum which the captains paid towards the ordinary expenses and garrison of the fortress, they decided that since Dom João de Azevedo was to go there for a year only, until the arrival of a person appointed by his Majesty who could not fail to arrive by the first ships, he should pay only twenty-five thousand xerafims, that according to his Majesty's command he might attend more to the security of the fortress than to acquiring gains and profits. This his Majesty did not approve of, but on the contrary commanded that the viceroy should pay out of his own property the fifteen thousand wanting to make up the forty thousand.

With reference to the mines his Majesty commanded that Dom Estevão de Ataide should entrust the conquest and discovery of them to Diogo Simões Madeira, who for many years had frequented the rivers of Cuama, and was besides in great favour with the emperor of Monomotapa, especially at that time when the latter, seeing himself deprived of his kingdom by his subjects, was much more friendly to us, and wishing to induce us to favour him and also to show gratitude for the great service which the Portuguese had rendered him, had made a donation to his Majesty of all the mines of gold, silver, and all other metals which might be found in his kingdom ; all of which is related in detail further on, with an account of all the lands and the past favours and the said assistance which he received from us, even though this belongs to other times than those of which I am writing ; because as the only purpose of this history is to tell the

truth, every other consideration appears small in comparison, and so also does the inconvenience arising from this account being given later on, as it was not obtained until after the book was finished, so that there was scarcely space for it. Finally our readers must not consider the order in which events are given so long as this does not prevent them from understanding what they wish to learn, because those from whom the information is obtained have so little idea of order that this gives as much trouble as searching for and verifying the information.

His Majesty also commanded that a chief judge from the supreme court of Goa should accompany the captain of Mozambique, to examine and try the former captains of Mozambique and also the aforesaid Dom Estevão de Ataide. The chief judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto was forthwith appointed to accompany the captain of the fortress, Dom João de Azevedo, to whom the viceroy, his brother, gave regulations, with many instructions as to what he was to perform in the fortress of Mozambique, as one who had been there himself and knew well what it required. Among these instructions, what he most recommended was the excavation of the trench on the land side as being a most important matter, pointing out to him how he was to take advantage of the young men, those who were married, and all other people fit for service, by which means the work could be done at less cost, since this work was as advantageous to his Majesty's service as it was beneficial to all. The said captain and the chief judge left in January 1613, and arrived at Mozambique without any accident, where one took possession of the fortress and the other proceeded to try cases in accordance with the orders he had received.

After Dom Estevão returned from the rivers he fell ill at Mozambique of a fever, which is very prevalent there, and of which he died. An inventory being taken of his goods, it was found that he possessed one hundred and ten thousand cruzados in gold, ivory, and other effects, which the chief judge deposited in the hands of his Majesty's factor to be disposed of according to law, and leaving the affairs of the conquest to the care of Diogo Simões Madeira, according to his instructions, he proceeded to Goa with the report of the cases which he had tried.

This was the end of Dom Estevão de Ataide and of all the promises and hopes with which he had been sent to conquer and

discover the silver mines. That there are mines there can be no doubt, as witness the stones found; and that they are in the neighbourhood of Chicova, where the first stones were discovered buried in the soil, although several officials have certified that neither the place nor the character of the soil is suited for mines. Later on we shall see where a great number of stones were found; and unless they should be discovered by a person who has other motives than those of taking part in the great gold trade carried on there with much facility and large gains, no advantage will be derived from them, but heavy expenses to his Majesty's treasury, and the oppression of his subjects residing in Mozambique, who deserve to receive every favour and advantage from his Majesty for their defence of that fortress, and for living in so unhealthy a country, their only inducement for doing so being some interest or gain to afford them means of support.

In the commencement of the month of January 1614, the viceroy further proposed to the council that as on account of the great scarcity of men it was impossible to send any to Mozambique, and in case the ships from the kingdom which had not arrived the year before, were not at that place, the said fortress should not be left in want and without sufficient defence against whatever enemy should attack it. All were agreed that if the ships were there it would be well, as there was no doubt they would leave a sufficient number of men in that fortress; but as it was possible the ships had not put in at that port, having received other orders from his Majesty, as had been given to the ships of the year before, in this doubt a fortress of such importance could not be thus imperilled, and it was advisable to succour it forthwith in every way.

As in India there were no men who could be sent to reinforce it, it was resolved that order should be given to Diogo Simões Madeira to send to its assistance the men whom Dom Estevão de Ataide had left at the rivers, because in that place there was nothing for them to defend and protect, nor were there any means of maintaining them there, as Dom Estevão had not made over to him any trade or anything belonging to his Majesty's treasury wherewith to support them. Besides which great complaints had been made, that the said Diogo Simões Madeira had seized the goods of the residents of the rivers, under pretext that it was for the purpose of maintaining these men, and it was feared that he

would seize everything, and the commerce be completely closed on this account, as the traders would not care to risk their merchandise. And even though this obstacle did not exist, and the said Diogo Simões had money with which to maintain these men, in a case of necessity the preservation and security of the fortress should always have precedence over everything else, as by means of it the conquest could always be effected, and without the fortress there could be no conquest. Therefore, in accordance with this decision, orders were sent to Diogo Simões at Mozambique, and he was informed at the same time that he was not to interfere with any of the merchandise of the traders, because if commerce should cease on this account it would be the worst evil which could befall the fortress.

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His Majesty dispatched two small vessels from the kingdom direct to the fortress of Mozambique, and they set sail from Lisbon in the year 1615. Ruy de Mello de Sampaio sailed in one called the *Boa Fortuna*, to be captain of the aforesaid fortress, and took possession of it on his arrival there; and Francisco de Sousa came out as captain of the other, which was lost at Cape Saint Augustine. While Ruy de Mello occupied thus the said captaincy, the residents of Mozambique wrote to the viceroy in the year 1616, making numerous complaints that he seized all the cloth sent there and also all that could be had outside, for which reason, and because the trading vessel which brought the cloth there had been lost in the preceding year and no other ship had passed since, there was no one in the present monsoon who cared to send a ship or goods there, for fear of the same result; especially knowing that Ruy de Mello had neither forwarded order or money for cloth to be sent to him, which confirmed them more in their suspicions that he profited by these seizures, as all believed, for which reason the person to whom was granted the voyage to Mozambique and the residents of the said fortress represented jointly to the viceroy that the trade ceasing, it was impossible for the captain to comply with the obligations of the contract made with his Majesty's treasury and had no means of maintaining the garrison and fortress, and they also having no means of trading for the support of their

houses and families, they were determined to abandon the country if no improvement were made in this matter.

The conquest and discovery of the silver mines, which had been entrusted to Diogo Simões Madeira, had been advanced by his discovering a quantity of pieces of silver ore in the same place where others had been previously discovered, though such a number of them had never been extracted before. These pieces of ore he sent to the viceroy Dom Hieronymo, informing him that some were dug up in his presence, and the rest in that of a relation of his named Diogo Teixeira Barros, who was captain of the fort which Diogo Simões had constructed in the same neighbourhood, and who asserted that these were the real silver mines. Other persons also wrote with reference to this matter, and gave it to be understood that the mines were discovered, although they also said that the pieces of ore which were dug up were discovered in loose earth, which might give rise to suspicion and might lead one to believe that they had been placed there, which had happened already in other instances when pieces of silver ore had been extracted; although those found on the present occasion were in much greater abundance.

As soon as Diogo Simões had discovered these stones, he proceeded to Tete to arrange for sending them to Goa, leaving in the said fort of Chicova the above-mentioned captain with about forty soldiers, some Kaffir slaves of the Portuguese, and other subjects of his Majesty. Knowing this, the monomotapa commanded his soldiers to be assembled to attack the said fort, which was done, it being attacked by a large body of Kaffirs with the intention of possessing themselves of it, and they came near enough to beat against the wood of which it was made, but the said captain and soldiers defended it so valiantly and killed such a great number of Kaffirs, that seeing they could not take possession of it they retired and left it. This fort was situated on the bank of the river Zambesi, so that the Kaffirs could not prevent those within from embarking in canoes, which are small boats made of one piece of wood, to cross to the other side when this was necessary, by which means the fort was always defensible and conveniently situated, so that we could support it, which was a great restraint on the monomotapa. On account of the scarcity of provisions for the soldiers, however, they wished to abandon it and come farther down the river. A very detailed account is

given further on of all the foregoing, and of what took place after the discovery of the mines. As the conquest was in the hands of Diogo Simões, he did not fail also to make use of his power by seizing part of what was sent to the rivers, under pretext of requiring it for the maintenance of the men whom he had with him for the discovery of the mines.

Both these reasons caused further obstacles to the commerce of the rivers, so that from them and from beyond them many complaints were sent to the viceroy, begging with great earnestness a suitable remedy to be applied with all despatch. Bearing in mind the importance of both matters, he assembled a council of state, to which he summoned not only those who generally assisted him, but also some of the chief judges of the supreme court of Goa, principally the chancellor of state, the judge of causes, the chief superintendent of the exchequer, the judge of criminal causes, the overseer of the general treasury, Pedro Correia de Azevedo, and the crown attorney, because as matters relating both to law and to property were to be dealt with, the viceroy wished that they all should confer upon the steps to be taken.

After conferring upon and discussing these questions with all the circumstances in connection with them, they agreed unanimously and decided that in the first place the viceroy should resolve as regards the complaints of the traders, both non-residents and residents of Mozambique, that the commerce should be continued, as this was the only means of support to them and to the captain, garrison, and fortress; and for the security of this commerce he should send a trustworthy chief judge, invested with authority as general overseer, with the powers given to an overseer of the treasury, who should assist the traders, and defend and protect them by the said powers from the violence which Ruy de Mello might wish to use towards them. This he was to do by two means, viz., by compelling him to make restitution to the traders for the cloth which he had taken from them, so that they should be contented and satisfied, or that he, the said general overseer, should go to the rivers with the cloth at the expense of the said captain, and deliver it to his factors, causing the cloth to be sold there and giving to the traders out of the proceeds the price agreed upon with the captain and to the factors the profits gained on the sale above this price, by which both

parties would be satisfied, bearing in mind that by the second means the captain, owing to the position in which he then was, would be unable to pay them ready money in Mozambique or to offer security that he would pay them later, and that he was the only purchaser in the place, as he held the monopoly of the rivers where the cloth was used.

To this they added that if all these measures did not suffice, and Ruy de Mello should use violence and by his power as captain should seize the cloth by force from the traders without paying them, and should take no heed of the notifications and intimations which the general overseer should make to him with reference to this matter, as might be feared by his past conduct, the said general overseer should in this case have power and orders to suspend him, having the necessary documents and papers to justify him in doing so; because they gathered that without this the merchants were unwilling to send their merchandise, as they had great cause to fear it would be seized in this way by desperadoes, and the residents of the country being so discontented for the same reason, some disturbance might take place by which the said fortress would be exposed to the danger of being lost.

It was further decided that the said chief judge should proceed to Chicova and examine the place where the pieces of silver ore were discovered, making a careful inspection to see whether they were in loose earth or whether it was a vein where there might be a mine; and finding that there was one, he should thank Diogo Simões in his Majesty's name for the discovery and assure him of the favours he would receive from the king, and should supply him with everything requisite for continuing the work and for the security of the fort which was built there. And on proving that there were no mines and that the pieces of ore had been brought there, as had happened on the other occasions, he should take careful measures to lay hands on Diogo Simões, and bring him back with caution, to prevent him from continuing to seize the traders' goods, under pretext of needing them for the mines. But if he could not seize him, by no means was he to allow this order to come to his knowledge, because as he was so familiar with the Kaffirs it would be to the prejudice and evil of his Majesty's service.

In accordance with this decision of the council of state, the

judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto was forthwith nominated, and orders were given to him as stated herein, another order being added to the effect that Salvador Vaz da Guerra should accompany him. This was done at his request, as he stated that in the event of his being compelled to depose the captain Ruy de Mello de Sampaio from the command of the fortress of Mozambique, according to the directions and orders which he had received, they should either name some person from those in the fortress whom he should appoint to replace him, or should send some one with him from that place for the purpose, as it was not advisable that a fortress of such importance should be left without a person of great consideration in command, that it might be prepared for any emergency, in view of the designs of European enemies who coveted it.

Under these circumstances the aforesaid chief judge set sail for Mozambique in January 1616. A great quantity of cloth was sent under his care, as all the merchants were confident that no violence would be done to them, but that they would be paid a fair price for it. If this plan were to be carried out in all the towns and fortresses of India, the commerce and trade would be so benefited thereby that it would be as much to the advantage of his Majesty's subjects as to his treasury, the latter always receiving the greater advantage, as it is not a matter of small importance to have rich and powerful subjects.

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Francisco da Fonseca Pinto arrived in safety at Mozambique with the vessels that had sailed in his company, in the monsoon of the following March 1616. Commencing his enquiry into the state of the fortress and with reference to the captain, Ruy de Mello, he questioned the married men and other people of the fortress, and received many complaints against the captain, especially from the trustees of orphans and absentees, who complained that he molested them and forcibly seized the money which they had in their care.

Francisco da Fonseca also found the soldiers of the fortress in rebellion against the said captain Ruy de Mello, on account of his having arrested three a short time previously, whom he ordered to be strangled within the fortress at night, declaring that they wished to rise in mutiny against him. To this the

soldiers further added that Ruy de Mello refused to pay the four cruzados for provisions every month, which his Majesty had commanded should be given to them. Resenting this, and there being besides no want of motives to induce them to act in this manner, they rose in rebellion, and one day proceeded to take refuge in the hermitage of Saint Antonio, declaring that they would not return to the fortress while Ruy de Mello was captain, but that if another was appointed they would immediately return to it. The chief judge Francisco da Fonseca proceeded to the hermitage to converse with the soldiers, appeased them as far as he was able, and induced them to return to the fortress. As he had orders to proceed to the rivers and to Chicova to obtain proofs of the silver mines, he commenced to make preparations for this expedition while in Mozambique.

The captain of the fortress, Ruy de Mello, fearing that Francisco da Fonseca would deprive him of his post, had barred the doors of the fortress; but one day, when the chief judge having made preparations with all speed was already on the eve of departure, Ruy de Mello opened a postern of the fortress without fear, knowing him to be ready to leave. Francisco da Fonseca, being on the alert to profit by any opportunity, entered the fortress by the postern with two men, old residents of Mozambique, leaving Salvador Vaz da Guerra with soldiers near at hand, so that on being summoned he might come immediately with all speed. In this manner having reached the presence of Ruy de Mello, the said chief judge deposed him from the captaincy of the fortress and deprived him of all rights in connection with it, according to the authority which he had received for the purpose; it being proved later, however, that he had not followed the orders given to him at the same time. And Salvador Vaz da Guerra having done homage for the said fortress, he put him in possession of it, and proceeded to the rivers of Cuama, having first drawn up a contract for the traders with some of the residents of Mozambique, who agreed to pay the fifth part. In this place cloth and other merchandise were very dear, on account of the loss of the trading vessel the year before, of which we have already spoken.

Immediately upon finding himself deprived of his post, Ruy de Mello prepared to set out for Goa, which he did during that same monsoon, and arrived there in May 1616. He forthwith

prepared to bring charges against the judge for having deprived him of office, in which pursuit we shall leave him, to give a more detailed account of the empire and lands of Monomotapa,—to which place, as we said, Francisco da Fonseca had set out,—notwithstanding the brief account given before.

## CHAPTER CXXII.

*Of the lands of Monomotapa, its mines, markets, and gold trade.*

The great empire of Monomotapa is crossed by an important and large river which the natives call the Zambesi, into which others flow in the space of the three hundred leagues which we have explored upwards from the mouth at present. It enters the ocean between Mozambique and Sofala, by four mouths flowing towards the south-east. The principal mouth is Quilimane, which is ninety leagues distant from Mozambique; the second is Cuama, which is twenty-five leagues farther towards the south; the third is Luabo, which is five leagues lower down; and finally the fourth, which is also five leagues farther to the south, is called Old Luabo. These arms, by which the great river enters the sea, form between them very large islands, exceedingly fertile in provisions, and one of them surrounded by the rivers and the sea is nearly sixty leagues in circumference.

Each of the mouths of Quilimane, Cuama, and Luabo may be entered by vessels of a hundred tons, which are galiots and pangayas, laden with goods and provisions. When they have entered the river their cargoes are discharged into other vessels, very light and long, which are called almadias, and each of these can contain from twenty to twenty-five bales of cloth of twenty-five corjas each. These almadias navigate sixty leagues up the river to the settlement of Sena, where about thirty married and some single Portuguese live with their slaves, fighting men, who serve as sailors on the almadias and guard their masters and the merchandise which they carry inland. From Sena the merchants go with their slaves laden with cloth to trade for gold at Manica, which is situated along the mountain range twenty days' journey south of Sena, and to Mocaranga, which is the kingdom of the emperor of Monomotapa.

From this settlement of Sena the same vessels go up the river

sixty leagues farther to another of our settlements called Tete, where there are fewer inhabitants than in Sena. From Tete the merchants of that land, in the same manner as those of Sena, go and trade for gold at the markets of Mocaranga, where the Kaffirs usually come to deal with the Portuguese. The first village and market is called Luanze, which is thirty-five leagues distant from Tete, also towards the south, between the river Inhadiri and Aruenha, both of which flow into the river Manzovo, and thence into the Zambesi, five leagues below Tete. The journey from Tete to Luanze is made in five days' hurried travelling according to the custom of the Kaffirs.

The second market is called Bocuto, which is also between two small rivers, forty leagues distant from Tete and thirteen from Luanze, almost crossways on the same range of hills.

The third market is that of Masapa, which is situated four leagues from the river Manzovo. This is the principal and largest of all. It is fifty leagues distant from Tete and ten from Bocuto. Close to this market is the great and rich mountain called Fura, very plentiful in gold, from which ancient Moorish tradition relates that the queen of Sheba took many camels' burdens of gold. In this village of Masapa, and in those of Bocuto and Luanze, there are churches with religious of the order of Saint Dominic, in which the divine offices are celebrated for the Portuguese and their slaves, who are numerous, for some of the Portuguese have more than three hundred, all Christians. There also resides in Masapa a Portuguese captain who is called the captain of the gates, asked for by the monomotapa and appointed by the traders by order of the captain of Mozambique. Through this captain the monomotapa treats of all that he thinks proper or that transpires between his people and the Portuguese; and messages are sent through him. He is called the captain of the gates, because no one can go inland from Masapa or confer with the king without his license and order.

This land of Monomotapa is more than three hundred leagues in circumference, and the greater part of it abounds with gold. Here the Portuguese come with their slaves to trade for gold with cloth, and the natives appointed to sell the gold come to this market for the purpose. It is worthy of note to see the excessive force with which nature produces and forms this metal, for it is known from persons worthy of credit that in the mountain of

Fura from a quarry containing earth mixed with gold more than four hundred thousand cruzados were extracted in a short time, and some Portuguese saw a vein of gold growing in the pith of the trunk of a certain tree, and digging in the spot where the tree stood they extracted ten or twelve thousand cruzados in a short time; but dug no deeper for fear of the titular lords of the lands, who strictly forbid the working of rich mines, and hence many are unopened.

In some parts nuggets of natural gold have been found on the surface of the earth, weighing four thousand cruzados, others weighing one thousand five hundred cruzados, and other smaller pieces, and an infinite number of fragments large and small. It is known that the Kaffirs do not dig in some of the other mines because there are no rivers in which to wash the gold from the earth with which it is mixed, for they do not know how to extract it in any other manner, nor how to make the necessary implements with which to extract it from the bowels of the earth; and they are so lazy and given to an easy life that they will not exert themselves to seek gold unless they are constrained by necessity for want of clothes or provisions, which are not wanting in the land, for it abounds with them, namely millet, some rice, many vegetables, large and small cattle, and many hens. The land abounds with rivers of good water, and the greater number of the Kaffirs are inclined to agricultural and pastoral pursuits, in which their riches consist.

### CHAPTER CXXIII.

*Of the kingdoms and lordships subject to the monomotapa, the officials of his household, and the wives he has, properly so-called, or as state titles.*

It has already been stated that the kingdoms and lands of Monomotapa have a circumference of more than three hundred leagues, the dominion of which is divided among petty kings and other lords with fewer vassals who are called inkosis or fumos, and all are vassals of Monomotapa. I shall here name the principal ones, which are: the kingdom of Mongas, of which Inhamorera is king; Baroe, of which Macobe is king; Manica, of which Chicanga is king; Boessa, of which Inhachiroy is king; Maungo, of which

Macone is king; the kingdom of Zimba, which has on the southern side the kingdom of Butua and on the north the lands of Urupande; Chigüe, of which Inhangua is king; Chiria, of which Macota is king; Chidima, of which Inhamozama is king; Boquiza, of which Inhampunga is king; Inhabanzo, of which Maximira was king, and Diogo Simões Madeira was lord, it having been bestowed upon him by the monomotapa when he drove out of it the rebel Matuzianhe, of which I will treat at length hereafter; the kingdom of Chiruvia, of which Bucurume is king; Condesaca, of which Mocomoaxa is king; Daburia, of which Ningomoxa is king, the second person in the state of Monomotapa, and his governor; Macurube, of which Antova, Monomotapa's uncle, is king; Mungussy, the kingdom of Inhacanemba, great wife of Monomotapa; Antauara, the kingdom of Chicuma; Choe, the kingdom of Ambuya; Chungue, the kingdom of Chicoapa; Diza, the kingdom of Madungue; Romba, the kingdom of Inhamacarenga; Russini, the kingdom of Inharuca; the kingdoms of Chirao, and many other dominions which are not called kingdoms.

Besides all these there is also a larger and principal kingdom, which is that of Mocaranga, where the monomotapa resides with his court, and most of these lords or their sons, of whom the monomotapa makes use. There is also another kingdom adjoining this Mocaranga, which is the kingdom of Beza, where there is a palace of the ancient monomotapas, which the Kaffirs hold to be a supreme piece of work. All the monomotapas are buried there, and it serves them as a cemetery.

The dwelling in which the monomotapa resides is very large, and is composed of many houses surrounded by a great wooden fence, within which there are three dwellings, one for his own person, one for the queen, and another for his servants who wait upon him within doors. There are three doors opening upon a great court-yard, one for the service of the queen, beyond which no man may pass, but only women, another for his kitchen, only entered by his cooks, who are two young men from among the principal lords of his kingdom, his relations in whom he has most confidence, and the lads who serve in the kitchen, who are also nobles between fifteen and twenty years of age. These are also employed to lay the food when the king wishes to eat, which they spread upon the ground, upon a carpet or mat, with muslin

extended above, and many different kinds of meat are set before him, all roasted or boiled, such as hens, pigeons, partridges, capons, sheep, venison, hares, rabbits, cows, rats, and other game, of which, after the king has eaten a portion is given to some of his servants who are always provided from his table.

The third door leads to the king's apartments, which none may enter but the young nobles who serve him within doors, who are all from fifteen to twenty years of age and are called *massacoriras*, and are the sons of the nobles of his kingdoms and have their captain who looks after and commands them. When they are twenty years of age, and upwards, they are withdrawn from the service of the king within doors, and others are put in their place. The reason of this is that the king will not be served by those who know a woman, but only by these youths, who are enjoined to observe chastity as long as they serve the king, and if any one is found guilty of the opposite vice he is severely punished and expelled from the king's service. Thus when they reach the age of twenty they render out-door service, and live out of the palace; they are then called *maueiros*, and the king gives them lands from which to subsist. These have also their captain, and they continue in this service for several years. Afterwards they are called *chuireiros*, and under this name they serve as ambassadors, and in such posts and offices as the king gives to their charge, until lands and large houses fall vacant, of which he makes them lords, either of such as belonged to their fathers or by virtue of new grants.

The officers of the king's household are as follows: Ningomoxa, who is the governor of the kingdoms; Mocomoaxa, captain general; Ambuya, chief major-domo, whose charge it is when Mazarira, the king's great wife, dies, to name another Mazarira to inherit her house and state, and she must be from among the king's sisters; Inhantouo, the chief musician, to whom all the king's other musicians, who are very numerous, are subject, and he is a very great lord; Nurucao, who is chief captain of the vanguard in time of war; Bucurume, which signifies the king's right hand; Maguende, the chief wizard; Netambe, the king's apothecary, who keeps his spells and unguents; and Nehonho, the chief door-keeper. All these are great nobles, and have lands and vassals. There are many other officers of lower rank, whom it would be unending and tedious to enumerate.

The monomotapa has many chief wives, who are like queens. Most of them are his relations or sisters, and others are the daughters of the kings and lords who are his vassals. The principal one is called Mazarira, who is always one of the king's sisters. She is the mother of the Portuguese, speaks for them, and treats of their concerns with the king, therefore the Portuguese send their presents to her; and the monomotapa sends no ambassador to the Portuguese without one of Mazarira's servants with him. The second wife is called Inhahanda, and speaks for the Moors. The third is called Nabuiza; she is his real wife, for she is the only one who lives in the palace with the king. The fourth is called Nauemba; the fifth Nemangore; the sixth Nizingoapangi; the seventh Nemangoro; the eighth Nessanhi; and finally the ninth is called Necharunda. All these are the king's chief wives, and have houses and estates of their own, as have all the king's officers, and many lands and vassals, and some of these women have kingdoms pertaining to their houses. When one of them dies some other woman is put in her place by the king, and succeeds to her house, state, and name. They all have jurisdiction over their vassals, to punish or put them to death for their offences.

In the houses of these women the king has many more, whom he uses at his pleasure, ordering them to come to his house, and all obey the chief wives in whose houses they live, and wait upon them as their servants. The king sometimes goes to the houses of these chief wives, and sometimes commands them to come to his; but the wife he chiefly makes use of is Nabuiza, who lives in his palace with him, where she has her service and officers like the king.

#### CHAPTER CXXIV.

*Of the customs of the Mocarangas, their holidays, courts of justice, and superstitions.*

The monomotapas are generally of the Mocaranga nation, who are a feeble people, and have no weapons of defence, fortresses, or walled cities. Their weapons of offence are bows, arrows, and assagais. They are a barbarous people, without law or idols, and they adore nothing whatever; nevertheless they know that there is a God in heaven. They believe that their kings go to heaven,

and when they are there they call them muzimos, and ask them for whatever they require. They also know that there is a devil, and that he is evil. They call him Muzuca. They have no books or writings, and cannot read or write; and all past events which have occurred among them are known by tradition. They are a people well disposed to receive baptism, as experience has proved, for none of those who have been in the power of the Portuguese have shown any repugnance to become Christians, and after being instructed not one has been known to forsake the faith.

The monomotapa has two qualities, which are rather those of a God fearing Christian than of a barbarian. The first is that his indoor servants are not women, but chaste youths who have never known a woman, and if they do so while in his service they are at once expelled from it, and severely punished, as has been said before. The second is that he shows great charity to the blind and maimed, for these are called the king's poor, and have land and revenues for their subsistence, and when they wish to pass through the kingdoms, wherever they come food and drink are given to them at the public cost as long as they remain there, and when they leave that place to go to another they are provided with what is necessary for their journey, and a guide, and some one to carry their wallet to the next village. In every place where they come there is the same obligation, under penalty that those who fail therein shall be punished by the king.

They have six holidays in every month, which they divide into three weeks of ten days each, counting from the day of the new moon to the last day of that moon, and thus they allow thirty days to each month. In the first week they keep the fourth day of the moon and the seventh; and when the first ten days are done they begin to count another ten, and they keep the fourth, which is the fourteenth day of the moon, and the seventh, which is the seventeenth day of the moon; and when the second ten days are done they begin to count another ten days, and keep the fourth day, which is the twenty-fourth day of the moon, and the seventh, which is the twenty-seventh; and when the three tens are done they begin a new month with the appearance of the new moon. In this they are so correct that they never mistake a day of the moon.

On these holidays the Kaffirs put on the best pieces of cloth they have, and the king hears all causes, so that these are the audience days for them. While he hears causes he is always standing with two small staves in his hands, about three-quarters of a yard long, and the parties are prostrate on the ground. These audiences often last from morning till evening, without the king ever sitting down, and when he cannot give audience because of some hindrance it is held by his governor Ningomoxa. On the eighth day of the moon no one speaks to the king or enters his palace, for this day is ill-omened, and no matter of importance is begun or ordered upon it.

On the day of the new moon the king is accustomed to *pemberar* in his house with two assagais in his hands, which means to run to and fro in a feigned fight, and as if avoiding blows aimed at him. At this feast, held by the king, all the nobles and lords are present at court, and after the *pemberar* he orders a large pan of cooked grains of millet, which he has had prepared, to be brought in, and with his own hands he scatters it on the ground, bidding his people eat, because millet springs from the earth, and he is the lord thereof, and they are his vassals; and the Kaffirs gather up the grains of millet from the ground, vying with each other as to which shall gather up most, and then they eat it before the king, with as much relish as though it were sweetmeats.

The day of the new moon in the month of May is their great feast, which they call *chuauo*, at which all the lords in the kingdoms appear, excepting such as have the title of kings, for these, although they are the vassals of Monomotapa, and pay him tribute, never come to his court, or leave their own kingdoms; but all the other lords, who are innumerable, are present at these feasts, and all *pemberam*, which means skirmish with assagais in their hands, attacking and menacing each other therewith, as though in warfare. The monomotapa watches the skirmish from a seat, and in this manner, to the sound of drums and trumpets, they spend the whole day. The king withdraws at night, and no one sees him again for eight days, during which time the king's drums are sounded day and night with a loud noise, for they are many and very large, after the fashion of kettledrums. On the eighth day of the moon the monomotapa orders one of the nobles against whom he has some ill-will to be

put to death, and with his death, which he offers to his mozimos as a sacrifice, the feast comes to an end, the drums cease, and each one returns to his house and lands.

These Mocarangas have many other abuses and superstitions, but it would take too long to give an account of them all. It has been shown how powerful the monomotapa is, both in lands and subjects, and how much feared, venerated, and obeyed he was by all. It will now be shown how fickle fortune turned her wheel against him, and brought him to a very miserable condition, as will appear in the following narrative; for which reason he availed himself of the help of the Portuguese, and made them a gift of the silver mines, which is the purpose of this treatise, though it is necessary to go back some years to reach the commencement of this history.

#### CHAPTER CXXV.

*How a powerful Kaffir king called Chunzo made war on Monomotapa, and how the Portuguese succoured and defended him from Chunzo's captains.*

In this vast region of Ethiopia lives a Kaffir named Chunzo, a powerful king with many subjects, whose dominions and kingdoms extend along the river Zambesi inland to the west, some of Monomotapa's lands lying opposite on the other side of the said river, which thus forms the limit of both kingdoms. This Chunzo, envying the great power and dominion of Monomotapa, resolved to make war upon him and win from him the neighbouring kingdoms, trusting to his people being more warlike than Monomotapa's. Therefore he chose two of his captains who were very valiant, and sent them in different directions with forces to enter the aforesaid lands and conquer them. This was in the year of our Lord 1597, when Nuno da Cunha was captain of Mozambique. Chunzo's captains undertook this enterprise with great care.

The principal captain, called Capampo, entered the lands of the kingdom of Maboe, which are situated along the river Zambesi, made himself master of them, and then attacked the lands of Chirungo, Chironga, and Nhanha, which are very rich in gold, where the captain of Masapa and other Portuguese

merchants go and trade. Monomotapa, knowing the great damage which Capampo was doing in his territories, promptly ordered a large army to be assembled, of which he made Ningomoxa, his governor and the second person in his kingdom, the chief captain.

At the same time he sent his ambassadors to the Portuguese, who were in Mocaranga, to ask them if they would accompany his army to assist in driving Capampo out of his country. The Portuguese agreed very willingly, because of the advantage they would derive from the land being free of robbers, and immediately set out to accompany the army of Monomotapa. But Capampo, hearing of the preparations made against him and that the army was accompanied by Portuguese armed with guns, would not await their coming, but retreated from the said country, and on the way he burned all the provisions he could find. Our people, therefore, who were following him had nothing to eat, and were constrained by hunger to turn back and abandon their pursuit of the enemy. The monomotapa took this so ill, and was so enraged at it, that he ordered Ningomoxa, his captain general, to be put to death, although he was his uncle and the second person in his kingdom; and from his death arose all the evils which afterwards fell upon the monomotapa, brought about by the relations of Ningomoxa, as I shall afterwards relate.

The second of Chunzo's captains, who was called Chicanda, penetrated a different part of the country, that which lies along the river Marope, where there were many slaves of the Portuguese acting as traders, and defeating and robbing them of everything, he passed on and took up a position along the river Motambo, which is near the court of Monomotapa; and, fearing that the king might attack and destroy him, he sent ambassadors with a rich present, saying that he had entered his kingdoms without his leave, for which he asked pardon, but his intention in so doing was to serve him and be his vassal rather than that of Chunzo, and he begged him to accept him as such and grant him leave to settle in the lands where he then was.

The monomotapa accepted him as his vassal and made a servant of his enemy, preferring rather the obedience of this captain than to make war against him and meet with another misfortune as in the case of the other captain, Capampo; and

he gave him leave to settle in that land according to his desire. Here Chicanda remained quietly for two years, at the end of which he rebelled against Monomotapa, and began to attack some of the lands belonging to his wives, which were situated in that part of the country, committing such ravages therein that the monomotapa was obliged to ask succour from the captain of Mozambique, who was then Dom Alvaro de Abranches. Dom Alvaro died at this time, and the inhabitants of Sena and Tete arranged to assist the monomotapa, both in order to please him and because of the thefts and losses they had suffered from the rebel Chicanda. Seventy-five Portuguese and two thousand Kaffirs, vassals of Sena and Tete, assembled, and they elected as their captain Belchior de Araujo, who was the actual captain of Tete.

Having assembled at Tete, they set out in company with the ambassadors of Monomotapa, who cleared the roads for them and supplied them with many provisions until they reached the fort of Chicanda. They found it surrounded by thirty thousand Mocarangas, subjects of Monomotapa, whose captain general was Mocomoaxa; but Chicanda, who had only six hundred fighting men with him, made so little account of the thirty thousand Mocarangas who had surrounded him that he attacked them by day and night, killing and wounding them.

Our men, when they were in sight of the fort, encamped near it, and made a lager. The enemy's fort was very high and built of thick strong wood; it was surrounded by a trench twenty-five palms in depth and as many in width; and it had a wall of earth taken from the trench banked very high against the wood, with loopholes for arrows with which to molest the Mocarangas. While our people were resting from their journey they made large wickerwork screens, open at the back and covered at the top, which could hold fifty Kaffirs, who carried them before them like a wall until they reached the enemy's fort, without the arrows harming those who carried them. There were loopholes in these screens, through which our Kaffirs discharged their arrows and the Portuguese their guns, and in this manner they reached and attacked the fort, and filled up the trench. The battle lasted from morning until night, when the enemies, seeing that they were almost defeated, and that many of them were killed, chiefly with balls, asked the Portuguese to

promise them their lives, and then they would surrender. Their offer, however, was not accepted, because the monomotapa wished to exterminate them, and an answer was returned that the next day the punishment they had deserved would be completed.

On hearing this reply the enemy did not wait for the morrow, but sallied out of the fort at dead of night, and, breaking through on the side of the Mocarangas, fled, but not so successfully as they expected, for many were killed in the attempt. Our people entered the fort at dawn, and found much spoil, of which they took possession. They then sent word to the monomotapa of what they had done, and asked whether his highness required any further service at their hands. The monomotapa sent them his thanks for the service they had rendered him, and said they might return to their homes. Upon this answer from the king, the Portuguese took leave of the Mocarangas, and set out for Masapa, and thence to Tete. And from that time forth the king allowed the Portuguese to enter his country with guns, a thing which was strictly forbidden by him before.

#### CHAPTER CXXVI.

*How many powerful Kaffirs, vassals of the monomotapa, rebelled against him, and of the victories gained over the rebels by the Portuguese.*

It has already been related that the monomotapa ordered his uncle Ningomoxa to be put to death. His execution was deeply lamented by his relations and friends, who were the foremost in the kingdom, and therefore they all conspired to rebel against the monomotapa, which they accordingly did. Chiraramuro rose in revolt and attacked the territory of Antauara, of the greater part of which he took possession. On hearing this the monomotapa immediately prepared an army to act against him, and at the same time sent to ask assistance from Francisco da Cunha, captain of Masapa, who assembled all the Portuguese he could, and with them joined the king's army in order to accompany it. Chiraramuro, on learning of his coming, fled before his arrival, and hoping to obtain assistance from another powerful Kaffir of the kingdom, his friend, he went to him, expecting to find refuge and protection. But it proved otherwise, for the Kaffir

cut off his head, and took it to the monomotapa, fearing he would accuse him of harbouring and defending his enemy. The army therefore returned without fighting, but burned all the rebel's villages, which were numerous.

This Chiraramuro had a captain named Matuzianhe, of whom it was said that he had been a cowherd, but he was a man of great spirit and lofty ambition, for after the death of his master Chiraramuro, he rose against the monomotapa in his stead, and showed such valour that he made himself the chief of all the rebels, and styled himself King of Mokaranga, with the consent of most of those who followed him, out of hatred to the monomotapa. As head of the rebels he divided the lands of Monomotapa among them, that each one might wage war against him on his own side, and work him all possible harm. He placed the rebel Anconhe in the lands of Antauoa; the lands of Nhemboe, which abound with provisions, fell to the second rebel, Chirouadanda; the third, named Inhamazino, went to the mountain of Quizinga; and Matuzianhe himself remained in the mountains of Matarira, which lie between Masapa and the court of the monomotapa.

These four rebels, dispersed in this manner in the kingdom of the monomotapa, made war upon him, wasting and ravaging the surrounding lands and obstructing the roads so that the Portuguese and their traders could not come or go in safety with their merchandise. They therefore resolved to attack the rebels at Quizinga and Antauoa, for these were the nearest to our markets; and to this end the traders of Tete assembled and went with fighting men to Masapa, whence they marched to attack Quizinga, Diogo Simões Madeira being captain of the company. They attacked and defeated the enemies, and obliged them to render obedience to the Portuguese; and they interfered in their affairs no more.

On the other hand Antonio Ferreira, who was then captain of Masapa, assembled the traders who were in Mokaranga with their slaves and went to attack Anconhe, who was in the lands of Antauoa. Anconhe, however, would not fight with him, but sent him word that the road and the land belonged to him and the Portuguese, and he was his friend and did not wish to have war with him, but on the contrary would serve him in whatever lay in his power. Upon receiving this embassy from Anconhe,

Antonio Ferreira returned to Masapa without fighting him. The Kaffir was as good as his word, and did no harm to the Portuguese cause, but made war against the monomotapa as well as he could, counting him his enemy.

The monomotapa, seeing that his enemies were multiplying and did not cease molesting him, resolved to form a camp and make war upon them, in order to destroy them all; and therefore he sent to ask for assistance from the Portuguese of Sena when Sebastião de Macedo was captain of Mozambique, which was not given to him, because the captain was in Mozambique, and his factor, João Fragoso, who was in Sena, excused himself from it. The monomotapa therefore again sent his ambassadors to Antonio Ferreira, captain of Masapa, and to the other Portuguese who were with him, complaining bitterly that they refused to assist him, at the same time saying that since they would not help him from Sena, he and the other Portuguese who were in his kingdom should prepare themselves to aid him against his enemies, and if they would not do so he was ready to go against Matuzianhe, but would first attack Masapa, and would order all the Portuguese in his kingdom to be plundered.

Upon receiving this message the captain was troubled, and not knowing what answer to make, he sent the king's ambassadors to Diogo Simões Madeira, a resident of Tete, whom we have already mentioned, who having previously assisted the emperor against his enemies and moved by the benefits he had received, did not refuse to set out. Assembling therefore as many Portuguese of Sena and Tete as he could, he went to our trading stations, from which he took many others, who with all their slaves made a very competent army, with which he presented himself before the emperor, who received him with great satisfaction and joy, having already experienced how effectual was his favour and assistance.

He formed his army without delay, and set out with it to attack the enemies, over whom he gained some victories, of which such a complete report cannot be obtained as of the others, and therefore they are not described in such detail. However, it is known that the Portuguese were the principal cause of his success, and therefore the monomotapa in gratitude to Diogo Simões, their leader, promised with great liberality to give him all the silver mines in his kingdom, as what he most valued; and afterwards for these and other greater victories Diogo Simões induced the emperor to

make a donation to his Majesty of all the mines of gold or other metals which might be in the whole of his kingdom, as will be hereafter related.

