

TREATISE ON THE RIVERS OF CUAMA



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TREATISE ON  
THE RIVERS OF CUAMA  
*(Tratado dos Rios de Cuama)*

by António da Conceição

*edited and translated by*  
MALYN NEWITT

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The map was drawn by Joan Newitt.

## Abbreviations

|             |                                                                                                         |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| AHU         | Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon                                                                 |
| Ajuda       | The Ajuda Library in Lisbon                                                                             |
| BL Add. MSS | British Library Additional Manuscripts                                                                  |
| Cx          | Caixa                                                                                                   |
| LM          | The 'Livros das Monções', volumes of viceregal correspondence located in the Historical Archives in Goa |

## Glossary

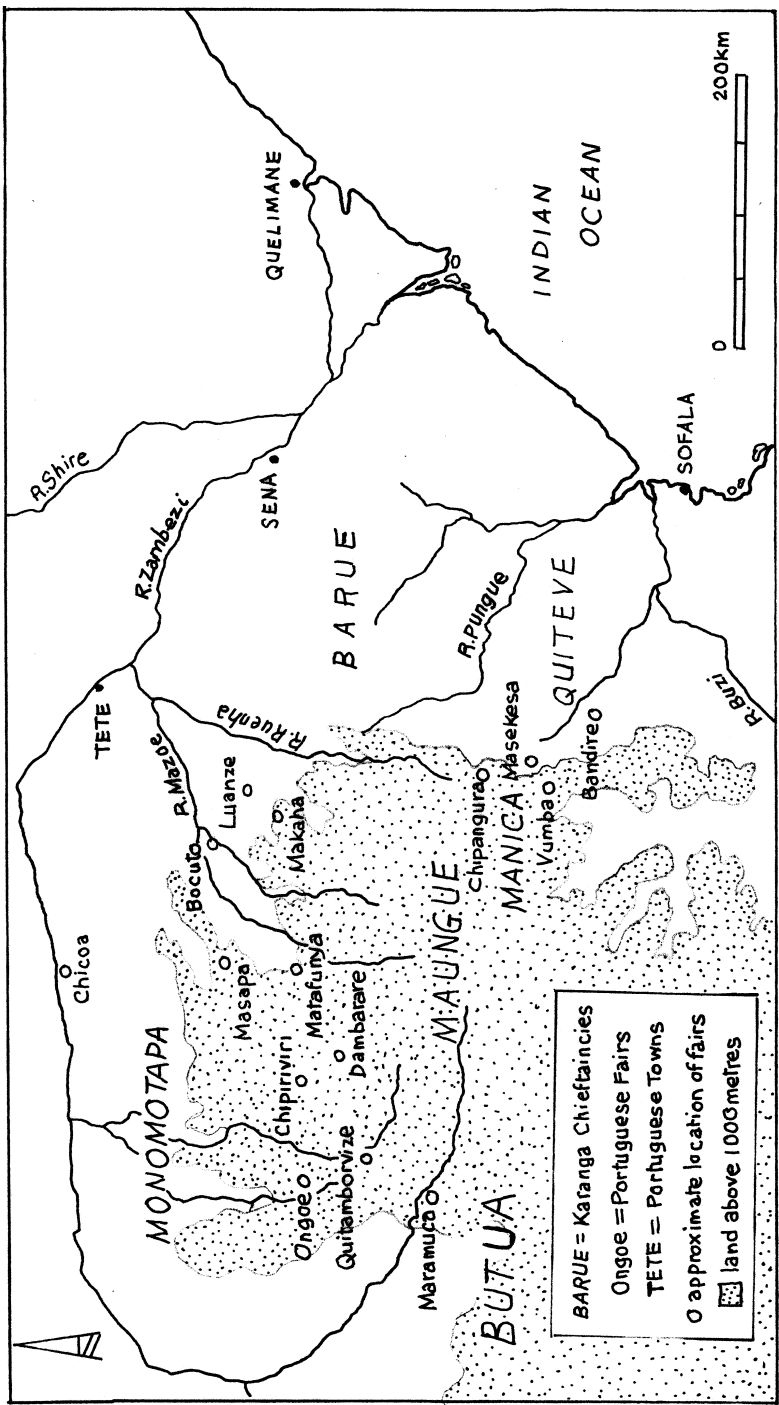
|                          |                                                                                                                                       |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>almadia</i>           | canoe                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>bar</i>               | unit of weight, equivalent to c.518 lbs                                                                                               |
| <i>bare</i>              | gold-mining camp                                                                                                                      |
| <i>Cafraria</i>          | Africa                                                                                                                                |
| <i>Cafre</i>             | African                                                                                                                               |
| <i>cava</i>              | ditch surrounding a fortification                                                                                                     |
| <i>Chicunda</i>          | black soldiers in Portuguese service                                                                                                  |
| <i>chuabo</i>            | a coarse kind of trade cloth                                                                                                          |
| <i>chuambo</i>           | fortified stockade                                                                                                                    |
| <i>coche</i>             | canoe                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>cruzado</i>           | coin valued at 400 reis                                                                                                               |
| <i>curva</i>             | annual present given by the Portuguese to the Monomotapa                                                                              |
| <i>degredado</i>         | convict                                                                                                                               |
| <i>feira</i>             | fair                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>fidalgo</i>           | knight or gentleman—a man of high social status                                                                                       |
| <i>foro</i>              | quit-rent paid by those leasing Crown lands                                                                                           |
| <i>fumo</i>              | chief                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>jamgoma</i>           | fruit (possibly the rose-apple)                                                                                                       |
| <i>Junta do Comércio</i> | Board of Commerce                                                                                                                     |
| <i>machira</i>           | African cotton cloth                                                                                                                  |
| <i>madzi-manga</i>       | holy water brought by the Portuguese for use at the installation ceremonies of the Barue chiefs                                       |
| <i>Mãe d'ouro</i>        | 'Mother of Gold': name given to the kingdom of Butua by the Portuguese                                                                |
| <i>mafuta</i>            | divination                                                                                                                            |
| <i>malemo</i>            | pilot                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>Mando</i>             | annual ceremony held by the Monomotapa at the time of the new moon in May, when all the chiefs had to assemble at the <i>zimbabwe</i> |
| <i>manga</i>             | company of soldiers or raiding party                                                                                                  |
| <i>Mocazambo</i>         | chief or commander of the Chicunda                                                                                                    |
| <i>moio</i>              | a measure equal to 60 alqueires or 828 litres                                                                                         |
| <i>morador</i>           | Portuguese resident                                                                                                                   |



## Glossary

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|                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Mouro</i>               | Muslim (lit. 'Moor')                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>Muanamuzungo</i>        | local African word for a mulatto                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>muroi</i>               | witch/wizard                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>murombe (muscombe)</i>  | finger millet (also <i>murume</i> )                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>muxuera (meixoeira)</i> | bulrush millet                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>Muzungo</i>             | African name for Portuguese or Afro-Portuguese                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>nau</i>                 | ocean-going, square-rigged ship                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>naxenim</i>             | finger millet                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>orfãos del rei</i>      | Crown orphans: orphan girls of good family were sent to the East with dowries provided by the Crown to find husbands (the dowries often took the form of promises of official appointments)                            |
| <i>padroado real</i>       | Portuguese Crown's right of patronage over the Church                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>pasta</i>               | measure of gold equivalent to 800 cruzados                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>pataca</i>              | Spanish silver coin valued at 8 reales; also called <i>peso</i>                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>povoação</i>            | settlement; a small town or village                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>prazo da coroa</i>      | Crown estates leased on three-life tenures                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>prelados ordinários</i> | ecclesiastical administrators with the judicial authority of bishops                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>quinto real</i>         | royal fifth: a 20 per cent tax traditionally levied on all bullion and on plunder taken in war                                                                                                                         |
| <i>real (pl. reis)</i>     | the basic unit of the Portuguese currency system; in the early sixteenth century equivalent to one-tenth of a gram of silver, but it subsequently suffered depreciation the Spanish real was worth 400 Portuguese reis |
| <i>real de ocho</i>        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>Sé Matriz</i>           | Mother Church                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>senhor</i>              | lord                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>senhora</i>             | lady                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>sertanejo</i>           | backwoodsman                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>sura</i>                | palm wine                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>tenente geral</i>       | title of the governor of the Rivers settlements                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>terço</i>               | regiment                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>velório</i>             | trade beads                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>xerafim</i>             | coin worth 360 reis                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>zimbabwe</i>            | the capital of a Shona chieftaincy                                                                                                                                                                                     |



Portuguese fairs in Central Africa in the seventeenth century

## Introduction

### General

The *Tratado dos Rios de Cuama*, written in 1696, is one of the best-known and most often quoted accounts of the Portuguese settlements in Zambesia and the northern regions of modern Zimbabwe. It has been used, often extensively, by every historian who has written about this region. Yet the only available text is Cunha Rivara's edition of the original draft (not the final version that was archived in the royal library). This was printed in an obscure academic journal published in Goa in the 1860s and can be consulted only in a few specialist libraries.

The importance of the *Tratado* lies in the fact that it is the only full account of the rise of Changamira Dombo, of the destruction of the fairs in Mocaranga and Manica, and the coup that placed Dom Pedro on the Monomotapa throne. These events were of decisive importance in the history of central Africa as they finally put an end to Portuguese attempts to settle the high veldt and found a second Brazil in the gold-bearing regions of central Africa. Indeed, it is one of the ironies of history that these events occurred at exactly the time that the important gold discoveries were made in Minas Gerais that led to the opening of the Brazilian interior. These years also saw the rise of the powerful Changamira dynasty and the dominance of the plateau by the Rosvi élite, who successfully confined the Portuguese to the lowlands of the Zambezi valley throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. When the map of central Africa was finally drawn in May 1891, the history of this region, which had been so decisively rewritten in the years 1693–6, was translated into the new international borders that separated Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia.

It is the long-term implications of the events recorded in the *Tratado*, and the unique account they give of African politics at the time, that have made this document so important.

### Overview of the Portuguese in East Africa<sup>1</sup>

The first Portuguese to visit East Africa was Pero da Covilham, who apparently travelled to Sofala with merchants from India some time around 1490. On the first sea voyage made by the Portuguese to India, Vasco da Gama stopped at a number

<sup>1</sup> For the history of early Portuguese activity in East Africa see Newitt (1995) and (2002) and the sources and secondary works there cited.

of places in East Africa early in 1498, including the Rio dos Bons Sinais (where the town of Quelimane was later built), Mozambique Island, Mombasa, and Melinde. Thereafter, every Portuguese fleet bound for the east stopped on the East African coast to take on food and water, carry out repairs, and land the sick. From 1503 the Portuguese had a permanent settlement on Mozambique Island, establishing a factory and in 1507 building a small fortification. The island became a major naval base with shipyards, churches, a hospital, a residence for the captain of Mozambique and Sofala, headquarters for the Jesuits and Dominicans, and houses of the permanent residents (*moradores*).<sup>2</sup>

In 1505 the Portuguese also occupied the gold-trading port of Sofala, hoping to turn it into an East African copy of their highly successful fort at Elmina in West Africa. A royal monopoly was declared over the gold trade and the captains of Sofala became the principal representatives of the Crown in East Africa, although there was also a captain of the coast of Melinde to look after the far north. Another fort and factory were established at Kilwa, though they were abandoned in 1513.