## CHAPTER CXXVII.

*Of the donation which Gasse Lucere, emperor of Monomotapa, made to his Majesty of all the silver and gold mines in his empire.*

As the principal reason which induced me to go back to the time before the commencement of this history was to give perfect information of the great justice with which his Majesty seeks the discovery and dominion of the silver mines of Monomotapa, it seemed necessary to introduce the said donation here, of which I found the authentic document in the possession of a person of credit, and which is now in the archives of this State of India, in the city of Goa, of which the following is a true copy:—

Copy of the document, and donation, which the emperor Monomotapa ordered to be made in this camp, on the bank of a river named Manzovo.

“On the first of August of the year 1607, the emperor Monomotapa being encamped along a river called Manzovo, opposite some villages, namely one called Marenga, and another called Inhamacoto, Diogo Simões Madeira, captain of the force which came to assist the said emperor Monomotapa, treated on the day abovementioned of several matters of importance to the service of God and of his Majesty, as he had done many times before, and by reasons which he gave to the said emperor Monomotapa, he obtained a grant to his Majesty of all the mines of gold, copper, iron, pewter, and lead, to be found in the whole of his empire, which the said emperor granted in the manner and form desired by the said captain Diogo Simões Madeira; and he said to the said Diogo Simões Madeira, in the presence of me, the secretary, that he should assemble all the Portuguese who were with him, as he wished to give his Majesty the mines he asked for, in presence of them all.

“Therefore on the said day, in the month and year above mentioned, the chief captain ordered the drums to be sounded, and proclamation made, summoning every person of whatever

condition to accompany him before the emperor Monomotapa, which was necessary for the service of his Majesty. He ordered me, the secretary, to draw up this document, and I pledge my word that everything above mentioned really took place, and that I was present at the time, in witness whereof I signed myself, together with the said captain, in the camp of the emperor Monomotapa, on the day, month, and year aforesaid. And I, Miguel Nunes, the secretary who wrote it, signed myself with my plain customary signature, such as it here appears.

“ And the same day the captain Diogo Simões Madeira went to the quarters of the said emperor Monomotapa with all the Portuguese who were in his company, and said to the emperor Monomotapa that all the Portuguese were there, in whose presence he might say what he had arranged with him, the said captain Diogo Simões Madeira, and then the emperor spoke as follows, in the presence of all :—

“ I, the emperor Monomotapa, think fit and am pleased to give to his Majesty all the mines of gold, copper, iron, lead, and pewter which may be in my empire, so long as the king of Portugal, to whom I give the said mines, shall maintain me in my position, that I may have power to order and dispose therein in the same manner as my predecessors have done up to the present time, and shall give me forces with which to go and take possession of my court and destroy a rebellious robber named Matuzianhe, who has pillaged some of the lands in which there is gold, and prevents merchants trading with their goods.

“ And the said emperor further said that he asked his Majesty to accept him as his brother in arms, and that he did not send his ambassadors at once because they were so much occupied by the war, but he begged Diogo Simões Madeira, the captain, to write to the viceroy of India and inform him of all that had occurred, that he might send him some forces for the preservation of his empire, and also a couple of horses for him, the said emperor, to ride on, and in the course of the year, God willing, he would deliver to the captain Diogo Simões Madeira the prince, his son, and Samangana, his ambassador, that he might conduct them to the viceroy of India with his embassy.

“ The said emperor Monomotapa also said in presence of the said Diogo Simões Madeira and the other Portuguese who were present, that he gave his son, the prince, to be conducted to

India with the ambassador Samangana, in confirmation of all he had agreed upon with the said captain Diogo Simões Madeira, and which is contained in this document.

“The said emperor further said, in presence of all, that he had given him two of his sons to teach and to keep in his house, and had also promised him two daughters, and he said in presence of all, that he, the said Diogo Simões Madeira, might make them all Christians, with which he, the said emperor, would be well content.

“And the captain Diogo Simões Madeira dealing with the said emperor concerning the silver mines, he answered him in the presence of all: ‘The silver mines are yours, I have given them to you for the many services you have rendered me in my wars, you may give them to his Majesty if you please, since they are yours, and I have given them to you.’ Then the said Diogo Simões Madeira answered the said emperor in presence of all, that since he had given him the silver mines, he, Diogo Simões, gave them to his Majesty, as he had asked for and acquired them as his subject. The emperor then said to Diogo Simões Madeira that he should cause documents to be drawn up of all he had publicly said, and that he, the said emperor Monomotapa, would sign them. And Diogo Simões Madeira, asking him what mark he would make, since he could not read or write, he answered in the presence of all: ‘I will do thus,’ and he made three crosses on the ground with his own hand, and said ‘this is my mark.’ And he, the emperor, said that he protested that all he gave and promised to his Majesty he would abide by and maintain, and at no time could the contract herein contained be broken; and he, the emperor, so willed, ordered, and commanded, and was content with it.

“In witness whereof there signed, with the captain Diogo Simões Madeira, the other witnesses who were present, who are as follows: Friar João Lobo, vicar of the church of Luanze, Friar Manuel de São Vicente, vicar and assistant in the army of Monomotapa during this war, Estevão Moreira, Francisco Gago, Francisco Madeira, Fernão Rodrigues, Manuel Borges, Domingos Cardoso, Nicolau Alvares, Manuel Fernandes Leitão, Francisco Nunes Malho, Francisco de Moura, Gaspar Pereira Cabral, Francisco Dourado, Manuel da Fonseca, Manuel Pinto, Luis Aranha Caldeira, Antonio de Montarroio, Diogo Nunes, Matheus

Rodrigues, Pedro de Abreu, Manuel Castanho, Antonio Rodrigues, Francisco Rodrigues, Domingo Fernandes de Almeida, Gaspar Coelho Bandeira, and also many other Portuguese whom I do not mention by name here, as they did not know how to write, but who made their marks.

“And I, the said Miguel Nunes, secretary, certify that I was present at all this, and all truly passed as is set down, upon the oath I have taken in virtue of my office. In witness of which I have myself signed here, and the said emperor Monomotapa, and Diogo Simões Madeira, captain of the forces. And I, Miguel Nunes, the secretary of the said army of the said emperor, copied this from the original, which is in my hands, faithfully and truly, adding nothing and omitting nothing. In witness whereof I here sign myself with my plain and customary signature, as follows, in this camp of the emperor Monomotapa, the day, month, and year aforesaid.

“Miguel Nunes,  
Diogo Simões Madeira.”

Below is the mark of Monomotapa.

“The em + peror  
Mono + motapa  
Gasse + Lucere.”

Gasse Lucere is his private name. Lucere means the eighth day of the new moon, which they call Lucere, and it is a holy day among the Mocarangas; and thus he is called Gasse Lucere, which signifies great, holy.

#### CHAPTER CXXVIII.

*Of what befel the army of Monomotapa in company of the Portuguese when they went in search of Anconhe, and how they defeated him.*

Having made this donation in the manner aforesaid, the army of the emperor set out with our Kaffirs, vassals of Tete, in the van, and the other Portuguese with Diogo Simões in the rear. It happened in this place that when they struck their camp and set out upon their way, a soldier named Gaspar Pereira Cabral, who was wounded by an arrow in the mountain of Chibenga, was left behind, because the Kaffirs who carried him on their

shoulders in a litter, which they call a *machira*, fled and abandoned him. Diogo Simões, hearing that this soldier was left behind complaining of his fate and of him for thus abandoning him, returned in search of him with a mulatto slave of his, and between them they took the litter on their shoulders and carried the said wounded soldier, Gaspar Pereira, a part of the way, until they found other Kaffirs to carry him. I record this act of charity and humility, which Diogo Simões, being captain, performed for this soldier, as an example to others who may wish to be beloved by their soldiers, as he was in this war of which we are speaking.

The army of the monomotapa went forward in the order aforesaid, of which the enemies were not informed, and therefore they attacked it in the van, as they had done before, but finding the resistance different from what they expected, and that our people were killing them like hens, they turned their backs, and our people pursuing them, wounded and killed as many as they overtook, and recovered the standards that they had taken from the monomotapa's people the day before. So utter was the defeat which the enemy suffered at their hands, that Anconhe never raised his head again, but fled defeated to the mountain of Quizinga where the other rebels had fortified themselves, of which Gurapaza, of whom I have spoken, was lord. Our people sacked nine large villages where he dwelt with his people, in which they found much spoil, and finally they set fire to them and rased them to the ground.

The monomotapa, finding that nothing more was to be done there, and satisfied with this victory, withdrew, and encamped upon the river Manzovo, whence he had set out, and where his wives and children were. On arriving there he sent for Diogo Simões, and told him that he was very well pleased with the victories which with his assistance he had obtained over his enemies, and that he would make no further war that year, therefore he might return at once with his people. Diogo Simões, who was already annoyed at so much fighting with barbarians, rejoiced greatly at the resolution of the monomotapa, and immediately prepared to return to Tete, of which he was captain. He took with him two of the monomotapa's sons, whom he had given him to be instructed and made Christians.

Diogo Simões kept these youths in his house, teaching them

and bringing them up as though they were his sons, and when they had been instructed in the faith they were baptized by the religious of Saint Dominic who live at Tete as vicars of the land. The eldest was baptized by Friar Jeronymo Baptista, who gave him the name of Dom Filippe, and the second, to whom was given the name of Dom Diogo, was baptized by Friar Francisco do Avelar. Diogo Simões Madeira stood godfather to both, and the baptism was administered with great festivity.

A few months later the monomotapa asked for his eldest son, Dom Filippe, saying that his mother had a great longing to see him and that he would send him back speedily. Diogo Simões sent him very well dressed in silk in the Portuguese fashion; but the monomotapa would not restore him and kept him there for many years, until the young man himself fled and returned to us, as will be more fully related in its place. The other youth, Dom Diogo, who was always in the house of Diogo Simões, knows very well how to speak Portuguese, to read and write, also the Christian doctrine, and to serve at mass, as he did when he was in Chicova, which will be related hereafter. Dom Filippe does not know these things, through his father's fault, who kept him with him among the Kaffirs, where there was no one to instruct him or to teach him anything but the customs of the said Kaffirs.

#### CHAPTER CXXIX.

*How the monomotapa went to the kingdom of Baroe, where he was defeated, and the Mongases killed one of his sons and Matuzianhe took possession of the whole of his kingdom.*

The monomotapa was so proud and self-satisfied at the victories he had gained over his enemies, in company with the Portuguese, that he imagined he and his people were alone sufficient to get possession of the whole of Kaffraria. With this design he left the river Manzovo, where he had remained for a year, and went to the kingdom of Baroe to punish the people, because they refused to pay him tribute as formerly. On his way thither he traversed the lands of the Mongases, who were also tributary to him, and their lord, his vassal, came out to meet him on the way with a rich present; but the monomotapa was also on bad terms with him, having been informed that he was one of the party of

Matuzianhe. On his arrival therefore he ordered him to be killed, and his death was deeply lamented and resented by the Mongases. Thereupon they all rebelled and openly declared in favour of the enemies, and the monomotapa had several encounters with them there, in which they were always victorious, for they were stronger and better warriors than the Mocarangas. The monomotapa then went to Baroe, where things did not fall out as he expected, for the Baroes defended themselves valiantly; and not only did they defend themselves, but they also killed many of his Mocarangas, and reduced him to such extremity by warfare and hunger that he was exposed to total ruin. There he passed the whole winter in great misery.

The rebel Matuzianhe, who was in possession of Mocaranga, seeing that the monomotapa did not make war upon him, but upon other vassals who also refused to obey him in order to be exempt and free from tribute, gradually took possession of the whole kingdom, and gained some of the monomotapa's friends so far that they did not impede his conquest. Thus he subjected all the lands as far as those of Inhabanzo, adjoining Tete. Diogo Simões, who was then captain of Tete, seeing the boldness with which Matuzianhe was subjecting the neighbouring lands, went against him to drive him out of Inhabanzo, which he did with fifty guns and four thousand very valiant Kaffirs, who are the vassals and friends of Tete. With these he attacked the enemy, routed him, and dispossessed him of the lands of Inhabanzo, which are vast and have many vassals, leaving only the natives, who then rendered obedience to Diogo Simões; and Matuzianhe again withdrew to Mocaranga. On the spot where the battle took place Diogo Simões built a wooden fort, in which he placed twenty guns and three hundred Kaffirs, thus rendering those lands secure.

The monomotapa, who was at Baroe in great distress, sent to Diogo Simões requesting him to wait for him on the way, for he wished to return from Baroe, and as he must pass through the Mongases, he feared they would make war upon him on his journey, as they were already beginning to do. Diogo Simões sent twelve guns and three hundred Kaffir warriors to his assistance; but before this succour reached him the Mongases attacked the monomotapa and killed many of his people, including his eldest son, and he himself was wounded by arrows

in two places. The Mongases resolved to attack him again the next day, but they did not do so, because the succour arrived from Diogo Simões, with which he passed through safely without further attack from the Mongases. In this manner he reached the fort which Diogo Simões had built in Inhabanzo, where Diogo Simões himself was awaiting him.

Here the monomotapa remained three months, resting and providing himself with what was necessary for the maintenance of his people, who were naked, poor, and famished. The saying might then have been applied to the monomotapa, that he went to his vassals and sheep for wool, and himself returned shorn. Here the monomotapa also suffered from hunger, because Matuzianhe had been in the land and had left it plundered and in want of provisions; therefore Diogo Simões advised the monomotapa to go to the lands of Chidima, where provisions were abundant, and which is on the way to Chicova, thinking thus to facilitate its delivery and the discovery of the silver.

The monomotapa followed his advice, and Diogo Simões gave him twenty guns and a thousand Kaffirs, vassals of Tete, to accompany him, with whom the monomotapa went to Chidima, where he remained that year, during which time Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira entered the rivers as captain general of the conquest, as will be seen in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER CXXX.

*How Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira sent Diogo Simões with an armed force to put the monomotapa in possession of his kingdom, and how he went to Chicova on the way and took possession of it.*

In the year of our Lord 1609, the monomotapa being expelled from his kingdom as aforesaid and encamped at Chidima, in March Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira arrived at the rivers of Cuama as captain general of the conquest of the silver mines, by order of the governor Friar Dom Aleixo de Menezes. Hearing of the miserable condition of the monomotapa, in the month of April following he sent Antonio de Bairos de Almeida to Chidima with thirty soldiers, to remain with him and defend him from the frequent attacks of the rebels. In the month of June

following he sent Diogo Simões Madeira as captain general of the forces, with seventy more guns, which with those already at Chidima made more than a hundred, between Portuguese and mulattoes natives of the land, and two thousand Kaffirs, vassals of Tete.

In this manner Diogo Simões went to Chidima, where the monomotapa was, and gave him the present from the viceroy of India which Dom Nuno Alvares had brought. The monomotapa was greatly rejoiced at the succour and the present, and seeing himself under such obligations, said that he wished to give Diogo Simões the silver mines he had promised him, which were three days' journey from that place. In fulfilment of this promise, a few days later he ordered the camp to be struck, and they set out on their way to Chicova. A day's journey before they arrived there, he sent for the Kaffir who was lord of Chicova, and on his coming ordered him to be presented to Diogo Simões Madeira, that he might acknowledge him in the name of his Majesty as lord of Chicova. This Kaffir, in acknowledgment of his new vassalage to the king of Portugal, gave Diogo Simões three small bars of melted silver, and the dross of the stone from which it had been extracted, which he had brought with him.

The next day the monomotapa told Diogo Simões that it was necessary for the Kaffir, the lord of Chicova, to return in advance of them to provide for the safety of his wife and children, because soldiers always grew unruly, and he feared they might do his family some harm. Then he dismissed him, and Diogo Simões sent with him four mulatto soldiers, natives of the country, as they were acquainted with the language, to take possession of Chicova, which they did. But the lord of the land fled secretly and left them there, and never reappeared, which seems to have been by the contrivance of the monomotapa, who sent the said lord on in advance, that he might conceal himself and not show the mines. This was afterwards more clearly apparent, for after they had been eighteen days in Chicova Diogo Simões asked him to order the mines to be shown to him, when the king always excused himself, saying that no one knew anything of the mines but the lord of the land who had fled. Diogo Simões was very angry at this, and if he had not received express orders to put the monomotapa in possession of his

kingdom, he would have returned to Tete with all his forces, as he himself said.

While the monomotapa was in Chicova, Friar Manuel de São Vicente, who went as chaplain to the army, set up a large cross in that place and arranged an oratory before it, where he said mass every day, with the consent of the monomotapa, and there the cross was left standing. At the end of eighteen days they left Chicova and marched up the river Zambesi, and pitched their camp opposite a small island which was in the middle of the stream. Here they remained two days, on account of many rebel Kaffirs, vassals of the monomotapa, who had fled to the islet with their wives and children, that the army might not harm them. From it they abused the monomotapa with infamous and opprobrious names, knowing that there were no boats at that place with which our people could reach them.

The king was greatly irritated and enraged at seeing that he could not be revenged upon them, and calling Diogo Simões, he asked him if there were no means of punishing them. He replied that he would do so, as his highness should see. Thereupon he ordered several swivel guns which he had with him to be placed upon the bank of the river, and fired at the people on the island, so that many were killed and the rest were obliged to abandon the island and all their portable property, and to pass to the other side of the river in such haste that some of the boats were swamped in the middle of the stream because they were overcrowded. With this punishment the king was satisfied for their affronts and the opprobrious names they had called him.

#### CHAPTER CXXXI.

*How the Portuguese in company with the monomotapa defeated Muzipa and Motoposso, powerful Kaffirs, and Matuzianhe, the rebel king.*

From the place where they defeated the Kaffirs of the island the monomotapa set out again, in company with the Portuguese, and having marched two leagues at most, they reached a great mountain, and while they were passing along it the Kaffirs who had fled from the island fell upon them from an ambush, in company with a powerful Kaffir called Mambo Muzipa, which

signifies black king, attacking the rear of the force with great fury and loud cries. In this unexpected encounter many of the monomotapa's Kaffirs were killed, and the enemy would have slain many more if the Portuguese had not come to the rescue with their guns. The enemy no sooner heard these and felt their effect than they began to withdraw, because of the fear they had of them from their experience the day before.

Thence the monomotapa continued on his way, in quest of another powerful Kaffir who also held the state of a king, and was called Motoposso, because he also now refused to obey him, rejoicing that the monomotapa was no longer emperor, that he might be an absolute monarch and exempt from paying tribute, for neither would he acknowledge Matuzianhe as his head. This Motoposso, hearing of the coming of the monomotapa, awaited him full of confidence in his brave and numerous army, and in the first encounters resisted him valorously; but as the many overcome the few, so did the monomotapa's men overcome on this occasion, being more numerous and assisted by the guns of the Portuguese, which gave them greater courage. Motoposso therefore, seeing that he was no match for us and that his people were discouraged and that some of them had fled, also joined them in their flight, leaving the field covered with his dead. Our people pursued him, and entered two forts which he had, sacked them of much spoil and provisions which were in them, and finally burned and rased them to the ground.

Motoposso, wishing to be revenged for the loss and affront which he had suffered, reinforced himself with a much larger number of men, and the next day at dawn very secretly attacked the camp of the monomotapa, expecting to find him unprepared and his people still asleep. But it proved otherwise, for the monomotapa had notice of his coming and ordered all to be ready with their arms in their hands, and so Motoposso found them and was received by our people in such good order that in a short time he was defeated, and many of his people were slain and others made prisoners, among whom was one of his sons-in-law, who was captain of the force. The monomotapa remained eight days in this place, ravaging and sacking all the surrounding country.

The war with Motoposso being concluded, the monomotapa set out in quest of Matuzianhe, who was in possession of his house and town, and was obeyed by all the natives. The latter, hearing

of his coming, made ready to fight him, and also sent some of his Kaffirs to offer him insults on the road. These posted themselves within hearing of our camp at night, where they could not be seen, but were heard by all shouting "*Monomotapa banguero*" (which signifies drunkard, because he was in the habit of eating a certain herb which they call bangué, which intoxicates) "our king Matuzianhe says that he is awaiting you in the river called Magida Cochena" (which signifies king of white water). And calling to the Portuguese, they said: "You, Portuguese, do not associate with that thief." They added many more infamous and abusive names which they applied to the monomotapa, and when this was done they returned, without our people being able to harm them, at which the king was greatly grieved.

As soon as it was morning he ordered the camp to be struck, and went peaceably on his way. Some of his vassals, who had been on the side of Matuzianhe, came and offered obedience to him, and he received them joyfully and forgave them what was past. On reaching the river Magida Cochena, where Matuzianhe had sent word that he was awaiting him, he encamped and slept beside it. Its waters are as white as milk, and very good, and there are several springs of this water in Mokaranga, which are very excellent. Remaining here all night and keeping vigilant watch, they heard no sound or sign of the promised battle, but on the following morning, when they were ready to set out upon their way, the following events took place.

Matuzianhe appeared with his army, which consisted of more than twenty thousand men, arranged and drawn up in a half moon, and in this manner he attacked and encircled the army of the monomotapa with loud cries and such a din of trumpets and drums that it seemed as if the heavens were falling. He himself with a third of his people attacked the Portuguese, and fought valiantly, animating his people; but his courage availed him nothing, for in a short time he was defeated by the Portuguese and put to flight. The other two-thirds of Matuzianhe's army attacked the monomotapa and pressed him sorely, and if the Portuguese had not assisted him wherever his men were weakest, he would certainly have been defeated. The enemy, seeing that they could not resist the fresh succour given to the monomotapa

by the Portuguese, turned their backs, and our people attacked them in the rear, killing many and capturing others. Those who escaped withdrew to the city and palace of the monomotapa, which was distant two days' journey, where Matuzianhe had his household and family.

Matuzianhe, seeing that the monomotapa was now favoured by fortune and the Portuguese, and was constantly victorious, since he overthrew the power of all his enemies, would not wait for him in the city and palace, but rather, forsaking everything, he withdrew with his wives, children, and the remainder of his family to the mountain of Matarira, which was his first dwelling place and habitation, and the monomotapa, meeting with no resistance whatever, took peaceable possession of his palace with great contentment, accompanied by the Portuguese.

#### CHAPTER CXXXII.

*How Matuzianhe again attacked the monomotapa at his place of residence, and how he was defeated.*

When Matuzianhe recovered from two wounds which he had received in the battle, he again assembled many warriors and attacked the monomotapa in his palace at night, having in his company the rebels and robbers of Quizinga, enemies of the Portuguese. Dividing his forces into two battalions, he, with one of them, attacked the monomotapa's men, entering and burning many houses, until he penetrated to the apartments of his great wife, who, seeing herself in such peril, abandoned the houses and fled, guided by her Kaffirs, to the quarters of the Portuguese. These had by this time defeated the second battalion, which Matuzianhe had ordered to attack them, the captain of which was the rebel Anconhe, who, made confident by the victory which Gurapaza, the lord of Quizinga, had gained over the Portuguese of Bocuto, at which he had been present, had the temerity to take upon himself to fight them; but he found his hopes mistaken, for with whatever promptitude and fury he attacked the Portuguese, much greater were the fear and cowardice with which he turned his back and fled, badly wounded, leaving many of his men dead at the feet of the Portuguese and their Kaffirs. Diogo Simões, hearing of the peril in which Matuzianhe had placed the

monomotapa, went to his aid with his men, and fell upon the enemy. By this succour the monomotapa's men gained fresh courage, and those of Matuzianhe were dismayed, so that they all fled, and their captain with them, our people pursuing them, and killing as many as they could; but they would not pursue them very far, because the night was dark and cloudy.

By these victories which the monomotapa gained over his enemies, especially Matuzianhe, who was their head, and a man of real spirit and courage, the other rebels were reconciled to the monomotapa, and rendered him the obedience which they owed him, abandoning the rebel Matuzianhe, whom they had unjustly followed and obeyed as their king.

The monomotapa, fearing that Matuzianhe would raise a fresh army and lift up his head once more, determined to seek him in the mountain of Matarira, where he had taken up his abode, which he did within eight days. He asked Diogo Simões to give him some men of his company with guns to go with him, and to remain himself with the remainder of his force to guard his city and his house, in case they should be attacked by the robbers, if it were known that they were left undefended. Diogo Simões did as he requested, giving him thirty guns and six hundred Kaffirs, vassals of Tete, himself remaining in the king's palace with the rest of his company. Matters having been thus arranged, the monomotapa set out for the mountain of Matarira, and occupied it with ease, because Matuzianhe had but a small force to defend it, and therefore offered little resistance, but fled at once, abandoning the mountain and his house and family, and withdrew to the mountain of Quizinga, which was a den of thieves and the refuge of murderers and rebels.

After this victory the monomotapa returned to his house in great contentment, laden with spoils and captives taken from Matuzianhe in the mountain, which included his wives, children, and family, and more than eight thousand head of cattle. Finding himself thus obeyed and restored to his kingdom, the head of all the others, and his enemies defeated, he told Diogo Simões that he might return to Tete with his people, leaving him only ten soldiers provided with ammunition for his body-guard. Diogo Simões did so, and returned to Tete, taking with him ambassadors whom the monomotapa directed to go and put him in possession of the silver mines which he had given him, as before mentioned;

and Diogo Simões delivered them to Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, chief captain of the conquest, who was in Sena.

After Diogo Simões had gone to Tete, the monomotapa ordered Matuzianhe to be slain by treachery, which was done by means of a Kaffir who was a friend of the rebel. This man, incited by the promises and friendship which the monomotapa offered him, went to Matuzianhe as one who came to visit him in his misfortune, and speaking to him in secret with feigned friendship, he raised a dagger which he had hidden under the cloth he wore, stabbed him with it, and killed him without anyone being aware of the treacherous act he had committed. He then fled from the place without his crime being discovered, and returned to the monomotapa to report what he had done. The king rejoiced at this base event, and from that time forward was free from care, and remained in peace, obeyed by the kings who had formerly disowned and overthrown him.

#### CHAPTER CXXXIII.

*How Dom Estevão de Ataíde succeeded Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira in the conquest, and of the fort which was built in Masapa and provided with a garrison, the wars of Quizinga, and the empata levied in the whole of Mocaranga.*

The affairs of this conquest being in the state above described, there came from India Dom Estevão de Ataíde, who was sent by the viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, to continue the conquest of the silver mines. He reached Sena in July 1609, where Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira then was, who had previously been the captain general of that conquest. He delivered to him the government thereof, together with the ambassadors of the monomotapa whom Diogo Simões had brought to go and put him in possession of the silver mines, and to take back the *curua*, which is a present of cloth worth four or five thousand cruzados that the captain who newly arrives at Mozambique is obliged to give to the king for freedom to trade in his lands and gold mines, where the goods of the captain and merchants of those rivers are sold, and from which a great quantity of gold is derived, most of which comes to the hands of the captain of Mozambique. This tax paid to the monomotapa is moderate enough, considering the great quantity of gold obtained from his lands and mines every year.

As soon as Dom Estevão de Ataíde was established in the government of that conquest he sent Diogo Carvalho to Masapa as captain, and gave him fifty soldiers to remain with him as a garrison, because of the robbers of Quizinga who were near him. He also sent with him the ambassadors of the monomotapa, whom Diogo Simões had brought to Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, that with them and the monomotapa he might arrange for the delivery of the silver mines. This was done in words only, for Diogo Carvalho, going to him, promised him in return for the mines much merchandise and cloths, which are the riches of these Kaffirs, with which engagement the king was satisfied and pledged his word that he would then effectually transfer the mines. Upon this understanding Diogo Carvalho took leave of the king and went to Masapa, where he was captain, and here he built a fort of wood into which he withdrew with his soldiers, without treating any further of the mines or giving the monomotapa the merchandise he had promised or the *curua* which was justly his due.

In the meantime the robbers of Quizinga, learning that the Portuguese were settled at Masapa, attacked them one night with an armed force and carried off many of their cattle, wounding several of the soldiers with arrows, including Diogo Carvalho himself, and returned to Quizinga without those in the fort doing them any harm.

These same robbers returned and attacked the fort a second time, wounded several soldiers, and drove off all the remaining cattle. The monomotapa, being informed of what was going on at Masapa, sent Ningomoxa, the second person of his kingdom, with a large force to defend the people of Masapa from the robbers of Quizinga, who fortified themselves in the mountain and sallied forth to rob the neighbouring lands, both those of the Mocarangas and those of our traders. On reaching Masapa, Ningomoxa encamped a little beyond the fort which was built there, making palisades to encircle his camp, and here he remained six months without the robbers returning to attack the fort, as they had done before.

The monomotapa, seeing that Diogo Carvalho did not send him the merchandise he had promised for the mines, and spoke no further of them, and did not pay him the *curua* which was his due, and that the merchants freely traversed his lands trading for

his gold without paying him his rights, ordered all the merchandise and cloth with which they were trading in his lands to be seized. This was done throughout the whole of his kingdom, and much property was seized and several Portuguese were killed with their Kaffir traders who endeavoured to resist this robbery. This seizure which the king ordered to be made the Kaffirs call *empata*.

Diogo Carvalho, hearing of the robbery and deaths caused by the *empata* which the monomotapa ordered to be levied upon the Portuguese, and fearing that he would order Ningomoxa, who was guarding him and was encamped close to his fort, to attack him because he had not given him the merchandise he had promised, or the *curua*, which were the principal causes of the *empata*, determined to show the world that he would be revenged for the damage done by the king's orders to the property and persons of the Portuguese, by killing the subjects of the said king who were actually defending him from the robbers of Quizinga. He then proceeded to carry out this design, and in order to do so with greater safety to himself he was secretly reconciled to the robbers of Quizinga, and asked them to join him on a certain night in falling upon Ningomoxa and the other Mokarangas of his company. The robbers, who always lived upon such attacks and treacheries, agreed to this, and consented, because of their hatred for the people of the monomotapa. On the appointed night Diogo Carvalho sallied out of the fort with all his soldiers, and fell upon Ningomoxa at dawn with powder and shot, killing and wounding many of his people who were still asleep, unprepared for such an event. Ningomoxa fled, also wounded, and with those who had escaped from the fight he returned to the monomotapa, cursing the reward which Diogo Carvalho had given him for remaining six months in his company and defending him from his enemies.

After this action, which was condemned by every one, Diogo Carvalho abandoned the fort and village of Masapa, and went with all the people who were in it to the market of Luanze, and thence to Tete, leaving all the country in arms against the Portuguese.

At this time Diogo Simões Madeira was at the market of Urupandi, a month's journey in the interior south of Tete, where there are rich gold mines, and here he was also robbed in the general *empata* of many rich cloths which he had, the Kaffirs

showing him no consideration, nor remembering the services he had rendered the monomotapa in his wars; and they thought it a great favour to spare his life, for the Kaffirs never remember the good which is done to them, except at the moment of its performance, but they remember the evil all their lives, in order to be revenged when an opportunity offers.

#### CHAPTER CXXXIV.

*Of the fort which Dom Estevão de Ataide ordered to be built above Tete, how he went to succour Mozambique, and what befel him on his return to the rivers.*

Dom Estevão de Ataide, who was at Sena all this time, seeing the ill-success of his plans, which arose entirely from not paying the *curua* to the monomotapa, resolved to make war upon him, saying that by these means he would conquer the silver mines without paying him anything. With this intent he went from Sena to Tete, but no farther, and thence he sent orders to Diogo Carvalho to build a fort of wood two days' journey above Tete along the river Zambesi. When this fort, which they called Saint Stephen, was built, letters came from Portugal for Dom Estevão, in which his Majesty bade him withdraw to the fortress of Mozambique with all the soldiers he had, to defend it from the Dutch, who were suspected of some design against it. Upon this, he made ready and departed from Tete to go to Mozambique, leaving Diogo Simões Madeira as captain of Tete, he having been appointed captain of that fort for life by the viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora in the name of his Majesty, in return for the services he had rendered in those parts. This was in March 1612.

After Dom Estevão de Ataide had gone to Mozambique, some of the monomotapa's subjects came in an armed force to make war upon a neighbouring Kaffir, a vassal of Tete, named Marenga, to whom the monomotapa was ill-disposed, because he was a friend of the Portuguese and had formerly been his vassal, but was so no longer. He therefore sent these Kaffirs, neighbours of Marenga, to make war upon him and kill him, and take away the lands of which he was lord. These Kaffirs assembled and attacked Marenga repeatedly, until they forced him to flee

to a mountain, where he fortified himself and sent word to Diogo Simões of the state to which his enemies had reduced him. Diogo Simões ordered him to be succoured by the Kaffirs of Tete, who defended him and put his enemies to flight, killing some of them, among whom was their captain, whose head they brought to Tete.

This defeat which they sustained was not sufficient to induce the enemy to desist from war, but, forming again a large force, they returned against Marenga, and put him in great peril. He would certainly have been defeated and killed if he had not fortified himself in the mountain of Sacumbe, which is very rugged and full of copper mines. Thence he again requested Diogo Simões to assist him speedily, as the enemy would reach him if succour was delayed. Diogo Simões immediately sent a large force armed with guns to his assistance, both Portuguese and natives of the country, who, on reaching the enemy, fought with them valiantly and drove them away from the mountain. Marenga, finding he was no longer surrounded, sallied forth with his men, and joining those of Tete, fell upon the flying enemy, and killing all they could, they continued to pursue them as far as their villages, which they burned, and brought back to Tete great spoils and many captives. By this defeat the enemies were so scattered and destroyed that they never raised their heads again, but abandoned the lands and places where they dwelt, and removed far off. Thus the lands of Tete were delivered from these enemies who wished to occupy them and drive out Marenga, our vassal and friend.

It has already been said that Dom Estevão de Ataide went to Mozambique by his Majesty's command. Here he remained seven months, and seeing that the Dutch, for whom he was waiting, did not arrive, and that it was too late for them to do so that monsoon, he returned to the rivers with the intention of pushing forward the conquest of the silver mines by war, as he openly proclaimed. The monomotapa, hearing of his return and his intention, sent him word by his ambassadors that he wished to give him peaceable possession of the land of Chicova, if he would pay him the *curua* which he owed him. Dom Estevão, to avoid doing so, refused to speak to the ambassadors, and ordered them to be dismissed without an answer, at which the king was deeply incensed.

It would have been much better, both for the honour and profit of Dom Estevão de Ataide, to have paid the monomotapa the *curua* which was his due as soon as he arrived at the rivers, rather than to have declared war against him; as in return for the *curua*, which was worth about five thousand cruzados, he would have given him possession of Chicova, which he promised to do peaceably, to avoid war; besides which the said *curua* would have made him free of the lands of the monomotapa for the sale of his merchandise and that of the traders, whence, and from the mines, a great quantity of gold is obtained every year, most of which would have come into his hands, as it does into those of all the captains of Mozambique; and by the war which he made upon him he spent many times more than the *curua* was worth, for in Masapa alone, where he sent Diogo Carvalho as captain of fifty soldiers, as before mentioned, it cost him eighteen thousand miticals of gold, which is nearly thirty thousand cruzados, in expenses, costs, and soldiers' pay, during the year Diogo Carvalho was there, without accomplishing anything, but leaving the land in revolt and ravaged. But the fault of these errors lay not so much with Dom Estevão as with certain persons of his company who advised him to choose war with the monomotapa rather than peace, because by war and its duration they subsisted and profited; and Dom Estevão was ruined.

As soon as Dom Estevão had ordered the ambassadors of the monomotapa to be dismissed without an answer, he prepared for the war he had declared. He embarked at Sena with what soldiers he had, who numbered a hundred and twenty-five in all, and with them he proceeded up the river as far as the fort of St. Stephen. There he remained without attempting any hostility, waiting till intelligence should come from India and Portugal. Letters reached him from his Majesty in July 1613, commanding him to abandon the conquest and go to India, transferring the soldiers and everything else pertaining to the conquest, together with his Majesty's goods for trading which were in his hands, to Diogo Simões Madeira, to whom his Majesty was pleased to entrust the said conquest. And to command the fortress of Mozambique, the viceroy Dom Hieronymo de Azevedo sent his brother, Dom João de Azevedo, that he might serve as captain of it.

## CHAPTER CXXXV.

*How Dom Estevão de Ataíde made over the command of the conquest to Diogo Simões Madeira, and of the war against Chombe, a rebel Kaffir.*

When Dom Estevão de Ataíde read his Majesty's letters and saw that he commanded him to give up the conquest to Diogo Simões Madeira, he was greatly grieved, and still more those who were dependent upon him; but as his Majesty's orders were imperative, he immediately set out for Sena, whither Diogo Simões also went, and there he made over to him the soldiers, arms, and ammunition, but delivered him nothing for trading, nor anything with which to maintain the soldiers that he left with him, who numbered a hundred and twenty who accompanied him, and twenty-five more who were left to garrison the forts of Saint Stephen and Quilimane.

There were no funds of his Majesty in the rivers of which Diogo Simões could avail himself; and therefore, seeing that he had no means of maintaining the forts and soldiers, he seized a small quantity of cloth and beads which Dom Estevão had left in his factory, and as this was not sufficient for the expenses of the conquest, he took from the new factory of Dom João de Azevedo, captain of Mozambique, the merchandise he required for the expenses of that year. At the same time he wrote to the viceroy, telling him what he had done, and requesting him to order that he should be provided the next year with what was necessary for pushing forward the conquest.

After Dom Estevão had left, Diogo Simões remained in Sena, taking measures for carrying on the conquest, having an order and letter from the viceroy, Dom Hieronymo de Azevedo, bidding him push it forward if he could. He left Sena therefore with that design, resolving to go and take possession of the mines, for which he had laboured so much, as has been related. He set out on his passage up the river on the 10th of August 1613, and reaching the lands of Chombe, a powerful Kaffir and a vassal of the fort of Sena, he sent him orders to pay the quit-rent which he owed to his Majesty for that year for the lands which he possessed, which quit rent consisted of two thousand *panjas* of millet, which are like *alqueires*, to provide for the conquest,

according to his obligation; and also commanded him to give up the slaves of the Portuguese of Sena and Tete, who had fled to his territory. To this message Chombe replied that he would give neither millet nor slaves, and if he chose to endeavour to take them by force, he would be glad to try his strength with the new conqueror.

This bold and haughty reply on the part of Chombe was due to certain inhabitants of Sena who were ill-disposed towards Diogo Simões, and sent word to Chombe to take no notice of him, because he was not the chief captain and had no power whatever; as the said Chombe afterwards made known and proclaimed, laying the blame of his rebellion upon those who had so advised him. Diogo Simões, seeing the pride of Chombe and the contempt with which he treated him, refusing to acknowledge him as captain of the conquest, felt that he was not safe upon his shore, and ordered all the boats which had been moored there to withdraw to an island that was opposite, in the middle of the river.

Chombe, not content with having disobeyed the captain, resolved to declare himself a disobedient rebel once for all, and in order to carry out his wicked design, ordered some of his men to pass secretly to the island where Diogo Simões was, and attack him and his boats, and seize the merchandise they contained for the expenses of the conquest. But God did not will that this savage should see the fulfilment of his evil designs, for our people who kept watch upon the shore saw one of the boats in which the enemy was crossing to the island, and Diogo Simões ordered it to be seized. Chombe's men, who were on the shore, endeavoured to defend it, resisting our people with balls and arrows, plainly showing their disobedience to the Portuguese. This was still more apparent the next day, for as Diogo Simões was continuing his journey up the river, Chombe's men molested him from the shore with many guns, keeping along the bank of the river for the space of ten leagues. Upon reaching a place called Bandar, they posted themselves there, the river being narrower, to impede the passage, and thence they sent word to Diogo Simões that if he wished to pass he must give Chombe a quantity of merchandise. Diogo Simões, seeing their pride and daring, did not hesitate to meet them, and running their boats on shore our people disembarked and attacked the enemy, and put them to flight,

killing and wounding some of them. They were so intimidated by this attack upon them that they never followed our people again, and Diogo Simões pursued his way peaceably as far as Tete.

Here he took counsel with the inhabitants of the country and their captains, whether it would be more for the service of his Majesty to punish Chombe, who was in rebellion and obstructed the roads and navigation of the river from Tete to Sena, or to go directly to Chicova to conquer the silver mines. All were of opinion that Chombe should first be punished and the river freed, and that afterwards they should go to Chicova. Diogo Simões then ordered a report of this council to be drawn up by the secretary of the conquest, and busied himself with the necessary preparations for this expedition.