The Portuguese stationed at Sofala established commercial contacts with the local Swahili merchants and began to gather information about the interior—the two journeys of the convict (*degradado*) António Fernandes between 1511 and 1513 being of greatest significance. The attempt to suppress the independent gold trade of the Swahili led to the Portuguese sending armed ships to different parts of the coast and attacks were made on Angoche, Querimba, and the Zambezi delta, while more peaceful expeditions in search of food and naval stores visited the River Pungue, Chiloane, the Bazaruto Islands, and the islands north and south of Kilwa. Portuguese ships also explored northern Madagascar and the Comoro Islands. While gold remained a royal monopoly centred on Sofala, the ivory trade grew in a more uncontrolled manner. Although the Crown tried to establish a monopoly over ivory as well as gold, a vigorous independent trade soon grew up, led by the captain of Sofala himself. Portuguese ships now regularly visited the different ports on the coast to buy ivory and opened up commercial relations with African societies at Inhambane and in 1545 at Delagoa Bay.

Although no formal settlements were made, apart from Sofala and Mozambique Island, individual Portuguese began to settle at different points along the coast and at the gold trading fairs inland. They established links with the rulers of the coast and the interior, marrying into local lineages and acquiring lands, slaves, and cattle as well as trading privileges. Some time after 1530 the Portuguese began to make regular use of the Zambezi valley as a highway to the interior, gaining access to the river via the Rio dos Bons Sinais and the trading settlement of Quelimane.

These largely informal trading relationships began to change radically after the middle of the century. The founding of the Society of Jesus in 1540, and the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa in 1560, led to a vigorous rivalry between

<sup>2</sup> Newitt (2004); Boxer (1962).

the Jesuits and the Dominicans and to active initiatives to spread the Christian faith. At the same time the sensational Spanish discoveries of silver in Central and South America stimulated the Portuguese to search for comparable sources of bullion in Africa, while the military and naval threat posed by the Turks in the Indian Ocean forced Portugal to strengthen its military presence in the region. In 1545 work began on Fort São Sebastião on Mozambique Island and at approximately the same time the captain moved his headquarters there from Sofala. In 1560 the first Jesuit mission, led by Gonçalo da Silveira, began work at Inhambane, where there was no permanent Portuguese settlement—the Jesuits liked to establish their missions beyond the confines of the Portuguese cities where they could enjoy greater freedom for their operations. In 1561 Silveira undertook a mission to convert the Monomotapa, the most important Karanga chief who ruled over the northern goldfields of modern Zimbabwe, but was murdered on suspicion of being a witch (*muroi*).

Eight years later the Portuguese sent a major expedition to secure control of the mines, which they now confidently believed to include silver mines as well as gold. The expedition was led by a former viceroy of India, Dom Francisco Barreto, and, after his death in 1573, by an experienced soldier, Vasco Fernandes Homem. This expedition failed to defeat the Monomotapa or to secure the mines but it had momentous consequences for eastern Africa. The Portuguese army occupied the Zambezi valley as far upstream as Tete and established two new fortified settlements, each with its own captain. Moreover, formal agreements were made with the major Karanga chiefs of Monomotapa, Quiteve, and Manica to allow Portuguese traders access to the gold fairs. From their new bases on the Zambezi the Portuguese began to extend their control over the Tonga peoples of the valley and the escarpment, and to raise armies of local African soldiers to bolster their position. However, further attempts to conquer the mines were delayed by the severe droughts and locust swarms which occurred in the 1580s, resulting in the displacement of population and internal migrations that created extremely unsettled conditions in the Zambezi region.<sup>3</sup>

In 1593, following further Turkish raids, a fortress was built at Mombasa and a northern captaincy was created separate from that of Mozambique. In 1607 and 1608 the Portuguese beat off two serious Dutch assaults on Mozambique Island, and it was the evident threat posed by the Dutch that led to further determined attempts to conquer the gold-bearing regions of the interior (which were also supposed to contain silver deposits). The occasion arose when a Portuguese gold trader, Diogo Simões Madeira, intervened with his private army in the civil wars in the Monomotapa kingdom. In 1607, after successfully defeating the Monomotapa's enemies, Madeira persuaded the chief to sign a treaty handing over the mines to the Portuguese. The Crown now appointed a succession of conquistadors of the mines and sent soldiers to take formal possession of them.

<sup>3</sup> Newitt (1982).

There followed twenty years of confused warfare, chronicled by António Bocarro, the last great chronicler of Portuguese India, during which time the Portuguese sought to establish their control over the Monomotapa chieftaincy, partly through military means, partly through manipulating succession disputes, and partly through a policy of converting the ruling family to Christianity. Here the Dominicans took a lead, placing priests in all the inland fairs and undertaking the education of young princes from the Monomotapa ruling house. However, Portuguese progress was impeded by their own factionalism and by bitter internal disputes, which resulted in their fighting each other as often as they succeeded in uniting to face an African enemy.

Events turned in favour of the Portuguese during the critical years following the death of Monomotapa Gatse Lucere in 1624. The succession was disputed between Mavura, a candidate favoured by the Dominicans, and Kaparidze, who initially secured control of the chieftaincy. Warfare erupted in 1628 when Kaparidze attempted a coup to destroy the Portuguese fortified fairs. The Portuguese not only fought off his attacks but supported Mavura in an assault on the *zimbabwe*, the Monomotapa's capital. Mavura was victorious and was installed as Monomotapa, signing the famous treaty in 1629 by which he recognized the overlordship of the king of Portugal, as well as formally surrendering the mines. He also agreed to the establishment of a Portuguese garrison at his *zimbabwe*. It is this treaty that instituted the custom of the Monomotapas receiving baptism, which is mentioned in the *Tratado*. Kaparidze regained his throne in 1631 but was finally defeated the following year by Diogo de Sousa de Meneses. Meneses also invaded Manica, where he installed his nominee on the throne.

Meneses's victory led to a period of sixty years during which the Portuguese were supreme throughout the region. They were now able to act as king-makers in the chieftaincies of Mocaranga and Manica and frequently intervened in the affairs of the other Karanga chieftaincies of Quiteve, Barue, and Butua. These chiefs all ceded land to individual Portuguese who raised private armies of *chicunda* (usually Tonga or Maravi recruits) to impose their authority. Explorations of the goldfields now went ahead unchecked and fortified fairs or mining camps were set up throughout the region—at least ten of these are known and most of their locations have been identified. At this time the famous *Zambezi prazos* (semi-feudal land holdings) were established, whose Portuguese *senhores* raised their own private armies, levied tribute on their peasants, and demanded labour services. They also took control of the gold diggings (*bares*) and fairs. In 1667 the Jesuit Manoel Barretto described this Portuguese dominance over the Tonga and Karanga:

The lords of these lands have the same power and jurisdiction as the *Cafre 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

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cases, put to death, declare war, and impose tribute, in which great barbarities may be committed.<sup>4</sup>

During the 1640s the greatest of the *sertanejos* (backwoodsmen), Sisnando Dias Bayão, conquered and annexed most of the Quiteve chieftaincy, crossed the Zambezi to subdue the Africans of Mount Morumbala, and marched into the far southwest to place his nominee on the throne of Butua.<sup>5</sup>

However, although at the height of their success there may have been hundreds of Portuguese operating in the interior, Zambesia and the central African high veldt never became a second Brazil, nor were any silver mines ever discovered. One reason for this long-term lack of success was the captain's trade monopoly. In 1584 the king had agreed to lease a monopoly of the trade of the Rivers to the person who was appointed captain of Mozambique. The captains now had the sole right to import trade goods and to export gold and ivory. As a result they had little interest in sharing their wealth with Portuguese settlers and did what they could to stifle the growth of independent Portuguese communities. The captain's monopoly continued until 1676, after which a succession of different commercial regimes were adopted. At first the Crown tried to retain the monopoly over the trade with Sofala and the Rivers. A Junta do Comércio was established but this quickly ran up huge debts, and in 1680 the Crown decided to open the trade to anyone who wished to participate in it, instituting a customs house to levy import and export dues.<sup>6</sup> It was soon being reported that, although a 20 per cent duty was levied at the customs house, its income was not sufficient to meet the costs of the administration.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, complaints arose that large numbers of Indians were taking advantage of the opening of the trade and that, as a result, the price at which gold could be purchased had increased by 50 per cent.<sup>8</sup> The Crown then decided to set up a company, which would trade from the ports of northern India. However, the company proved difficult to organize and the articles by which it was to operate were not drawn up until 1697. In the meantime the trade was administered directly on behalf of the Crown, a system which the author of the *Tratado* thought had been highly successful. He was firmly convinced that the Crown should administer the trade itself as this alone would guarantee enough income to pay the expenses of the military and civil establishment and of the missions.

The second reason for the failure of East Africa to become another Brazil was the distance from Portugal. Settlers from Portugal and the islands naturally preferred Brazil to East Africa, although increasing numbers of Indians

<sup>4</sup> Manoel Barretto, 'Informação do Estado e Conquista dos Rios de Cuama', in Theal, iii. 436–508 (quotation on p. 440).

<sup>5</sup> For Sisnando Dias Bayão see Newitt (1995), 103, 220–1; Boxer (1938). Letter translated in Newitt (2002), 120–2.

<sup>6</sup> 'Alvará sobre os Rios de Suphalla', Lisbon, 24 Mar. 1680, in Theal, iv. 405–13.

<sup>7</sup> Memorandum of the Conselho Ultramarino, Lisbon, 8 Feb. 1684, in Theal, iv. 419–26.

<sup>8</sup> King to viceroy, Lisbon, 20 Mar. 1690, in Theal, iv. 447–52.

began to settle in Mozambique Island and the Rivers as traders and even as farmers.

A third reason was the violence, lawlessness, and general brutal behaviour of the Portuguese and their armed followers, who seized women, commandeered labour, and plundered the African population. As Manoel Barretto wrote, 'the principal cause of the want of population is the bad conduct of the Portuguese, from whose violence the Cafres flee to other lands'.<sup>9</sup> This sentiment was to be echoed by numerous writers in the latter part of the century. The Portuguese made no attempt to develop agriculture or any economic activity except for gold mining and long-distance trade, and they preferred to become predatory chieftains rather than the members of a thriving European colony. The captains appointed to command in the Rivers settlements frequently referred to the fact that the Portuguese with their *chicunda* followers were a law unto themselves, fought private wars, and lived as they pleased. There is evidence that this behaviour, coupled with the smallpox epidemic that hit the region in the 1680s, led to widespread depopulation.