He set out from Tete on the 10th of December with a hundred guns, going down the river in boats, and sending by land two thousand Kaffirs, vassals of Tete, and the people of Mongas and Quitambo, a powerful Kaffir, numbering altogether six thousand Kaffirs, who joined Diogo Simões at the entrance to the enemies' lands. While sleeping there, Chombe sent one of his Kaffirs in the night, who without being seen, but within hearing of all, cried aloud: "Chombe says that he is rejoiced at your coming, and bids you make haste, for he is hungry and his bread is ready for eating, but he lacks meat to eat with it, and is waiting for your bodies to serve that purpose." Besides which he added much infamous abuse of Diogo Simões and the other Portuguese of his company, and having spoken thus he withdrew, without our people knowing who he was or making him any answer, for so Diogo Simões commanded.

The next day our people approached the place where Chombe was, and when they were within about a league of it Diogo Simões ordered them to make many shields like doors of woven reeds, which the Kaffirs carried before them like a wall, and thus they advanced until they bearded the enemy in his fort. They were received with a greater discharge of guns and musketry than they had with them, for Chombe had a hundred and fifty firelocks and muskets and two cannons, with which he did battle all that day until night, using every effort to make our people withdraw from the vicinity of the fort and not encamp near it; but, in spite of their resistance, our people, still fighting, made their stockade

where they chose, near a pond of water, enclosing a great part of it in their stockade, notwithstanding the enemies' defence of it, for they also used the same water for drinking.

The fort of Chombe was half a league in length, and two musket shots in width, surrounded with a wall of thick wood encircled by a deep trench, and the earth from the trench was piled against the wood, with many loopholes above, through which the enemy might fire securely, unseen by our people. There were many bastions, flanked like the walls, from which they defended themselves, so that our people could not approach them without being killed or wounded.

#### CHAPTER CXXXVI.

*Of Diogo Simões' encounter with Chombe, and of the succour which reached him from Sena.*

As soon as our people were encamped and had made their stockade Diogo Simões resolved to attack the enemy, and therefore the next day he formed his men into three battalions and attacked the fort in three places with great courage. All fought bravely, but they could not enter it, because the enemy defended it valiantly in the three places with such a number of guns and arrows that they seemed to be all gathered together in one place. The reason of this was that Chombe had with him more than eight thousand fighting men, very valiant and well provided with powder and ammunition which the Portuguese and natives of the country had given and sold to him in exchange for negresses, millet, and other merchandise which the Kaffir gave them, and thus surreptitiously and in secret he had furnished himself with firearms, in order that he might now grow proud and fortify himself against our people. This should have been carefully looked to, for the Kaffirs who were formerly terrified by the discharge of a gun now use them, and most of the powerful Kaffirs in these parts have a better arsenal of guns than there can be in the captain's factory.

Diogo Simões, seeing the resistance of the enemy, ordered his men to withdraw; and the next day attacked them again, to see if he could tire them, advancing upon three places in like manner as before, but they offered the same resistance, and our people could not enter the fort at any point.

The next night a Kaffir fled from our camp to Chombe, and told him that our stockade was left with but few men, because most of the soldiers had sallied forth at nightfall in search of food and to rob the neighbouring villages, as had indeed been resolved upon, but was not executed, because Diogo Simões would not consent to it or give his permission. Chombe, thinking our camp was deserted, as the fugitive Kaffir informed him, ordered his men to make ready to attack it at daybreak. They would certainly have done great damage if Diogo Simões had not been warned by a Christian negress who was in Chombe's fort, and who fled from it that same night and came to our camp. She told Diogo Simões what was going on in the fort, and he immediately warned all the captains, both Portuguese and Kaffirs, to be prepared with arms in hand, to keep absolute silence until the enemy reached our palisades, and then to attack them all at once.

In the morning the enemies came out of their fort with as much rejoicing as if they had already gained the victory, thinking they would find but few of our men, and those unprepared. Thus they attacked our stockade in disorder, and our people sallied out upon them, shouting Santiago, and attacking them with such impetuosity that in a short time they fled from the field, abandoning their arms, and many losing their lives. Such was the haste with which they retired to their fort that the doors could not admit them soon enough, nor could they crowd through, and our people killed more than a thousand of them there. This was on the feast of the glorious archangel St. Michael. Chombe was so intimidated by this defeat that he sent the same day to ask Diogo Simões for peace, which he would not grant, because of the unjust terms demanded. Every day thereafter skirmishes took place during the morning and afternoon, in which many were wounded and some killed on both sides.

Diogo Simões, seeing that Chombe was fortified, and that he could not reach him because of his numerous force and abundant ammunition, sent to the captain of Sena, who was then Diogo Pires Brandão, asking him to give some assistance to defeat the rebel. This Brandão did, sending him forty guns, between Portuguese and natives of the country, their captain being Christovão de Brito Godins, a noble and valiant gentleman, who

in former years came from India as captain of a company of soldiers for this conquest. He also sent all the Kaffirs, vassals of Sena, with Samacanqua, a powerful Kaffir and a friend of Sena, who altogether amounted to three thousand Kaffirs.

With this force they left Sena, the Portuguese going by water and the Kaffirs by land along the river; and reaching a village of Chombe's called Nayo, our Kaffirs attacked and destroyed it, carrying off many negresses and much spoil which they found there. Thence they continued on their way until they reached the fort of Chombe, and wishing to pitch their camp apart from that of Diogo Simões, near another pond of water, Chombe sallied forth to defend it, with such spirit that he burned part of the palisades which they had set up. Upon this Diogo Simões came up with his men, and forced the enemy to withdraw, giving those from Sena an opportunity to make their stockade, which they did.

When the people from Sena had rested from their journey, Diogo Simões prepared to attack the enemy in three places—namely the men from Sena in one place, Quitambo in another, and himself and the men of Tete on the side of the water where they were encamped. In this order they attacked the fort in three places, and set fire to it; but the enemy extinguished the fire and defended themselves with great courage, killing and wounding some of our people. It therefore seemed proper to Diogo Simões not to attack them any more, seeing our men died at the foot of their fortress but could not penetrate it because of its great strength, but they had several combats and skirmishes in the open field, for which the Kaffirs came forth. In this way he caused Chombe gradually to use up his ammunition, and he shot many of his men in the open field, where there were no walls or cover to protect them, and thus two months and a half elapsed.

#### CHAPTER CXXXVII.

*Of the last combat between our men and Chombe, and the victory which they gained over him.*

Diogo Simões, thinking that Chombe could have no more powder and ammunition, because of the great quantity he had

used, determined to attack him and penetrate into the fort. He therefore ordered the palisades to be removed, and they were carried to the fort, where he made two cavaliers of wood with strong platforms from which they could see the besieged, and our people from the top of them killed all those who appeared within and those who came to carry water from the pond, so that they no longer came for it in the daytime, but only at night.

After making these cavaliers, he ordered Quitambo to post himself with his men on the other side of the pond and take possession of a thicket which was close to it, from which Chombe procured timber for his fortifications. And he ordered Samacanqua to batter the enemy from the place where he was encamped, and thus each one in his own place to do all he could to shake and enter the fort. These arrangements being made, they all attacked the fort at once on a Thursday morning, the 14th of November, set it on fire, and killed many of the enemy. They almost succeeded in forcing an entrance, but as the besieged were very numerous and valiant, they extinguished all the fires and defended themselves in their usual manner. However, as the combat was severe, to which they had grown unaccustomed, it inspired the enemy with such fear that the next night many fled from the fort, and some came to our camp and informed Diogo Simões of what was going on, and advised him to attack the fort on the side of the pond, which was the weakest, before Chombe fortified it, as he intended to do.

Diogo Simões was greatly rejoiced on hearing of the enemy's condition and of their weakness on the side of the pond, and resolved to attack them in that place the next day. In order to do this with greater safety he directed many doors of woven reeds to be made, in doing which the whole of Friday was spent. On Saturday morning he ordered Quitambo to attack the enemy on his side, and he with Samacanqua attacked them by the pond, carrying the doors before them like a wall, and thus they succeeded in shaking the fort and setting it on fire in three places. They made great breaches, in which they killed so many of the enemy, who were endeavouring to extinguish the fire, that there were heaps of them, under cover of which, as behind walls, the others sheltered themselves, fighting valiantly till nightfall.

By that time Diogo Simões had gained the wall upon his side, and taken the whole of the pond by means of another wooden

cavalier which he ordered to be raised over it, from which our people fired on the enemy and killed them, which they continued doing all the night, that they might have no opportunity of fortifying themselves again in that place. Chombe, seeing that his fort was open in three places and that he could no longer defend himself from our people, abandoned the fort and fled that same night with a few followers, without giving his people notice of his intention. Our people entered the fort on Sunday morning, where they still met with some resistance from those who were not aware of Chombe's flight, who were all killed or made prisoners.

As soon as our people had made themselves masters of Chombe's fort they proceeded to sack it, finding great spoil, for they took from it more than eight thousand negro prisoners for slaves, and as many children, a quantity of cotton and cloths which the Kaffirs make of it which they call machiras, ivory, and an abundance of provisions. This being done, Diogo Simões granted to Quitambo, in his Majesty's name, the lands and fort of Chombe, because he had fought with great courage and fidelity in this war, with the obligation of paying a quit-rent for them of a hundred machiras and two thousand panjas of millet for the expenses of the conquest, which was the same obligation as that which Chombe had refused to pay. Then he dismissed the people from Sena, thanking them for the service they had done his Majesty in this war, and giving many of them cloths to cover themselves, which was a heavy expense.

Seeing that there was nothing further to be done there, he left fifty soldiers to guard Quitambo, the war being so recent and Chombe being still alive, although defeated, and withdrew to Sena with the rest of the soldiers, where he again provided himself with what was necessary for the expedition to Chicova, having used a great deal of what he had procured for that purpose in his war with Chombe.

From Sena he proceeded to Tete, where hearing that Chombe had fortified himself in a thick wood, which they call Inhacatambara, whence he attacked the Botongas who are our friends, he sent twenty guns to join Quitambo and with him to attack Chombe. This they did, proceeding to the wood where he was and fighting with him seven days, at the end of which they entered his fortification and killed nearly all his men, and he fled with the few who escaped with their lives. Upon this victory our

people withdrew to Tete, leaving Quitambo alone in his fort with his people, being free from all fear of Chombe.

Diogo Simões remained at Tete, the rainy season having begun, and the lands through which he was to travel to reach Chicova being traversed by many rivulets and large rivers, over which there were no bridges. When the winter was over, he made his journey to Chicova, as will be seen in the following chapter.

#### CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

*Of the journey which Diogo Simões made to Chicova, and how he took possession of it and dug for silver; and of the other events which befel him on this journey.*

While Diogo Simões Madeira was wintering in Tete with all his soldiers, he assembled fighting men to accompany him on the journey to Chicova, and to that end he sent ambassadors with presents to Rundo, Quitambo, Inhampuri, Samanongo, and Samacanqua, all powerful Kaffirs, lords of many vassals, asking each one of them to forward his fighting men to accompany him in the expedition to Chicova. The monomotapa, hearing that the conquest had been entrusted to Diogo Simões, sent him word by his ambassadors that since he was the chief captain he would give him possession of the silver mines, because he had promised them to him, but that he must supply him in return with some cloth to clothe his people, and that he must come to Chicova peaceably and not with armed men.

Diogo Simões received the ambassadors with great rejoicing, and accepted the offer of the monomotapa, whom he requested by the same ambassadors to send some person of high rank in his kingdom to put him in possession of the land of Chicova, and also some of his people to carry him four thousand cruzados worth of cloth which he wished to give him in return for this favour. The monomotapa sent men to carry the cloth, and his nephew, a great lord named Inhaxangue, to put Diogo Simões in possession of the mines.

When Diogo Simões had Inhaxangue with him to give him possession of the land of Chicova, he forwarded to the monomotapa the four thousand cruzados worth of cloth which he had promised him, and sent word to dispense with all the fighting men he had

summoned to accompany him. Having prepared everything which was required for his journey, he set out for Chicova in company with his soldiers, who numbered a hundred, between Portuguese and natives of the country, six hundred Kaffirs, vassals of Tete, and his own people who carried the necessary stores, both military and what was required for opening the mines.

With this company he set out on the 15th of April 1614, and that day they slept at a place called Ampane, three leagues from Tete. Thence they reached the place called Bunga, and the third day they slept at Antevara, a village shaded with many fig trees. Thence they went to Dossa, and slept there, and the next day to the village of Chibue, and from that place to Chidima, before reaching which the king of the country endeavoured to impede their passage, and though he is a vassal of the monomotapa, sent word that they should not pass through his lands.

Inhaxangue, the ambassador who accompanied Diogo Simões, was very angry at this message from the king, and replied that all the roads belonged to the monomotapa, by whose order he had come to traverse them with the Portuguese. But Diogo Simões sent secretly, without the knowledge of the ambassador, a present of cloth and beads, to conciliate the king, with which he was well satisfied and favourably inclined towards Diogo Simões. This king then sent word to the ambassador that he might pass without hindrance, though he would not see him or Diogo Simões, but he ordered one of his sons and the nobles of his town to accompany the Portuguese through all his kingdom, which they did. At every inhabited village which they reached they were entertained with feasts and music, and many songs were sung in their praise at the same time such provisions and fruits as the land produced were brought, which our people purchased of them, with which the Kaffirs were very well satisfied, and still more so that our people did them no harm during the whole of the journey, by command of Diogo Simões.

From Chidima they went and slept at Matandanduva, and thence they proceeded to the place called Dinde, which signifies mine, a proof that there can be no lack of mines where the country itself is called mine. Thence they went to Chicova, which they reached on the 8th of May of the same year, the feast of the apparition of the archangel St. Michael, and therefore Diogo Simões called the fort he built there St. Michael. Though they took twenty-three

days on this journey from Tete to Chicova, this was not due to the length of the way, for they rested in several places, and did not travel more than nine days. For those who travel unencumbered it would not take more than five or six days, the ground being even, and with no mountains or thick woods like the road which Diogo Simões afterwards ordered to be opened through Bororo, of which I shall treat hereafter.

As soon as Diogo Simões reached Chicova, he chose a site in that territory along the river Zambesi, where he made a stockade, in which he encamped with all his people. Then the monomotapa's ambassador who accompanied Diogo Simões sent for the Kaffir lord of Chicova, and told him in the presence of Diogo Simões and of all those of the conquest that the monomotapa had given these lands to the king of Portugal, and therefore thenceforward he should recognise him as lord, and in his place Diogo Simões Madeira, his captain, who was there present, having come to take possession of them, and the other captains who might succeed him in that office, and should show him what silver mines there were in the land, for such was the will of the monomotapa.

The lord of Chicova and all his nobles who came with him to learn the purport of the king's embassy, when the ambassador had finished speaking, prostrated themselves upon the ground and clapped their hands, which is their sign of obedience, and answered that they were willing to do what the king, their lord, had ordered, and would obey any one he chose to name. Diogo Simões then gave them some cloths to please them, with which they returned to their village, that was at a distance of half a league.

A few days afterwards Diogo Simões told the ambassador again to summon the Kaffir lord of Chicova to show the mines to him. The ambassador immediately sent for him, and as he refused to come, he sent for him a second and a third time, but he still refused to appear, and went and concealed himself, and was never seen again.

Diogo Simões, seeing the malice of the Kaffir, who would not obey or take notice of the message of the monomotapa, sent the same ambassador, and with him a soldier, his nephew, to the monomotapa, to inform him of what was going on and of the behaviour of the lord of Chicova towards him, who would not appear when summoned, and to remind him that when he first

came to this land in the company of his highness, this same Kaffir fled to avoid showing him the mines which his highness wished him to do, and since he was so disobedient he ought not to have him there in Chicova as the chief of the other Kaffirs of that country, but rather one who would be more obedient and loyal to him. Therefore he informed him that he must remove this one and eject him from that country, and put another in his place who would recognise him as his lord and a vassal of his Majesty.

These ambassadors carried this message to the monomotapa, and what occurred will be seen in the following chapter.

#### CHAPTER CXXXIX.

*Of the friendship which Sapoe, lord of Bororo, showed to Diogo Simões, and of the silver which the monomotapa sent by his ambassadors with another Kaffir to show the mines.*

While the ambassadors of Diogo Simões carried his message to the monomotapa, the following events took place. Opposite Chicova, on the other side of the river Zambesi, are lands full of high and rugged mountains, ruled by a powerful Kaffir, lord of many vassals, whose name is Sapoe. This Kaffir, as soon as he heard that Diogo Simões was in possession of Chicova and had built a fort there, sent him ambassadors with a present, saying that he was very glad to have him as a neighbour, and if he wished to have some lands on his side of the river also, he would willingly give them to him, and he might put any one of his people there according to his pleasure. He also offered him a free and safe passage through his territory, by which the Portuguese might go and come from Tete to Chicova and send their people without any obstacle whatever, and he specially offered him the shore on his side, where there is a village called Churue. Besides this he sent a boat to serve him in crossing the river, a thing our people did not yet possess.

Diogo Simões greatly valued the present of Sapoe, and accepted the village on the other bank which he offered him, where he placed one of his Kaffirs as its chief. He sent Sapoe a present of cloth in return for his good will and the friendship which he offered, and thenceforward we communicated and dealt with the

Kaffirs on the other bank with friendship and fidelity, they coming to our fort with everything their lands produced for sale, which our people bought from them; and with the same security our people frequented their lands, buying provisions, hens, sheep, goats, fruit, and vegetables, which are not wanting there.

The ambassadors whom Diogo Simões had sent to the monomotapa carried him the message, which he heard; and as he was then a friend of Diogo Simões he wished to do his will, and therefore he sent by the same ambassadors a lump of silver ore which weighed more than half a pound, and the Kaffir who had given it to him, who was called Cherema, because he was a cripple. In answer to the message he replied that the land of Chicova belonged to the king of Portugal, and since he, his captain, had gone thither to take possession of it in his name he might put in power or depose any one he pleased; that he sent him this lump of silver ore and the Kaffir who had given it to him, to whom the government of the land rightly belonged, because it had been his father's, and he would show him the mines, as he grew up in that country, and brought from it the piece of silver ore which he sent him.

The ambassadors arrived at the fort with this message, and Diogo Simões received them with great rejoicing, because of the favourable answer which they brought. Then he expelled the Kaffir who refused to obey, and put in his place the Kaffir Cherema whom the monomotapa had sent, both to do the will of the monomotapa and because he hoped that the Kaffir would show him the mines, since he had taken the piece of silver ore out of them. When Diogo Simões saw that the Kaffir was well pleased at finding himself placed over the other Kaffirs of Chicova, he asked him, at the same time giving him presents, to show the silver mines to him; but the Kaffir pretended he knew nothing about them, and said that when he wanted silver he offered sacrifices of sheep and hens to the dead, whom they call *muzimos*, and then they pointed out to him in dreams where silver was to be found. Diogo Simões answered that he must show him the mines, whether by dreams or without them.

The next day Diogo Simões insisted that the Kaffir Cherema should show him the mines, and the Kaffir took him to a mountain near the fort St. Michael, where he dug with a mattock, and when he had made a hole about three quarters of a yard deep he told

Diogo Simões to go on digging, and he, taking the mattock and giving two or three strokes with it, he dug up two or three small pieces of silver ore. Thence the Kaffir took him to another place, where he dug up three small pieces of silver ore, which in everybody's opinion he had buried there himself; and Diogo Simões telling him to continue and show him more silver, he replied that he did not know of any other mines.

Diogo Simões, seeing that the Kaffir was determined not to show him any more mines, and that he made little of his presents, promises, and flatteries, grew very angry, struck him twice, and ordered him to be bound and placed in prison, and guarded so that no Kaffir could speak to him; and so he remained for several days. The Kaffir, seeing how badly he had behaved by refusing to show the mines and deceiving Diogo Simões, and fearing further punishment and that he might be put to the torture, sent for Diogo Simões and told him that it was true there were silver mines in those lands, but that he had not pointed them out through fear of the monomotapa, who though he sent him to show them charged him strictly not to do so, and would be very angry with him on account of the little he had made known; but since he was a prisoner and in the hands of the Portuguese, he would show him an old mine from which his predecessors extracted silver whenever they liked, and when they had taken all they required they covered the mine with earth again.

Diogo Simões bade him lead him to this mine, for he would be very glad to see it; and the Kaffir conducted him to another mountain more than a league distant from the first, at the foot of which he showed him a deep hole filled up with loose earth and stones, and around the hole were heaps of stones and earth which had been taken out of the mine. When he had shown him these indications of a mine, he told him that it could not be worked except in the winter, when the earth was soft, because it was full of stones and solid rock. Diogo Simões, seeing these signs and that it appeared to be a mine, and having proof already that there was silver in that land from the small pieces of ore already found, would not molest the Kaffir any further, resolving to do so later on if he refused to point out substantial mines. Therefore he ordered him to be set free, and confirmed him in the command he had given him over the Kaffirs of the land, as their captain, whom they call inkosi; and he also gave him cloths and made much

of him, in the hope that he would show him the mines as soon as winter should come.

## CHAPTER CXL.

*How they explored the road from Chicova through the lands of Sapoe and other lands of Bororo, and of the villages and lordships therein.*

It has already been related how Sapoe, lord of the lands of Bororo, which lie along the river Zambesi opposite Chicova, informed Diogo Simões that if he wished to send his people to Tete through his territory, he would allow them free passage to come and go; and as it seemed to Diogo Simões to be of great importance for the advantage of the fort of Chicova to have many roads open for communication with Tete, he accepted Sapoe's offer, and determined to have the road explored, which he did, choosing for the purpose a Portuguese soldier named Antonio Lopes, a business man and a native of the city of Evora, and with him he sent two mulattos, natives of the country who knew the language, and several Kaffirs. They were to go through the said lands downward along the river, and note all the dangerous passes thereof and the other roads of that territory until they reached Tete.

The new explorers of Bororo set out according to their instructions, guided by the Kaffirs given to them by Sapoe. They pursued their way peaceably, though with much difficulty, because of its extreme roughness, for they found the greater part of the road was over wild and rugged mountains, which they ascended and descended over huge stones and steep rocks, so that at times it was necessary to jump from one to another in order to pass. They also found that the river Zambesi was not navigable for twenty leagues, a little more or less, because of the many rocks and stones both in the middle and at the sides, where the currents are so strong that they inspire awe in those who view them from afar, especially at two points where the river seems to show its wildness more than at any other. The first place is a day's journey below Chicova, and is called Chipiriziva, where the river is crossed by a large rock from side to side, and the waters of this impetuous stream dash over it, and fall into the depths below with a noise that can be heard at a great

distance. The second place is called Chipiry by the Kaffirs, and is two or three leagues below Chipiriziva, where the course of the river is impeded by great heaps of stones, among which the water rushes with great impetus, dashing from stone to stone in waves and whirlpools with a noise like thunder.

The explorers of Bororo and the river reached Tete in safety with these tidings, though greatly fatigued with journeying over such roads as aforesaid.

The discovery of this road through Bororo was of great importance, because when the monomotapa quarrelled with Diogo Simões and made war upon him, obstructing the roads from Chicova through his lands, as I shall relate hereafter, our people made use of this road, by which they came and went between Tete and Chicova. And as in future, if the silver mines are discovered as we hope, our people who go to Chicova must pass through this Bororo, which is not subject to the monomotapa, it seems proper to me to give them here an itinerary of the road, and name the inhabited parts and the lords of these lands, that they may have knowledge of them and know where to direct their steps upon this journey.

From Tete they navigate the river Zambesi upward as far as a village called Cachengue, a distance of about twenty leagues, and from this place to Chicova the river is not navigable, because of the many rocks and currents as aforesaid. Some of the lands which lie along this river on the side of Botonga are subject to Tete, and some to a Kaffir called Marenga, a vassal of Tete; and they contain many villages inhabited by Kaffirs, the principal being Ampane, Sacumbe, Chipondoe, and Cachengue. On the other side of the river, which is called Bororo, the lands from Tete upward to a village called Empanzo belong to a Kaffir named Chicussy, a friend and neighbour of Tete. From Empanzo upward until opposite Cachengue are the lands of another Kaffir called Inhampury, lord of many vassals. In his lands, opposite Cachengue, our people disembark and leave their boats, and begin to journey by land to Chicova.

After traversing a single league of very bad roads, subject to Inhampury, they enter the lands of Samanongo, a powerful Kaffir, but subject to a Kaffir king called Bundy, with whom the merchants of Tete trade for ivory. The first village subject to this Samanongo which our people reach is called Sacoenda.

opposite which was our fort of St. Stephen, which was destroyed because it was not of much importance there. From the village of Sacoenda they go to another called Cambacote, a distance of two good leagues. Two leagues farther on is another village called Muzungo. Two leagues from this village is a great river called Uruvy, which flows into the Zambesi at that place. Along this river there are many villages inhabited by Kaffirs. Three leagues of bad roads beyond Uruvy is another small river, and here end the lands subject to Bundy, and those of Sapoe begin, and here is the village of Sacossera. Three leagues of very bad roads farther on is a large village called Zivy, and a league farther another called Nhumbo. Thence the road continues for five leagues over rugged mountains of rock and steep stones, without any plain ground whatever, as far as a village called Motava, where dwells a son of Sapoe. Thence they journey for another five leagues over bad roads to the shore of the river opposite our fort of St. Michael, and on this shore Sapoe has a village in which he lives, and we have the fort of Santo Antonio.

Thus the land journey is twenty-four leagues. The road in places runs along the river Zambesi, and in others is distant from it half a league, more or less, according to the windings of the stream. There are many other inhabited villages on the way which I have not named, and I only point out the above because they are upon our route, and are the places where our people halted when they made this journey.

## CHAPTER CXLI.

*How Diogo Simões returned to Tete, and of the present which he sent to the monomotapa, who made the ambassadors by whom it was conveyed prisoners.*

After Diogo Simões had sent the explorers to discover the road through Bororo, seeing that it was time for the galley to return to India, and that he must write to the viceroy and send him the silver which he had found in Chicova and give him an account of the fort which he had built there, and also because he had not the necessary provision for the expenses of the conquest, he determined, for all these reasons, to return to Sena. But before doing so he strengthened the fort of St. Michael with new wood

and a strong enclosure, and left as captain thereof Diogo Teixeira Barroso, with forty-four soldiers, all Portuguese; the lands of Chicova being at peace, and all the neighbouring people friendly to the fort, selling there the necessary provisions at a low price.

Diogo Simões left Chicova on the 24th of June 1614, and returned by the same road as he went, taking with him the same ambassador of the monomotapa who went with him. During the whole journey they were received by the inhabitants of the villages to which they came with great rejoicings. These brought the necessary provisions, which were purchased from them. On reaching Chidima the king thereof ordered that they should be received with honour, with music, dances, and songs which the Kaffirs sang in praise of the Portuguese, and he also sent a present of cows, hens, and provisions for all the company. Diogo Simões accepted this present, and sent him one of cloth in return, with which the king was very well satisfied. This king is the lord of many vassals, and they speak to him through a solicitor, as to the monomotapa, which is a symbol of highness.

After this the king sent word to Diogo Simões that he wished to visit him in his house, which Diogo Simões arranged and decorated to receive him, and in the place where they were to converse he ordered a carpet to be spread upon the ground for the ambassador of the monomotapa to sit upon, who was also to be present on the visit of the king, and who represented the person of the monomotapa. It is the custom for all the lords in the places through which such an ambassador passes to pay him the same homage which they render to the monomotapa, and none of them sit before him upon a carpet or mat, but always on the ground. This king, however, is so arrogant and presumptuous that he cannot endure any should be better or of higher rank than himself, and therefore on entering the house where Diogo Simões was awaiting him with all the soldiers of his company, he immediately seated himself on the middle of the carpet with great dignity, which he well knew how to display, taking no notice of the ambassador, although he was the monomotapa's nephew. Seeing which the ambassador very humbly seated himself on the edge of the carpet, almost on the ground. Finally, after they had conversed and after the usual compliments on such occasions, Diogo Simões took his leave of the king and

proceeded peacefully to Tete, whence the ambassador returned to the monomotapa, and Diogo Simões went to Sena.

At this time the galley from India arrived at Mozambique, bringing orders from the viceroy Dom Jeronymo de Azevedo that Diogo Simões should supply such soldiers as were demanded by the captain of Mozambique, Dom João de Azevedo, for the succour of the fortress, it being suspected that enemies from Europe were coming against Mozambique. Diogo Simões obeyed, and ordered thirty soldiers and their captain whom he had brought with him from Chicova to embark, and they went to reinforce Mozambique; and he remained with only the members of his family and a few natives who accompanied him. At the same time he wrote to his Majesty and to the viceroy of India, informing them of the state of the conquest, because no provision had reached him from India for the maintenance of the forts and the soldiers who were in them, nor had he any cloth to send to the monomotapa in return for having given him Chicova.

It is customary among these Kaffirs after they have taken possession of any land which the king has given them, to make him a present of merchandise in return. Thus it was fitting for Diogo Simões to comply with this obligation, but not having the rich cloths required for the purpose, he procured other things to please the king, and bought a horse which Dom Estevão had left in the rivers with a merchant of Sena,—an animal which the monomotapa greatly desired,—and he ordered a banner to be made of coloured silks, which the monomotapa had asked of Dom Estevão, who refused to send it. Besides this he ordered a gold *andoro* to be made, set with false stones, but very beautiful, which *andoro* is a round medal such as the Mocaranga Kaffirs wear on their heads, and several cloths accompanied this present.

All these things being ready, he forwarded a message to the monomotapa to send some of his people to accompany the ambassadors whom he wished to convey this present. The monomotapa sent some of his people, and hearing that Diogo Simões was going to give him a horse, he desired that it should not be sent at that time, because it was summer and the country was dry, and there was no water for the horse to drink on the way. The horse was therefore left behind, but Diogo Simões sent him everything else. The monomotapa accepted it, and in return

made his ambassadors who had brought him the present prisoners and told them to write to Diogo Simões to send him mirrors, pins, needles, knives, scissors, silk thread, lamps, pepper, Portuguese saffron, soap, porcelain ware, and several rich silk cloths, thinking that Diogo Simões would not be able to obtain what he demanded, and this might serve as an occasion for breaking with him, as he already repented greatly of having given him Chicova. Diogo Simões, understanding his purpose, procured all he desired, and sent it to the king, both to please him and to procure the liberation of the ambassadors whom he had detained, one of whom was his nephew.

The monomotapa, seeing that Diogo Simões sent him all that he demanded, concealed his anger, and ordered the ambassadors to be set free, giving them leave to withdraw; but they, fearing that the king would cause them to be intercepted and murdered upon the way, as he sometimes did when he wished to kill any one secretly, would not take the direct road back to Tete, but went to the fort of Chicova, which was distant three days' journey, as secretly as they could, and from the fort they went to Tete, where Diogo Simões was awaiting their arrival.

## CHAPTER CXLII.

*Of the flight of Dom Filippe, son of the monomotapa, to Chicova, and what he did there in our favour; and of the rebellion of the Kaffirs of Chicova.*

The day on which the monomotapa made a donation of the mines to Diogo Simões Madeira, he gave him two of his sons, Dom Filippe and Dom Diogo, whom the religious of St. Dominic made Christians in Tete, as before stated. But when the said king was at peace and free from wars, and in possession of his kingdom, he sent word to Diogo Simões to allow Dom Filippe, the eldest, to return, as his mother wished to see him, and then he would send him back. Diogo Simões sent him, very well dressed in the Portuguese style, but his father dressed him in cloths again, after the manner of the Kaffirs, and would never again restore him to Diogo Simões.

This Dom Filippe was constantly sighing for the company and costume of the Portuguese, and he fled several times from his

father's house to return to Tete; but his father always sent in pursuit of him, and he was brought back. On one occasion he was captured when he had already entered the lands of Tete, and his father, in anger at his flight, ordered all those who had accompanied him to be put to death, and they were very many, who had served his son. He kept his son always with him, and would never leave him free, until the time when he made the ambassadors of Diogo Simões prisoners, as has been stated. Dom Filippe, who was always planning to escape to the Portuguese, hearing that the ambassadors had gone to the fort of Chicova in three days, planned to flee by the same route, it being short, so that he would not be captured on the way as formerly. He put this resolution into execution, and reached Fort St. Michael in less than three days, without his father knowing in what direction he had fled. At the fort he was received by the captain Diogo Teixeira Barroso and the soldiers with great joy and pleasure.

Here Dom Filippe rested for some days, during which he heard that after Diogo Simões returned to Tete, the Kaffir Cherema, lord of the land, would never come to the fort at the summons of the captain, and was determined not to show the Portuguese the silver mines. For this reason he sent him word to come to the fort to see him, as it was necessary for him to speak to the Portuguese in his presence, pretending that he came there as an ambassador from his father. The Kaffir Cherema, knowing that the son of the monomotapa was in the fort, as soon as he received his message came at his summons, thinking that what he said was true; and reaching the place where Dom Filippe was, he cast himself at his feet, saying he had come in obedience to his order.

Dom Filippe severely reprimanded him before the Portuguese for not obeying those of the fort, according to his obligation, and for not having shown them the silver mines, as his father had commanded. Then he delivered him to the captain of the fort, and told him to keep him prisoner as long as he did not show the mines. The captain did so, and ordered him to be bound, and kept him thus until Diogo Simões returned to the fort. This being done, Dom Filippe took leave of the captain and other soldiers of Chicova, and set out through the lands of Sapoe, accompanied by some of our Kaffirs and his own who had fled with him, for Tete, where Diogo Simões was, who

received him as if he had been his own son, and gave him a tract of land which he possessed with many vassals, in which to settle; and here he remained as long as it was in the possession of Diogo Simões.

The monomotapa, hearing of all these things which his son had done, how he was favoured and sheltered in his flight by the Portuguese, and had delivered the Kaffir Cherema to them in Chicova, to show the silver mines to them, could not bear it in patience, and his rage was such that he promised favours to any one who would kill his son. But no Kaffir would do this, even if he had been able, because of the great respect in which they held him, and they say they have no hands to spill royal blood, except in battle. Nor would the king himself dare to kill his sons, because he has very many, and those who were left alive might rise up against him, seeing that as their father killed one he might also kill the others, if such should chance to be his will, and each one would go in fear of his own death and would not trust his father.

While Diogo Simões was in Tete it happened in Chicova that two soldiers being in the neighbouring woods gathering fruit, one of them climbed a tree which was laden with fruit and which stood in the middle of a field of millet belonging to a Kaffir, the son of Inhamocucura, lord of the land which lies up the river from the fort, very powerful and valiant, and therefore much feared by the Kaffirs of these lands. The said Kaffir, his son, told the soldier not to tread down his millet or gather the fruit of his tree, because it was displeasing to him. The soldier was so angry at these words that he returned to the fort, and complained to the captain that the Kaffir had spoken to him very haughtily and abusively. It seemed to the captain that it would be a discredit to him to suffer this affront, put upon his soldier by the Kaffir, to pass, and overcome with anger and without knowing the facts of the case or hearing both sides, carried away by passion he took his gun and called the soldier to point out the Kaffir to him. He pointed him out, standing in his millet field, and the captain fired his gun at him and killed him.

The death of this Kaffir was deeply resented by the Kaffirs of that land, and especially by his father Inhamocucura, who from that time forward did the Portuguese all the harm he could,

and would sell them no provisions according to his custom. Besides this, his land became the refuge and shelter of the negroes who fled from the fort, the slaves of the Portuguese, and he received them and made use of them, and their masters saw them no more. In this way he took from the fort more than eighty slaves who fled from it and remained with him. The complaints of this Inhamocucura concerning the death of his son reached the ears of the monomotapa, who was already angry because he had given the land of Chicova to Diogo Simões, and at the flight of his son whom he had sheltered against his father's will, and for all these reasons he resolved to make war upon Diogo Simões and the fort of Chicova, as will be seen in the following chapter.

#### CHAPTER CXLIII.

*Of the war which the monomotapa made upon the fort of Chicova, the succour which Diogo Simões brought to it through the lands of Bororo, and the victory which our people gained over the enemy.*

As soon as the ambassadors whom the monomotapa had set free returned to Diogo Simões, he, thinking he had satisfied the king by his present, resolved to return to Chicova with some provision, though but small, which he destined for it, and to take the same road through Chidima by which he had already gone and returned. The monomotapa, knowing his purpose, in a short time raised an army of nine or ten thousand fighting men, and ordered them to lie in wait for Diogo Simões on the road to Chicova, and to kill him and all his company. Having very secretly arranged this snare, he sent word to Diogo Simões that he was satisfied with the present he had made him, and that he might safely proceed to Chicova, which he had given him to hold and possess as his own property. But Diogo Simões, knowing of the armed force which lay in ambush for him on the road, of which he was informed by some Kaffirs who were his friends, would not take that road, or trust the monomotapa any more, but he crossed the river Zambesi to the lands of Bororo, and pursued his way through them to Chicova.

The monomotapa, being informed of this, ordered the army which was waiting for Diogo Simões to attack the fort of

St. Michael directly, and destroy and rase it to the ground before Diogo Simões could arrive. Upon receiving this message from the king, the army set out without delay, and going to Chicova, attacked the fort with great fury on every side at once, firing many thousands of arrows into it, most of them poisoned, and discharged with such strength that many of them pierced the timbers of the fort from side to side, and stuck there, and there our people left them for a long time, that it might be seen with what force they had been sent from the bow. It is to be noted that the Mocarangas who were in this army, on reaching these lands took all the inhabitants thereof along with them, and these are warlike Botongas, whom they sent on before, and it was they who attacked our fort.

But the Portuguese who were in it, who numbered only forty, and the captain Diogo Teixeira Barroso, defended themselves valiantly, molesting the enemy with their fire until they obliged them to retreat and flee from the fort until they were beyond its reach, many of them remaining dead around the fort, and of the others many were badly wounded and died, and many were maimed, as the Kaffirs themselves afterwards related, while of our Portuguese only two were wounded, and none died. This victory was gained by our people on the 18th of March 1615.

The enemy, seeing the ill-success of their first attempt against the fort, resolved to attack it a second time in greater security, and to that end they made many shields of withes woven together and doubled, which they thought would resist our shot; and behind these they determined to attack the fort, carrying them before them like a wall. They had made these preparations to give battle on the following day, the 20th of the said month, but in the early morning of that day Diogo Simões arrived with his company at the village of Sapoe, opposite our fort, and ordered the drums and fifes to be sounded, and embarking in the boats which were there, they crossed the river and entered the fort of St. Michael. This was seen by the enemies, who were on the watch, who then agreed among themselves to return to their homes without attacking the fort, saying that if they could not penetrate and destroy it while Diogo Simões was not there, how could they do so when he was within it with the company he had brought with him? This being the opinion of all, they struck their camp, and pitched it again within a distance of half a day's

journey, whence they reported to the monomotapa the events of the war, who sent them word to withdraw.

At this time Diogo Simões heard there was a boat hidden about half a league in the interior, that our people might not take it, and as there was great need of them in the fort for crossing the river, he sent some soldiers and Kaffirs to seek it and bring it back. This they did, and as they were returning with it, the enemy were informed of their object, and sallied forth to defend it, and there ensued a severe fight, in which our people were in great peril. Diogo Simões, being informed of this, went in person with other soldiers and Kaffirs of the fort to succour them, and falling upon the enemy put them to flight, wounding and killing many, so that the field was cleared of them, and the boat set free, which they carried to the fort. From this second fight, in which the enemy felt the arm of the Portuguese, they remained so much in awe of them that they would never fight or have any difference with them again.

This war being over, the issue of which for the Kaffirs was very different from what the monomotapa had expected, the said king sent word to the fort by his ambassadors that he did not send the army which had come against them, and since it went there without his permission they had done well in causing those who took part in it to be punished and put to death. Such is the custom of this barbarian, if he orders war to be made and the issue is unsuccessful he says that no such thing was ever ordered by him, but if the issue is fortunate he says it was done at his command and therefore his will and pleasure were obeyed.

Our people thus became masters of the fort and lands of Chicova, notwithstanding the opposition of the monomotapa and the Botongas, his vassals, who possess that territory, and I will here set down the names of those who are neighbours of Chicova. The nearest is Inhamocucura, of whom I have already spoken; the second is Inhamassacurira, lord of Chitoro; the third is Inhabarabara, lord of Dinde; the fourth Manguende, lord of Matandanduva; the fifth is called Churru; the sixth Chiraya, the seventh Inhamococo, and the eighth is called Tauo, and is the supreme ruler of the Mabangos, who are two lords, one of whom is called Cherengue, and the other Tambarica.