Another serious attempt to find the silver mines was mounted in the 1670s, and in 1677 a settlement scheme was organized to try to increase the Portuguese population. It was also at this time that the custom of granting vacant lands to women was adopted. The Crown had always been prepared to grant offices as dowries to orphans or to girls whose fathers had served the Crown, on condition that they married a man who met with royal approval. This practice was now extended to the Crown lands in East Africa with the specific intention of increasing the Portuguese population of the Rivers.<sup>10</sup> The settlement scheme of 1677 was not a great success, with the result that, although the Portuguese appeared to dominate the whole region, the weakness of their position became all too apparent when a powerful new African leader, Changamira Dombo, emerged in the early 1680s.

A major concern of the author of the *Tratado* was the state of the Church in the Rivers settlements. Mozambique had no bishop of its own, and the Church came under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Goa, who appointed an ecclesiastical administrator (sometimes called the prelate) to manage Church affairs. In 1667 the Jesuit Manoel Barretto had stressed the importance of appointing a bishop, and in 1683 the prince regent of Portugal wrote that he was considering creating a See of Mozambique and appointing a bishop. The viceroy was asked to consider how this might be funded.<sup>11</sup> However, no decision had been taken when in 1690 António da Conceição, the author of the *Tratado*, became the administrator. In 1693 he travelled to Goa to present a memorandum advocating the setting up of a seminary at Sena for the education of the sons of Portuguese and of African chiefs. The Concelho da Fazenda considered this and suggested that the seminary might be paid for by attaching to it lands whose leases fell vacant. Frei António then

<sup>9</sup> Manoel Barretto, 'Informação do Estado e Conquista dos Rios de Cuama', in Theal, iii. 460.

<sup>10</sup> For the history of the *prazos* see Newitt (1973); (1995), ch. 10; and Rodrigues, 'Mercadores'.

<sup>11</sup> Prince to viceroy, Lisbon, 25 Mar. 1683, in Theal, iv. 417.



wrote to the king on 30 December asking that the seminary be placed in charge of his own order of St Augustine.<sup>12</sup> Two years later Conceição presented a detailed memorandum on what was required to reinvigorate the Church. This included recommendations about the payment of priests, the lack of missionary personnel, the absence of a seminary, the fact that there was no bishop, and the need for the active co-operation of the *prazo senhores*.<sup>13</sup> These issues were all covered in the *Tratado* also.

At the same time the vicar-general of the Dominicans levelled a complaint against the administrator accusing him of having appointed an Indian priest to a new church constructed in Barue, which contravened the privileges granted to the Dominicans to have sole possession of this mission field. He also accused him of wanting to gain an entry into this mission field for the Augustinians. He had already appointed an Augustinian to the Mother Church (*Sé Matriz*) in Sena, while his proposal that up to 200 parishes be established in East Africa was a scarcely disguised attempt to open up opportunities for religious orders other than the Dominicans.<sup>14</sup> To this the administrator replied that the Dominicans did not have any monopoly of the mission field and that as far as missionary work was concerned only one Dominican had ever bothered to learn the local languages, in contrast to the Jesuits and to himself. He was also very critical of the Dominican missionary effort, citing the practice of baptizing Monomotapas when they had not received any instruction and alleging that he had received no depositions about any Dominican martyrs in East Africa. As for his motives, they were solely 'the greater honour and glory of God and the increase of the Christian Church'.<sup>15</sup> There can be little doubt that when he referred to 'such ministers, serving the Devil rather than the Church' (*Tratado*, para. 127) he had the vicar-general of the Dominicans in mind.

After due consideration in Goa and Lisbon, the king decided that the seminary should be entrusted to the Jesuits 'on account of the dissensions and difficulties which have occurred in the missions when there have been religious of different orders residing in them'.<sup>16</sup> Frei António had also proposed that the tithes levied on the silver mines should be paid to the administrator to enable him to expand the mission and that a new Junta das Missões should be established for East Africa. The king stated firmly that all tithes belonged to him as head of the Order of Christ and that the administrator was entitled only to his stipend. He also ordered the vicar-general of the Dominicans to provide adequate manpower for the missions undertaken by his order.<sup>17</sup> The king apparently received satisfactory representa-

<sup>12</sup> King to viceroy, Lisbon, 29 Nov. 1694, in Theal, iv. 452–3.

<sup>13</sup> 'Petição que fez o Administrador da Christandade de Moçambique e Rios ao Conselho da Junta das Missões', *O Chronista de Tisuary*, 2: 132–3.

<sup>14</sup> 'Petição do Vigário Geral de São Domingos', *O Chronista de Tisuary*, 2: 134–5.

<sup>15</sup> 'Resposta do Padre Administrador', *O Chronista de Tisuary*, 2: 136–8.

<sup>16</sup> King to viceroy, Lisbon, 15 Mar. 1697, in Theal, iv. 488–90.

<sup>17</sup> King to viceroy, Lisbon, 8 Nov. 1697, in Theal, iv. 495–6.

tions from the Dominicans and confirmed them in sole possession of their mission field, assuring them 'that they shall not be disturbed there by any other religious or jurisdiction'. He also agreed with them that it was more important to support the existing churches adequately than to found new ones. The administrator was commended for his zeal, but with the observation that it was 'not well regulated'.<sup>18</sup>

This viceregal correspondence explains why António da Conceição made the quixotic proposal to the Rivers residents, that is repeated in the *Tratado*, that if the tithes were paid willingly he would resign as administrator so that there could be no question of his benefiting from them.

After Conceição's murder in 1700, Henrique Bravo de Moraes was appointed administrator. He was archdeacon (*arcediogo*) of the See of Goa and his appointment confirmed the direct authority which the archbishop of Goa had over the church in East Africa, putting an end to any speculation that Mozambique would be granted its own bishop, as Conceição had advocated.<sup>19</sup> Bravo de Moraes occupied the post of administrator until 1703 and wrote his own account of affairs in East Africa (called *Informação sobre os Rios de Cuama e Sofala*).<sup>20</sup>

### The Monomotapa empire

The Portuguese relationship with the 'empire' of Monomotapa is one of the earliest, as well as being one of the best-documented, encounters between Europeans and Africans. It provides an example of the way in which Europeans sought to understand and manipulate the realities of Africa.<sup>21</sup>

The African population with which the Portuguese had dealings can be described either in broad ethno-linguistic or in political terms, and the seventeenth-century Portuguese demonstrated a mature understanding of the cultural realities of Africa by recognizing both types of categorization. The Zambezi river was a great cultural divide, separating predominantly matrilineal societies in the north from patrilineal ones in the south. North of the river the Portuguese identified people they described as Makua, whom they imagined to be the original population and whose material culture they characterized as primitive. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, however, they witnessed the arrival of invaders, vari-

<sup>18</sup> King to viceroy, Lisbon, 17 Mar. 1698, in Theal, iv. 496–8; King to viceroy, Lisbon, 22 Mar. 1699, in Theal, iv. 502–5.

<sup>19</sup> Rocha, p. 22.

<sup>20</sup> This account, originally written around 1703, is included in a manuscript entitled 'Continuum as Notícias do Arcebispado de Goa', Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Fundo Geral, Codice 176; printed in Rocha.

<sup>21</sup> The Portuguese rendered the title of the chief as 'Monomotapa', and there have been a number of attempts to establish what the original African title really was. Abraham in 1962 rendered it 'Mwene Mutapa', but Bhila and Mudenge prefer 'Munhumutapa'. Isaacman uses 'Muenemutapa', which is close to the version preferred by the author of the *Tratado* in para. 60. There have been seven major studies of the Monomotapa kingdom in the last forty years: Axelson, Schebesta, Randles, Beach, Bhila, Nogueira da Costa, and, most authoritative of all, Mudenge (1988).

ously described as Zimba, Mumbos, or Cabires, but who later came to be called Maravi.<sup>22</sup> The Portuguese also recognized the distinctive identity of the Muslim Swahili, always called *Mouros*, whose communities were to be found in the Zambezi valley and along the coast as far south as the mouth of the Sabi river. South of the Zambezi the Portuguese identified two peoples—the Tonga who inhabited the lowlands of the coast and the valley itself, and who survived in parts of the interior such as Inyanga and Maramuca, and the Karanga (or Mokaranga) who inhabited the plateau region and in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were extending their political control over the Tonga.

Early in the sixteenth century the Portuguese found that the cattle-owning Karanga chieftaincies were still extending their control over the smaller, lineage-based Tonga societies. The Tonga were becoming a subject population dominated by a powerful, culturally distinct, Karanga chiefly élite—a situation the Portuguese described in relation to the chieftaincy of Gwambe near Inhambane, to Inhamunda, the chief of Sedanda in the interior of Sofala, and to the chiefs of Manica, Quiteve, Barue, and Monomotapa.<sup>23</sup> Later they discovered how these Karanga chiefs sought to integrate their subject populations by appointing important Tonga chiefs to ceremonial offices, by marrying Tonga wives, and by co-opting the Tonga spirit cults. The Maravi chiefs who established their control over the populations north of the river in the later sixteenth century also tried to integrate their subjects by adopting local spirit cults, such as the rain-making cult of Mbona, and by marrying wives from the conquered populations.

In their attempt to understand the political relationships of the various chieftaincies and ethnic groups, the Portuguese adopted an ‘imperial’ model. They believed that there was an ‘emperor’ of the Karanga, called the Monomotapa, with subject kings who paid tribute to him. Later they extended the same model to the Maravi and referred to the ‘emperor’ Caronga.<sup>24</sup> This imperial model was adopted partly in order to make sense of the situation in Africa in terms that European Portuguese would understand, and in this respect it is similar to the model used to describe the Congo kingdom, but partly also because the Portuguese wanted to believe in the existence of powerful ‘empires’ which would place their discoveries and conquests on a par with those of the Castilians in Central and South America. The Castilians had conquered the great Aztec and Inca empires, and so the Portuguese would try to conquer their ‘empire’ of Monomotapa. There is a curious detail, which shows that the Aztec empire was very much in the minds of the Portuguese when they thought of Monomotapa. When Francisco Barreto set out to conquer the mines in 1569, he took with him as a gift for the Monomotapa

<sup>22</sup> See discussion in Newitt (1982) and the sources cited there.

<sup>23</sup> For Gwambe see Garlake (1976).

<sup>24</sup> The Monomotapas are described as ‘emperadores’ in the ‘Determinação dos Letrados, 1569’, in Theal, iii. 150. The idea of an ‘empire’ is most clearly set out in Santos, bk. 2, ch. 10. In the Évora manuscript the word ‘Rey’ is frequently crossed out and ‘Emperador’ written over it.

in case he should be converted . . . 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.<sup>25</sup>

This must have been an example of Aztec feather-work.