## CHAPTER CXLIV.

*Of the discovery of silver in Chicova, of which specimens were sent to his Majesty by a Dominican friar, and of the famine they endured in the fort of Chicova.*

Diogo Simões, being free from wars and quarrels with the Mocarangas, though the Botongas of the land were still in rebellion, immediately set about searching for silver in the mountains which are within the distance of two musket shots from Fort St. Michael. To this end he sent Diogo Teixeira, captain of the fort, and Diogo Simões Batalha, his nephew, captain of infantry, with a company of twenty soldiers with their guns and several Kaffirs, also armed, to resist the natives, in case they should endeavour to prevent them. He also sent with them the Kaffir Cherema, lord of the land, whom Diogo Simões had kept as a prisoner since the time when he was delivered to him by Dom Philippe, as before mentioned.

In this way they reached the said mountains, where the Kaffir, whom they kept bound, pointed out a place where he told them to dig, and when they had dug to the depth of about three-quarters of a yard they found a piece of silver ore which weighed two pounds and a half, and as it was then late, they returned to the fort. The next day, which was the 1st of April in the year of our Lord 1615, the same men returned to the mountains, and digging in the same place as the day before, they found many small pieces of silver ore, and one weighing more than three pounds. Near this they found another large piece, which weighed two *faraçolas* and three pounds, in which a firmly rooted tree was growing, all the silver ore being bound together by its roots, from which it was clearly seen that the silver was formed there, and had not been buried there by the Kaffirs, as they suspected was the case with the first pieces they had found, which Diogo Simões sent to India the year before. In the end, they continued digging the silver, but always armed, and keeping a vigilant watch upon the Kaffirs of the land.

In this way they found in that place, and in others near it, all within a stone's throw, more than thirty *faraçolas* of silver ore, some large pieces weighing two *faraçolas* and a half, some two, some one, some half a *faraçola*, others less, and some small

pieces, from which they extracted eighteen mainas of three pounds apiece. All this ore was so rich that most of it yielded one half pure silver, and the other half dross, and some of it yielded one part silver and two parts dross. Some pieces of ore were so free from dross that they contained almost pure silver, as if it had been melted, of which Diogo Simões has still a large piece weighing two *faráçolas*, with a point of pure silver. Besides this there were two other smaller pieces, in which the silver was clean and pure from its formation, and very beautiful to see.

While such abundance of silver was being discovered, Diogo Simões wrote to the viceroy of India, Dom Jeronymo de Azevedo, and to his Majesty, giving them an account of the rich silver ore which was being discovered in Chicova, and from what it yielded, if they could discover the principal vein, his Majesty would be master of the richest mines known. At the same time he asked Friar Francisco do Avelar, a religious of the order of St. Dominic, who was at Tete, if he would arrange that these pieces of silver ore should reach his Majesty through the religious of his order, as they had laboured so much in this conquest. That father offered to go in person to carry the silver ore, as it seemed to him that he would be serving his Majesty thereby, and Diogo Simões entrusted to him three pieces of silver ore, which weighed three *faráçolas* and a half, with letters for his Majesty and the viceroy of India, and authentic documents signed by the soldiers of Chicova, certifying that the silver had been found in the mountains of Chicova near Fort Saint Michael.

Matters being thus arranged, the father set out for Sena, where Lopo Velho Preto offered to accompany him as far as the kingdom with such good tidings, and the father rejoiced to have his company. Accordingly they set out for India in July 1615, where they arrived safely. In India they embarked for the kingdom, where they also arrived safely, and the silver ore, letters, and documents were taken to his Majesty in Madrid, who rejoiced to receive them. The good tidings of the finding of the silver caused great joy both in the court and in the whole of Portugal, and with very good reason, because by the discovery and conquest of the silver mines said to exist in the territory of Monomotapa, the kingdom of Portugal will be much richer than it is, for the mines are very numerous, as will appear from the following paragraphs :

1. We have already seen that in the mountains near the fort

of St. Michael the silver already mentioned was found, and more would be found if there were diggers and miners who knew the land and the vein of the silver, which we do not know; and these are the mines which are nearest to our fort.

2. Within the distance of a league, more or less, of Fort St. Michael there is a village called Inhacassy, which is the capital of the lands of Chicova, where the principal Kaffirs, vassals of our fort, reside, and because it is the capital it is called Muzinda. It is said that there are silver mines near this place, which the Kaffirs will not show for fear of the monomotapa.

3. Near this Muzinda Inhacassy there is another land called Chitoro, where they say there are also silver mines, which the Kaffirs will not show for fear of the monomotapa.

4. In the lands of Taue, two leagues distant from our fort, a little more or less, they say there is silver which is not dug up or made known, for the same reason as the rest.

5. In the lands of Inhamocucura there are very large high mountains, which are called Motoposso, which are distant from our fort ten leagues up the river, and though they are so distant they are plainly seen from the fort. They say there is also silver hidden in these mountains, which is not shown because the monomotapa has forbidden it.

6. Beyond these mountains of Motoposso, ten leagues up the river, a little more or less, there is a kingdom subject to the monomotapa, which is called Beza, through which runs a river called Mossengueze. In the lands watered by this river they say there is a quantity of silver, which is undiscovered.

7. One day's journey up this river Mossengueze, along the river Zambezi, in the said kingdom of Beza, there is a mountain which they call Nobiry, where there are known to be mines opened and worked, from which the monomotapa provides himself with what silver he requires. In Chicova a Dominican friar asked Dom Diogo, the son of the monomotapa, who was also there with Diogo Simões Madeira, if he knew anything of those mountains of Nobiry, and he replied that he had sometimes seen bars of melted silver brought to his father from those mines, and this is notorious among the Mocarangas.

8. They say there are other silver mines in the lands of Mocota, a powerful Kaffir, a neighbour of our market of Luanze, and a Kaffir brought a large piece of silver ore from them to

sell in Luanze, as is related by an eye-witness who is truthful and very worthy of credit. And they say there is no doubt that there are silver mines in many other parts, for in these kingdoms mines of all kinds of metal are very abundant, such as gold, of which the land is full, copper, iron, quicksilver, pewter, and the silver mines which have been mentioned.

## CHAPTER CXLV.

*Of Gaspar Bocarro's journey through the land of Kaffraria from Tete to Kilwa with the silver which Diogo Simões Madeira sent to his Majesty.*

When Diogo Simões sent the silver to his Majesty by the religious of St. Dominic, who were of necessity obliged to pass by the fortress of Mozambique and thence to India, there were some persons in the rivers of Cuama who were ill-disposed towards him, and said openly that the captain of Mozambique ought to take the silver from him and send it to his Majesty by his own orders, and some of them wrote to him to that effect. Diogo Simões was very angry at this, and therefore Gaspar Bocarro, a man of noble birth, in the service of the marquis of Ferreira, who had been in the rivers for many years, offered to make the journey by land from Tete to the coast of Melinde, so that Mozambique would be far out of his way, and to pass from that coast to Ormuz, and thence to travel by land to Spain, and carry the silver which Diogo Simões would give him for his Majesty. He offered to make the journey at his own cost, in order to serve the king, and moreover to lend two thousand cruzados to assist in maintaining the fort of Chicova, until some provision should reach it from India.

Diogo Simões thanked him and accepted his offer, and received the money which Gaspar Bocarro gave him for the maintenance of the fort. He entrusted to him two faraçolas of silver ore, in which there was a small piece of silver, pure from its formation, which seemed as if it had been melted, and authentic documents and credentials, to deliver all to his Majesty. This being arranged and concluded, Gaspar Bocarro provided

himself with all that was necessary for his long and perilous journey.

He set out from Tete in March 1616, taking with him ten or twelve of his slaves, and passing to the other side of the river Zambesi, he travelled through the lands of Bororo, and after two days' journey he reached the village of Inhampury, where he bought a thousand bracelets of copper wire, which are made by the Kaffirs of that place, there being much copper there. These bracelets serve as money for small expenses throughout all these roads of Kaffraria. Bocarro gave Inhampury a present of cloth and beads worth about seven cruzados. Thence he went and slept at Baue, a village belonging to the said Inhampury, where one of his wives resides, to whom he gave another present worth about three cruzados. Thence he travelled for three days through thickets and desert country as far as Danda, a town subject to Muzura, who is the chief Kaffir lord in the territory of Bororo. To the governor of this town Bocarro gave cloths and beads worth about two cruzados. Thence he went and slept at Bunga, a large village subject to Muzura, where he gave the governor cloths and beads to the value of one cruzado.

Here Gaspar Bocarro sent word of his coming to Muzura, and forwarded a present, which the Kaffirs call the mouth, of cloths and beads to the value of five cruzados. On reaching the town in which he resides, which is called Maraui, he went to see Muzura, and gave him pieces of calico, beads, and silk cloth worth about seventy cruzados. He also gave him his bed, which included a carpet, a damask bolster, and sheets, because it was a great encumbrance to carry such a large bed on the shoulders for such a long journey, Muzura gave Bocarro two ivory tusks worth about eighteen cruzados, a negress, and food for the fifteen days that he remained there, and to all his company he gave a quantity of millet, rice, hens, capons, cows, and figs; and he also provided him with three Kaffirs, his subjects, to guide and guard him and lead him safely through his territory.

With these three guides Bocarro set out from Muzura, and went and slept at Moromba, a town of Muzura, and he gave the governor thereof, who was called Inhamocumba, cloths and beads worth about two cruzados; and the governor gave Gaspar Bocarro three other Kaffirs to accompany him and be his guides. Near this town of Moromba is the great river Manganja, or a

lake which looks like the sea, from which issues the river Nhanha, which flows into the Zambesi below Sena, and there it is called the river Chiry. From Moromba Gaspar Bocarro set out with the three additional guides, and travelling along this river Nhanha, he slept upon its bank, and the next day crossed to the other side in boats which the native Kaffirs have there. Keeping to the north, he slept in the town of Caramboe, a son of Muzura, to whom Bocarro gave cloths and beads to the value of seven cruzados. Thence they went and dined at a village called Mocama, and slept at another called Mogombe, where they gave the governor cloths and beads worth one cruzado. Thence they went and slept at the limits of the lands of the son of Muzura.

At that place begins the territory called Manguro, which is subject to Chicoave, a friend and almost a vassal of Muzura, because he stands in awe of him. They began to travel through these lands, and went and slept at the village of Machambe, to whom they gave cloths and beads worth about two cruzados. They went thence, and slept at the village of Muzunguira, to whom they gave bracelets and beads worth one cruzado. Thence they went and slept at the town in which dwells Chicoave, the lord of these lands, and before reaching it Bocarro sent him word of his arrival, and forwarded to him as the present the mouth a hundred bracelets, a cloth, and beads, worth altogether about five cruzados, and when he spoke to the Kaffir he made him another present, of the value of about seven cruzados, and the Kaffir gave him an ivory tusk worth about three cruzados. Muzura sent this Kaffir a present, that he might let Bocarro pass and provide him with guides, which he did, giving him one of his sons, who accompanied him thenceforward together with the other guides of Muzura.

There is a river here, which is called Ruambara, which is passed in boats. From the town of Chicoave they went and slept at the village of Chipanga, and proceeded thence to the village of Changnessa, to whom they gave a cloth and a bunch of beads. Thence they went and slept in desert lands, and the next day at the village of Mauano, to whom they gave a cloth and a bead necklace. Thence they went and slept at a village called Rupapa, of which Quitenga is lord, to whom they gave three cloths and twenty bracelets. Thence they went and slept in a

thicket, and the next day along the river Rofuma, in the village of Muangongo, to whom they gave fifty bracelets, two necklaces of beads, a native cloth, and a piece of calico, and he conveyed Gaspar Bocarro and all his company to the other side of the river in his boat, and remained with him three days.

The lands from this river Rofuma as far as the sea are ruled by Manhanga. From this river Bocarro went and slept at the house of Darama, to whom he gave six bracelets and a few beads. Thence he went and slept at the village of Davia, to whom he gave twenty bracelets and a bead necklace. Thence he went to the town in which Manhanga, lord of these lands, resides, and before reaching it Gaspar Bocarro sent him word of his coming, with two hundred bracelets and a native cloth, as the present the mouth, and when he spoke with him he gave him six hundred bracelets more. Muzura also sent this Kaffir a hundred bracelets, a native cloth, and a little negress, that he might give Bocarro free passage through his lands. Manhanga gave Bocarro an ivory tusk, and sent Muzura a present of cloths, which he obtains from the coast of Melinde, for this Kaffir also obeys Muzura.

The three guides of Muzura now returned, as did those of Inhamocumba, governor of Moramba, and the son of Chicoave. Gaspar Bocarro travelled thenceforward with the guides supplied to him by Manhanga, to whom he then gave twenty bracelets. They travelled seven days through a ~~deserted~~ country, because the land had been devastated by the Zimbabwes, who passed over it with an army. After those seven days they reached the village of Chiponda, brother of Manhanga, to whom they gave fifty bracelets and a native cloth, and he gave Bocarro a small ivory tusk and one of his Kaffirs for a guide, to accompany him for the remainder of the journey as far as the seashore, to whom Bocarro gave twenty bracelets. Thence they travelled four days through desert lands, at the end of which they reached the village of Ponde, where they gave a few beads; and thence they went to the village of Morengue, to whom they gave a machira and a few beads. Thence they travelled four days through a desert land, until they reached Bucury, a village of the Moors, where they slept; and the next day they reached the sea-shore about mid-day. There they embarked, and crossed to the island of Kilwa, which was opposite, where were the factor and other Portuguese, who entertained Gaspar Bocarro.

The inhabited parts of these territories are well provided with provisions, namely millet, rice, vegetables, hens, sheep, cows, and goats, all very cheap. Gaspar Bocarro spent fifty-three days upon this journey, and more than a hundred and fifty cruzados in presents and for his food and that of his company, for whom he also provided. And though Gaspar Bocarro was fifty-three days upon the way, his servants who returned unencumbered from Kilwa to Tete, accomplished it in twenty-five days.

From Kilwa Gaspar Bocarro embarked upon his voyage to Ormuz, and on reaching Mombasa he found that the roads of Persia were obstructed by the shah, and the country was at war, therefore he returned to Mozambique, and thence to the rivers of Cuama, where he arrived in safety. The details of this journey are thus set down, with the names of the villages, lands, and the lords thereof, and also the amount which Gaspar Bocarro spent, in case any one should have occasion to attempt this journey again, that the adventurer may know which way to go, and what he must spend.

#### CHAPTER CXLVI.

*Of the hunger which they endured in Chicova, and of the arrival at the fort of St. Michael of Friar João dos Santos, of the order of St. Dominic, at the summons of the captain and soldiers of the conquest.*

After Diogo Simões had sent the silver to his Majesty he remained in the fort of Chicova with only forty-four soldiers, the rest having been sent by him to succour Mozambique, as has been stated. Most of the forty-four who remained fell ill, and many died of malignant fevers, because of the great heat of that land, caused by the mineral mountains therein, so that after eleven o'clock in the day it is impossible to remain in them because of the great heat which they throw out. During that time if one of the many pieces of iron which are there is taken in the hand it burns as if it had been taken from a fire, as they experienced several times when they were in the mountains during the hours aforesaid, and for this reason they did not dig in the mountains except in the morning until ten o'clock.

A remarkable thing was observed in the men who died in this fort, who breathed their last after four days' illness or less, being

in good health before, which is that when they died they exhibited no dismay or sign of fear, or contortions of the eyes and mouth, as is usual with the dying, but they retained their speech, and when their last hour was come, opened their mouths and died like little birds. And reflecting sometimes concerning these quick deaths, it was thought that the cause was the climate of the land, the soil being mineral, and the air so hot because of the metals contained therein, so that the daily heat gradually consumes the marrow and weakens the vital forces of man, in such a way that when he is near death his members have no strength to resist it, and the soul is easily separated from the body which has lacked its natural warmth for many days. Those who escaped death remained sickly, and could not complete their recovery, because of the hunger they endured in the fort for lack of provisions both for the sick and the healthy.

Besides these illnesses and deaths which the soldiers of Chicova suffered, what they felt most was that they had no priest with them to administer the sacraments, because the fathers of the Company who came from India to the rivers with Dom Estevão de Ataide, with the title of chaplains of the conquest, when they saw that Diogo Simões had but little power to sustain the enterprise, would not remain with him at Chicova, though he demanded it of them several times; and therefore the fort of St. Michael was without them for fifteen months, during which thirteen soldiers died without the sacraments. Therefore Diogo Simões and the other soldiers of the fort wrote a letter to Sena, to a Dominican father called Friar João dos Santos, (who gave information for this history), who was then at that place, earnestly begging him for the love of God to come to Chicova to confess them and administer the sacraments of the church, and not allow them to die like beasts, since they were Christians, and he could give them the help which their souls required.

The father communicated this letter to those of his order at Sena, and all were of opinion that it would be well for him to succour these people, it being for the service of God and his Majesty. He therefore provided himself with what was necessary, and embarked at Sena for Tete, which is sixty leagues up the river through many dangerous currents. From Tete he travelled by land to Chicova, which is more than forty leagues of bad

roads, as before stated ; but it was God's will that he should meet with no danger or disaster on his way, and he reached Chicova at the end of January 1616, where he was received with great rejoicing, and all the soldiers and others of Fort St. Michael confessed and received the sacrament at his hands.

At the time when the father reached Chicova Diogo Simões was occupied in strengthening the fort, having information that the monomotapa was about to attack him again, knowing the privations, hunger, and death which our people were suffering, and as further confirmation of this intelligence he had sight one day of four hundred Mokaranga Kaffirs on the banks of the river near our fort. Though these menaces gave him cause for anxiety, what they suffered from most of all was hunger, there being no provisions, because the Kaffirs of Diogo Simões who served in the fort, some of whom he had employed to go and buy provisions and bring them to the fort from the lands of Sapoe, fled to Tete to escape the hunger and labour of bringing the millet on their backs for two or three leagues. Thus they were all left three or four days with nothing to eat, until other Kaffirs were sent to obtain millet, and they behaved in the same way as the first.

Other Kaffirs were occupied in cutting timber in the woods and bringing it to the fort, which they strengthened with it, and therefore there were no Kaffirs left to dig for silver, which had been their means of subsistence for four or five months, for when silver was dug out of the mountains the ore was melted and sent to Tete to purchase cloth and beads with which to trade for provisions. This they did as long as there were Kaffirs to go and dig for the silver in the mountains, but when they had nearly all fled to Tete none remained to dig the silver, and they had nothing with which to trade for the scanty provisions in the hands of Sapoe's Kaffirs.

Those at the fort were thus reduced to such famine that many of them ate nothing but ripe tamarinds rolled in ashes, because the ashes took away their sourness and acidity. In these hardships they maintained themselves, hoping each day for provisions from India, for which Diogo Simões had written to the viceroy, informing him how little he had with which to sustain the conquest, which provisions were sent to him, as will appear in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER CXLVII.

*Of the provisions which the viceroy Dom Jeronymo de Azevedo sent to the fort of Chicova by a judge who refused to deliver them.*

From the silver which Diogo Simões sent to India and to Portugal the viceroy Dom Jeronymo de Azevedo was convinced that great importance should be attached to this conquest, and that everything necessary should be provided for it. He therefore sent a chief judge named Francisco da Fonseca Pinto, with the title of chief captain, general auditor of criminal and civil causes, chief guardian of the property of deceased persons, and overseer of his Majesty's revenue in those parts, that he might provide for the fort of Chicova and examine the silver mines to see if there were any fixed and established. He left Goa for this purpose in a galleot laden with the necessary provisions, cloth, beads, and stores both military and what were required for working the mines; and reached Mozambique in a short time.

On his arrival at that island there arose so many disputes between the soldiers of the fortress and Ruy de Mello de Sampaio,—all that has been already related,—that the judge was detained in Mozambique deciding these dissensions for two months, which seemed two thousand years to those who were awaiting succour from him in Chicova and dying of hunger. Having concluded this business in Mozambique, the judge embarked in a galleot which Ruy de Mello had loaded to send to the rivers of Cuama, and in it he reached Quilimane in May 1616. There he seized the merchandise of Ruy de Mello which was on board the galleot, saying that he did so as overseer of his Majesty's revenue, in payment of what was due for the fortress, which was thirty thousand cruzados.

Intelligence of his arrival at the rivers reached Chicova, where they were awaiting with longing eyes the succour and provisions from India, and when they heard that there was so much merchandise for the expenses of the conquest, they were encouraged in the midst of their suffering and hardships, and Diogo Simões and the father wrote immediately to the judge that his coming was indeed welcome, and since God had sent him at such a time, when those in the fort of St. Michael were perishing, and in danger of being forced to abandon it through

famine; his worship should send some provision of cloth at once to buy food for these people until he should come to the fort, as they hoped. These letters were delivered to him, and he replied to them in complimentary terms, but with no relief whatever. As the price of cloth was very high at that time, none having come from India to the rivers for two years, the ships which carried it having been lost, it seemed better and wiser counsel to the judge, in conformity with his designs, to sell the merchandise he had brought for a large quantity of good gold and ivory to take to India, than to waste it in providing for forts and soldiers. In effecting this sale he remained at Tete and Sena, without sending any provisions to the fort for three months after his arrival in the rivers.

Diogo Simões and his company of soldiers in the fort, seeing that this delay in providing the fort with what was necessary (knowing their extreme need) would destroy and undo all that they had gained and conquered, wrote him a general letter and protest, drawn up by the secretary of the conquest, to which they all signed their names, declaring, as they had done in many other letters which they wrote to him, the extreme famine which they had suffered for many months, for which cause they required him to succour them, protesting that if within eight days he did not send them some means of subsistence, they would be forced to abandon Fort St. Michael of Chicova, and he would be the chief cause of their so doing, which they would report in the proper quarter, since being in Tete, so near the fort, and having the means of relieving them, he refused to do so. This protest was presented to him at Tete, and read before witnesses, and his reply was: "If Diogo Simões abandons the fort, I have an arm and strength to regain it." And he made small account of the protest, since he provided the fort with nothing whatever.

After this protest had been made to the judge, he began to show his evil intentions towards Diogo Simões; for two tracts of land which he had possessed in Tete for more than twenty years, and which Lourenço de Brito, when captain of Mozambique, had given to him in his Majesty's name, that he and his people might defend them from the Mokarangas who invaded the lands of Tete through them, were taken from him by the judge and given to less worthy persons, as if Diogo Simões was a rebel. Besides this he apprehended the nephew of Diogo Simões, who had sent

him from Chicova to Tete to accompany him upon the journey which he said he was about to make to Chicova, and he sent him to Sena loaded with chains.

Another day he ordered the drums to be sounded, and assembling all the soldiers he had brought with him and the married men of Sena and Tete who were there with their slaves, he raised the banner of Christ, and attacked the houses and settlement of the slaves of Diogo Simões, most of whom were absent with their master serving in the fort of Chicova, and put the land to fire and sword, which was the cause of many thefts and deaths of innocent persons who were quiet in their houses, and he made prisoners of many negresses, girls and women, belonging to Diogo Simões, who were taken to Sena and other places and sold. Diogo Simões suffered great loss from this and much affliction when he heard that a man who had come from India to succour him, and provide for the fort of Chicova, should affront him in this manner and do him such damage when he was actually serving his Majesty and maintaining the fort of Chicova for him in the midst of hardship and famine; and he thereupon lost confidence that he would be able to preserve what he had gained and conquered in Chicova.

Besides these things which the judge did openly against Diogo Simões, he did others in secret which were afterwards discovered, which were that he summoned the inhabitants of Tete to his house, and forbade them, under penalty of high treason, to send themselves, or through others, any goods to Chicova by which Diogo Simões could maintain himself. From which it appears that he wished to reduce Diogo Simões to still greater straits, that he might be obliged to abandon the fort, when he would be relieved of the obligation of providing for the soldiers with the merchandise which he still had. He also endeavoured to kill Diogo Simões by means of the monomotapa, to whom he sent word that Diogo Simões was a rebel, who had gone to Chicova and built a fort there without leave from the viceroy of India; and therefore he should make war upon him, and kill him, for such was the will of the viceroy. The monomotapa accepted this embassy with good will, because of the hatred he bore to Diogo Simões for building the fort of Chicova against his will, and then he ordered war to be made upon him, which was done, as will be related hereafter.

## CHAPTER CXLVIII.

*How the judge left for Chicova, but returned before reaching the fort, without providing it with what was necessary.*

The judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto remained in Tete until the 1st of August, occupied in the plots which have been related, which he had laid for the ruin of Diogo Simões Madeira, not considering that by this means he was also destroying the fort of Chicova which Diogo Simões was maintaining. Seeing that he had no valid reason for neglecting to go to Chicova and examine the silver mines, as he was ordered to do by the viceroy, he resolved to make this journey, and left Tete at the beginning of August, going up the river in canoes, in which he reached the village of Cachengue, which is twenty leagues from Tete, having in his company a hundred and fifty guns and two thousand Kaffirs, vassals of Tete, who marched by land along the river.

The canoes were left at this village of Cachengue, and he crossed to the side of Bororo, and with the company arranged in single file he travelled towards Chicova in peace and quietness, for Diogo Simões kept the roads open, quiet, and free, by the many presents he had given to the lords of the land, so that any child or woman could go from Chicova to Tete to obtain what was desired by their masters in the fort, and no one on the road would do them harm, but rather good, giving them lodging in their houses and villages, and selling them what provisions they required. The roads being thus free, the judge continued his journey day by day, as far as a village called Zivy, which is a day's journey from Chicova, where he rested two or three days, informing himself of what was passing in Fort St. Michael.

From this place the judge sent three Portuguese with letters to Diogo Simões, to reassure him, with friendly words, saying that the judge was coming, very anxious to serve him and show him great favour, in his Majesty's name, by order of the viceroy. But all this was pretence, for before these men arrived Diogo Simões had many reports from Sena and Tete of all that the judge had done against him, warning him not to await his arrival at Chicova, or to put any trust in him, because his sole design in going to Fort St. Michael was to seize him and put him to death. Diogo Simões was well aware of this, and it was understood by

all from the injuries he had done him in Tete, taking away his lands and giving them to others, making his nephew prisoner, burning his houses, killing his slaves, and taking others captive, for no other purpose than to destroy the strength and courage with which he served his Majesty, that thenceforward he might have no power to do so.

Diogo Simões therefore, being aware of this fact, sent an answer by one of the three Portuguese who had brought him the letters from the judge, saying that his long desired coming was welcome in Chicova, but his worship had done him so many injuries in Tete, and caused him so much loss and damage, that he did not dare to meet him, or to trust his words, for it was very evident to all that he who did him so much injury in his property would treat his person still worse; and since his worship had not come to show him the favour and honours he had deserved for the services he had rendered to his Majesty, he did not choose to await him, to suffer affronts; and therefore let his worship come at once to Chicova, since he was so near it, and he would find two forts there, one called St. Michael, situated near the silver mines, and the other called St. Antonio, in the lands of Sapoe, on the other side of the river, opposite each other, each with its captain and soldiers, and they would deliver them to him and give him an account of the mines, for everyone knew as much about them as he did himself. Then he remained at Fort St. Antonio, resolving to leave it and go to Tete by a different road as soon as the judge reached the said fort.

The judge was at Zivy awaiting the reply of Diogo Simões and the report of his ambassadors upon what had passed between them, and when the man arrived with the above mentioned answer, the very hour that he read the letter of Diogo Simões, saying that he would not meet him, without delay he returned to Tete, and would not go to Chicova, or look at the mines, or leave any goods to provide for the soldiers, giving as a reason that he had only come to see Diogo Simões, who was to show him the mines, and since he said he would not await him in Chicova, he had nothing to do there. And he returned in such haste that in four days he retraced the journey, which usually occupies eight, for fear Diogo Simões should pursue him and take from him the merchandise he had with him, in order to maintain himself and his soldiers in Chicova.

Those who were in the fort of St. Michael were joyfully awaiting the arrival of the judge, never dreaming that he would return from Zivy to Tete without examining the mines, as he had been commanded by the viceroy to do, and when they heard of his return could not believe it. In order to make sure of what was happening, Diogo Simões sent four slaves of his as messengers to Zivy to see if the judge was still there, or if he had gone as was reported. The Kaffirs went to Zivy, where they were told by the inhabitants that the judge had left in great haste for Tete, and the Kaffirs, who were very zealous, followed him in order to make sure of which way he had gone; but they could never come up with him, and reaching the place on the river where the canoes had been left, they found no one there, and no boats, because the judge had gone to Tete in them with all his company.

Upon this the Kaffirs of Diogo Simões returned to Chicova to bring this intelligence to their master and those of his company. It may well be supposed how heavy were the hearts of those who had awaited the reward of their labours for two years, serving his Majesty by defending and maintaining the fort of St. Michael, which was of such importance, suffering the hostility and famine which they had endured there, and now seeing all their hopes frustrated, and themselves poor and naked, for they had even sold their shirts to buy food, and in fine the whole conquest undone and all that they had gained lost. Diogo Simões especially, whom these things affected more nearly than the rest, felt them more than all.

#### CHAPTER CXLIX.

*How they abandoned the fort of St. Michael because of the famine they endured there, and how Diogo Simões returned to Tete with all the people of the conquest.*

It is impossible to exaggerate the grief which all those in Fort St. Michael felt at seeing the inhumanity with which they were treated by the judge, who knowing that for months they had endured extreme necessity, maintaining his Majesty's fort for honour's sake, which was to prove so important in the future, refused to provide them with what was necessary, which he had

brought from India for that purpose. Diogo Simões and all the soldiers of the fort, seeing that they could not remain there an hour longer, since there was not even food for that time, resolved to abandon the fort and return to Tete, as no succour could now be looked for, because the judge who was bringing it had returned with it to Tete, leaving the fort in the most miserable state which can be imagined. For these urgent reasons Diogo Simões ordered a deed to be drawn up by the secretary of the conquest, at the request of the soldiers, who all signed it, declaring that they abandoned the forts of St. Michael and St. Antonio for the reasons above given; and in conformity therewith they all prepared to leave Fort St. Michael.

The next day, which was the feast of our Lady's Assumption, the 15th of August, mass was said in the church, which had been very well built and finished and placed under the invocation of our Lady of the Rosary, and this was the last time it was said in Chicova. All assisted at it, and when mass was over they stripped the picture and ornaments off the altar, with such sorrow that all those who were helping were moved to tears, at the thought that this house would be left in the hands of the barbarous Kaffir natives, who would commit many indecencies in the place where the body of God had been many times consecrated. Then they occupied themselves in removing from the fort the negresses and children, and conveying them to the other side, to Fort St. Antonio, in the village of Sapoe; and as the river in that place is very wide and rapid, and there were only two small boats, it took nearly the whole day to accomplish this.

The next day, the 17th of the said month, the soldiers crossed the river, a few at a time, and the last person who left the fort was Diogo Simões Madeira, who felt such sorrow at the loss of what had cost him so much, that he could not refrain from bursting into tears; and the same sorrow was shown by all in general. Fort St. Michael was thus left newly strengthened, and all crossed to the other side of the river, and went into Fort St. Antonio, where Sapoe, lord of those lands, also lived with our soldiers who were there with their captain to secure the passage of the river.

This Sapoe and his subjects were our friends, because of the

advantage they derived from our presence at Chicova, both because of the merchandise which Diogo Simões gave him to preserve his friendship and free passage for us through his roads, and because of the provisions which they sold us in exchange for cloths, which are the riches of all these Kaffirs, and therefore they were greatly grieved at our departure from those territories.

They left Fort St. Antonio on the 18th of August of the said year, and travelled day by day towards Tete, with great difficulty, because most of the soldiers, being weakened by famine, grew tired directly, and their feet swelled so that they could not walk. Seeing this, Diogo Simões got out of the litter in which he was travelling, and gave it to those who were weakest, and he himself performed most of the journey on foot. But in spite of this two soldiers died on the road, who were ill when they left Chicova, and it is very certain that they died of hunger.

In this way they travelled on for six days, until they reached the river and the place where the judge left the canoes and returned in them to Tete. At this place, which is called Cachengue, they were to cross the river, as they were travelling through the lands of Marenga, which are subject to Tete. Here they had great difficulty, because they could find no boats in which to cross the river, the judge having taken them all, both his own and those of the country. At last God provided them with two, though but small, in which they crossed the river, a few at a time, without danger or loss in the passage; but a disaster occurred as soon as they reached land, for Diogo Simões sent two of his slaves, valuable young men, to Marenga, who was within a day's journey from that place, to ask him to supply some provisions for the soldiers who were perishing, and Marenga, who was on good terms with the judge, made them prisoners and sent them to him at Tete. What further occurred upon this journey will appear from the following chapter.

## CHAPTER CL.

*Of the obstacles our people met with, which forced them to take another route and not go direct to Tete; and of the proclamation against Diogo Simões.*

When they had crossed the river and entered the territory of Marenga, they received information that the judge on his return to Tete, after his journey on the way to Chicova, issued a proclamation summoning Diogo Simões to appear before his tribunal in Tete within nine days, to clear himself from the criminal charges against him, under penalty of being proclaimed a rebel. It has already been said that from Tete to Chicova is eight days' journey, and the return journey takes another eight days. How was it possible then for a man who was at Chicova to appear within nine days, when for the summons to reach him, and for him to come post-haste, sixteen days were required? Besides this, how could it be right for the judge to oblige Diogo Simões to appear before his tribunal at Tete, when his presence alone was actually maintaining the fort at Chicova, where he retained the soldiers almost by force? Rather, however many criminal charges there were against him, it would have been better to keep them in abeyance at that time, that he might not leave Chicova, where he was serving his Majesty; but passion generally blinds even learned men, so that they do not see what they are ordering or judging, as appears in this proclamation issued by the judge.

Here they also received information that the judge had posted on the road by which they must pass to Tete two thousand armed Kaffirs, both of Tete and Marenga, with a Portuguese captain, whom I do not name for his honour's sake, and other Portuguese soldiers in his company, to fall upon them at a certain place, where they lay in ambush. Having assured themselves of the truth of this report, they left the direct road in order to avoid such an encounter, and made their way through the thickets, going many leagues round in two days. The Portuguese captain and his Kaffirs who were awaiting them heard of this movement, and the captain ordered the Kaffirs to go in pursuit, and to traverse the thickets and get ahead of them, which they did, although there were no Portuguese in

their company, but only the Kaffirs who followed them with such caution and secrecy that on the second night of their retreat the pursuers reached the place where they were sleeping, where they remained hidden in the thicket, without Diogo Simões and his people being aware of their presence, waiting to attack them in the dead of night, when they would be asleep, and to kill and rob them all. This might easily have been done, for they were weary and off their guard, and the Kaffirs were many and wicked, void of pity and the fear of God.

Matters being in this state, the Portuguese captain bethought him of the rashness he had shown in sending the Kaffirs to attack them, knowing that a Kaffir in order to steal will spare no one, especially in the night, and all the evils and deaths which would ensue would be laid to his account and that of the judge who sent him upon such an enterprise. Therefore, seized with remorse of conscience or fear of the evil he might afterwards bring upon himself, he sent a mulatto, a native of the country, who knew the language, in great haste to the place where the Kaffirs were to take them word from him not to kill or wound any Portuguese whatever, but only to capture Diogo Simões, if they could, and bring him back with them.

The mulatto obeyed the captain's orders with such zeal and diligence that he ran all the way (as he afterwards related) to the place where the Kaffirs were in ambush, and gave them the captain's message. To this they replied: "How is it possible for us to capture Diogo Simões without killing any one, particularly at night, when no one can be recognised? Therefore if we are not to fight, relieve us from attacking the Portuguese, and let us return, for if Diogo Simões escapes from the assault and is left alive, we shall lose our lives, for we shall all have to pay for it afterwards, as we must remain in this country with him, while the judge will go back to India, and care nothing about us." Upon this reasoning, which was held by several of the Kaffirs, and the remonstrances of the mulatto to prevent them from attacking, they all thought proper to return to their Portuguese captain, which they did the same night.

Our people, who were far from suspecting what might have befallen them, pursued their way the next day, and for two more, through the thickets, (not knowing the danger from which God had delivered them that night), until they reached the lands of

Inhabanzo, which belonged to Diogo Simões, where his vassals received him and obeyed him as their lord. These lands were given to Diogo Simões by the monomotapa, because he drove from them, by the power of his arms, the rebel Matuzianhe, who had taken them from the said monomotapa. They contain twenty-five very large villages, in which there are more than two thousand fighting men. In these lands he was left by the soldiers and the father, who went to Tete, which is nine or ten leagues distant. They left the direct road to Tete, which takes two days, or three at the most, and went round through the thickets, in which they spent six days; for they left Cachengue and went and slept at Inhamabira, and thence to Inhangoma, which is subject to a captain of the king, and thence they passed to Antauara and went and slept at the river Mufa, which has the lands of Bunga on one side and those of Chambo on the other. Thence they came to Inhabanzo and slept at the village of Inhambiroto, thence to Mangindo, and thence to Tete.

#### CHAPTER CLI.

*How the judge wished to ignore the silver of Chicova, and proclaimed Diogo Simões a rebel; and of the war which the monomotapa made against Inhabanzo.*

When our people reached Tete the judge was still there, and hearing of the arrival of the soldiers of Chicova he summoned them all together, and then each one by himself, and asked them if there was silver in Chicova. Every one of them answered that there was, and they had extracted more than thirty *faraçolas* from the mountains near the fort. The judge was very vexed at this, because he meant to ignore the silver and put an end to the reports about it, that he might be less guilty in not having examined the mines, as the viceroy had commanded him. In furtherance of this design, it is said that he summoned some of these soldiers to his house, and made them depose that there was no silver in Chicova, as they themselves afterwards made known, giving as a bad defence that they had deposed what was untrue through fear of the judge. It is said that the judge took this document to India with him to serve as his defence, not considering that both in India and these rivers there was a more

trustworthy witness to the contrary, which was the silver itself that was brought from Chicova and made into goblets and salvers, so that there was no married man in Sena and Tete who did not possess some, while in the hands of the viceroy and of many persons in India there were pieces of silver ore, both large and small, which Diogo Simões had sent from Chicova.

The judge, finding that he had no means of apprehending Diogo Simões, who was safe in his own lands and obeyed by the Kaffirs thereof as their lord, again sent a message to the monomotapa to make war upon Diogo Simões, who was in Inhabanzo, and take from him the land he had given him, and kill him if possible. After this he proclaimed sentence of outlawry against Diogo Simões, pronouncing him a rebel for having abandoned the fort of St. Michael of Chicova, without further accusing him of the criminal charges which he said had been brought against him in his tribunal, when he issued the summons for him to appear and clear himself of them in Tete; though had they existed, it would have been well to mention them in the sentence, as it would have aggravated the case against him and made the sentence more justifiable. But he only accused him of having abandoned the fort, not considering that this fault might be laid to his own charge, because he refused to assist him with the provisions he had brought from India for the purpose; and before abandoning the fort, Diogo Simões had by letters and protestations represented to him the necessity of providing what was requisite to maintain the fort, as he would otherwise be obliged to abandon it, and that he when on the way to Chicova, and being near Fort St. Michael, returned to Tete without leaving any provisions for the maintenance of the soldiers. Finally, after pronouncing this sentence he went to Sena.

When the judge was at Sena, and just about setting out for Mozambique, the monomotapa sent him word by ambassadors that he would come himself to command the army he had asked him to send against Diogo Simões, to take from him the lands of Inhabanzo, but that he should send him the merchandise he promised him for doing so. The judge dismissed the ambassadors, and it was not known what answer he had given them; but a month afterwards it became known that the monomotapa had attacked Diogo Simões and driven him out of the lands of Inhabanzo.

Then he proceeded to take possession of the other lands of Tete, destroying and robbing wherever he passed; and after making himself master of all the territory of Tete he sent word to the captain and people of the fort that the judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto had promised him much merchandise if he would come and take the lands of Inhabanzo from Diogo Simões, which he had done in person; and since the judge had deceived him, and had gone without giving him what he promised, they must do so, and if they did not he would come himself to Tete for it.

The inhabitants of Tete were greatly disquieted by such an embassy, so that they almost resolved to abandon Tete and flee to Sena, but reconsidering the evil they would cause thereby, and the loss they would suffer from leaving their houses and churches to the Kaffirs who would rase them to the ground, they collected among them all a present of cloth and other things, which they sent to the monomotapa, who was appeased thereby, and also because he was content with having got possession of all the villages around Tete. He placed captains of his own there, and new lords from among his Mocaranga Kaffirs, so that Tete remained surrounded by enemies.