It is probable that the dynasties of Karanga chiefs were related to each other, and they may have been offshoots of a single chiefly dynasty. It is also probable that the Monomotapas, and the spirit cult of their ancestors, had a kind of recognized seniority or paramountcy among the Karanga. However, the Portuguese were clearly mistaken in believing that there was any 'empire', in the sense of organized political power consistently applied by the Monomotapas. There was certainly nothing remotely resembling the centralized authority which the Inca and Aztec rulers wielded over vast lands and populations.

In fact, the Karanga chieftaincies were made up of quite small territorial units which were entirely decentralized. Political power was diffuse. Village headmen or 'ward' chiefs ruled at the local level, guided by their own local spirit cults, allocating land and presiding over a social order based on the ownership, accumulation, and distribution of cattle. The conquered Tonga fitted in at this level. Above these villages, or wards, were the Karanga chiefs, who levied tribute on their subjects, presided over the trading fairs, controlled relations with outsiders, and maintained their power through an elaborate ceremonial administered by traditional office-holders, through intermarriage with the chiefly dynasties of their subjects, and through the co-option of local spirit cults. For the most part these Karanga chiefs lacked the power to impose their will from the centre, though the proliferation of court offices, the control of external commerce, and the development of the spirit cults of the former chiefs were all signs that stronger central institutions may have been evolving.<sup>26</sup>

Eventually the Portuguese came reluctantly to realize that they were not dealing with states comparable to the Aztec or Inca empires. There were no great cities, no centrally controlled storehouses and royal roads, no accumulated hoards of wealth to be plundered. Moreover, the African societies could not be paralysed and subsequently controlled by killing, capturing, or replacing the person of the chief, as the Castilians had done so frequently in America.

The Portuguese maintained close relations with four of the Karanga chieftaincies—with Manica and Monomotapa, which controlled the areas where gold was mined, and with Quiteve and Barue because these chieftaincies lay astride the routes taken by Portuguese merchants from the sea and river ports to the fairs. There were other important Karanga chieftaincies, notably Sedanda, Gwambe, and

<sup>25</sup> Francisco Monclaro, SJ, 'Relação da Viagem que Fizerão os Padres da Companhia de Jesus com Francisco Barretto na Conquista de Monomotapa no anno de 1569', in Theal, iii. 158.

<sup>26</sup> See the discussion of Karanga polities in Beach.

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Maungue, where the Portuguese had less interest because of the absence of gold. The southern chieftaincy of Butua, in the region of Matabeleland ruled by the Torwa dynasty, was also in a gold-bearing region but was more remote, and it was not until the 1640s that Portugal tried to intervene actively in this region, and then with only limited success.

The Monomotapa chieftaincy, usually referred to by the Portuguese as Mocaranga, controlled the northern part of the Zimbabwe plateau and the Zambezi escarpment as far as Tete, but its authority was bounded in the east by Maungue and Manica, in the north-east by Barue, and in the west and south-west by Butua. In total it may have measured 150 miles by 50 miles—but it included the important gold-bearing regions of the Mazoe and Sanyati valleys. When the Portuguese first established themselves at Sofala, it was Sedanda and Quiteve with which they had direct contact and they were not, therefore, directly in touch with the Monomotapa. They heard about that chieftaincy only at second hand, and its comparative remoteness helped to establish its almost mythical importance in their eyes.<sup>27</sup> As early as 1506 Diogo de Alcáçova was able to give a detailed account of the struggles for supremacy between the rival Karanga chiefs, about which he had heard from itinerant traders, and it is largely on the basis of this information, supplemented by very problematic oral tradition and the archaeological record, that historians have attempted to reconstruct early Karanga history.<sup>28</sup> The Monomotapa state and other related Karanga chieftaincies arose out of the Iron Age cultures that had flourished in the region of modern Zimbabwe since the early part of the Christian era. The economic base of these cultures was cattle-keeping, but they enjoyed long-distance trade links with the copper-producing regions of Central Africa and with the states that bordered the Indian Ocean. The primary export was gold, which attracted merchants to settle in the Bay of Sofala and later at Angoche and along the Zambezi. The mythical founder of the Monomotapa dynasty was Matope, remembered as the man who conquered the north and founded the Mhondoro cult in the fifteenth century. It was during the reign of his son Mucombo,<sup>29</sup> Alcáçova tells us, that a rebellion resulted in the murder of the Monomotapa and all but one of his sons in his stone-built capital (possibly Great Zimbabwe itself). The rebellious chief, Changamira Toloa, continued to rule in the south while Mucombo's son established the Mocaranga state in the north. Other circumstantial evidence points to the fact that, shortly before the arrival of the Portuguese, sections of the Karanga ruling élite began the systematic conquest of the northern part of the high veldt and the low veldt as far north as the Zambezi valley and eastwards to the coast. The Monomotapa chiefs came to control the northern part of modern Mashonaland, while the eastern regions were divided between the chieftaincies of Sedanda,

<sup>27</sup> Newitt (1995), ch. 2.

<sup>28</sup> 'Letter from Diogo de Alcáçova to the King', in Baxter and Silva Rego, i. 388–401.

<sup>29</sup> Mudenge (1988), 45–8. According to Mudenge, this Monomotapa was called Nyahuma Mukombero.

Quiteve, Barue, and Manica. The Portuguese believed that the origins of these states lay in the division of a single kingdom among the sons of the Monomotapa, and this may indeed point to the fact that the ruling dynasties all originated from a single lineage. However, legend apart, there is no real evidence that, whatever the Portuguese may have believed, the Monomotapas ever ruled over the whole of this region.