Diogo Simões, seeing himself persecuted by Christians and heathen Kaffirs, took refuge with another Christian Kaffir, called Quitambo, his friend, whom he had made lord of the lands of Chombe and of the fort which he took from him, as previously related. He remained with this Kaffir for a short time, which was while the judge was in the rivers, and after he had left he returned to his house in Tete, where he remained awaiting better fortune than had come to him with Francisco da Fonseca Pinto, general auditor and chief captain.

These events proved the truth of the popular saying that each man should hold to his own calling and not meddle with that of others, the judge and lawyer with matters of judicature and the study of books that they may be able to judge wisely in cases brought before them, and the captain with arms and military matters, and such enterprises should be entrusted to the latter, for they know the ways of war and how to maintain and defend the forts of his Majesty and reward the soldiers who serve him. If one of these had been sent as chief captain to provide for the forts of Chicova, they would never have been lost and abandoned,

and Diogo Simões would not have been reduced to the state in which he was left by this judge, after he had spent all that he possessed in this conquest and the service of his Majesty. Nevertheless there are some exceptions to this rule, and many lawyers are found very capable in war or any other service of his Majesty, as will be seen in the course of this narrative.

The judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto went from Sena to Mozambique, taking with him, besides the money for which he sold the merchandise of Ruy de Mello, a large sum from the fines which he imposed on many persons in the rivers. We leave him on this voyage, to give an account of events which were occurring at this time in other places.

## INFORMAÇÃO

DO

ESTADO E CONQUISTA DOS RIOS DE CUAMA,

VULGAR E VERDADEIRAMENTE CHAMADOS RIOS DO OURO.

[Copied from a document in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,—Département des Manuscrits, Portugais 33, Folio 41.]

Ao Conde V. Rey João Nunez da Cunha.

Manda me V. Ex<sup>a</sup> de screuer o Estado e Conquista dos Rios pella noticia dos annos que nella assisti bastantes p<sup>a</sup> experiencia e comprehensãõ. Começarey per Mossambique escala principal e cabeça de toda esta Conquista.

*Mossambique, Querimbas, Costa te o Cabo Delgado, Ilha de Saõ Lourenço e mais Ilhas adjacentes.*

Possue S. Mag<sup>de</sup> em todo este grande districto de terras unicamente a Ilha de Mossambique com duas legoas de terra quasi em quadro na terra firme uizinha, que pouco mais he a distancia do Rio Calundi te o poste de Quitangine e a da praya te o chuambo (assi se chama a estacada, q̃ serue de forte) no certaõ contra o Macuani. Macuani se chama toda aquella grande prouincia, q̃ corre do Cabo delgado te Moss<sup>o</sup> 100 legoas por costa, e de Mossambique pera o Cabo de boa Esperança 50. He esta prouincia repartida em uarios Fumos (ou Regulos) mayores e menores, que todos obedeciaõ primeiro ao grande emperador de toda a naçaõ dos Macuas; mas hoje senhorados pello Marauai, a quem em tanto obedecem, em que a uiolencia os obriga. A Ilha de Mossambique foy antigamente do xeque Mouro, cujos successores, e subditos habitãõ hoje no posto de Sanculo fronteiro a ponte austral da Ilha de Mossambique, infestados de Marauai, contra o qual tem a sua pouoaçaõ bem fortificada, e subditos ao Governador de Mossambique, a cuja sombra uiue. He da forma

de huã azeuia, tera de comprimento hum tiro da peça, de largura hum tiro da Espingarda. O clima doentio, e sepultura de milhares de Portuguezes: a terra seca e salobre, sem mais agoa que a da chuua, sem mais fruto que alguãs palmeiras: e o porto exposto a terriueis Monomocayas, assy se chamaõ aquelles horriueis tufais, que infestaõ a tempos aquella Costa. Sempre os entendidos e zelosos culparaõ nosso descuido em fazer o assento em Moss<sup>o</sup> quando o pudermos fazer na baya de Jesses, ou de Santo Agostinho q̄ fica front<sup>a</sup> aos Rios com todas estas comodid<sup>es</sup>: o porto dos molheres do descuberto, o clima mui sadio; a t<sup>ra</sup> abundantissima de agoas e mantimentos baratissimos: a mayor comodidade da nauegação fogindo aos baixos da India e João da Noua; sobre daquelle porto se poder nauegar em todo o anno pera os Rios, e uoltar de la pera elle, sendo que de Mossambique aos Rios se nauegaõ so em duas monçoês. E sobre tudo a conueniencia de conquistar a Ilha de saõ Lourenço rica de muitas drogas, capaz de mayores conueniencias, pella industria das naçoês que a habitaõ. Mas a mayor conueniencia de todas uem a ser a segurança, porq̄ em aquelle posto, podia ser a fortaleza Rodas ou Rochela: e na Ilha de Moss<sup>o</sup> he hũ triste curral, que mal pode resistir agora no estado, em que se acha a bateria Europea de hum mez. Alem da Ilha Mossambique possui sua Mag<sup>do</sup> as Querimbas, que saõ sinco ilhotas, que correm 60 legoas de Mossambique pera o cabo delgado, aforadas a algũs Portuguezes, e abundantes de mantimento, segundo sua capacidade, mas seu principal enterece consiste no trato com a terra firme aquem, e alem do cabo delgado. O contrato do Macuani, que corre de Mossambique ao cabo delgado com os Querimbas, Ilha de Saõ Lourenço, e mais Ilhas adjacentes, he dos moradores de Moss<sup>o</sup> por rependas prouizoês de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> mas os Governadores de Moss<sup>o</sup> com uarios pretextos tem atrauessado este e os mais contratos, te as mesmas boticas de Mossambique e auocam asi tudo em forma, que so hũ ou dous moradores tem hoje cabedal, quando os annos passados se compunha aquella pouoação de m<sup>tos</sup> e ricos moradores. Se sua Mag<sup>de</sup> naõ puzer cobro nisto; cedo se despouoara de todo Mossambique, e ficara o Capitaõ com as chaues da sua fortaleza. As drogas de Macuani e mais ilhas sobre ditas uem a ser muito marfim, muita escrauzia, mantimentos, tartaruga, ambar, e uarios metais. A Ilha de saõ Lourenço tem infinita e excellente madeira pera toda sorte de barcos: e aquellas suas *celebres* Prunes

pera mastos, que taõbem seruem de droga, entre muitas outras da mesma Ilha, que os Portuguezes nunca soubaraõ lograr, porque nunca se dispozeraõ a conquistar: sendo que para a conquista tem mui justificado direito, e muita comodidade; porque com a gente da outra costa se pode conquistar parte da Ilha, e com a parte conquistada a outra parte, pois consta a Ilha de varias naçoẽs e ainda feiçois de gentes mui encontradas huãs a outras, e sogeitas a uarios Regulos de que nenhum he per sy mui poderoso. A conquista abriria grande porta a fee, per ser a gente de São Lourenço muito mais politica q̃ a da Cafraria e fecharia a porta aos intentos de França e outras naçoẽs que intentaõ a poderar se desta Ilha, como de couza deixada pellos Portuguezes, a quem aquizer verdadeiramente S<sup>or</sup> que nosso titulo do Conde de São Lourenço me faz hum echo nos ouvidos de Conquistador Duque e Principe, de outro São Lourenço qualquer naçaõ Europea se apodera de São Lourenço bem pode Portugal perder as saudades a toda a conquista do cabo de boa Esperança te as portas do Estreito: de q̃ sera senhor quem o ser de São Lourenço e o podera ser de todo este sul, a que São Lourenço fica fronteiro. Mas deixando estas noticias e consequencias muy sabidas, e mal ponderadas ou preuenidas, desse as dos rios, que he o intento principal desta informaçãõ.

#### *Bios de Cuama.*

Toda a Costa de Moss<sup>o</sup> te o cabo das Correntes, te onde chega o commercio, entra em o contrato de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> com o Capitaõ de Moss<sup>o</sup>, e uem a ser estanque seu, debaixo deste nome de Rios, porq̃ saõ quasi infinitos os Rios e Rias, que retalhaõ toda aquella Costa, pellos quais uaõ fazer seus resgates os barcos do Capitaõ. O Feitor de Angoxa (Ilha de forma e grandeza de Goa sogeita a hũ xeque Mouro, 30 legoas abaixo de Moss<sup>o</sup>) corre com o resgate de todos os Rios, q̃ ha entre Moss<sup>o</sup> e Quilimane. Quilimane he o porto e escala dos Rios do ouro, fica de Moss<sup>o</sup> p<sup>a</sup> o Cabo de boa Esperança 90 legoas. Forma se de hum pequeno braço de famoso Rio Zambezi, tem ao mar na entrada hum banco formidauel, que o cerca em meya lua. De agoas uiuas e baixa mar fica descuberto, em prea mar tem tres braças de fundo, e em partes, onde ha alfaques, ou montinhos de area, duas e m<sup>a</sup> e talvez duas. Nunca te agora o descuido Portuguez se dispoz a por balizas aos dous

canais que tem este banco; com as quais, e com hũ piloto pratico assistente no mesmo porto, poderia entrar os barcos em todo o tempo com mare chea: e ainda mais seguram<sup>te</sup> na baixa mar, se o canal for direito, e fauorecer o uento. Sinco legoas abaixo de Quilimane fica o porto de Linde, mui capaz muy fundo, e sem banco; q̄ com pouco desuio (segundo me dizia Joaõ Lopes Penhr<sup>o</sup>, o mais intelligente Capitaõ dos Rios) se pode communicar cõ o braço do Rio Zambezi, q̄ forma o porto de Quilimane, euitado desta sorte o embarço e risco do banco 30 legoas abaixo de Quilimane desagoa o mayor pezo de agoas de Zambezi por muitas fozes, dellas capazes de carauellas, e barcos menores. A este porto e Rio chamaõ Cuama ou Luabo. 30 legoas abaixo de Luabo fica o famozo Rio da Sabia e porto de Sofala: adiante do Sofala corre por 150 legoas a Costa de Inhambani, cujo porto principal frequentaõ os barcos do Capitaõ de Moss<sup>o</sup>, adiante corre a costa te o Cabo das Correntes, onde taõbem uaõ barcos do mesmo Capitaõ, e fazem grandes conueniencias.

*Terras de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> nesta Conquista.*

Naõ possuiue sua Mag<sup>de</sup> nesta grande Conquista mais q̄ hum triangulo, cujo lado pella parte do leste e Norte forma a corrente do Rio Zambezi, que sobe de Quilimane pera o noroeste 126 legoas te chegar a Chiquoua seis legoas acima de Tete. O lado pella parte do sul forma huã linha imaginaria deitada da Chicoua ao porto de Sofala, tera este lado 140 legoas. O 3<sup>o</sup> lado, e como baze desta piramide, forma da costa do mar, que corre de Quilimane a Sofala por espaço de 60 legoas. Todo este tracto de terras se reparte em uarios territorios ou districtos com seus proprios nomes e demarcaçoẽs (a que chamaõ moganos) os quais territorios antigamente possuiaõ proprios Fumos, ou Regulos Cafres, a que os Portuguezes os foraõ conquistando per uarias occazioẽs q̄ p<sup>a</sup> isso ouue. Saõ alguãs destas terras grandes reinos, quais a Chupanga, a Gobira, terras que possuiue Ant<sup>o</sup> Lobo da Sylua: a Santa que possuiue M<sup>el</sup> Foz de Aureu seu cunhado: a Tambara que pessuya em meu tempo hum André Collaço natural de Sena: o Dombaz e Aroenha, terras q̄ possuiue M<sup>el</sup> Paez de Pinho. O Rendimento destas e todas as mais terras dos Rios consiste nos mistoncos, assi chamaõ o tributo que de tudo quanto da a terra pagaõ os moradores ao senhorio; e no marfim que se

caça ou acha nas mesmas terras que todo he do senhorio pago aos Cafres o trabalho de o caçar, ou locotar : que assy chamaõ ao que se acha. Todas as terras dos Rios andaõ aforadas por sua Mag<sup>de</sup> em tres uidas com penção de certo foro, e serviço. Os foros arribaõ pouco de 600 maticais de ouro, que estaõ applicados ao prezidio de Zimbaoe; mas puderaõ passar de tres ou quatro mil m<sup>es</sup> se se descubrissem as terras sonegadas, que andaõ em corporadas com outras sob o mesmo nome, e se taxassem os foros segundo pede a rezaõ. Mal podera por cobro nisto ministro indo de ça, porque o medo, interesse, e ignorancia fazem deixe tudo como dantes. Se V. Ex<sup>a</sup> encomendar a Antonio Lobo da Sylua este negocio com prouizaõ de Veador da faz<sup>da</sup> Real em aq<sup>la</sup> Conquista elle como muito poderoso, zelozo, e intelligente, que he, podera concluir este negocio, como conuem: e da mesma sorte o faria M<sup>el</sup> Paez de Pinho, se estinera em idade pera isso. O serviço uem a ser que todo o senhor de terras, he obrigado a acudir com a sua gente quando for necess<sup>o</sup> dar guerra em alguã parte, ou algum outro serviço em ordem ao bem comum. Os Senhorios de terras tem em suas terras aquelle mesmo poder e jurisdicção que tinhaõ os Fumos Cafres, a que foraõ conquistadas, porque nesta forma se passaõ as prouizaõs de a foramento; pello que saõ como Potendados de Alemanha, podem sentenciar todas as cauzas, matar, dar guerra, por tributos: no que talvez se cometem grandes barbarias; mas não seriaõ Respeitados como conuem, de seus uassalos, senaõ lograssem os mesmos poderes dos fumos a que succederaõ.

#### *Gouerno destas Terras.*

Gouernaõ se estas terras com quatro Capitaës, que juntamente saõ juizos ordinarios, e dos orfaõs, prouedores dos defuntos, e toda a justiça em sens dstrictos: e hum Capitaõ mor, que costuma ser o q̄ he capitaõ de Sena, e assy conuem, que sera. A este estaõ sogeitos os mais capitais no gouerno da guerra e paz; no gouerno juridico lhe não conhecem superioridade alguã, se não que todos estaõ immediatamente sogeitos a Rolação de Goa. Os capitais sogeitos ao de Sena e capitaõ mor dos Rios saõ o de Quilimane que fica na primeira ponta do triangulo; o de Tete que fica na 2<sup>a</sup> ponta; e o de Sofala q̄ fica na 3<sup>a</sup>. Na Mocranga (que assi se chama imperio de Monomotapa) ha narios Capitais particulares, como saõ o capitaõ de Dambarare, o do Ongoe, o de Luazi, o de

Chipiriuri com seu capitão mor, que assiste no Zimbaoe, ou corte do Emperador com prezidio pera enfrear aquelle barbaro. O Capitão mor do Zimbaoe costuma ser hum dos homens de mais importancia daquella conquista, e costuma esta capitania ser prouimento do V. Rey da India. Com tudo reconhece alguma superioridade em o capitão mor de Sena que costuma ser prouimento do gou' de Moss° e a rezaõ deste reconhecimento he a dependencia que todos tem de Sena, onde he o coração e mayor poder de Conquista, donde principalmente dependem as rezuluções de paz e guerra. Alem destes Capitães da Mocranga costuma hauer hum Capitão no Reino de Manica, que proue o Capitão mor de Sena, descendo agora as capitancias particulares.

#### *Capitania de Quilimane.*

O assento desta Capitania fica tres legoas da barra rio arriba em huã pequena pouoação do mesmo nome, que consta de algũs Portuguezes de pouco cabedal e poder, e algũs moçoques, que assi chamaõ todos, os que não são Portuguezes. Fica a pouoação e chuambo da parte de Mossambiã, e desta parte possui sua Mag<sup>de</sup> quasi 15 legoas por costa, e dez pello rio arriba repartidas em varios districtos, e aforadas, como as mais, a varios donos. O territorio ou districto desta Capitania se forma deste rethalho de terras, que corre da parte de Moss° e de 30 legoas de terra, que correm da outra banda do Rio te entrar em o Rio grande, que assi chamaõ o Zambesi, antes que deite este braço a Quilimane. A mare sobe dez legoas acima, e neste espaço he o rio egoal e nauegal em todo o tempo. Dali pera cima, e principalmente na loca succede muitas uezes secar o braço na mayor baixa do Rio, que succede na mayor seca em Agosto, Setembro, Outubro, com que não podem embocar por elle nem ainda pequenas almadias: a que la chamaõ cochos. O Capitão deue morar dentro do chuambo e telo sempre forte, p<sup>a</sup> o que são obrigados os senhorios de terras a acudir com sua Cafraria, quando o capitão o mandar p<sup>a</sup> seruiço de chuambo. Consta elle de huã forte estacada de grossos paos taõ juntos q̃ quasi fechaõ emparede, de altura de huã lança, tranados na terra dous couados, ou duas uaras. Esta he bastantissima fortificação pera Cafres, que não tem outras armas mais que frecha e azagaya: nem podem chegar ao chuambo a derribar as estacas delle, porq̃ os de dentro por entre os paos

espingardeaõ, frechaõ, ou azagayaõ muito a seu saluo, aos que pretendem chegar, quando os tiros destes se empregãõ em os paos de chuambo. E daqui se deixa uer quaõ facil seia a conquista de qualquer Reyno ou prouincia de Cafres; porque em plantando nelle hum chuambo, ja tem sobre sy o jugo, de que senaõ pode liurar senaõ com a sogeiçaõ aos Mozungos, que assi chamaõ aos Portuguezes. Val a palaura Mozungos o mesmo que senhores, donde diriuãõ a palaura a Manumuzungos, que assi chamaõ os filhos de qualquer outra naçaõ misturados com o sangue de Cafres, e monta tanto como filhos dos Senhores. A naçaõ de Cafres que confina com este chuambo de Quilimane se chama Bororo; reparte se em uarios fumos sogeitos por forço ao Maraui. Estende se esta naçaõ 50 legoas por costa pera Moss<sup>e</sup> e 52 pello rio acima te o Rio Embebe, ou da Morambara, que diuide o Bororo do Maraui, e entra poderozo a se encorporar com o Zambezi oito legoas abaixo de Sena, pellas fradas da famoza serra do Morombara. Estes Fumos sentiraõ pouco te gora os fios de nossas armas, donde procede, q̃ uarias vezes com nome de Marauis tem assaltado a pouoçaõ, e forte de Quilimane. Bem q̃ fizeraõ pouco dano, porq̃ como a fortificaçaõ de chuambo sera taõ facil, cada morador cerca sua caza e horta de chuambo, e fica cada caza de morador sendo hua fortaleza: so padecem as palhotas dos Cafres, q̃ ficaõ de fora dos chuambos, com o mais que se naõ recolhe a elles com tempo. Em q<sup>to</sup> foi uiuo Joaõ Lopes Pinheiro, sua prudencia, e o respeito de seu nome enfreou os Bororos pera que senaõ atreuessem a assaltar a pouoçaõ de Quilimane. Agora corre risco aquella pouoçaõ; porq̃ o nouo Capitaõ Antonio de Abreu de Mello naõ tem tanto poder de terras e Cafres, como tinha Joaõ Lopes, que era Senhor das mais terras desta Capitania: e os Cafres respeitaõ mais quem tem mais poder. O Governador de Mossambiã repartio as terras que uagaraõ por morte de Joaõ Lopes com outros, e naõ com Antonio d'Abreu, a quem fez Capitaõ: no que naõ andou acertado, porque a que fazia Capitaõ denia dar o mayor poder de terras, pera assy ser respeitado e temido. V. Ex<sup>a</sup> pode agora emendar este erro sem injustiça, e sem desconfiança do Governador de Mossambiã. Sem injustiça, porque a doaçaõ do Governador de Moss<sup>e</sup> sempre he dependente do beneplacito e confirmaçaõ do V. Rey da India: a quem pertence a forar as terras, que uagaõ nos rios, e o Governador de Moss<sup>e</sup> prone so por entre tanto, pera que as terras naõ fiquem sem

S<sup>or</sup> e os Cafres auezem a não reconhecer Senhorio: sem descon-  
fiança do Gou<sup>or</sup> porque este prouim<sup>to</sup> fez Antonio de Mello, que ja  
acabou, e o fez no cabo de seu gouerno, quando quiça pertencia  
ja o prouimento ao nouo gouernador Ignacio Sarmento. Mal  
pode o capitaõ de Quilimane enfrear os Bororos sem ser poderoso  
em terras; porq̄ Cafres so a quem he poderoso em terras respeitaõ  
e temem. Mal podera o prez<sup>te</sup> capitaõ ser poderoso em terras se  
V. Ex<sup>a</sup> lhe não der as que uagaraõ por morte do capitaõ passado.  
E se este (q̄ he as principal homem daquella pouoçaõ) não enfrear  
os Bororos, não uejo por la outro, que os possa enfrear, e se elles  
tomarem chene (que assi chamaõ a altieua) haõ de occupar a  
nauegação do Rio pequeno em forma que se não possa passar por  
elle de Quilimane a Sena o que sera perdição daquella capitania,  
e de todos os Rios. O Capitaõ defunto morreo sem herdeiro  
legitimo: e sua Mag<sup>de</sup> uem a ser seu legitimo herdeiro. V. Ex<sup>a</sup>  
mande cobrar a herança; que so em Cafres catiuos he muito  
consideraue; porque tinha Joaõ Lopes mais de 500 captiuos  
entre Cafres Cafras e bichos: e quiça seraõ mais de mil em  
cabedal niuo me disse seu P<sup>or</sup> em Sena, Damiaõ de Aguiar ja  
defunto, que passaua Joaõ Lopes de 50 pastas de ouro; mas estas  
deuiaõ dezaparecer como succede em semelhantes mortes apres-  
sadas, e sã testamento. Pera esta cobrança tenho por sospeito  
Antonio Lobo da Sylua, por ser concunhado de Joaõ Lopes  
Pinheiro, e empenhado por sua molher de Joaõ Lopes, a quem  
pertence metade da herança, e pellos filhos bastardos do mesmo  
Joaõ Lopes. Mas como por outra parte seia homem de muita  
uerdade, entendo obrara fiel a elRey se V. Ex<sup>a</sup> lho encomendar;  
porque não uejo outro que tenha o poder, emtelligencia de  
Antonio Lobo que he necessario pera esta cobrança e partilhas.  
O prezente capitaõ de Quilimane me deu huã zeura peça uerda-  
deiramente real, pera eu a offerecer a sua Mag<sup>de</sup> em nome da  
Companhia, e lhe auer algum despacho. Antonio de Mello  
Couiço da zeura a não quiz deixar passar, e o mesmo entendo  
fara Ignacio Sarmento: sendo que ambos se prezaõ de meus  
grandes amigos. Eu faço seruiço da zeura a V. Ex<sup>a</sup> pera dispor  
della como for seruido: outras mayores demonstraçoẽs deuo eu, e  
deue a Companhia a V. Ex<sup>a</sup>. He nec<sup>o</sup> pera que ella uenha q̄ V.  
Ex<sup>a</sup> encomende este negocio apertadamente a Ignacio Sarmento:  
e faça a boca doce ao caçador com o despacho das terras uagas em  
aquella Capitania, e esperanza de bons despachos a uista de seus

serviços, que tem bons. Com isto ficara elle tão saboreado, que não so enuiara a zeura com o seu faraz, que também he peça; mas encomendado lho V. Ex<sup>a</sup> lhe caçara outras zeuras machos e femeas p<sup>a</sup> se poder fazer casta aqui e em Portugal, e se V. Ex<sup>a</sup> quizer também elefantinhos pequenos com grande facilidade os caçara, porque he grande caçador, e tem Cafres excellentes p<sup>a</sup> este menester. Nem elle espera pera estas caçadas mais, que caçar a beneuolencia de V. Ex<sup>a</sup> em ordem a suas melhoras. Isto quanto a Capitania de Quilimane.

#### *Capitania de Sena.*

Sena se chama a principal pouoação dos Rios, e no coração delles 60 legoas de Quilimane rio arriba. Chama se Sena, dizem, do muito sene, q̄ per si produz aquelle sitio. A inuocação he de São Marçal. Commumente se chama o forte e pouoação de São Marçal; mas a pouoação não tem forte algum, mais q̄ as taipas das cazas, de que todas estão cercadas em roda com seus quintais: e fica cada caza sendo hum forte tão bom como se fosse chuambo, principalmente se os panos da taipa se abrirem em seteiras, e descortinarem com reuezes; no que se tem pouco cuidado, por que nunca Sena foi enuestida de inimigo algum. Aqui esta a feitoria do Gou<sup>or</sup> onde se conduz quanto entra por Quilimane: onde acodem todos os mercadores dos rios a fazer seus empregos, e onde se junta o ouro todo. Auera 30 annos passaua de 60 cazados Portuguezes, a maior parte ricos e poderozos: o q̄ era cauza de muitas brigas, e mortes pretendendo cada qual ser o gallo: hoje não passa de 30 cazas de Portuguezes acompanhadas de muitas outras de Mocoques e manumuzungos. Os mais poderozos são Antonio Lobo da Sylua, com seus cunhados M<sup>el</sup> Paez de Aureu, e João Duarte da Costa, que agora serue de feitor: e Simão Pinto de Azenedo com seu tio Simão Vaz de Paiua. Esta agora segura a paz daquella pouoação; porq̄ os outros poderozos ou são parentes ou feitorias de Antonio Lobo da Sylua, em quem todos reconhecem superioridade no prestimo e no poder, junto com muita bondade e uerdade. O Gou<sup>or</sup> Antonio de Mello por estas rezoês o obrigou com grandes instancias e promessas aceitar a Capitania Mor de Mocranga, e assistencia do Zimbaoe, com grandes despendios de sua saude e fazenda. Ja em outro aperto o fez Dom Franc<sup>o</sup> de Lima Capitaõ mor da Mocranga, onde com

sua pessoa e poder enfreou aquelle grande Rey. Agora me escreue Antonio Lobo, que se nesta monção não uay bem despachado, se recolhera a sua caza encampando a Capitania mor, os seruiços de duas uezes Capitaõ mor da Mocranga com outros que elle tem, e estaõ na mã de Antonio Madeira Arrais seu Proc<sup>or</sup> saõ bastantes pera grandes despachos. Mas elle, que he muito rico, e so deseja honra, não quer outros, que o foro de fidalgo, e habito de Christo. Se V. Ex<sup>a</sup> o contentar nesta monção, como ja tem assentado, animarse ha Antonio Lobo muito pera se empenhar no seru<sup>o</sup> de Sua Mag<sup>de</sup> e arrestar com todas as difficuldades. Se V. Ex<sup>a</sup> tem intentos de promouer e honrar cõ sua prezença aquella grande conquista (no que ganhara immortal honra, e fara grandes seru<sup>cos</sup> a Deos, e a ElRey) conuem faça logo da sua mã Antonio Lobo como o mais poderozo, e de mais prestimo; porq̃ Manoel Paez de Pinho, q̃ he a primeira coluna daquella Conquista, esta ja quasi decrepito. Logo conuem fazer a Antonio Lobo Capitaõ de Sena, e mor de todos os rios com poderes sobre todos os mais capitaes, e juizes ordinarios daquella Conquista, porq̃ elle feito Cap<sup>o</sup> mor nesta forma acodira a Mocranga com a pessoa mais competente pera Capitaõ mor em sua lugar: e em Sena dispora as couzas pera a conquista. Quando V. Ex<sup>a</sup> se resoluia ir conuem leue Administrador de sua mã e intelligente daquella conquista com poderes de Commissario do Santo officio; porque fara mais executinas as dispozições de V. Ex<sup>a</sup> com os dous braços Ecclesiasticos, que saõ la muy rêspeitados: e não sendo muito da mã de V. Ex<sup>a</sup> pode fazer grande diuersaõ a seus dezenhos. Nem conuem por cazo algũ q̃ o Administrador seja Religiozo de Saõ D<sup>os</sup> como por uezes se auizou a Portugal; mas puderaõ mais muitos mil H<sup>dos</sup> (20 V me confessou Fr. D<sup>os</sup> do Ros<sup>o</sup> que gastara nesta pertençaõ pera religiozo da sua ordem) do que as rezoês urgentes, que se apontaraõ. Estes Religiozos obraõ la mui a fouts, inda quando o Administrador he clerigo q̃ lhe pode ir a mã; que sera tendo em si fechado todo o poder Ecclesiastico. Bastaõ a V. Ex<sup>a</sup> pera authoridade e terror cem mosqueteiros effectiuos: o mais sera gasto e embaraço escuzado. Aquella conquista faz se, e deue se fazer com a gente da mesma conquista pratica nas terras, acostumada as marchas daquelles matos, e ao clima. As tres Capitancias de Quilimane, Sena, Tete, folgadamente daõ doze mil Cafres escolhidos com 300 espingardas de Mocoques e manumuzungos afora outras de Cafres

cativos: esta gente aquantada com a prezença dos Portuguezes: de la seus amos, e poderozos e junta a manga de 100 mosquet<sup>os</sup> Portuguezes he poder de sobejo p<sup>a</sup> a mayor empresa daquella conquista, o mais se embaraço: e quando sera necess<sup>o</sup> mais, auida a primeira Vitoria, e cobrado credito acodira gente sem conto.

O districto desta Capitania de Sena he mayor, que os das outras tres, porq̃ tiradas 30 legoas pello rio pequeno, que pertencem a Capitania de Quilimane: e outras 30 rio arriba desde Lupata te Tete, que pertencem a Capitania de Tete: as 60 legoas q̃ uaõ da boca do Rio pequeno a Lupata, e as trinta que uaõ da mesma boca com o Rio grande pera Lnabo, e toda a Costa te chegar a Rio de Sofala, pertencem ao Capitaõ, e Juiz ordinario de Sena, ficado a Capitania de Sofala com hum pequeno districto nas terras del Rey Quiteue. De fronte de Sena pera o Sueste em distancia de seis ou oito legoas fica a famoza serra da Morombara p<sup>a</sup> a parte do Bororo. Tera seis legoas de largo, tres de comprido, muitas uezes lhe ui o cabeço sobre as nunes e trouoadas, que como golhilhas lhe assentauaõ sobre os hombros. Da ponta q̃ fica pera o mar em distancia de 50 legoas se ve o mar: e ella se ue em sobindo dez legoas pello rio arriba. O terço mais alto da serra he inacessiuel: a meyo he habitada por lugares ingremes entre penedias e aruoredos bastissimos. Toda ella se desfaz em fontes e ribeiras de agoa, com q̃ as fraldas ficaõ marauilhosamente frescas e fertilas. Os dous Fumos, que dominaõ esta serra e suas fraldas, zombaõ do Marauai fiados no inacessiuel de sua terra: e talvez zombaõ de nos quando sentem pouca feuara no Capitaõ de Sena: como succedeo estando eu la. Começaraõ a pedir tributo a nossas embarçaõs, que pella fralda da serra nauegaõ pello Embebe 60 legoas te a corte e chuambo do Rundo, segunda pessoa no imperio do Marauai, aleuantaraõ os Motengos, ou preços, das fazendas que nos uendem, apoderandose de nossos captiuos q̃ pera la fogiaõ, uendendo os depois a nos mesmos como seus. Huã peça destas me fizeraõ sendo eu Superior em Sena. Vi que o Capitaõ prestaua pera pouco, mandey lhe por na boca do Embebe quatro embarçaõs com boa gente e espinguardas, aprizioney m<sup>tos</sup> de Morombara: entre elles hum sogro e hum cunhado do fumo principal, e ao outro fumo deu a minha gente huã ualente corrimaça, de que apenas escapou: com que os obriguey a se me uirem humilhar. Taõ facil he com prudencia e resaluçaõ dominar esta gente. Ja Fernando Dias

Bayaõ com o terror de seu nome dominou esta serra, pondo nella seus mocazambus, ou Capitaes Cafres a q̃ os Fumos della obede-  
ciaõ, e por sua maõ pagauaõ tributo ao Mossuampaça; este era o  
nome de Fernando Dias entre os Cafres. Tem elles esta galante  
propriedade que logo baptizaõ os Mozungos p̃ alguã acção ou in-  
clinação, que nelles notaõ: e muitas uezes com nomes galantes e  
de muita energia. A my porq̃ sopeir os da Morambara, alem de  
o auer feito aos da Caya e Chemba nossos vassalos, mas rebeldes  
me chamaraõ Temani: que ual tanto como resolutu valente  
executiuo. A graça foi que o Capitaõ de Sena desconfiou muito  
comigo, de eu fazer o que elle deuera fazer se prestara pera isso e  
me deu pezados desgostos, que Deos lhe auera perdoado com os  
mais peccados na outra uida. Antonio Lobo da Sylua a que os  
Cafres chamaõ (nhemba) pode facilmente conquistar a Moram-  
bara, como seu sogro, sendo capitaõ mor e ficaraõ acrecendo ali  
terras rendozas p<sup>a</sup> V. Ex<sup>a</sup> prouer: sobre se tirar dali o sobroço  
daquelles fumos: e começar a por o pe no pescoço ao Marauí;  
por que a sombra desta serra sera muito facil, e pera toda a con-  
quista mui util, a do Bororo, com q̃ ficara a Capitania de  
Quilimane segura, opulenta em terras: e o caminho franco por  
terra de Mossambiã a Sena. Isto quanto a esta Capitania.

#### *Capitania de Tete.*

Tete he a segunda pouoçaõ dos Rios depois de Sena: em  
tempos passados foi muy frequente, e opulenta: hoje naõ passa  
de 40 cazas entre Portuguezes, e Mocoques. He escala do  
Marauí, que lhe fica de frente alem do Rio, e da Mocranga, com  
quem confina. Dista de Sena 60 legoas rio arriba, seu districto  
abrange desda famoza Lupata 30 legoas acima de Sena, te a  
Chicoua seis legoas acima de Tete nos confins da Mocranga.  
Lupata se chama hum famoso cordaõ de serras, que a natureza  
estendeo contra o Rio Zambezi entre aquellas grandes planicias,  
q̃ elle corta de Tete te o mar, mas pera dar passo ao Rio lhe  
abriu huã artificioza madre por entre aquellas serranias, que  
parece aberta por arte. Na boca, por onde o Rio entra se uem as  
penhas altissimas talhadas a pique de huã parte e outra, com huã  
ilhota no meyo, a q̃ chamaõ Mossambiã, porq̃ dizem ficar na  
altura da Ilha de Moss<sup>o</sup>, a que se me faz criuel, porq̃ o Zambezi  
uai sempre carregando ao norte, e dizem os praticos, q̃ cortando

de Tete direito ao mar se uem dar nos picos fragozos, que he hum sitio 18 legoas p<sup>a</sup> ca de Moss<sup>a</sup>. De sorte q̄ os tres graos, q̄ uaõ da differença de Mossambiã a Quilimane, desanda o Rio Zãbezi sobindo do Quilimane pera a boca de Lupata: e uem lhe a ser muito mais facil aos mercadores q̄ uaõ de Moss<sup>a</sup> ao Marauí, e la se encontraõ com os de Tete, trazer o seu marfim a Tete do q̄ leualo a Moss<sup>a</sup> mas fogem de uir a Tete por se naõ uir sogeitar ao estanque do Gou<sup>r</sup> de Mossambiã. Tera a corda da Lupata tres legoas de fundo, saindo della pera Tete a maõ esquerda uaõ correndo as terras de Rombaz (que taõbem comprehendem a Lupata) e Aruenha por espaço de 25 legoas, que saõ de Manoel Paiz de Pinho. Este tem seu assento, e chuambo na foz onde o Aruenha rio caudalozo entra no Zambezi. O tratamento de sua caxa e pessoa he de Principe. Elle muy respeitado e temido de toda a Cafaria, ainda do mesmo Marauí, q̄ muitas uezes lhe manda Motumez (assi chamaõ os enuiados) e çauguates; mas por isto mesmo muy enuejado, e contrariado dos Portuguezes, que querem ser gallos, se bem destes mesmos respeitado e temido. Tem se feito temido e respeitado com ser muy grandiozo no dar: muy guerreiro e ainda cruel no castigar: q̄ saõ duas partes, q̄ faraõ qualquer homem adorado entre os Cafres. Elle enfrea com seu nome e poder a força da Botonga rebelde, q̄ lhe fica nas costas ao sudueste por fora da linha imaginaria, q̄ deitei de Tete a Sofala, entre a Mocranga, Manica Baroe, q̄ saõ Reinos amigos, e as terras de Sena. Os Fumos a q̄ agora deu guerra Manoel Paez, como taõbem outras uezes, he saõ o mingar e quitambo, q̄ lhe ficaõ mais uezinhos, e com quem acostaõ o caça, Inhamuazi, Inhatengi, Bandar q̄ saõ outros Fumos Botongas poderozos, e rebeldes, q̄ se uem seguindo p<sup>r</sup> baixo sobre as t<sup>as</sup> de Sena, onde daõ costas aos das nossas terras da chemba Tambara e outras p<sup>a</sup> q̄ obedeçaõ, quando, e como querem. Esta he toda a forsa da Botonga, q̄ deue ser conquistada p<sup>a</sup> segurança da Conquista, e grande augmento de terras e potencia dos Mozungos. Ja M<sup>el</sup> Paez a ouuera conquistado se o ouueraõ feito a tempo Capitaõ mor dos rios; mas inda q̄ de ca por uezes lhe foraõ as patentes, la as souberaõ sempre supprimir e impedir seus Emulos. Agora cessaraõ todos os inconuenientes com a morte de Franc<sup>o</sup> Pires Capitaõ de Sena; porq̄ Antonio Lobo he grande amigo de M<sup>el</sup> Paez, pello q̄ mandando V. Ex<sup>a</sup> a Manoel Paez patente de Conquistador da Botonga em prim<sup>o</sup> lugar, a Ant<sup>o</sup> Lobo em segundo (porq̄ pode

M<sup>el</sup> Paez ser morto, ou estar ja em estado q̄ não possa assister pessoalmente a guerra) sendo Ant<sup>o</sup> Lobo o Capitaõ mor de Sena unirseãõ ambos carregando M<sup>el</sup> Paez com a guerra da parte de Tete, e Ant<sup>o</sup> Lobo da parte de Sena te se encorporarem e sogeitarem toda aquella Botonga. A algũs. parece ella indomauel pellos mucitos (assi chamaõ os matos fechados de bastissimo aruoredõ e impenetrauel) em cujo centro tem suas pouoaçoẽs principaes, e onde so passaros poderaõ noar, ou cobras romper. Mas enganaõ se, porque todas as terras, q̄ hoje temos sogeitas nos Rios saõ da mesma naçaõ Botonga, e fortificada nos mesmos mucitos; mas tudo se uenceo com prudencia e valor. Deue ir a guerra sobre o fumo, q̄ ha de conquistar, quando a nouidade esta mea madura; porq̄ desta sorte tem a nossa gente a mãtimento certo na nouidade de inimigo: e o inimigo fica condenado a fome. Entaõ não falta agoa pera a nossa gente, porq̄ ha muitas lagoas della, q̄ deixou a inuernada, e he tempo de deitar fogo a palha e mato, com que os mucitos se descarnaõ, e descobrem muito pera a sombra da espingardaria se ir abrindo ao machado caminho franco. Mas dado que queiramos a Conquista mais barata, basta esperar q̄ a fome traga os de dentro a se sogeitar; porq̄ elles nem tem, nem podem ter mantimento de hum anno p<sup>a</sup> outro. Comida ou colhida pella nossa guerra a sua nouid<sup>e</sup>, não lhe resta mais q̄ entregarse, ou perecer. Esta guerra necessita de gastos grandes: estes faraõ sem reparo os dous Capitaẽs M<sup>el</sup> Paez, e Ant<sup>o</sup> Lobo, porq̄ saõ mui ricos e grandiozos, nem perdem nisto fazenda, porq̄ sempre nos despojos da guerra qualquer q̄ sera, se intereça muito mais do que a despeza q̄ ella faz. Manoel Paez ja tem o habito e pretende agora o foro de fidalgo, de que emformara a V. Ex<sup>a</sup> com mais certeza seu Proc<sup>or</sup> e parente Diogo de Pinho Teixeira. Tem tambem hũ filho clerigo e Theologo, outros seculares, todos filhos naturais, erros quais lhe pode V. Ex<sup>a</sup> f<sup>zer</sup> as merces, q̄ apontar Diogo de Pinho, p<sup>a</sup> q̄ elle saboreado com estas merces, e Ant<sup>o</sup> Lobo com as outras empredaõ a Conquista da Botonga leuantada, q̄ so estes dous homẽs podem conseguir. Aprouetese V. Ex<sup>a</sup> do tempo; porq̄ se morre M<sup>el</sup> Paez, logo se leuanta toda a Botonga de Sena a Tete, tomando todos os caminhos por terra, e agoa, e toda a communicaçãõ com a Mocranga; nem a Antonio Lobo so sera taõ facil o domalos, como agora junto com M<sup>el</sup> Paez de Pinho, alem de que esta Botonga sogeita acrecenta em terras outro tanto, em gente de guerra mais

do q̄ agora temos, com que V. Ex<sup>a</sup> uay dispendo a Conquista pera outros intentos mayores.

*Capitania de Sophala.*

As Capitánias passadas andei e ui com meus olhos quando vizitei nossas cazas e Igrejas, que temos por todas ellas : agora entro a fallar do que ouui a muitas pessoas fide dignas. A Capitania de Sofala esta situada na margem do Rio da Sabia e porto de Sofala da banda do sul em as terras do grande Rey do Quiteue: dista de Sena oitenta, ou nouenta legoas, e tem com Sena pouca ou nenhuã communicaçã, porque a não pode ter per rio : so a tem com a Manica, donde deçe o seu Rio. O districto de terras sogeito a esta Capitania he muy limitado, nem cuida chega a 15 legoas, segundo me desse Antonio Lobo ; uizinho de Sofala, porq̄ suas terras uem correndo de fronte de Sofala rio arriba mais de 7 legoas : e quando as uay uizitar sempre uizita a Capitania de Sofala pera auer boã uizinhansa. Quando no principio entramos em os rios, Sofala era a escala de todo o ouro ; mas depois se passou o grosso do contrato a Sena e Quilimane. Hoje sae por Sofala algum ouro de Manica, que cuida não passa de 500 pastas, sendo que por Quilimane saem por anno perto de tres mil. O principal contrato de Sofala he o marfim de todo o Quiteue, e Manica, com algum ambar, e outras drogas de menos nome e cantidade. O sitio he mui doentio, o que he cauza com a falta de terras, que sua Mag<sup>da</sup> afore aos moradores, e com o estanque do Governador de Moss<sup>e</sup> pera que aquella pouoaçã esteja quasi despouoada ; por sinal que nenhum religiozo de S. D<sup>o</sup> quer aquella Igreja, q̄ lhe toca ; porq̄ a falta dos freguezes a faz menos sadia e Rendoza. So podera engrossar esta Capitania, q<sup>do</sup> se passe a lugar mais sadio, e se conquistem terras ao Quiteue com q̄ os moradores uiuaõ e se façaõ poderozos. Concluidas as Capitánias dos Rios seguesse a noticia dos Reinos e naçoẽs confinantes.

*Marauí e Amuwas.*

As nossas terras uem a ser tudo Botonga da mesma lingua e naçaõ. Sobindo de Quilimane rio arriba te a Morombara se estende o Bororo Reyno sogeito ao Rundo segunda pessoa no Imperio do Marauí. Este reino se diuide do Marauí com o Rio Embebe, caudalozo e nauegael por muitas legoas. Da Morõbara

pera cima uay correndo o Marauí por espaço de 150 legoas pella borda do Rio Zambezi, q̄ diuide o Bororo e Marauí da Botonga e Mocranga. São os Marauís muy bellicosos e temidos entre todos os Cafres, bem como os Bororos e Macuas são tidos em menos, de sorte, q̄ se afronta qualquer Cafre de ser chamado Bororo, ou Macua, e honra se muito de ser Marauí, Mocranga, ou Botonga. Domina o Marauí seu Emperador, chamado Caronga, cujo Reyno sobindo do porto de Quilimane 200 legoas rio arriba, uay incluindo em sy todo o Macuani com muitas outras gentes e prouincias uastissimas te chegar sobre Mombaça. Tem paz comnosco, porque huã uex que pretendeo passar o Rio a nossa parte, o desbaratamos com notauel mortandade de gente, pello que nunca mais o intentou passar. Com tudo pella parte de Quilimane, e Moss<sup>o</sup>, onde confina comnosco sem passar Rio, nos faz mui mã uizinhaça. Contrataõ em seu Reyno os Mercadores de Moss<sup>o</sup> pello Macuani: os de Quilimane p<sup>lo</sup> Bororo: os de Sena pello Rundo: os de Tete pello mesmo Marauí e em sua Corte. As drogas principaes são muito marfim, muito ferro, muita escrauaria, e machiras, q̄ são hũs lentos grossos de algodão, e de muita seruentia pera a Mocranga. He o Contrato grosso, e uê a ser grande Remedio dos cortados, quando o Gou<sup>r</sup> de Moss<sup>o</sup>, ou os poderosos dos Rios o não atraueçaõ, como fez Dom Fran<sup>co</sup> de Lima. Porque em o Gou<sup>o</sup> de Moss<sup>o</sup> ou o Capitaõ mor de Sena mandando fato ao Marauí: o Emperador so a elles defere, os mais mercadores ficaõ empatados e perdidos. Por cima do Marauí correndo arriba pella margem do Zambezi ficaõ os Amuvas formidaueis ao Marauí por sua multidaõ e ualor; mas sabemos pouco delles, porque temos com elles pouco Comercio. He entre elles infinito o marfim de que fazem os recitos ou cercas a suas cazas, e quintais, e se ha quem o compre o uendem de graça; mas os carretos de taõ longè uem a fazer este marfim mui caro: alem de que ficaõ no caminho dous Fumos, q̄ posto seraõ uassallos do Rey da Mocranga, roubaõ m<sup>tas</sup> uexes os mercadores. Estando eu em Sena foi aos Amuvas hum Antonio Gomez Bramene de Curtary com pouco emprego, e fez com elle 50 bares de marfim ganhando a oito centos ou mais por cento; mas foi roubado pellos sobreditos Fumos, onde perdeu metade do marfim, alem do trabalho de comprar la embarcaçoẽs pera o trazer pello Zambezi abaixo, te a Chicoua onde o Rio faz huã grande catadupa, aqui foi necessario queimar as embarcaçoẽs passando o marfim por terra ao baixo de catadupa, e ahi tornou a comprar

embarcações pera o trazer a Sena. Entendo eu segundo o lançam<sup>to</sup> destes Amuuas, q̄ confinaõ com o Imperio do Abexim, ou pello menos com as prouincias mais uizinhas aquelle Imperio; porque o Marauai fica sobre Mombaça: os Amuuas sobre o Marauai; e de Mombaça, atraueçando direito ao Imperio Abexim saõ pouco mais de 120 legoas e isto podera ter o certaõ q̄ Marauis e Amuuas occupaõ por aquella parte.

#### *Mocranga.*

Assy como o Marauai nos faz lado pello Rio arriba da banda do leste, assy a Mocranga o faz da banda do norte começa logo acima de Tete, e uay se estendendo contra o põente e norte como 150 legoas tanto ao largo como ao comprido. Pello lado do ponente e sul se estende o grande Reyno de Quiteue de que logo fallarey: deixando em meyo com as nossas terras, e a Botonga Rebelde os Reynos do Baroe e Manica, q̄ saõ pequenos e por nenhum lado passaõ de 50 legoas. Mocranga se chama o famoso Reino do Emperador de Monomotapa, e os naturais se chamaõ Mocrangas: he gente nobre e respeitada entre os Cafres. Este Emperador antes de nossa entrada nos rios dominaua toda a Botonga, que nos hoje senhoreamos, e todo o Imperio do Quiteue, te o cabo de boa Esperança. Entrando nos se lhe rebellou hum Irmaõ menor com o Imperio do Quiteue, e nos lhe desmembramos a Botonga de seu Imperio; mas inda hoje lhe obedece grande parte da Botonga a nos rebelde, e reconhem uassalagem os Reis de Baroe e Manica. Com isto, e com a Mocranga so per si he inda hoje mui poderoso Rey. He a Mocranga mui sadia, mui fertil e fresca com infinitos rios e fontes. Donde se conuense falsa a opiniaõ que imagina seca e infructifera de plantas a terra fertil de ouro. Deste he toda a Mocranga huã perpetua mina, sendo q̄ no Marauai q̄ lhe fica fronteiro da outra banda do Rio se não acha hum graõ de ouro. Os postos principais em que se acha ouro em abundancia saõ Dambarari, Ongoe, Mocanca, Maramuca. Com ser este Reyno fresco, sadio, fertil, e abundante de ouro, foraõ escolher os Reis delle pera sua corte ou zimbae hũ sitio seco, esteril e doentio; q̄ faz assas difficultoza a assistencia do Capitaõ mor e prezidio daquella Corte; seraõ de Tete a Dambarari 14 dias de caminho, ao Zimbae 20. Dambarari he huã nobre pouoação, e arresoada villa no coraçãõ de Mocranga, e uem a ser taõ bem o coraçãõ daquella

Conquista com muitos, e Ricos moradores. Os Portuguezes e ainda Mocoques, de Dambarari, e da mais Mocranga possuem grandes terras ou prouincias, q̄ compraraõ, e cada dia compraõ ao Rey da Mocranga; com a gente destas terras, e com seus macamos (assi chamaõ o tropel de seus catiuos) saõ mais poderozos q̄ o mesmo Rey de Mocranga. Argumento seia que estando eu la se descontinaraõ do pobre Rey sem culpa sua e lhe deraõ guerra. Antes de chegarem a rompimento de batalha, estando os exercitos quasi a uista, os Encozes, que saõ os senhores e titulares Cafres daquelle Imperio mataraõ o pobre Rey (couza entre os Cafres sem exemplo) por medo dos Portuguezes, e se lhe uieraõ sogeitar pera que fizessem Rey, quem quizessem. Elles puzeraõ hum moço Casta Real, mas muy ladino, e muy ardilozo, de que agora se temem assaz. E eu temo os castigue Deos pella injustiça feita ao pobre Rey morto, particularmente Antonio Roiz de Lima, q̄ for a cabeça deste injusto aleuantamento, e outras grandes desordês em aquella conquista. Pera enfrear este nouo Rey e formidauel foi obrigado Antonio de Mello a mandar por capitaõ mor a Mocranga Antonio Lobo da Sylua. Pouco antes auia la mandado o Capitaõ mor de Sena Francisco Pires Ribeiro pera obrigar aos Portuguezes a que largassem ao Rey as terras, q̄ possuem: naõ effeituou Fran<sup>co</sup> Pires este dezenho, nem conuinha se effeituasse, porque os Portuguezes sem terras e Vassallos, ficaõ decepados sem seruiço, e sem poder. Alem de que auendo comprado as terras com sua fazenda, era injustiça obrigarlos alargalas sem alguã recompensa, e sem euidentissima necessidade publica: o que naõ concorreo nesta occaziaõ. Mouco se Antonio de Mello com lhe dizerem falta o ouro porque os Cafres o naõ querem cauar por medo dos Portuguezes. He uerdade que os Encozes naõ querem se caue ouro em suas terras, porq̄ os Portuguezes a fama do ouro as uaõ comprar ao Rey, como tem succedido muitas uezes: e elles Encozes sendo grandes senhores, Condes Duques, Marquezes, despojados de suas terras ficaõ pobres Caporros, que ual o mesmo que trabalhadores. Mas este inconueniente naõ se euita com os Portuguezes largarem as terras, que ja tem: sempre os Encozes ficaraõ com sobroço de que as tornem a alcançar do Rey com outras muitas. Bastaua pera euitar este inconueniente se fizesse ley inuiolauel pera que o Rey naõ de nem uenda mais terras aos Portuguezes com que os Encozes, que agora as possuem ficariaõ sem sobroço; mas quem pode atar as maõs a hum Rey pera que naõ faça em seu Reyno o

que quizer? Alem de que isto he fechar a porta, a que os Portuguezes se façã cada uez mais poderozos em aquelle Reyno: o que conuem muito a conquista. Este Rey de Mocranga honra sua Mag<sup>de</sup> com titulo de Irmaõ em armas; mas elle em rígor he vassalo; porq̄ a força de armas em tempo do Rey leuantado Capracina, os Portuguezes conquistaraõ o Reyno: e agora poem e depoem Reys todas as uezes, que querem. Se este romper em Rebelliaõ conuem conquistar de todo aq<sup>o</sup> Reyno repartindo as terras delle pellos Portuguezes: com que auera grandes despachos, e grossas comendas pera muitos benemeritos: entã os naturais cauaraõ quanto ouro quizerem os Portuguezes seus senhores, sem sobroço dos Encozes. E podera V. Ex<sup>a</sup> por empraxe na Mocranga, o q̄ conuinha se puzesse em toda aquella Conquista conuem a saber q̄ os que possuem ter<sup>ra</sup> delRey, alem dos foros competentes, segundo o Rendim<sup>to</sup> das ter<sup>ras</sup> paguem a elRey os dizemos das mesmas terras, de que elle he ligitimo S<sup>or</sup> em quanto graõ mestre da ordem de Christo. Entendo eu, que so os foros, e dizemos da Mocranga conquistada importariaõ a faz<sup>a</sup> Real mais de hum milhaõ. Ja se as terras se aforassem a quem mais desse por ellas, seria huã grande soma de ouro.

#### *Maramuca.*

Assy se chama huã grande prouincia ou Reino da Mocranga pella parte de sima contra o Norte, cujos naturais saõ Botongas; e taõ determinados, q̄ he affronta entre elles matar Leaõ ou tigre com frecha, ou azagaya: pera ser morto com bizzarria o Leaõ ha de ser morto as mupinadas (mupinas chamaõ huãs cachaporretas pequenas de que vzaõ a guiza dos Abexins, e com que moem hum corpo, ou a maõ tente ou de rejeito). He este Reyno o mais abundante de ouro que se sabe, e donde se poderiaõ tirar por anno muitas mil pastas, se fosse nosso. Mas os Cafres senhores das terras naõ querem se tire mais ouro, que o precizo, pera que os Portuguezes lhe naõ couicem e senhoreem suas terras. Estando eu nos Rios ouue Gonçalo J<sup>so</sup> Portuguez honrado estas terras delRey da Mocranga com todas as solemnidades requizitas, e entrou na posse dellas com ajuda do mesmo Rey e dos Portuguezes seus amigos. Antonio Roiz de Lima, que aqui esta em Goa, e Simaõ Gomez hum clerigo topaz, taõ rico como Antonio Roiz, e naõ menos escandalozo, que tinhaõ como por estanque seu

Contrato da Maramuca, e outros enuejzozos do grande poder, e riqueza inestimavel, a que sobia Gonçalo Joaõ com o senhorio desta Prou<sup>a</sup> influirãõ nos Encozes dezapossados dessem assalto a Gonçalo Joaõ e sua gente: pera o q̄ lhe mandaraõ taõ bem espingardas, e gente sua. Deu se o assalto: tomaraõ a Gonçalo Joaõ descuidado sem se auer preuenido de chuambo: foi desbaratado morta muita gente sua entre Portuguezes Mocoques e Cafres, roubado todo seu fato, parte do qual ueyo p<sup>a</sup> caza dos sobreditos. A galantaria esteue em q̄ sobre esta bemfeitoria se querelaraõ contra Gonçalo Joaõ, de que leuantara a Maramuca com guerra, e lhes dera perda de muitas pastas: foraõ prouidos no juiso de Dambarari, taõ bõ como elles, e condenado Gonçalo Joaõ em tudo quanto tinha. Foi esta sem rezaõ muy estranhada e sentida nos Rios de todos os bons. Apellou elle da sentença, pera Goa, corre com a cauza Ant<sup>o</sup> Gil Preto seu Proc<sup>or</sup> naõ sey em q̄ estado esteja a cauza com as dilacões da Rolação: sei q̄ fora seruiço de Deos acodir se logo com justiça ao pobre homẽ, e com castigo a taõ grande dezaforo. E que se deuia mandar ordem a Ant<sup>o</sup> Lobo p<sup>a</sup> meter Gonçalo Joaõ de posse de sua terra, e lhe fazer restituir sua faz<sup>da</sup> e os danos, q̄ se lhe fizeraõ. Taõ bem este Antonio Roiz foi autor da tyrannia uzada com Nicolao Soeiro Carcho homẽ de grande valor, e prestimo, q̄ foi outra pior, que a de Gonçalo J<sup>ao</sup> e de q̄ informaraõ a V. Ex<sup>a</sup> Ant<sup>o</sup> Collaço e outros que estaõ mais presentes no cazo, do que eu, sendo que estaua entãõ em Sena. Fora seruiço de Deos que Antonio Roiz de Lima pagasse tantos insultos, pera que outros semelhantes naõ fossem taõ ouzados tam tyrannos. A Maramuca conuem que seia dos Portuguezes por q̄ della se tire quanto ouro se pode tirar, que he couza incriuel; mas bom fora se a senhorease outro de mais poder e merecimentos q̄ Gonçalo Joaõ; porq̄ he esta terra per sy mais q̄ hum Ducado de Bragança. Gonçalo J<sup>ao</sup> se contentará com a possuir pacificamente sinco ou seis annos: o que bastará pera elle ser senhor de milhoês: e depois alargara de boa uontade a quem V. Ex<sup>a</sup> for seruido. Eu puzera lhe de pensãõ por ora dez pastas p<sup>a</sup> ElRey se Antonio Lobo o meter e conseruar em posse pacifica das terras. Quando ellas se costumem ao jugo, bem pode quem as possuir pagar por anno p<sup>a</sup> ElRey 50 pastas e mais; porq̄ lhe renderãõ por anno mais de 500 abatidas as despezas. Este ponto he de importancia, no qual V. Ex<sup>a</sup> obrara como for seruido; mas pera se obrar o que conuem he necessario primeiro restetuir Gonçalo

Joaõ a sua terra, e dar se lhe satisfaçaõ do que se lhe roubou por ordem de Antonio Roiz, e do P. Simaõ Gomez.

*Manica.*

Este Reyno confina com a Mocranga pello ponente e sul, tera 50 legoas de diametro: todo he huã mina de ouro; mas debaixo quilate. A terra fresquissima de agoas; mas nociuas particularmente aos cortados de males, que logo despachaõ com breuidade. O clima he doentio; mas notey ouue la poucas mortes no tempo q̃ estiue em Sena: donde infiro naõ he nociuo senaõ aos cortados ou desregrados. Tem os Portuguezes neste Reyno duas pouoaçoẽs a principal se chama Chupangura, onde costuma assistir o capitaõ e Juiz da Manica: a menos principal chama se Matuca. Possuem os Portuguezes e Mocoques neste Reino mais terras que o mesmo Rey: as quais se mandaraõ largar estando eu la, mais cuido naõ sortio effeito; nem conuem pellas rezoẽs apontadas fallando de Mocranga. Dista a Manica de Sena pera o poente ou sudoeste sete dias de caminho, ou noue. Por cima da Manica fica o Reyno de Maungo, q̃ hoje possuẽ os Mouros, que pera aly se foraõ encantoando, e fogindo de nos. Deuia ser conquistado este Reyno, que he pequeno, e facil de conquistar p<sup>a</sup> extinguir aquella ma rele metida no coraçãõ da cafraria: pera nos pagarem varias dezcortezias q̃ saõ feito: e o serem os unicos falsificadores de ouro, que tem os Rios. Nas Costas de Maungo e Manica uay correndo o Grande Reino da Butua, de muito, e excellente ouro. Este conquistou Sisnando Dias sendo Capitaõ mor dos rios pera por elle communicar esta Conquista com a de Angola, q̃ lhe fica nas Costas: o que seria em grande utilidade de ambas Conquistas. Mas no Loando a Sena a descançaõ, e conduzir socorros, o matareaõ seus emulos com peçonha, enuejzozos de seu grande nome e poder: e da honra que nouamente ganhaua com esta Conquista. Por sua morte se recolheo a gente, q̃ deixou nos chuambos da Butua, e ficou aquelle Reyno leuantado. Mas sera muy facil sua conquista depois de conquistada a Mocranga e Manica.

*Imperio do Quiteue.*

Abaixo da Manica e Butua contra o mar e cabo de boa Esperança corre o grande Reyno do Quiteue a q̃ obedece toda a

terra te o cabo, e por todo o certaõ. He seu reino farto, fertil e sadio; de muito marfim, ambar, e outras drogas. Corre bem com nosco temendo nosso poder, porque Sisnando Dias sogro de Ant<sup>o</sup> Lobo lhe conquistou a força de armas o Reyno da Gobira, q̄ hoje possue seu genro; com quem o Quiteue corre com muito respeito pello grande nome e poder que tem entre os Cafres Antonio Lobo.

#### *Reyno do Baros.*

Este Reyno sera como o da Manica, fica entre Sena e a Mocranga pera o ponente carregando ao Norte: tem muita vacaria marfim, e algum ouro, muito ferro, e outros metais, de que todas aquellas prouincias saõ muy fertil. Este Rey teue Antonio Lobo conquistado auera oito annos, por huã descortezia, q̄ fez aos Maparus (assi chamaõ os caçadores de Elefantes) de Ant<sup>o</sup> Lobo. Mas o capitaõ mor, que entaõ era Francisco Pires, tomou as partes do negro pera q̄ Antonio Lobo naõ crece se tanto em poder e nome com a conquista daquelle reyno. Os naturais deste Reino saõ Botongas, como os mais vezinhos; mas hoje temerosos de nosso poder uiuem em boa correspondencia; melhor fora niuessem em boa sogeiçaõ. Mas pera este Reyno se conquistar, quando se conquistar a Botonga circumuezinha, sera necess<sup>o</sup> justificar ott<sup>a</sup> da Conquista com alguãs cauzas, que elle haja dado pera merecer ser conquistado.

#### *Gouerno Espiritual desta Conquista.*

Toda a jurisdicçaõ espirital desta Conquista das portas do Mar roxo te o cabo de boa Esperança he do Administrador de Mossambique, pudera com mais authoridade, e muito mayor fruito ser hum Arcebisgado ou Patriarchado; pois tem muito mayor destricto, que o de Etyhopia: o q̄ seruia pera mor honra do Reyno, e grande esperança de Christandade com Prelado Missionario, e zelozo, que se empregasse no augmento espirital de suas ouelhas sem attender a lucros temporais, e deuera este Prelado ter sempre dous Bispos titulares por coadjutores, e futuros successores: assy p<sup>a</sup> animar taõ graõ destricto, como porq̄ nunca faltasse o Prelado, com cuja falta saõ infinitas as desordês, e escandalos por aquelles longes. Dentro nos rios ha dezaseis Igreias parochiais, cujos vigairos usaõ juntamente da vara pella grandeza de seus destritos: noue em as terras delRey: duas na Manica: sinco na Mocranga.

Destas, seis correm por conta dos P<sup>es</sup> da Comp<sup>a</sup>: huã que uem a ser a de Sena, he de clérigos: as noue dos P<sup>es</sup> Dominicanos. Bem q̄ elles não cultiuão mais q̄ seis; porq̄ nas outras não ha lucro considerauel: e assi com notauel escandalo deixaõ ao desamparo o mesmo prezidio do Zimbae, e Corte do Emperador, inda q̄ o tenhaõ bautizado; porq̄ he ali o lucro pouco. Se onuera perpetua assistencia de prelado com parochos mais zelozos pudera o fructo da conuersaõ ser muito. Temese ao presente, q̄ o Administrador queira encorporar em sua Religiaõ a Igreja parochial e matriz de Sena, por ser muy rendoza, e ha muitos annos tem estes Religiozos a mira nesta Igreja. Mas não conuem, q̄ ella se desmembre do prouim<sup>to</sup> de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> a quem toca: e melhor fora largassem estes Religiozos a clérigos q<sup>tas</sup> tem em aquellas partes: porq̄ estes não obraõ taõ afoutos; e se fazem as desordens podem ser facilmente castigados pello Prelado. Quando os religiozos ficaõ sempre sem castigo, porq̄ estaõ izentos da correiaõ do Prelado: e sabem dourar muy bem os mayores escandalos ante seus sup<sup>es</sup> em forma q̄ uindo de la quando se lhe esperaua hũ carcere perpetuo, encaissaõ hum priorado dos mais honrados.

#### *Modo e Tempo de tirar Ouro.*

Em toda esta Conquista não he ouro mais q̄ na Mocranga Manica, e Butua em abundancia, na Botonga rebelde, e no Baroe algũs pingos de ouro q̄ se achaõ pellos rios, q̄ decem da Mocranga. Em as terras do Maraui, nas nossas, e em todo o Imperio do Quiteue, se não acha hum graõ de ouro. O ouro do Rio (assy chamaõ o que as inuernadas lauaõ, e leuaõ aos rios, onde se busca) he melhor q̄ o de Bar (assi chamaõ a mina em q̄ se caua ouro). Mas com ser isto assy o ouro de Bar de Mocranga he taõ bom e melhor q̄ o de Rio de Manica. So da a Manica hum cascalho lizo, como a medo aszinhas de ouro, q̄ igoala o de Rio de Mocranga. O melhor ouro de Rio de Mocranga he o do Ongoe, da Macanca, e do Mocraz. O ouro da Maramuca he geralmente debaixo quilate. Ouro de rio tira se em todo anno, com mais abundancia no tempo das chuuas, e no fim dellas, quando os rios abaixaõ. O ouro de Bar na Manica taõ bem se tira em todo o anno, na Mocranga so em tres mezes, que se chamaõ do crimo: Agosto, Setembro, Outubro; porq̄ nestes colhida a nouidade começaõ as chuuas moderadas, com que os mineiros do ouro tem

agoa pera seu seruiço, e p<sup>a</sup> ongar ou joeirar o ouro. Depois em Nouembro carrega tanto a inuernada, que se alagaõ os marondos, ou poços e couas, em que se caua o ouro: e não pode ir por diante. Muitas uezes responde pouco o marondo, algum desta mil, duas, e tres mil pastas. O modo de tirar he este: juntasse infinita Cafraria com suas molheres e filhos em o lugar, q̄ escolhem p<sup>a</sup> abrir marondos: separaõ se cada cabeça de aldeia com sua gente a huã parte: e começa a abrir o seu marondo em forma de poço: a boca taõ estreita, que chegue hum homem com as pernas estendidas de huã parte a outra: uaõ fazendo suas escadas p<sup>a</sup> subir, e decer pella circumferencia interior do poço: nestas estaõ os Cafres passando de maõ em maõ a mataca ou terra, q̄ lhe daõ, os que cauaõ, em huns pandes, ou garmelas de pao. A primeira mataca não tem ouro consideraue: a mataca de ouro ja he conhecida: em dando nella (ou pedra de ouro como muitas uezes succede) não cessaõ te a não esgotar seguindo a por huã, e outra parte por baixo da terra. Talvez succede rebentar na mina taõ copioza uea de agoa, q̄ alaga a mina, e impossibilita p<sup>a</sup> tirar a mataca; e m<sup>to</sup> mais a pedra de ouro, q̄ se deue ir quebrando com fortes lauancas. Algũs marondos destes, e de infinito ouro, estaõ deuolutos por falta de engenho p<sup>a</sup> esgotar a agoa. Tirada fora a t<sup>ra</sup> ou pedra de ouro, achaõ nella muitos pedaços, e lascas de ouro de notauel grandeza: e a mataca pegada a estas lascas he mui cheirosa, e sadia. Moe se pois a pedra em farinha, e esta farinha com a mataca do ouro se lava nas rib<sup>ras</sup> de agoa uizinhas, te q̄ leuando a agoa tudo o q̄ he terra ou po de pedra, fica no fundo da gamela o ouro como mais pezado, ou em cascalho meudo, ou em mendissima, e relusente area: Muitas cauzas concorrem p<sup>a</sup> auer pouco ouro. 1<sup>a</sup> a repugnancia dos Encozes, q̄ não querem se caue em suas terras, pera que os Portuguezes lhas não appeteaõ. Este inconueniente se euita sendo todas as terras de ouro dos Portuguezes, porq̄ os Cafres entaõ, como vassallos, trabalharaõ em tirar ouro, q<sup>to</sup> seus senhores quizerem. 2<sup>a</sup> a falta de gente, q̄ he grande em toda a Cafraria: porque muitas crianças não se lograõ: m<sup>tas</sup> pestes ou pragas de gafanhotos: muitas guerras e extracção de catiuos a demenue: e sobre tudo o barbaro costume de tomar o maui mata infinitos. Não succede a Cafre infortunio, q̄ não se persuada ser obra de algum feiticeiro ou feiticeira: faz sua consulta com os parentes, e amigos assentaõ em quem lhe parece; arma lhe milando, ou demanda diante o senhorio ou Mocazambo

da t<sup>a</sup> querelando se do reo ; este nega ; p<sup>a</sup> constar da uerdade deue o reo tomar o maui, assi chamaõ huã casca de aruore mui venenosa. Faz se isto com grandes cautelas, e cerimonias. Senaõ quiz tomar o maui, fica o pobre reo com molher, f<sup>tes</sup>, e ainda os mais parentes ao arbitrio da azagaya do author : Se o toma, e escapa fica o author, e a mais parentela ao arbitrio do Reo, se o reo morreo com o Maui, ficou conuisto, e toda sua familia e fazenda he do Autor. Naõ ha poder despresuadir aos Cafres este seu barbaro costume : confiadissimos se arremecaõ ao Maui, e escapaõ se estaõ innocentes ; mas se estaõ culpados logo se ue na repugnancia, com q̄ o tomaõ, e morrem. Nem se fiaõ de contra alguã, tanto que se sentem culpados, sendo q̄ a tem o Maui muito facil comendo se dantes q<sup>tro</sup> ou seis graõs de encenso macho. Isto mata infinita gente, destroe infinitas familias. Mas a principal cauza da falta de gente he o mao modo dos Portuguezes, de cujas forsas fogem os Cafres p<sup>a</sup> outras terras : o que se uê claramente na Botonga, porq̄ a que nos esta sogeita, esta pouco pouoada, e a lucre naõ pode com a gente q̄ tem ; porq̄ fogem de nossas t<sup>ras</sup> p<sup>a</sup> la. Esta mesma he a 3<sup>a</sup> cauza da falta de ouro, porq̄ em o Morondo respondendo bem, logo hum poderozo, e a falta deste qualquer mocoque se chega pera elle com sua gente e catiuos : onde tantos roubos, e forsas fazê aos pobres cauadores das minas ; q̄ tem estes por melhor partido esconder o ouro, do q̄ tirar mais incentiuos a nossa couiça e sua desauentura.

*O q̄ se representa pera bem da Conquista.*

Pera o bem espirital he necess<sup>o</sup> Prelado perpetuo com seus coadjutores, e futuros successores, com missionarios apostados, e zelozos do bem das almas. Auendo isto auera reformaõ nos costumes, e grande augmento na christandade. P<sup>a</sup> o bem politico he totalmente necess<sup>o</sup> se tire todo o contrato ao Capitaõ de Moss<sup>o</sup>, e que fique este lucro aos mercadores vassalos de sua Mag<sup>de</sup> pondo se Alfandegas em todos os portos, donde saem, e entraõ barcos : as quais luziraõ muito se ouuer conta e inteireza nos ministros. Passará de milhaõ p<sup>a</sup> a fazenda Real o Rendimento das alfandegas : crecerà muito Moss<sup>o</sup>, e os rios ã moradores e riquezas. Naõ conuem entre em os rios estrangeiros, e se entrarem nunca mais sayão : entrem poucos vassalos Aziaticos, mas fiquem la pera sempre, fomentando a mesma conquista em que enriquecem. Os

mercadores q̄ forem aos portos dos rios, ali mesmo uendaõ suas fazendas, ou as deixem a seus procuradores. Quem entrar p<sup>a</sup> dentro a mercançar, fique la sem remiçaõ. Enfraquecem muito as praças e conquistas com se sahirem dellas os homêes de cabedal, que as aquentaõ e a cuja sombra uiuem muitos, e muitos enriquecem. Mandar cazais pera os rios naõ conuem se naõ quando uaõ despachados com terras sufficientes a seu seruiço, e sustento limpo. Quais estas seiaõ podera V. Ex<sup>a</sup> saber encomendando a Antonio Lobo huã lista meuda de todas as terras, e do que rendem, a quem as sabem encar. Conquistando se agora a Morombara, e a Botonga Rebelde crecem m<sup>tas</sup> e grossas terras, com que V. Ex<sup>a</sup> pode despachar muitos benemeritos, ou remedear muitos cazais, orfãns, ou Ueuuas honradas. Se se conquistar a Mocranga, Manica, Maungo, Baroe, Butua; seraõ infinitas as terras grossas, e como grandes Condados, de sinco a dez mil de renda, com q̄ se possem fazer m<sup>tas</sup> cazas, remunerar muitos seruiços. Quem as naõ quizer lograr pessoalmente, pode as lograr por seus agentes, e procuradores, com q̄ estes taõ bem ficaraõ engrossando em bem da conquista. Entaõ os dizemos e foros reais entendendo chegaraõ a milhoês. A conquista do Maruai sera empreza pera depois, como taõ bem a do Quiteue, q̄ saõ mais difficultozas, e de menos rendimento. Sendo os Portuguezes senhores daquella grande Ethyopia, cõ obrigarems a que cada negro uesta pano (e naõ pelle, ou casca de aruore, como fazem m<sup>tos</sup> ainda nas nossas terras) he pouca toda a roupa, q̄ pode laurar a India, p<sup>a</sup> prouer metade da Cafraria. Mas com isto elles buscaraõ o ouro pera comprar o pano; com q̄ se tirara infinito ouro, e gastaraõ muitas naos de roupas e outros generos, que aquellas gentes m<sup>to</sup> appetecem. O fortunati sua si bona norint Lysiada! So na conquista do cabo de boa Esper<sup>ca</sup> te as portas do estreito tem hum grande e opulento imperio, se o souberem lograr com q̄ se podem fazer formidaueis ao mais mundo. Per varios successos foraõ parar a Quilimane, Sena, Tete, (e duuido se a outras partes) cantid<sup>a</sup> de peças de bronze e ferro, q̄ la estaõ sem seruentia; por naõ serem necessarias em aquella Conquista (onde so poderaõ servir algũs espalhafatos e peças leues da Campanha) fora seruiço de Deos, e delRey mandalas uir; o que se naõ fez te gora; porq̄ naõ foi ordem p<sup>a</sup> isso; mandando a V. Ex<sup>a</sup> podem uir por lastro do barco do Governador, e la ser uteis. Quando V. Ex<sup>a</sup> queira prouer aquella conquista de algũs espalhafatos mene-

auéis, e peças de Campanha do mesmo lote, estas darão metal pera tudo. A assistencia do Conquistador deue ser no principio em Sena, por ser o coração dos rios, tendo de fronte pera conquistar o Maraui, e Bororo da outra parte do Rio; nas costas pella parte do ponente a Botonga rebelde Baroe e Manica. Mas conquistadas esta Botonga Baroe e Manica, pera a conquista da Mocranga deue assistir em Tete: ambas estas pouoações são agora sadias auendo bom Regimento. Conquistada a Mocranga p<sup>a</sup> a conquista da Butua, e outras prouincias confinantes; como tão bem p<sup>a</sup> dispor e ordenar aquelle grande Imperio, deue assistir o Conquistador em Dambarari, pouoação nobre dos Portuguezes no coração daquelle imperio, e de clima muy sadio. O Conquistador deue juntamente ser Govern<sup>or</sup> de Moss<sup>a</sup>, porque este se respeita nos rios mais que o mesmo V. Rey da India: e se a conquista se fizer capaz he aquella parte deste Estado pera hum V. Rey per si, cujo dstricto comprehenda toda aquella Africa do mar Roxo te o cabo de boa Esp<sup>a</sup> com as Ilhas frôteiras, e seu assento em são Lourenço com que aquelle grande imperio ficara mais animado: e se promouera m<sup>to</sup> a conquista. Sera então facil a communicacão com o Brasil, Angola, e Portugal, pella facilidade com q̄ dali se dobra a tempo o cabo de boa Esp<sup>a</sup> nê lhe faltaõ drogas, q̄ carregar pera la, quais são as mesmas roupas, q̄ daqui uaõ p<sup>a</sup> Moss<sup>a</sup>, e tem grande saca em Angola: muito pao preto: muito ferro, e dos mais metais, m<sup>to</sup> ambar, gengiue, asucar, se meterem la quem o saiba fazer, q̄ as canas se daõ mui uiçozas mais q̄ em outras partes. Naõ falo na prata da Chicoua, e outros postos; per que se tem ja feito grandes deligencias: he certo q̄ ha ali prata: duuida se, se sera cantidade, q̄ respõda ao empenho, q̄ se deue meter na mina. Se la se leuarem officiais, q̄ fiem, e teçaõ o algodaõ; sendo este sem conto, la mesmo se podem laurar infinitas roupas. Em fim aq<sup>l</sup>as grandes prouincias do Cabo de boa Esp<sup>a</sup> ao de Guardefui com são Lourenço e as mais Ilhas adjacentes so necessitaõ de personage, q̄ as ueja, comprehenda, e possa dispor em forma, q̄ se logrem suas immensas riquezas. Ja se pello discurso dos annos, e com o trato de outras naçois aquella barbaria se politicar, nada enuegara aquella Africa a riqueza, e potencia desta Asia. Isto he S<sup>r</sup> em substancia o q̄ me ensinou a experiencia e comprehendeo o juizo nos annos, q̄ p̄ la andey sendo uisit<sup>or</sup> dos missionarios e cazas de nossa Comp<sup>a</sup>. Concluo S<sup>r</sup> q̄ o grande juizo zelo, e valor de V. Ex<sup>a</sup> juntos com sua grande piedade, e com tão marauilhosa limpeza

de mãos e de vida, espero sejam favorecidos de Deos para q̄ em tal forma promoua, e assente aquella Conquista, que ganhe renome de Africano melhor q̄ scipião. Deos goarde a V. Ex<sup>a</sup> p<sup>a</sup> bem deste Estado, do Reyno de Portugal, e gloria da nação Portugueza.

Em S. Paulo de Goa 11 de Dezembro de 1667.

Minimo Capellaõ de V. Ex<sup>a</sup>,

MANOEL BARRETTO.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

## REPORT

UPON THE

STATE AND CONQUEST OF THE RIVERS OF CUAMA,

COMMONLY AND TRULY CALLED THE RIVERS OF GOLD.

To the Count Viceroy João Nunes da Cunha.

Your Excellency commands me to write of the condition and conquest of the rivers, knowing the many years I spent there, sufficient to give me experience and understanding of them. I shall begin with Mozambique, the principal port and chief place in the whole of this conquest.

*Mozambique, Querimbas, the Coast as far as Cape Delgado, the Island of Madagascar, and the adjacent Islands.*

In all this great expanse of territory his Majesty possesses only the island of Mozambique and two leagues of land almost square on the adjoining mainland, for the distance is little more from the river Calundi to the post of Quitangine, and from the shore to the chuambo—so they call the stockade which serves as a fort—in the interior bordering on Macuani. Macuani is the name of the large province which extends from Cape Delgado to Mozambique, with a hundred leagues of coast, and from Mozambique towards the Cape of Good Hope, with fifty. This province is divided among various fumos, or petty kings, more or less powerful, who all obey in the first place the great emperor of the entire nation of the Macuas; but are now ruled by the Maravi,

to whom they render such obedience as they are compelled to by violence.

The island of Mozambique formerly belonged to a Moorish sheik, whose successors and their subjects now inhabit the post of Sanculo, opposite the southern point of the island, a place infested by the Maravi, against whom their settlement is well fortified, and they are subject to the governor of Mozambique, under whose protection they live. It is in the shape of an *asevia* (a sort of fish like a sole), is about a cannon-shot in length, and a musket-shot in width. The climate is unhealthy, and it is the sepulchre of thousands of Portuguese; the earth is dry and salt with no water but what is obtained from rain, and no vegetation but a few palm trees. The port is exposed to terrible *monomocayas*, as they call the fearful hurricanes which sometimes visit that coast.

The experienced and zealous always blame our carelessness in forming the settlement at Mozambique when we might have made it in the bay of Jesses or of St. Augustine, which is opposite the rivers, and has all these conveniences: it is the *Porto dos Molheres* of the discovery, the climate is very healthy, the land abounds with water and very cheap provisions,—it is most convenient for navigation, as the shoals of India and João da Nova are avoided, and further, from this port the rivers can be reached throughout the year, and vessels can return from them to it, whereas the navigation from Mozambique to the rivers is only practicable during two monsoons. Above all it is convenient for conquering the island of Madagascar, which is rich in many products, and is capable of yielding greater profits by the industry of the nations who inhabit it. But the greatest advantage of all is its security, for at that place the fortress might be like that of Rhodes or of Rochelle, and in the island of Mozambique it is a sorry enclosure which in its present state could ill resist a European battery for a month.

Besides the island of Mozambique his Majesty possesses the Querimbas, which are five islets situated sixty leagues from Mozambique towards Cape Delgado. They are leased to several Portuguese, and abound with provisions according to their capacity, but their principal importance consists in the trade with the mainland below and beyond Cape Delgado. The trade with Macuani, which is carried on from Mozambique to Cape Delgado

through the Querimbas, with that of the island of Madagascar and of the other adjacent islands, was granted to the inhabitants of Mozambique by repeated orders of his Majesty, but the governors of Mozambique have prevented it under various pretexts, as they have other trade, even to the very apothecaries' shops of Mozambique, and they usurp everything, so that now only one or two inhabitants have any capital, whereas in years past the town contained many rich merchants. If his Majesty does not put a stop to this, Mozambique will soon be deserted, and the captain will be left alone with the keys of his fortress.

The produce of Macuani and of the islands above mentioned is much ivory, many slaves, provisions, turtles, ambergris, and various metals. The island of Madagascar has abundant and excellent timber for all kinds of vessels, and its celebrated *prunes* for masts, which also serve as merchandise, are among many others of that island, which the Portuguese never knew how to acquire, because they have never tried to conquer it, though they have a very justifiable right to attempt it, and very great facility, for with the people of the other coast they might conquer part of the island, and by means of the part conquered acquire the rest, as the island is peopled by various nations and different kinds of men very much opposed to each other, and subject to various petty rulers, of whom not one is very powerful by himself.

This conquest would open a wide door to the faith, for the people of Madagascar are much more civilised than those of Kaffraria; and it would close the door upon the designs of France and other nations, who intend to take possession of this island as of a thing neglected by the Portuguese to any one who chooses to seize it. Truly Sir, our title of Count of St. Lourenço makes an echo in my ears of Conqueror, Duke, and Prince of another St. Lourenço. If any European nation should take possession of St. Lourenço (i.e. Madagascar) Portugal may well give up all desire of the whole conquest from the Cape of Good Hope to the entrance of the straits, of which they will be masters who are masters of St. Lourenço, and it may be of all this south which that island faces. But putting aside these notices and consequences, which are well known, though not considered and prevented, let me give a description of the rivers, which is the principal object of this report.

*Rivers of Cuama.*

The whole of the coast of Mozambique as far as Cape Correntes, to which commerce reaches, is included in his Majesty's contract with the captain of Mozambique, and becomes his monopoly under the name of the rivers, because the number of rivers and rivulets upon it is almost infinite, and by means of them the captain's vessels carry on the trade. The factor of Angoxa—an island of the form and size of Goa, subject to a Moorish sheik, thirty leagues below Mozambique—has under his charge the commerce of all the rivers lying between Mozambique and Quilimane.

Quilimane is the port and stopping place for the rivers of gold, it is situated ninety leagues from Mozambique towards the Cape of Good Hope. It is formed by a small arm of the famous river Zambesi. At its entrance there is a formidable bar in the shape of a half moon, which is uncovered at low water of spring tides, and at high tide there are three fathoms of water, and in places where there are rocks or sand banks two and a half or perhaps two. Never till the present time have the careless Portuguese set up marks or buoys in the two channels in this bar, by means of which and a skilful pilot residing at the port vessels might enter at all times, at high tide, and still more securely at low tide if the channel were straight and the wind favourable.

Five leagues below Quilimane is the port of Linde, very convenient and deep, and with no bar, from which with but little deviation, as I was told by João Lopes Pinheiro, the most intelligent captain of the rivers, they can communicate with the arm of the river Zambesi which forms the port of Quilimane, vessels thus avoiding the impediment and risk of the bar. Thirty leagues below Quilimane most of the water of the Zambesi is discharged by many mouths, some of them admitting caravels and small vessels. This port and river is called Cuama or Luabo.

Thirty leagues below Luabo is the famous river Sabia, and the port of Sofala. Beyond Sofala the coast of Inhambane stretches for a hundred and fifty leagues, the principal port in which is frequented by the vessels of the captain of Mozambique. Beyond

it the coast runs to Cape Correntes, where the vessels of the said captain also resort, and they draw great profits.

*The Lands of his Majesty in this Conquest.*

In this great conquest his Majesty only possesses a triangle, whose side on the north-east is formed by the current of the Zambesi, which comes up from Quilimane to the north-west for a hundred and twenty six leagues, until it reaches Chicova, six leagues above Tete. The southern side is formed by an imaginary line drawn from Chicova to the port of Sofala, and this side will be about a hundred and forty leagues. The third side, or as it were the base of this pyramid, is formed by the sea-coast, which runs from Quilimane to Sofala for the space of sixty leagues.

All this tract of land is divided into various territories or districts, with their own names and limits, which are called *moganos*, and these territories formerly had their own *fumos*, or petty Kaffir kings, but they have been gradually acquired by the Portuguese upon various occasions which have presented themselves. Some of these lands are large kingdoms, such are Chupanga and Gobira, lands which are owned by Antonio Lobo da Silva, Santa, which is in the possession of Manuel Foz de Abreu, his brother-in-law, Tambara, which in my time was in the possession of one André Collaço, a native of Sena, and Dombaz and Aroenha, lands possessed by Manuel Paez de Pinho.

The revenue of these and all the other lands of the rivers consists of the *mistoncos*, as they call the tribute of everything the land produces, which is paid by the inhabitants to the lord, and of the ivory obtained by hunting or which is found, which is all the property of the lord, who pays the Kaffirs for their labour in hunting and for the *locotar*, as they call that which is found.

All the lands of these rivers are held from his Majesty for the term of three lives, with the obligation to pay a certain quit-rent and to perform service. The quit-rents amount to little more than six hundred miticals of gold, which is applied to the maintenance of the garrison of Zimbae, but they might exceed three or four thousand miticals if the lands which are still

unknown were explored and incorporated in the same manner as the others, and if the quit-rents were assessed at a reasonable rate. This could not well be done by an officer going from India, for fear, interest, and ignorance make them leave everything in the same state as before. If your Excellency will entrust the matter to Antonio Lobo da Silva, appointing him overseer of the revenue in that conquest, he, being very powerful, zealous, and intelligent, would bring the matter to a proper conclusion, as would also Manuel Paez de Pinho, if he were of a suitable age for this. The service is that every holder of lands is obliged to assist with his people when it is necessary to make war in any part, or perform any other duty for the common good.

The holders of these lands have the same power and jurisdiction as the Kaffir fumos from whom they were conquered, for the deeds of lease were passed in that form; and therefore they are like the potentates of Germany, and can pronounce sentence in all causes, put to death, declare war, and impose tribute, in which great barbarities may be committed, but they would not be duly respected by their vassals if they did not hold the same powers as the fumos whom they succeeded.

#### *The Government of these Lands.*

These lands are governed by four captains, who are at the same time ordinary judges, guardians of the property of orphans and of deceased persons, and holders of all the administration of justice in their districts. There is a chief captain, who is usually the captain of Sena, and it is proper that this should be so. The other captains are subject to him in matters concerning war or peace, but in matters of jurisdiction they do not allow him any superiority whatever; but all are subject to the supreme court of Goa. The captains who are subject to the captain of Sena and chief captain of the rivers are the captain of Quilimane, at the first point of the triangle, the captain of Tete, at the second point, and the captain of Sofala, at the third point. In Moka-ranga, as the empire of Monomotapa is called, there are several minor captains, such as the captains of Dambarare, Ongoe, Luazi, and Chipiriviri, with their chief captain, who resides at Zimbaoe or at the court of the emperor, with a garrison, to keep that barbarian in check.

The chief captain of Zimbaoe is generally one of the most prominent men in this conquest, and is usually appointed by the viceroy of India. Nevertheless he recognises to some extent the superiority of the captain of Sena, who is usually appointed by the governor of Mozambique. The reason of this is the dependence of all upon Sena, which is the chief centre and strongest place in the conquest, upon whose captain resolutions respecting peace and war principally depend. Besides these captains of Mocaranga it is usual to have a captain of the kingdom of Manica, who is appointed by the chief captain of Sena.

I shall now deal with the individual captains.

#### *Captaincy of Quilimane.*

The residence of this captain is three leagues from the bar up the river, in a small settlement of the same name which consists of several Portuguese of little wealth and power, and a few *mocoques*, as they call all those who are not Portuguese. The settlement and chuambo are on the side of Mozambique, on which side his Majesty possesses nearly fifteen leagues of coast, and ten up the river, divided into various districts, and leased, like the rest, to various holders. The territory or district of this captaincy is formed of this division of land situated on the side of Mozambique, and of thirty leagues of land which lie on the other side of the stream, until it reaches the great river, as they call the Zambesi before it throws out this arm to Quilimane.

The tide enters the river ten leagues, and for that space it is of equal depth and navigable at all times. Thence upwards, especially at the mouth, the arm is sometimes dry when the river is at its lowest, which is at the period of the dry season in August, September, and October, so that it cannot be entered even by the small canoes, which here they call *cochos*.

The captain is obliged to reside in the chuambo, and keep it always fortified, and the holders of lands are bound to assist with their Kaffirs in the defence of the chuambo when summoned by the captain. It consists of a strong palisade of large stakes so close together as almost to form a wall, the height of a lance, and driven a yard and a half, or two yards, into the ground. This is sufficient fortification against Kaffirs, who have no other arms than arrows and assagais, and cannot reach the chuambo to break

down the palisade, for those within assail them with shot, arrows, and assagais between the stakes, in great security, when they attempt to approach, while their missiles strike the stakes of the chuambo.

From this it appears how easy is the conquest of any kingdom or province of the Kaffirs, for by simply placing a fort there the yoke is upon them, from which they cannot free themselves except by submitting to the *Mozungos*, as they call the Portuguese. The word *Mozungos* signifies the same as "lords," and from this they form the word *Manumuzungos*, as they call the children of any other nation mixed with Kaffir blood, which is equivalent to "children of lords."

The Kaffir nation adjoining the fort of Quilimane is called Bororo; it is divided among various fumos, who are subjected by force to the Maravi. This nation extends along fifty leagues of coast towards Mozambique, and fifty-two up the river to the river Embebe or Morambara, which divides Bororo from Maravi, and enters the Zambesi with great force eight leagues below Sena, on the skirts of the famous mountain of Morambara. Until the present time these fumos have had little experience of the quality of our arms, which is the reason that they have several times, under the name of Maravis, attacked the settlement and fort of Quilimane. It is true they did little damage, for as the chuambo fortification is so easy, each inhabitant surrounds his house and garden with it, so that every house is like a fortress, and only the straw huts of the Kaffirs suffered, which were outside the chuambo, and those who did not take refuge within in time.

While João Lopes Pinheiro was alive, his prudence and the respect which his name commanded kept the Bororos in check, so that they did not dare to attack the settlement of Quilimane. This now runs some risk, for the new captain, Antonio de Abreu de Mello, has not so much power in lands and Kaffirs as João Lopes had, who held the other lands of this captaincy, and the Kaffirs respect those most who have most power. The governor of Mozambique divided these lands, which became vacant by the death of João Lopes, among others, and did not give them to Antonio d'Abreu, whom he made captain; in which he did not deal wisely, for he ought to have given the largest power in lands to him whom he made captain, that thus he might be

respected and feared. Your Excellency may now remedy this error without injustice or distrust of the governor of Mozambique. Without injustice, because the grant from the governor of Mozambique is always dependent on the approval and confirmation of the viceroy of India, with whom it lies to lease the lands which fall vacant in the rivers, and the governor of Mozambique only does so provisionally that the lands may not be left without a master and the Kaffirs refuse to acknowledge a lord. Without showing distrust in the governor of Mozambique, because this was done by Antonio de Mello, whose term of office is ended, and he did it at the close of his government, when the appointment lay more properly with the new governor Ignacio Sarmiento.

The captain of Quilimane will hardly be able to restrain the Bororos unless he is powerful in lands, for the Kaffirs will only fear and respect those who have such power; and the present captain can hardly be powerful in lands if your Excellency does not give him those which became vacant by the death of the last captain. And if he, who is the principal man of that settlement, does not keep the Bororos in check, I can see no other there who can do so, and if they take *chene* (as they call courage) they will control the navigation of the small river so that it will be impossible to pass by it from Quilimane to Sena, which would mean the loss of this captaincy and of all the rivers.

The late captain died without a legitimate heir, and his Majesty is therefore the lawful heir. Let your Excellency command the inheritance to be recovered, for it is very considerable in Kaffir slaves alone, João Lopes having had more than five hundred captives among male and female Kaffirs, and live stock, and there might be more than a thousand in capital. His agent in Sena, Damião de Aguiar, now dead, told me when he was alive that João Lopes had more than fifty plates of gold; but these were bound to disappear, as is generally the case upon sudden deaths without a will. To recover this inheritance Antonio Lobo da Silva is open to suspicion, being the brother-in-law of the said João Lopes Pinheiro, and appointed by the said João Lopes to act on behalf of his wife, to whom half the inheritance belongs, and for the bastard children of the said João Lopes, but as on the other hand he is a very upright man, I think he will act with fidelity to the king, if your Excellency entrusts the matter to him, for I see no other who has the necessary power

and knowledge for this recovery and division, except Antonio Lobo.

The present captain of Quilimane gave me a zebra, a truly royal gift, that I might offer it to the king in the name of the Company of Jesus, and obtain some favour. Antonio de Mello, coveting the zebra, refused to let it pass, and I understand that Ignacio Sarmiento will do the same, though both profess to be my great friends. I offer the zebra to your Excellency, to dispose of according to your pleasure, for your Excellency has deserved much greater recognition from me and from the Company. It will be necessary in order that it may reach you, that your Excellency should strongly recommend the matter to Ignacio Sarmiento, and sweeten the business to the hunter, by granting him the vacant lands in that captaincy and the hope of good favour in reward for his services, which are considerable. By these means he will be so gratified that he will not only send the zebra with its groom, who is also a present; but if your Excellency desires it will procure other zebras, male and female, that they may breed here and in Portugal, and if your Excellency would like some young elephants, he could very easily get them, for he is a great hunter, and has Kaffirs who are very skilful in these matters. Nor is the game he pursues by such hunting any other than the good will of your Excellency for his advancement. So much for the captaincy of Quilimane.

#### *The Captaincy of Sena.*

The principal settlement of the rivers is called Sena, which is in the heart of them, sixty leagues from Quilimane up the river. They say it is called Sena from the quantity of senna which the place naturally produces. It is dedicated to St. Marçal, and is usually called the fort and town of St. Marçal, but the town has no fort whatever except the mud walls by which each house with its garden is surrounded, so that each house is converted into as good a fort as if it were a chuambo, especially if the walls have loopholes opening inwards, of which little care is taken, because Sena has never been attacked by any enemy whatever. Here is the governor's factory, where everything is brought which enters by Quilimane, and where all the traders of the rivers resort to make their purchases and where all the gold is collected.

About thirty years ago there were more than sixty married Portuguese, for the most part rich and powerful, and many quarrels and deaths arose from each one wishing to be chief: to-day there are not more than thirty Portuguese houses, with many others of mocoques and manumuzungos. The most powerful are Antonio Lobo da Silva and his brothers-in-law, M<sup>el</sup> Paez de Avreu and João Duarte da Costa, who now serves as factor, and Simão Pinto de Azevedo, with his uncle Simão Vaz de Paiva. This now secures peace in the settlement, for all the others who are powerful are either relations or protegés of Antonio Lobo da Silva, in whom all acknowledge superiority in capacity and power, joined to great goodness and truth.

The governor, Antonio de Mello, for these reasons obliged him, with many assurances and promises, to accept the chief captaincy of Mocaranga and to reside in Zimbaoe, at great expense to his health and property. In another emergency Dom Francisco de Lima made him chief captain of Mocaranga, where by his person and power he kept the king of that great country in check. Antonio Lobo now writes to me that if he is not well rewarded this monsoon he will withdraw to his house, and leave the chief captaincy. The services which he has twice rendered as chief captain of Mocaranga, and others which he has performed, the proofs of which are in the hands of his agent Antonio Madeira Arrais, are worthy of great reward, but as he is very rich and powerful and desires honour alone, he wishes for nothing but a patent of nobility and the habit of the order of Christ. If your Excellency rewards him this monsoon as he desires, Antonio Lobo will be greatly encouraged to employ himself in the service of his Majesty and overcome all difficulties.

If your Excellency intends to promote and honour this great conquest with your presence—by which you will gain immortal glory and render great service to God and the king—it would be proper to secure the assistance of Antonio Lobo at once, as the most powerful and capable man for the purpose, as Manuel Paez de Pinho, who is the first column of that conquest, is now almost decrepit. It would therefore be well to make Antonio Lobo captain of Sena and chief captain of the rivers, with power over all the other captains and ordinary judges of that conquest, for he, being thus appointed chief captain, will supply Mocaranga with the most suitable person as chief

captain in his place, and will make preparations for the conquest in Sena.

When your Excellency is resolved to go, it would be well to take with you an administrator devoted to you and acquainted with that conquest, with the powers of a commissioner of the holy office, for your Excellency's orders will be more easily executed with the help of the two ecclesiastical arms, which are greatly respected there, and if the administrator is not devoted to your Excellency he might cause a great diversion of your designs. It is not fitting under any circumstances whatever that the administrator should be a religious of St. Dominic, as is sometimes advocated in Portugal; but many thousand cruzados—Father Dominic of the Rosary confessed to me that twenty thousand were spent to secure this office for a religious of his order—are more powerful than the most urgent reasons which can be brought forward. These religious act very boldly there even when the administrator is a priest who might oppose them, and what would it be if he had all the ecclesiastical power in himself.

To support your Excellency's authority and inspire awe a hundred able musketeers will be sufficient, and more would be an unnecessary expense and encumbrance. This conquest is, and should be, effected with people of the country, knowing the lands, and accustomed to marches through thickets and to the climate. The three captains of Quilimane, Sena, and Tete will gladly furnish twelve thousand picked Kaffirs with three hundred guns, mocoques and manumuzungos, besides other Kaffir slaves; these men, animated by the presence of the Portuguese and of their masters, and joined to the company of a hundred musketeers, would form a power more than sufficient for the greatest enterprise in this conquest, and more would be an encumbrance. Even should more prove necessary, with the credit of the first victory countless numbers will come forward.

The district of this captaincy of Sena is larger than that of either of the other three, for not counting the thirty leagues along the small river which belong to the captaincy of Quilimane, and the other thirty up the river from Lupata to Tete which belong to the captaincy of Tete, the sixty leagues which stretch from the mouth of the small river to Lupata, the thirty which stretch from the said mouth with the great river towards Luabo, and all the coast until the river of Sofala is reached are subject

to the captain and ordinary judge of Sena, leaving the captaincy of Sofala with a small district in the lands of the king Quiteve.

Opposite Sena towards the south-east, at a distance of six or eight leagues, is the famous mountain tract of Morambara, upon the side of Bororo. It is about six leagues in width, and three in length. I often saw its summit above the clouds and thunderstorms, which rested on its shoulders like a ruffle. From the point which looks towards the sea, the ocean is visible at a distance of fifty leagues, and the point itself is visible at ten leagues up the river. The highest portion of the mountain is inaccessible; but the middle is inhabited in steep places between rocks and huge trees. It gives birth to springs and rivers of water, which make the skirts marvellously fresh and fertile.

The two fumos who rule the mountain and its skirts sometimes brave the Maravi, confident in the inaccessibility of their lands; and sometimes they brave us when they do not stand in awe of the captain of Sena, as happened when I was there. They began by exacting tribute from our boats which navigated the Embebe along the foot of the mountain for sixty leagues to the court and chuambo of Rundo, who is the second person in the empire of Maravi; they raised the *motengos* or prices of the merchandise they sell to us, and took possession of our slaves who fled thither, and sold them to us afterwards as their own. They acted in this manner while I was superior at Sena, and I, seeing that the captain was not of much use, ordered him to station four boats with good crews and guns at the mouth of the Embebe. I made prisoners of many of the Morambaras, among whom were the father-in-law and brother-in-law of the principal fumo, and my people gave the other fumo such a good defeat that he barely escaped, so that they were obliged to come and humble themselves before me. So easy is it with prudence and resolution to dominate these people.

Sisnando Dias Bayão, by the fear of his name, dominated this mountain, placing there his *mocasambus* or Kaffir captains, whom the fumos obeyed, paying through them tribute to *Mossuampaça*, which was the name of Sisnando Dias among the Kaffirs. They have the polite custom of naming the Mozungos according to any action or characteristic for which they are remarkable, and these names are frequently very flattering and expressive. Myself, because I subjected the Morambaras, besides doing the same to

those of Caya and Chemba, others of our rebellious vassals, they called *Temani*, which signifies resolute, valiant, or courageous. The joke of it was that the captain of Sena distrusted me greatly for having done what he ought to have done himself, if he had been capable of it, and caused me considerable annoyances, for which God will have forgiven him, as well as for his other sins, in the other life.

Antonio Lobo da Silva, whom the Kaffirs call Nhemba, could easily conquer Morambara, like his father-in-law, and if he were chief captain would increase the extent of fertile lands there for your Excellency to dispose of, if the obstacle of those fumos were removed, and would begin to place our foot upon the neck of the Maravi, for that mountain could be easily conquered. The whole conquest would be benefited by that of Bororo, by which the captaincy of Quilimane would be in security and rich in lands, and there would be an open way by land from Mozambique to Sena. So much for this captaincy.

#### *The Captaincy of Tete.*

Tete is the second settlement of the rivers after Sena. In times past it was very rich and much frequented, to-day there are not more than forty houses of Portuguese and mocoques. It is the port of the Maravi, which is opposite to it beyond the river, and of Mocaranga, which adjoins it. It is distant from Sena sixty leagues up the river. Its district extends from the famous Lupata, thirty leagues above Sena, to Chicova, six leagues above Tete on the confines of Mocaranga.

Lupata is the name of the famous range of mountains which nature has formed across the river Zambesi in the great plains which it traverses from Tete to the sea; but to give passage to the river nature has ingeniously opened a channel through the mountains, which looks as if it were the work of art. At the place where the river enters high and sharp mountain peaks are seen on either side, with an islet in the middle, which they call Mozambique, because they say it is in the same latitude as the island of Mozambique. This appears to me to be credible, because the Zambesi keeps in a continuous direction to the north, and experienced persons say that a straight line drawn from Tete to the sea would touch the rugged peaks, which is a

place eighteen leagues on this side of Mozambique, so that the three degrees of difference between Mozambique and Quilimane are traversed by the river Zambesi going up from Quilimane to the gorge of Lupata.

It is much easier for the traders who go from Mozambique to Maravi, and there meet those of Tete, to bring their ivory to Tete than to carry it to Mozambique, but they avoid coming to Tete in order not to be subject to the monopoly of the governor of Mozambique.

The mountain-range of Lupata is about three leagues in width, and juts out towards Tete on the left hand, traversing the lands of Rombaz (which also comprehend the Lupata) and Aruenha for the space of twenty-five leagues, which belong to Manuel Paez de Pinho. He has his residence and fort at the junction of the large river Aruenha with the Zambesi. The pomp of his house and person is princely. He is very much respected and feared in the whole of Kaffraria, even by the Maravi, who often send him *motumez*, as they call envoys, and presents; but for this very reason he is much envied and annoyed by the Portuguese who wish to be first, though even by these he is respected and feared. He has won this fear and respect by being very munificent in his gifts and very warlike, even cruel, in chastising, two qualities which will make any man adored by the Kaffirs.

With his name and power he keeps in check the rebel force of the Botonga, who are behind him to the south-west, outside the imaginary line which I drew from Tete to Sofala between Mokaranga, Manica and Baroe, which are friendly kingdoms, and the lands of Sena. The fumos upon whom Manuel Paez lately and on other occasions made war are Mingar and Quitambo, who are nearest to him, and whom he pays for hunting, Inhamuazi, Inhatengi, and Bandar, who are other Botonga chiefs, powerful and rebellious, who descend upon the lands of Sena, where they are driven back by our people of the lands of Chemba, Tambara, and others, that they may be brought to obedience when and how they choose.

This is the whole force of Botonga, which ought to be subjected for the security of the conquest, and the great increase of land and power of the Mozungos. Manuel Paez would have conquered it already if he had been made chief captain of the rivers in time, but though the commission has been several times sent

to him from India, his rivals there have always known how to suppress and impede it. All these difficulties will now cease with the death of Francisco Pires, captain of Sena, because Antonio Lobo is a great friend of Manuel Paez, and therefore if your Excellency sends a commission as conqueror of Botonga to Manuel Paez in the first place, and to Antonio Lobo in the second, (because Manuel Paez may be dead, or in such a condition that he cannot go to war in person), Antonio Lobo being chief captain of Sena, they will work in unison, Manuel Paez making war on the side of Tete and Antonio Lobo on the side of Sena, until they form a junction and subject the whole of Botonga.

Some persons consider those people invincible, on account of the *mucitos*, as they call the impenetrable thickets of great trees, in the centre of which are their chief villages, where only birds can fly or serpents crawl; but this is a mistake, for all the lands which we now possess in the rivers belonged to the Botonga nation, and were fortified by the said *mucitos*, and everything may be overcome by prudence and valour.

War should be made upon the *fumo* who is to be conquered when the crops are half ripe, for in this way our people are certain of provisions from the enemies' crops, while they are reduced to hunger. Then there is no want of water for our men, for many ponds are left from the winter; and it is the best time to set fire to the grass and brushwood, by which the *mucitos* would be cleared and removed to a great extent, and a passage might be cut with hatchets under cover of guns. But should we wish for conquest at a smaller cost, it would be sufficient to wait till hunger reduced those within to surrender, for they have not, and cannot possibly have, any provision from one year to another, and if their crops are gathered or consumed by our army, there is no other course open to them but to surrender or perish.

A large expenditure is required for this war, but this will be readily supplied by the two captains Manuel Paez and Antonio Lobo, because they are very rich and liberal, nor will they lose thereby, for the spoils of war, whatever its character, always exceed the expense thereof.

Manuel Paez has the habit (of the order of Christ) already, and now aspires to a patent of nobility, of which your Excellency will be informed more certainly by his agent and kinsman Diogo de

Pinho Teixeira. He has also a son who is a priest and theologian, and others, who are laymen, all natural children, to whom your Excellency may show such favour as Diogo de Pinho will point out; that he, gratified by these favours, and Antonio Lobo, by others, may undertake the conquest of Botonga now in rebellion, which these two men alone can accomplish. Your Excellency should take advantage of the time, for if Manuel Paez dies the whole of Botonga will rise in revolt from Sena to Tete, and take possession of all the roads by land and water and the communication with Mocaranga, nor would it be so easy for Antonio Lobo to conquer them alone, as at present in coöperation with Manuel Paez de Pinho, besides if this Botonga were conquered, we should have twice as much land and more soldiers than we have at present, with which your Excellency could prepare the conquest for other greater enterprises.

#### *Captaincy of Sofala.*

The above mentioned captaincies I traversed and saw with my own eyes, when I visited the houses and churches which we have in all of them; now I must begin to speak of what I have heard from persons worthy of credit.

The captaincy of Sofala is situated on the banks of the river Sabia, and the port of Sofala is on the southern side, in the territory of the great king of Quiteve. It is eighty or ninety leagues distant from Sena, and has little or no communication with it, because there is none possible by river. It has only communication with Manica, whence its river descends. The district subject to this captaincy is very limited, and I do not think it even reaches fifteen leagues, according to what I have been told by Antonio Lobo, who is the neighbour of Sofala, for his lands lie adjacent to Sofala for more than seven leagues up the river, and when he visits them he always visits the captaincy of Sofala, to preserve a good understanding.

When we first entered the rivers Sofala was the port for all the gold, but afterwards the bulk of the commerce was removed to Sena and Quilimane. To-day some gold from Manica is exported from Sofala, which I think does not exceed five hundred pastas, whereas that annually exported from Quilimane is nearly three thousand. The principal trade of Sofala is all the ivory of

Quiteve and Manica, with some ambergris, and other things of less value and quantity.

The site is very unhealthy, which is the reason, with the sterility of the lands leased to the inhabitants by his Majesty and the monopoly of the governor of Mozambique, that the settlement is almost deserted,—a sign of which is that no religious of St. Dominic will take the church which belongs to his order, because the want of parishioners makes it less healthy and profitable. This captaincy can only increase if it is removed to a healthier place, and lands are conquered from Quiteve by which the inhabitants may live and become powerful.

The account of the captaincies of the rivers being now concluded, there follows a report upon the kingdoms and nations on their confines.

#### *Maravi and Amuvas.*

Our lands are all Botonga, of the same language and nation. Extending up the river from Quilimane as far as Morambara is Bororo, a kingdom subject to Rundo, the second person in the empire of Maravi. This kingdom is divided from Maravi by the river Embebe, which is deep and navigable for many leagues. From Morambara upwards Maravi extends for the space of one hundred and fifty leagues along the river Zambesi, which divides Bororo and Maravi from Botonga and Mocaranga.

The Maravis are very warlike, and are feared among all the Kaffirs as the Bororos and Macuas are despised, so that as any Kaffir is offended at being called a Bororo or Macua, so it is a great honour to be a Maravi, Mocaranga, or Botonga. Maravi is governed by its emperor, named Caronga, whose kingdom extending two hundred leagues up the river from the port of Quilimane, includes in itself all Macuani with many other peoples and vast provinces until it reaches Mombasa. The Maravi are at peace with us, for once when they attempted to cross the river to our side we defeated them with heavy loss, and therefore they never attempted it again. Nevertheless on the side of Quilimane and Mozambique, where they touch our borders without crossing the river, they are very bad neighbours.

The merchants of Mozambique trade in this kingdom with the Macuani, those of Quilimane with the Bororo, those of Sena with Rundo, and those of Tete with the said Maravi and in his court.

The principal trade is in ivory, much iron, many slaves, and *machiras*, which are coarse cotton cloths in great demand in Mocaranga. The trade is very profitable, and is a great resource for the needy when the governor of Mozambique or those who are powerful in the rivers do not impede it, as does Dom Francisco de Lima. For when the governor of Mozambique, or the chief captain of Sena sends merchandise to Maravi, the emperor only considers them, and the other traders can dispose of nothing and are ruined.

Above Maravi along the bank of the Zambesi are the Amuvas, formidable to the Maravi from their numbers and courage; but we know little of them, because we have hardly any commerce with them. There is an endless quantity of ivory among them, of which they make the *recitos* or fences round their houses and gardens, and if they find a purchaser they sell it willingly; but transport from such a distance makes this ivory very expensive, besides which there are two *fumos* on the road who, although they are vassals of the king of Mocaranga, often rob the merchants.

While I was in Sena there went to the Amuvas one Antonio Gomes Bramene de Curtary with but little merchandise, with which he obtained more than fifty bars of ivory, gaining at the rate of eight hundred per cent or more; but he was robbed by the aforesaid *fumos*, where he lost half the ivory, besides he had a difficulty in buying boats to bring it down the Zambesi as far as Chicova, where the river forms a great rapid. There it was necessary to burn the boats, and transport the ivory by land to the lower end of the rapids, and there buy other boats to convey it to Sena.

I understand from the situation of these Amuvas that they adjoin the empire of Abyssinia, or at least the provinces nearest to that empire, because Maravi is above Mombasa, and the Amuvas above Maravi, and from Mombasa straight to the empire of Abyssinia is a little more than a hundred and twenty leagues, which may be the extent of the interior which the Maravis and Amuvas occupy on that side.

*Mokaranga.*

As Maravi is beside us up the river on the eastern side, so is Mokaranga on the northern side. It commences immediately above Tete, and extends towards the west and north about a hundred and fifty leagues, both in length and breadth. Upon the western and southern side extends the great kingdom of Quiteve, of which I shall speak presently, leaving in the middle, with our lands and the revolted Botonga, the kingdoms of Baroe and Manica, which are small, and do not exceed fifty leagues on any side. Mokaranga is the name of the famous kingdom of the emperor of Monomotapa, and the natives are called Mokarangas. They are a noble race, and respected among the Kaffirs.

This emperor, before we entered the rivers, ruled the whole of Botonga which we now possess, and all the empire of Quiteve, to the Cape of Good Hope. After our arrival his younger brother rebelled against him with the empire of Quiteve, and we deprived his empire of Botonga; but even to this day a great part of Botonga, which has rebelled against us, obeys him, and the kings of Baroe and Manica render homage to him. With this and the whole of Mokaranga to himself, he is even still a very powerful king.

Mokaranga is very healthy, fertile, and verdant, with numberless rivers and fountains, which proves the falseness of the idea that land rich in gold is dry and barren of plants, for Mokaranga is one continuous gold mine, while in Maravi, which is opposite to it on the other side of the river, not a grain of gold is to be found. The principal places where gold is obtained in abundance are Dambarari, Ongoe, Mocanca, and Maramuca.

In this kingdom, which is verdant, healthy, fertile, and rich in gold, its kings chose for their court, or *zimbaoe*, a site which is dry, sterile, and unhealthy, which makes the residence of the chief captain and garrison of that court sufficiently difficult. The distance from Tete to Dambarari is about fourteen days' journey, and to the *zimbaoe* twenty.

Dambarari is a noble settlement and good-sized town in the heart of Mokaranga, and has grown to be the centre of that conquest, with many rich inhabitants. The Portuguese and even the mocoques of Dambarari and of the rest of Mokaranga

possess vast lands, or provinces, which they have bought, and buy every day, from the king of Mokaranga. With the people of these lands and their *macamos*, as they call their troops of slaves, they are more powerful than the king of Mokaranga himself. It is a proof of this that while I was there they separated themselves from the poor king, through no fault of his, and declared war against him. Before it came to a battle, when the armies were almost in sight of each other, the *encozes*, who are the lords or chief Kaffirs of that kingdom, killed the poor king (a thing unprecedented among the Kaffirs) for fear of the Portuguese, and came and subjected themselves to them that they might make whom they chose king. They elected a young man of the royal house, but very crafty and cunning, who is now sufficiently feared by them. I fear the punishment of God for the injustice done to the poor dead king, particularly upon Antonio Roiz de Lima, who was the head of this unjust rebellion and other great disorders in that conquest.

To keep this new and formidable king in check, Antonio de Mello was obliged to send Antonio Lobo da Silva to Mokaranga as chief captain. A little before, the chief captain of Sena sent Francisco Pires Ribeiro there, to oblige the Portuguese to surrender to the king the lands that they held, but Francisco Pires did not carry out this design, nor is it fitting that it should be executed, for the Portuguese deprived of their lands and vassals would be scattered and powerless, and of no service. Besides which, having bought the lands with their own money, it was unjust to oblige them to give them up without compensation, and without some evident public necessity, which did not exist on this occasion.

Antonio de Mello's motive was that he had been told the gold would fail, because the Kaffirs would not dig for it through fear of the Portuguese. It is true that the *encozes* do not wish gold to be dug for in their lands, because upon the report of gold being found the Portuguese buy the land from the king, as has frequently happened, and they, the *encozes*, being great lords, counts, dukes, and marquises, are despoiled of their lands and become poor *caporros*, which signifies labourers. But this objection is not avoided by the Portuguese giving up the lands they have already, as the *encozes* would still retain their fear that they would acquire them from the king again, with many more.

It would be sufficient, in order to avoid this obstacle, to pass an inviolable law that the king should not give or sell any more lands to the Portuguese, by which the encozes who now hold them would be without fear; but who can tie the hands of a king and prevent him from doing what he pleases in his own kingdom? Besides, this would close the door by which the Portuguese become each time more powerful in that kingdom, and which is very conducive to conquest.

This king of Mokaranga is honoured by his Majesty with the title of brother-in-arms, but strictly speaking he is his vassal, for in the time of the rebel king Capracina the Portuguese conquered the kingdom by force of arms, and now they elect and depose kings at their pleasure. If this king should rise in rebellion it would be proper to conquer the whole of the kingdom, and divide the lands among the Portuguese, by which there would be great favours and rich appointments for the deserving. Then the natives would dig as much gold as their masters, the Portuguese, required, without fear of the encozes. And your Excellency could put in force an enactment in Mokaranga, which it would be well to enforce in all that conquest, that all those who hold lands from the king, besides a proper quit-rent, should pay to the king the tithes of the said lands, of which he is the legitimate lord, as grand master of the order of Christ.

I understand that the quit-rents and tithes alone of Mokaranga, when conquered, would bring into the royal treasury more than a million, and if the lands were leased to those who offered most for them, it would amount to a large sum of gold.

#### *Maramuca.*

This is the name of a great province or kingdom of Mokaranga, in its upper part, towards the north, the natives of which are Botongas. They are so courageous that it is a disgrace among them to kill a lion or tiger with arrows or assagais, but to kill it with credit it must be done with blows from a *mupina*, as they call a certain small club which they use after the manner of the Abyssinians, and with which they strike, holding it in their hands, or throwing it. This kingdom is the richest in gold which is known, and many thousand pastas could be obtained from it annually if it were ours; but the Kaffirs who possess these

lands will not allow more gold to be extracted than is necessary, that the Portuguese may not covet and obtain possession of their lands.

While I was in the rivers, Gonçalo João, a respectable Portuguese, obtained these lands from the king of Mokaranga with all necessary formalities, and entered into possession of them with the help of the said king and his Portuguese friends, Antonio Roiz de Lima, who is now here in Goa, and Simão Gomes, a halfbreed priest as rich as Antonio Roiz and no less disreputable, held the trade of Maramuca as a monopoly of their own, and with others envious of the great power and incalculable wealth which Gonçalo João would obtain by the possession of this province, stirred up the dispossessed encozes to attack Gonçalo João and his people, to which end they assisted them with men of their own and firearms. They attacked Gonçalo João, and finding him unprepared and unprovided with a chuambo, he was defeated, many of his people were killed, including Portuguese, Mocoques, and Kaffirs, and he was robbed of all his property, part of which came into the hands of the men above mentioned.

The comedy of it was, that after doing him this good turn they accused Gonçalo João of having stirred up Maramuca with war and caused them the loss of many pastas. The matter was tried before the tribunal of Dambarari, which was worthy of them, and Gonçalo João was condemned to lose all he possessed. This injustice was a source of wonder and grief to all worthy persons in the rivers. He appealed against the sentence to Goa, and his agent Antonio Gil Preto is carrying on the case here, but I do not know its present condition owing to the delays of the supreme court. I know, however, that it would be to the service of God for immediate justice to be done to the poor man, and to punish such an injury. Instructions should be sent to Antonio Lobo to put Gonçalo João in possession of his territory, and to cause them to make good his property and the damage he has sustained.

This Antonio Roiz was the author of the tyranny shown towards Nicolao Soeiro Carcho, a man of great valour and capability, which was a worse case than that of Gonçalo João, of which Antonio Collaso and others can inform your Excellency, as they are better acquainted with the matter than I am, as I was in Sena at the time. It would be for the service of God

that Antonio Roiz de Lima should be made to suffer for his many offences, that others may be less daring and tyrannical in future.

It is fitting that Maramuca should belong to the Portuguese, that as much gold as possible may be obtained from it, which would be an incredible amount, but it would be well for it to be ruled by some one of greater power and merit than Gonçalo João, for this land in itself is greater than the duchy of Braganza. Gonçalo João would be contented with possessing it peaceably for five or six years, which would suffice to make him lord of millions, and he would then give it up to anyone according to your Excellency's pleasure. I would impose upon him for the present the obligation of paying ten pastas to the king, if Antonio Lobo places and keeps him in peaceable possession of those lands; but when they are accustomed to the yoke, whoever holds them may easily pay the king fifty pastas a year or more, for they will yield him five hundred or more, after deducting the expenses. This is a matter of great importance, in which your Excellency will proceed according to your pleasure, but to do what is proper it is necessary first to restore Gonçalo João to his lands, and give him satisfaction for what he was robbed of by order of Antonio Roiz and of the father Simão Gomes.

#### *Manica.*

This kingdom adjoins Mocaranga on the west and south, and is about fifty leagues in diameter. It is one continuous gold mine, but the gold is not of the best quality. The land is well supplied with many waters, but they are unhealthy, particularly to infirm persons, of whom they speedily make an end. The climate is unhealthy, but I noticed that there were few deaths there while I was in Sena, from which I gathered that it was only injurious to invalids and intemperate persons.

The Portuguese have two settlements in this kingdom. The principal is called Chupangura, where the captain and judge of Manica usually resides, and the least important is called Matuca. The Portuguese and Mocoques in this kingdom have more lands than the king himself, which they were ordered to give up while I was there, but the order never took effect, nor is it fitting that it should do so, for the reasons stated when speaking of Moka-

ranga. The distance to Manica from Sena, to the west or southwest, is from seven to nine days' journey.

Above Manica is the kingdom of Maungo, now in the possession of the Moors, who have withdrawn themselves in that direction, fleeing before us. This kingdom should be conquered, for it is small and easy of conquest, to extirpate this evil race from the heart of Kaffraria, and to punish them for the various discourtesies they have shown to us, and because they are the only falsifiers of gold in all the rivers.

Behind Maungo and Manica extends the great kingdom of Butua, which has much excellent gold. This was conquered by Sisnando Dias when he was chief captain of the rivers, that by it this conquest might communicate with that of Angola, which is behind it. This would be a great advantage to both conquests. But in Loando, when he was going to Sena to rest and obtain succour, his rivals killed him with poison, being jealous of his great name and power and of the honour which he had just acquired by that conquest. Upon his death the forces he had left in the chuambos of Butua were withdrawn, and that kingdom remained in rebellion; but its conquest would be very easy after that of Mocaranga and Manica is accomplished.

#### *The Empire of Quiteve.*

Below Manica and Butua, towards the sea and the Cape of Good Hope, extends the great kingdom of Quiteve, which all the land obeys as far as the Cape and throughout the interior. It is very rich, fertile, and healthy, and abounds with ivory, ambergris, and other merchandise. The king keeps a good understanding with us, fearing our power, because Sisnando Dias, father-in-law of Antonio Lobo, won from him by force of arms the kingdom of Gobira, which is now in the possession of his son-in-law; and therefore the Quiteve has a becoming respect for the great name and power which Antonio Lobo has among the Kaffirs.

#### *The Kingdom of Baroe.*

This kingdom is like that of Manica, and lies between Sena and Mocaranga to the west, inclining towards the north. It has a quantity of cattle, ivory, some gold, and abundance of

iron and other metals, with which all these provinces abound. Antonio Lobo conquered this king about eight years ago, for some discourtesy which he offered to his maparus, as they call elephant hunters. But the chief captain, who was then Francisco Pires, took the negro's part, and therefore the conquest of that kingdom did not much increase the power and name of Antonio Lobo. The natives of this kingdom are Botongas, as are those of the neighbouring countries. At present, fearing our power, they keep a good understanding with us, though it would be better if they lived in good subjection. But to reduce this kingdom, when the surrounding parts of Botonga are conquered, it will be necessary to justify the act by some cause which they may give to deserve it.

*The Spiritual Government of this Conquest.*

All the spiritual jurisdiction of this conquest, from the entrance of the Red sea to the Cape of Good Hope, is under the administrator of Mozambique, which might with greater authority and much greater fruit be an archbishopric or patriarchate, since it has a much larger district than Ethiopia. It would be for the greater honour of the state and great hope of Christianity if a zealous missionary were prelate, who would employ himself for the spiritual increase of his flock, without attending to temporal profits, and this prelate should always have two titular bishops as coadjutors and future successors, both to animate so large a district, and that a prelate might never be found wanting, for in his default disorders and scandals are numberless in those parts.

In the rivers there are sixteen parish churches, whose vicars also administer justice, because of the vastness of their districts. Nine of these are in the lands of the king, two in Manica, and five in Mocaranga. Of these, six belong to the fathers of the Company [of Jesus], one, which is the church of Sena, is held by secular priests, and nine belong to the Dominicans, though they do not keep up more than six, because in the others the profits are not considerable. Thus it is a notable scandal that they have abandoned the garrison of Zimbaoe or court of the emperor, even though they have baptized him, because there is little gain to be had there.

If there was a prelate always on the spot, with more zealous parish priests, the fruit of conversion might be great. It is feared at present that the administrator wishes to incorporate the parish church and mother church of Sena with his order, for it is very profitable, and these religious have had their eyes upon it for many years. But it is not fitting that it should be cut off from the provision of his Majesty, to whom it now pertains; and it would be better for these religious to give up those they have in those parts to secular priests, for these are not so unscrupulous, and if they were guilty of any disorder might easily be punished by the prelate, whereas the religious always go unpunished, for they are exempt from correction by the prelate, and know so well how to gild over the gravest scandals to their superiors that when it is expected they will be condemned to perpetual imprisonment, they come off with one of the most honourable priorities.

*Method and time of extracting the Gold.*

In the whole of this conquest gold is only to be found in abundance in Mocaranga, Manica, and Butua. In revolted Botonga and in Baroe some grains of gold are found in the rivers which come down from Mocaranga. In the lands of Maravi, in ours, and in the whole empire of Quiteve not a grain of it is to be found.

The river gold (so they call that which in the winter is washed and carried down by the rivers, where they seek it) is better than the bar gold (as they call that which is dug in mines), nevertheless the gold of the mines of Mocaranga is as good and better than the river gold of Manica, but in Manica nuggets like half an acorn are found, which are equal in quality to the river-gold of Mocaranga. The best river-gold of Mocaranga is that of Ongoe, Macana, and Mocraz. The gold of Maramuca is generally of inferior quality.

River gold is extracted all the year, but more abundantly during the rainy seasons, and at the end thereof, when the rivers are going down. The gold from the mines in Manica is also extracted all the year, but in Mocaranga only in the three months which are called *do crimo*, that is August, September, and October, because in these months, after the

harvests have been gathered, moderate rains begin, so that the miners have water for their use to wash and sift the gold. Afterwards, in November, the rains increase, so that the *marondos*, that is the wells or holes in which they dig the gold, are flooded, and the work cannot be continued. Very often the *marondo* yields very little, but some of them yield from one to three thousand *pastas*.

The method of extracting it is as follows: a countless number of Kaffirs with their wives and children assemble in the place where they choose to open *marondos*, the chief of each village forms a separate party with his people, and each begins to open his *marondo* in the fashion of a well. The mouth is so narrow that a man may stand with his legs extended from one side to the other. They make steps to go up and down within the circumference of the well, and on these the Kaffirs station themselves, passing the *mataca*, or earth, which is dug away, from hand to hand, which the diggers pass to them in *pandes*, or wooden bowls. The first *mataca* does not contain any considerable quantity of gold, the *mataca* which contains it is well known, and when they come upon it, or upon gold in stone, as sometimes happens, they do not desist until it is exhausted, following the vein under the earth in every direction.

Sometimes it happens that such a rush of water bursts into the mine that it is flooded, and it is impossible to extract the *mataca*, and still less the quartz, which has to be broken with great labour. Some of these *marondos*, containing infinite quantities of gold, are abandoned for want of skill to pump out the water.

When the earth or quartz is taken out of the ground there are found in it many pieces and fragments of gold of notable size, and the earth which adheres to these pieces of gold is scented and very healthy. The stone is then ground to powder, and this powder, together with the *mataca* which contains gold, is washed in the neighbouring rivers, until the water has washed away all the earth or stone powder, and the gold, being the heaviest, is left at the bottom of the bowl in small scales or very fine glittering sand.

There are many reasons to account for the small quantity of gold produced.

1st. The repugnance of the *encozes*, who will allow no

digging in their lands, that the Portuguese may not covet them. This obstacle might be avoided if all the lands containing gold belonged to the Portuguese, for then the Kaffirs, being their vassals, would labour to extract as much as their masters wished.

2ndly. The want of population, which is great throughout Kaffraria, because few children are born, and many plagues of locusts, wars, and carrying off of captives diminish their number. Above all the barbarous custom of taking the *mavi* kills an infinite number. No Kaffir meets with any mischance that he does not set it down as the work of some wizard or witch, and thereupon he consults with his relations and friends, who agree with his opinion, and a suit is brought before the chief or *mocazambo* of the land, accusing some person as guilty. The person accused denies the charge, and to prove the truth he is required to take the *mavi*, as they call the bark of a tree which is very poisonous. This is done with great precautions and ceremonies. If he refuses to take the *mavi*, the poor defendant, his wife and children, and even his other relations, are at the mercy of the plaintiff's assagai. If he takes it and escapes its effect, the plaintiff and his relations are at his mercy, but if he takes it and dies from its effects, all his family and property are at the mercy of the plaintiff. No power can dissuade the Kaffirs from this barbarous custom, for they are most confident that if they are innocent they will throw up the *mavi* and escape, but if they are guilty, it is easily seen from the repugnance with which they take it and die. When they are guilty they have no faith in any antidote, for there is one against the *mavi*, which is very simple, being merely to eat four or six grains of the best kind of frankincense beforehand. This custom kills an infinite number, and destroys countless families.

But the principal cause of the want of population is the bad conduct of the Portuguese, from whose violence the Kaffirs flee to other lands, as is clearly shown in Botonga, for the parts of that country which are subject to us are very thinly peopled, and the hope of gain does not prevail with them, for they flee from our lands to others. This last is the third cause of the want of gold, for in Morondo if they respond to our demand for it, there comes immediately some powerful man, or in his default some Mocoque with his people and slaves, and commits such thefts

and violence against the poor gold diggers that they think it better to hide the gold than to extract any more as a further incentive to our greed and their own misfortune.

*What is suggested for the good of the Conquest.*

For spiritual advantages it is necessary to have a perpetual prelate, with his coadjutors and future successors, and laborious missionaries, zealous for the good of souls. By these means the habits of the people would be reformed, and Christianity greatly increased.

For political advantages it is necessary to take the contract from the captain of Mozambique, and let this profit fall to the merchants, his Majesty's subjects, placing custom houses in all the ports where the ships go in and out, which would be of great service, with care and interest on the part of the officials, and the profit from the customs duties to the royal treasury would be more than a million, and Mozambique and the rivers would increase greatly in inhabitants and riches.

It is not proper that foreigners should be allowed to enter the rivers, or if they do so they should remain there for ever; a few Asiatics might be allowed to enter, but should remain there permanently, benefiting the conquest by the riches they amass. The merchants who go to the ports of the rivers should sell their merchandise in that place or leave it to their agents, but whoever penetrates into the interior to trade should be bound to remain there without remission. Many estates and conquests are weakened when men of capital leave them, by whom they were animated and under whose protection many lived and grew rich. It is not advisable to send married people to the rivers, unless they are first provided with lands sufficient for their needs and fair subsistence.

What these lands are your Excellency may learn by charging Antonio Lobo to make out a detailed list of them all, and what they are capable of yielding to those who know how to cultivate them. Now that Morambara and rebel Botonga are being conquered, much fertile land will be available, to which your Excellency may send many deserving persons, thereby assisting many married people, orphans, and respectable widows.

If Mocaranga, Manica, Maungo, Baroe, and Butua are con-

quered, there will be endless rich lands, like large counties, with revenues of from five to ten thousand, with which it would be possible to build up many houses and reward many services. Those who do not wish to possess them personally might do so through their agents and procurators, by which these would remain to increase the profits of the conquest. I understand that then the tithes and royal quit-rents would amount to millions. The conquest of Maravi as well as that of Quiteve might be left for a later enterprise, being more difficult and less lucrative.

If the Portuguese were lords of all that vast Ethiopia, they could oblige every negro to wear cloth, instead of hides and the bark of trees, as many do even in our lands, when the whole of the cloth which India can produce would be but little to provide for the half of Kaffraria. By this means the natives would search for gold to pay for the cloth, a large quantity would be forthcoming, and there would be a demand for many ships laden with cloth and other merchandise which these people value highly. *O fortunati sua si bona norint Lysiada.* The conquest from the Cape of Good Hope to the entrance of the Strait is alone a vast and wealthy empire, which if they knew how to avail themselves of it might be made formidable to all the rest of the world.

By different circumstances there have been left at Quilimane Sena, Tete, and probably in other parts, a number of bronze and iron cannon which are useless there, as they are not needed in that conquest, where several movable cannon and light field-pieces may suffice, and it would be for the service of God and the king to order them to be brought hither, which up to the present has not been done for want of instructions to that effect. If your Excellency would so order, they might be sent as ballast in the governor's ship, and would be very useful. When your Excellency wishes to provide that conquest with some movable cannon and field-pieces of the same value, these will furnish sufficient metal for all.

At the beginning the residence of the chief official should be in Sena, this being the heart of the rivers, and having Maravi and Bororo opposite for conquest on the other side of the river, and at the back towards the west rebel Botonga, Baroe, and Manica. But when Botonga, Baroe, and Manica are conquered, he should reside at Tete for the conquest of Mokaranga. Both

these places are now healthy, being well regulated. Mocaranga being conquered, for the conquest of Butua and the other adjoining provinces, and also for the ruling and ordering of that great empire, the chief officials should reside in Dambarari, a noble Portuguese settlement in the heart of that empire, and with a very healthy climate.

The chief official should also be governor of Mozambique, because the latter is more respected in the rivers than the viceroy of India himself. If the conquest is completed, that part of this state is worthy of having a viceroy for itself, whose district would include all Africa from the Red sea to the Cape of Good Hope, with the islands off it, and whose residence should be in Madagascar, by which that great empire would be more encouraged, and the conquest greatly improved. Communication with Brazil, Angola, and Portugal would then be easy, from the facility with which the Cape of Good Hope may be doubled in the proper season; nor is there any want of merchandise there, which is to be obtained for the same goods that are sent to Mozambique, and is like that exported from Angola; much ebony, iron and other metals, ambergris, ginger, and sugar if some one was placed there who knew how to make it, for the canes are more juicy than those in any other place.

I do not speak of the silver of Chicova and other places, respecting which many measures have already been taken; it is certain that silver is to be found there, the doubt being whether the quantity would repay the expense required for the mine. If workmen were sent there who could spin and weave the cotton, the quantity being unlimited, many cloths could be manufactured on the spot.

Finally, these vast provinces from the Cape of Good Hope to that of Guardefui, with Madagascar and the other adjacent islands, only need a person to watch over, understand, and rule them in such a manner as to turn their immense riches to account. If in the course of years and by dealings with other nations these barbarians should become civilised, this Africa would have no cause to envy the wealth and power of Asia.

This, my lord, is the substance of what I have learned from experience, and the opinion I have formed in the years during which I was in those parts, being the visitor of the missionaries and houses of our Company. I conclude, my lord, with the

hope that the great wisdom, zeal, and valour of your Excellency, together with your great piety, unsullied conduct, and marvelously upright life, may be so favoured by God that you may promote and establish this conquest, and may gain greater renown from Africa than did Scipio. God guard your Excellency, for the good of this state, the kingdom of Portugal, and the glory of the Portuguese nation.

St. Paul of Goa, 11th December, 1667.

Your Excellency's lowliest chaplain,

MANUEL BARRETTO.

## SUPPLIMENTO DA INFORMAÇÃO

DO

## ESTADO E CONQUISTA DOS RIOS DE CUAMA.\*

A João Nunes da Cunha,  
 Conde de São Vicente,  
 V. Rey e Capitão Geral da India.

Snor,—He V. Ex<sup>a</sup> seruido, que eu diga não so o que entendo sobre o papel aqui junto; mas ainda tudo o q̄ me parecer necessario para a conquista dos Rios, e suposto q̄ nem eu discorry pellas terras daquelle Imperio, outro nouo mundo; nem o tempo que nellas me detiue foi tão largo q̄ bastasse p<sup>a</sup> noticias, q̄ tem por mestre o tempo, mas so toquei as que cabem nas cento, e secenta legoas, q̄ se contaõ de Quilimane, porto do mar, the a Pouoação de Tete, contra corrente do grande rio Zembese (q̄ ual o mesmo q̄ Madre de todas as Correntes) em cuias ribanceiras estaõ assentados as Pouoaçoens dos Portugueses. Com tudo per obedecer ao mandado de V. Ex<sup>a</sup> direi, não tanto, do que Vi quanto do q̄ ouny a pessoas muito praticas daquellas terras, e zelosas do Seruiço de Deus, e de S. Mag<sup>de</sup>, deixando de repetir ociosamente o ja dito no papel, por não sair do Sumario, q̄ so pretendeo faser, acostando me porem aos titulos, e distincçoens de seu Autor: cõ declaração q̄ o q̄ Vy correra por minha conta.

*Mossambique.*

Tudo fora de Mossambique, he melhor que Mossambique, anda como em prologoio, na boca dos moradores delle, e praticos daquellas partes; porem em nossa nação tratar de melhorar posto, tenho por caso metaphisico, e perder tempo em discursos. Aduirtindo porem q̄ se lembrauaõ os Velhos daquelles annos, q̄ as duas cabaceiras da terra firme, q̄ lhe responde fertilizauaõ a

\* Copied from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits, Vol. 33, Folio 51.

Ilha de maneira q̄ sem necessitar subsidios de fora, dauaõ refresco de carnes, e uerduras, a armadas inteiras do Reino, q̄ tomauaõ aquelle porto; mas a praga de Leoens e Elefantes as tornaraõ matos brauios. Vaõ se gabara porem a India de melhor fruta de espinho; aruores uy (q̄ se daõ pomos de ouro) estas o saõ. Aja orteloens, hauera fruta, e ortas q̄ a terra naõ mudou, a Natureza, nem o Ceo as influencias, mas os possuidores dellas, olhaõ mais pera o ouro, q̄ para o pomo.

### *Ilha de Saõ Lourenço.*

Paraizo da terra he o nome q̄ lhe daõ, os que a conhecem, pellos rios, e fontes q̄ a cortaõ, e buninas de que se reueste, primauera de todo o anno. Gado sem contos, donos ha que naõ sabem qual seia o seu, saluo por alguns singis, ou marcas de ferro afogueado e semelhantes mataõ nelle os que tomaõ terra como cousa deuoluta, e sem dono, so pollo interesse de ceuo, ficando a carne pera abutres: desse porem muito mal em Mossambique polla differença do pasto; portos tem capases de huã frota de Hespanha fechados porem cõ canais taõ estreitos, q̄ se podem feichar cõ huã cadea, sem preuizo do fundo; Desta Ilha pois, pouco diz o papel, por naõ ser o intento principal de seu discurço porem muito de drogas, e muito mais tem dito o Nagino em sua Geographia, de seus tezouros, minas, e marfim, porem he pratica, q̄ naõ achey nos q̄ curçaraõ seus portos; so lhe daõ madeira sem limite, de q̄ se podera tirar grande proueito leuando se para Arabia, aonde dizem seria outro marfim: alguã tartaruga, cristal, e pedra vy eu como hũ grande reboło destes nossos oiteiros, trazido daquellas prayas a Mossambique, do muito que por ellas encontranaõ descarnadas das Correntes q̄ decem dos montes. Da alguãs eruas tessidas curiosam<sup>to</sup> de cascas de aruores, variadas em cores, mas de pouca dura, panos de lã q̄ chamaõ landes muito brandos e macios; Do açucar esta visto em suas canas, outro Brazil, porem nenhuã faz<sup>da</sup> q̄ chamaõ de ley, e por isso pouco requestada dos nossos.

Ouny muitas uezes a Bertolameu lopes, homem de grande Juiso, e de mayores espiritos, e muito uerçado nas Viagens de Sam Lourenço, que se ElRey lhe desse seis nauios de Remo armados e guarnecidos de soldadesca Portugueza, entrando elle cõ o seu Pataxo, e alguns bateis que armaria cõ os Cafres desta

outra casta, que elle se aleuia aduertir quantas naos de Mouros, que de Mecca Braua, e Magadaxo demandauaõ aquella Ilha a resgates de Bugues que faziã Mouros, mais de tres mil e mea da anno sendo a este fim em varios portos Cacizes que pello discurço do anno os uaõ comprando e catequizando, em grande opprobrio do nome christaõ, e p<sup>a</sup> se euitar este dano ouuy la dizer hauer ordem de S. Mag<sup>de</sup> para que os V. Reys da India mandassem força bastante, e acrecentaua q̄ com aquelle poder começaria a conquista da Ilha, sem outro interesse, mais que o da honra que Sua Mag<sup>de</sup> lhe fizesse, porque dinheiro lhe não faltaua. Porem este lanço, he ja perdido, e não sey de outro destes spiritos que não podera faltar em Nasçaõ taõ generosa. No mais me remeto ao liuro de maõ composto pello Padre Luis Mariano da Companhia de Jesus, que rodeou esta Ilha, e graduou, descreuendo os portos e o mais que della obseruou.

#### *Rios de Cuama.*

Assy chamados, não pollos muitos que descarregaõ no Zembeze, nem pollos muitos a que se estende o contrato: porq̄ entaõ se chamariaõ cõ os nomes daquellas partes por onde corrê. Cuama chamamos a fralda maritima que corre desda ponta de quidango the a grande resaca, em que fenecem as terras de Luabo; e como o rio grande dezemboca neste districto, por sinco fozes, e bocas, em distancias apartadas, deixando Ilhas entre meyas, e o districto seia Cuama, acharaõ nossos descubridores sinco rios e todo em Cuama e assy lhe chamaraõ rios de Cuama, q̄ por seus nomes proprios entre os Cafres se dizem Luabo, Molambo, enafanhama, Pemani ou Vuaru, e quilimane. Por todos estes descarrega o zembeze no mar salgado, mas vay pouco na Etymologia de nome.

O que em geral posso dizer destes rios, he o que ouuy a Sisnando Dias Bayaõ pessoa de mayor experiencia e o Marte da Cafraria, de dezaceis ou desoito annos criado nella uercado, e uenturozo em batalhas, e por occaziaõ dellas penetrou a Botonga, Mocaranga, e Butua; elRey dizia, tem os olhos fechados, não sabe o que tem nestes rios, sera Senhor do Mundo todo, se for senhor dos Rios. Neste Imperio se achaõ todos os metais, todos os mineraes, todo o genero de tintas conhecidas na Europa. Do ouro esta sabido, reinos inteiros, aonde senaõ pergunta do lugar

senaõ cauar e tirar. Da prata, deixada a da Chicoua minas fingidas do Emperador Gassulicere, aonde Dom Esteuaõ de Ataide achou enterrada, mas naõ nascida, em cantidade que se fizeraõ baixelas, de que diziaõ ser os pratos que eu uuy em Moçambique, e pagamentos a soldados da Conquista. Se supoem outras donde se tira a que na Corte do Emperador faz ornato as pessoas reais, e grandes della, que desprezando o ouro uzaõ da prata, que aos mais he prohibida. Do cobre senaõ duuida, porque o temos uisto, e nesta cidade ha mostras delle; e entre os Cafres he como moeda, a que chamaõ massontas, que saõ duas aspas juntas por huã traueça entre meya. Do chumbo me referio, alem do Sisnando, me referio o Maganda uizinho de Tete, soldado que foi de Dom Esteuaõ de Ataide que hindo em demanda de prata, dezenganados da Chicoua em certo dia ao romper do sol uiraõ ferir os rayos na Argentaria de huã serra ouue grande aluoroco no arrayal desaparouce a mosquetaria cõ grandes uiuas ao Gou<sup>or</sup>, e chegando se para a serra, acharaõ ser serra de chumbo, q̃ se uinha como de retendo, e repartindo em veas de que logo se proueraõ fazendo pelouros, e moniçoës, e trouxeraõ abundantamente delle. O ferro he conhecido. Do calaim uzaõ em premutaçãõ, como moeda quadrada em huã das faces como pontas de diamante, que recebem da fundiçaõ: alguãs me uieraõ a maõ em Sena, e Tete, e folgara de me lembrar de nome proprio entre os Cafres. Das tintas uermelha, amarela, azul, e outras, (dizia Sisnando) naõ eraõ mais uiuas as de Europa; eu as naõ vy, como nem dos mineraes, as mostras.

As terras de Luabo, como saõ baixas e alagadiças, e proprias para arozais poderiaõ fartar, naõ digo Moçambique mas a India, sem dependencia do Canara, se o Cafre fora cultiuador, e estranhando eu sua inercia aos moradores me responderaõ q̃ semeauaõ o q̃ auiaõ mister para suas familias, que o mais era trabalho baldado, porque os Governadores naõ permitiaõ fazesse delle carga em seus barcos, e que tanto dariaõ quanto lhe tomassem porem elles naõ querem por uenderem o seu que conduz de India, e para sahir huma fumba de Luabo, he necessario huã bula com sello pendente: muitas vy eu ficar na praya de Quilimane engeitadas, por o Capitao de barco do contrato as naõ querer receber. De trigo daõ as terras mais altas quanto querem. No mez de Julho rio ariba, da parte da Ilha Maindo no lugar dito de Pinheiro por ser de Joaõ Lopes Pinheiro, o vy taõ crecido que igoalaua hum

homem de fermoza estatura, em parte de Agosto, e Setembro, se colheo em Sena fas hum paõ fermoziſſimo e gostoziffimo, e ja os Cafres daõ emgostar delle mais q̄ de seu milho, e assy o semeaõ não so no Botonga, mas no Marauí, e podende Moçambiq̄ renouarce todos os annos de trigo nouo não o querem os Governadores, para que se gastem farinhas q̄ chegaõ la meyo podres.

### *Capitanias.*

Nas que eu vy particularmente Quilimane, não vy cousa q̄ fizesse representaçã de Capitania mais que huã estacada de paos com quatro cazas palhiças, uy porem alguns berços de ferro lançados na praya, e cheos de area, por sinal que polla escorua de hum delles sahia huma cana de milho uerde, argumento de grande fertelidade da terra, e do muito cuidado das cousas delRey. Se o chuambo tiuera seus redutos e nelles caualgados os berços mais respeitados seriaõ do que o saõ com so despingardaria. Conuinha reforçarce esta Capitania com gentes conuidada com as terras de seu districto. E geralmente falando para argum<sup>to</sup> das Capitanias conuinha muito que as terras de districto de cada huã se dessem aos moradores de cada huã dellas, ou cõ obrigaçã de morarem nellas, e que não decesse o morador de Sena a cobrar o marfim de Quilimane, e se recolhesse cõ elle p̄ Sena: o mesmo digo das outras. Nem parecera mal que em cada Capitania ouesse m<sup>as</sup> auiculadas a mesma Cap<sup>a</sup> ou p<sup>a</sup> melhor dizer ao capitaõ dellas este ou aquelle q̄ reconhecessem o officio, e não a pessoa, porque deste modo cõ a morte de Joaõ lopes pinheiro não ficaria Antonio de Abreu de Mello seu successor no officio de Capitaõ de Quilimane sem terras, e sem respeito, segundo refere o papel.

No estado prezente necessariam<sup>to</sup> se ha de puxar por Manoel Paes de Pinho p<sup>a</sup> as terras de Tete, e Antonio lobo da silua para as de Sena, como os mais poderozos em terras porem deuia ser com cautela, que não conquistassem somente para sy, pollo estilo que o fizeraõ os homẽs dos rios, exemplo seja Lourenço de Mattos, o Maponda, que sahindo cõ guerra contra o Sanapache, que infestaua as terras da Botonga, izentas, e não izentas de nosso mando, o rendeo, e matou, e se ficou cõ todas as terras de dito Sanapache, em tanto que nem aos mesmos Portuguezes restituio, as que Sanapache lhes tinha usurpado, causa de grandes

dezaunças entre os Portuguezes moradores, que as pretendiaõ, e elle reteue dizendo, que as ganhara com seu arco. Estas por sua morte ficaraõ a sua genro Sisnando Dias Bayaõ, o Massuampaca, e deste a seu genro que dizem ser Antonio lobo da Silua o Nhemba que deue estar mais crecido em terras, que os primeiros Conquistadores e por esta uia podera algum engroçar tanto que lhe fique a obediencia em cortezia.

Tem isto huã difficuldade a qual he, que qualquer destes poderozos se dispoem a conquistar com despezas proprias contentandose somente com as honras que esperaõ de Sua Mag<sup>de</sup> e quem conquista cõ proprias despezas, parece conquista para sy porem poder se ha responder que as honras que pedem, e se lhe concedem, uaõ pollas despezas, e cõ as terras que ja tem e cõ as honras de nouo se concidera bastantemente, a premia do hum Caua<sup>l</sup> Portugues, estas naõ tira que ainda das conquistadas, lhe deixe alguãs, como comendais, para augmento proprio.

#### *Foros das Terras.*

Do nouo tomo das terras se prometem grandes augmentos a faz<sup>a</sup> real, assy na Botonga, como na Mocaranga. Inculcasse por ora o mais poderoso dellas Antonio lobo da Silua. Naõ conheço este caua<sup>l</sup> porque naõ he daquelles tempos de minhas noticias; supponho porem que tudo fara com muito zello, e uerdade, porem deue tombar primeiro as suas, e logo as de seus parentes, poderozos na terra, e fora della os dos poderozos de Tete, e finalmente as de Mocaranga, de que se prometem muitos milhoes, so nas terras de Joaõ gonçalues. Isto tem grandes difficuldades me parece cazo rezeruado a superior intelligencia, uira tempo, Deos o dara, mas nada se perde na conuiçaõ, p<sup>a</sup> que se ueja a differença.

Finalmente os Rios de Cuama uistos comprehendem se, porem naõ se podem descreuer porq̃ lança a pena e muito mais, quem os descreue, porque ue que naõ pode dar alcance cõ a pena ao q̃ comprehende cõ o juizo.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Supplement to the Report upon the State and Conquest of the Rivers of Cuama.*

To João Nunes da Cunha, Count of St. Vincent,  
Viceroy and Captain General of India.

My Lord,—Your Excellency is pleased that I should state not only my opinion upon the annexed paper, but also all that I consider necessary for the conquest of the rivers, and though my travels in the lands of that empire, another new world, and the time which I remained there were insufficient to suffice for reports founded upon lengthy experience, and can only relate to the hundred and sixty leagues extending from the sea-port of Quilimane to the settlement of Tete, up the course of the great river Zambesi (which signifies the mother of all the currents), upon whose banks the Portuguese settlements are situated, nevertheless in obedience to your Excellency's command I shall state not so much what I saw as what I heard from persons having great knowledge of those lands, and zealous for the service of God and his Majesty, without uselessly repeating what is already stated in the said paper, in order to confine myself within the summary which is all I intend to make, keeping nevertheless to the titles and distinctions of its author, with the understanding that I am alone responsible for what is herein set down.

*Mozambique.*

That all outside Mozambique is better than Mozambique is a proverbial saying in the mouths of the inhabitants and persons acquainted with those parts, but in our nation to endeavour to improve a place is considered a metaphysical exercise and a loss of time in discussion. It is to be noted however that old men remember a time when the two chief villages of the mainland opposite supplied the island in such a manner that with no assistance from without it could furnish meat and vegetables to whole fleets from the kingdom which put in to that port; but the plague of lions and elephants has turned them into wild forests. India may boast in vain, however, of better fruit of the orange

variety. I saw trees which, if golden apples are possible, these are they. If there were gardeners there would be fruit and orchards, for the soil is unchanged, as are the influences of nature and the heavens, but the owners seek rather gold than fruit.

### *The Island of Madagascar.*

The earthly paradise is the name given to this island by those who are acquainted with it, from the rivers and springs that it contains and the flowers that adorn it in the spring, which lasts all the year. There are numberless cattle, and some of the owners scarcely know which belongs to them, except from marks or brandings with hot iron. Those who come on shore here kill the cattle as unowned or disregarded property, simply for the sake of the tallow, leaving the flesh for the vultures; but these cattle thrive very badly in Mozambique, from the difference of pasture. There are ports capable of holding a whole Spanish fleet, but entered by such narrow channels that they can be closed with a chain, without spoiling the anchorage.

The document says but little of this island, this not being the principal point of its discourse, but it says much of the merchandise, and still more is said by Nagino in his geography, of its treasures, mines, and ivory. Nothing of these was told to me by those who visited its ports, only that it yields an infinite quantity of timber—which could be turned to great advantage by taking it to Arabia, where it is said more ivory is to be obtained,—turtles, and crystal. I saw a mass like a great grindstone from our hills here, which was brought from those shores to Mozambique, out of many that are to be found there, dislodged by the streams which come down from the mountains. It yields grass which is curiously woven with the bark of trees, of various colours, but of little durability, and woollen cloths which they call *landes*, very soft and smooth. From its sugar as seen in the cane, it appears like another Brazil, but as none is manufactured of the standard quality it is in little request among us.

I often heard Bartholomew Lopes, a man of great judgment, of the highest spirit, and well experienced in voyages to Madagascar, say that if the king would give him six armed vessels with oars, carrying Portuguese soldiers, he would go there with his launch and several boats manned with Kaffirs of another race,

and would prevent any ships of the Moors from Mecca, Brava, and Magadaxo, putting into the island to carry on the trade in Bugnes, of whom they make Moors, at the rate of more than three thousand and a half every year, there being sheiks in various ports for this purpose, who in the course of the year buy and catechise them, to the great opprobrium of the Christian name. To prevent this evil, I have heard it said there was an order from his Majesty for the viceroys of India to send a sufficient force. Bartholomew Lopes added that with such a force he would begin the conquest of the island for no other profit than the honour done him by his Majesty, for he had no lack of money. But this opportunity is now lost, and I know no other such man of spirit, that however cannot be wanting in such a generous nation.

For the rest I refer to the handbook composed by Father Luis Mariano, of the Society of Jesus, who went round this island, marking the positions of places, and describing the ports and whatever else he observed concerning it.

#### *The Rivers of Cuama.*

So called, not because of the many streams which flow into the Zambesi, nor because of the many where trade is carried on, for then they would be named after the places through which they flow. We call Cuama the maritime belt which extends from the point of Quidango to the large bay where the lands of Luabo end; and as the great river discharges in this district by five mouths or outlets, at a distance from each other, leaving islands between them, and the district is called Cuama, our discoverers, finding five rivers in it, called them the rivers of Cuama, their real names among the Kaffirs being Luabo, Molambo, Enafanhama, Pemani or Vuaro, and Quilimane. By all these the Zambesi discharges into the salt sea, but the etymology is of little importance.

What I can say in general of these rivers is what I heard from Sisnando Dias Bayão, a person of great experience and the Mars of Kaffraria, brought up there from the age of sixteen or eighteen, experienced and venturesome in battle, on occasions of which he had penetrated into Botonga, Mokaranga, and Butua. He used to say, "The king's eyes are closed, he does not know

what he possesses in these rivers, he would be lord of the whole world if he were lord of the rivers."

In this empire are found every kind of metal, every mineral, and every sort of dye which is known in Europe. With regard to gold, it is known that there are whole kingdoms where without choosing any spot they have but to dig and extract it. As to silver, putting on one side the pretended mines of Chicova given by the emperor Gassulicere, where Dom Estevão de Ataide found silver buried in great quantities, but not formed there, which was made into vessels, of which, so they said, were the plates I saw in Mozambique, and which was also used to pay the soldiers of the conquest, it is supposed that there are other mines from which they get the silver which in the emperor's court is the adornment of royal persons and nobles, who despise gold, and make use of silver, which is forbidden to others.

Of the existence of copper there is no doubt, for we have seen it, and there are samples of it in this city. Among the Kaffirs it is used as money, which they call *massontas*, which are two St. Andrew's crosses joined together by a bar in the middle. As regards lead, I refer myself not only to Sisnando, but also to Maganda, an inhabitant of Tete, who was a soldier of Dom Estevão de Ataide, who going with others in search of silver, and undeceived with regard to Chicova, on a certain day as the sun rose they saw its rays striking upon a mountain like silver, upon which there was great rejoicing in the camp, and they fired off all the muskets, with loud cheers for the governor. On approaching it they found it was a mountain of lead, which came as if molten and divided into veins, of which they availed themselves, and made balls and ammunition, and carried off an abundance of it.

Iron is known. Pewter they use in bartering, like square money with a point in the form of a diamond on one side, which is done in the melting. Some came to my hands in Sena and Tete, and I should be glad if I could remember the name given to it by the Kaffirs.

Of the dyes, the red, yellow, blue, and others are as bright, so Sisnando said, as those of Europe, but I did not see them, nor the samples of the metals.

The lands of Luabo are low and swampy, proper for growing rice, and might supply, I will not say Mozambique but India,

without depending upon Canara, if the Kaffir was a cultivator. On my expressing to the inhabitants my surprise at their want of enterprise, they replied that they sowed what they required for their families, and that anything further was labour lost, because the governors would not allow them to load the ships with it, and that the land would yield as much as there was a demand for, but the governors would not permit it, that they might be able to sell theirs which they bring from India, and in order for a *fumba* to leave Luabo it is necessary to have a permit with a seal attached. I saw many rejected on the shore of Quilimane, because the captain of the trading ship would not receive them.

The higher lands yield as much wheat as desired. In the month of July, up the river, abreast of the island of Maindo, at a place called Pinheiro, because it belongs to João Lopes Pinheiro, I saw some which was as high as a very tall man. It is gathered at the end of August and in September. In Sena they make very good and delicious bread, and the Kaffirs are already beginning to prefer it to their millet. Therefore they cultivate it, not only in Botonga, but also in Maravi, and whereas Mozambique might be provided with fresh wheat every year, the governors will not allow it, that the flour which arrives there half rotten may be consumed.

#### *The Captaincies.*

In those which I saw, particularly Quilimane, I noticed nothing to represent a captaincy beyond a wooden stockade with four houses thatched with straw, but I observed several iron guns lying on the shore full of sand, in proof of which an ear of green millet was growing from the touch-hole of one of them, showing the great fertility of the soil and the great care which is taken of the king's property. If the chuambo had its redoubts, and the guns were mounted upon them, they would be more respected than they are with no defence but muskets. This captaincy should be strengthened by people attracted by the lands in its district.

Speaking in a general way of the captaincies, it is proper that the lands of each one should be given to inhabitants of that place, or upon condition of their living upon them, and that an inhabi-

tant of Sena should not be allowed to collect the ivory of Quilimane, and then withdraw with it to Sena; and I would say the same of the others. Nor would it be a bad plan to have many estates annexed to the captaincy, or rather to the captain thereof, that is pertaining to him who holds that office, whoever he may be, and not held personally, for in this way upon the death of João Lopes Pinheiro, Antonio de Abreu de Mello would not have succeeded him in the office of captain of Quilimane, without lands or respect, as is related in the document.

In the present state of things it is necessary to push forward by means of Manuel Paes de Pinho in the lands of Tete, and of Antonio Lobo da Silva in those of Sena, as being the most powerful in estates, but it should be done with caution; that they may not conquer simply for themselves, as did the men of the rivers, for example Lourenço de Mattos, or Maconda, who going to war against Sanapache, who infested the lands of Botonga, both those subject to and those exempt from our dominion, killed and defeated him, and got possession of all the lands of the said Sanapache, so that he would not even restore to the Portuguese what Sanapache had usurped from them, which was the cause of great differences between him and the Portuguese inhabitants who laid claim to them, and he retained them, saying he had won them with his bow. These lands at his death passed to his son-in-law Sisnando Dias Bayão, or Manuampaca, and from him to his son-in-law, who they say is Antonio Lobo da Silva, or Nhemba, who must possess more lands than the first conquerors. In this way a person may get such power that his obedience becomes a matter of courtesy.

There is a difficulty in this matter, which is that any of these powerful persons make conquests at their own expense, contenting themselves with the honours which they hope for from his Majesty, and it would seem that he who conquers at his own expense does so for himself, but it may be answered that the honours which they ask for and which are granted to them make up for the expense, and with the lands he already possesses and the added honours a Portuguese gentleman should consider himself sufficiently remunerated, which would not prevent some of the newly conquered lands being left to him for his own profit as a reward.

*Quitrents of the Lands.*

Great profit to the royal revenue is expected from the new register of the lands, both in Botonga and Mokaranga. Antonio Lobo da Silva, the most powerful person there, is suggested for that purpose. I am not acquainted with this gentleman, because my knowledge is not of his time; however, I presume he will act with zeal and fidelity; but he should first register his own lands, and then those of his relations who are powerful in the country, afterwards those of the powerful in Tete, and finally those of Mokaranga, from which millions are expected from the lands of João Gonçalves alone. This matter is full of difficulties, and it seems to me to be a case that should be reserved for superior intelligence. The time will come, and God will give it, but nothing is lost by getting proofs by which any difference may appear.

Finally, the rivers of Cuama when seen can be understood, but cannot be described, for they throw down their pen and much more who attempt to describe them, because they see that they cannot compass with the pen what they conceive in their minds.



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