In 1511, and again 1513, the *degredado* António Fernandes had gone on a mission to the gold fairs and had visited the Monomotapa's country.<sup>30</sup> The information thus acquired enabled Duarte Barbosa to write the first account of the chieftaincy in his *Livro* of 1516. This was the most complete account of the Monomotapa Kingdom until João de Barros assembled as much information as was available to him to write his description of East Africa in the first Decade of his *Décadas da Ásia*, published in 1552. Barros made use of the term *Emperador* to describe the Monomotapa, although he stated that many of the princes of his empire were in rebellion against him. Barros nevertheless gives an account of an impressive African monarchy and of a king whose prestige was clearly demonstrated by the fact that he had a thousand wives.<sup>31</sup>

Although the official Portuguese presence remained confined to the coast, a number of private traders gradually opened commercial relations with, and even settled at, the gold fairs in the Karanga kingdoms. However, it was the Jesuits who tried to place the relations with the Monomotapa on a quite different basis, when in 1561 Gonçalo da Silveira set off for the court of the Monomotapa with the idea of converting the 'emperor' and with him his whole 'empire'. The Monomotapa in question was Negomo Mupunzaguto, who ruled c.1550–c.1589.

Initially Silveira was treated like any other Portuguese stranger arriving in the country. He was asked if he wanted women, land, or cattle, the normal means by which strangers would be assimilated into the local community. However, when it was appreciated that he was not a trader but was the priest of an alien spirit cult, which posed a threat to the local religious leaders as well as to the resident Muslim traders, he was murdered.<sup>32</sup> It is striking to contrast the fate of Silveira with the success of the mission to the Congo in 1492, which had led to the rapid conversion of the Congo king and most of the dominant Mwissicongo élite. Silveira's murder had the effect of converting the Jesuits to the policy of armed intervention, which led directly to the sending of an army under Francisco Barreto in 1569. The Monomotapa survived this armed onslaught with little diminution to his prestige, though it seems that he allowed the Portuguese to take control of some of the outlying wards of his kingdom which immediately adjoined the town of Tete, and which had a predominantly Tonga population. Some of these had previously

<sup>30</sup> See extracts printed in Newitt (2002), 25–30.

<sup>31</sup> See extracts from Barros in Theal, vi. 272, and Newitt (2002), 36–9.

<sup>32</sup> There are many accounts of Silveira's mission. See Theal, ii. 54–152; Paiva e Pona; Leite; and Baxter and Silva Rego, vii. 435–555.

been under Karanga control and the captain of Tete assumed the role of chief, which had previously been performed by the Monomotapa.

After the withdrawal of the Portuguese army in 1575, relations between the Monomotapa and other Karanga chiefs and the Portuguese remained reasonably amicable. Portuguese traders settled at the gold fairs, where they were entrusted by the Monomotapa with jurisdiction over their own affairs. Embassies regularly exchanged gifts and the leading Portuguese men were given the formal status of royal wives.<sup>33</sup> However, a wholly new phase in Portuguese–Karanga relations began in the 1590s when bands of Maravi warriors succeeded in crossing the Zambezi and penetrating the Karanga kingdom. This threat led to Portuguese intervention in support of the Monomotapa, Gatse Lucere, and to Portuguese armed forces, made up largely of Tonga warriors supported by Afro-Portuguese musketeers, providing a more or less permanent bodyguard for the ruler and becoming the effective power behind the throne. The leader of the Portuguese demanded the cession of the mines as the price of his aid and in 1607 a formal treaty transferred their control to Portugal.<sup>34</sup> The Monomotapa was also to hand over two of his sons to be educated by the Portuguese.<sup>35</sup>

Gatse Lucere ruled until 1624, his position constantly undermined by rebellions and, according to one tradition, by the fact that he had only one eye, which was considered by some to be a fatal blemish in a ruler. On his death the throne was contested by Kaparidze and Mavura, the latter emerging victorious in 1632 thanks to Portuguese help. Mavura had accepted baptism when he became Monomotapa and, after 1635, agreed to the establishment of a permanent Portuguese garrison with a priest at his *zimbabwe*. During the whole of his reign the exiled Kaparidze remained a constant threat and forced Mavura to stick closely to the Portuguese alliance. Mavura died in 1652 and, before there could be any disputed succession, the captain of the fair of Dambarare, António Alvares Pereira,

with the agreement of all who were present nominated Motata his eldest son for the title of king-emperor. And afterwards two Dominican priests, Frei Salvador do Rozário and Frei João de Mello, went there on my orders and by request of the above-mentioned king, to make him a Christian, which was done to him and to many others in his court.<sup>36</sup>

Baptism had already become a recognized part of the coronation rituals, which secured Portuguese recognition even if it did not mean that Christianity was implanted in the court or the country. This Monomotapa, Siti Kuzurukumusapa (known as Motata), was little more than a Portuguese puppet and died in 1655 after a reign of only three years.

The Dominicans then recognized Mavura's brother, baptized as Dom Afonso, as Monomotapa. This reign lasted till 1663, when Dom Afonso was assassinated by

<sup>33</sup> Santos, bk. 2, ch. 9.

<sup>34</sup> Newitt (1982).

<sup>35</sup> Mudenge (1986), 13.

<sup>36</sup> António Alvares Pereira to the king, Goa, 15 Sept. 1663, LM, 28-A, fol. 150<sup>r-v</sup>.

a rival faction, apparently, at the instigation of certain Portuguese. An anonymous account of the Rivers, dating from 1683, states that

he did not come to terms and as a result war was declared . . . As captain of this venture a man was appointed who was not very religious and, even judging by the standards of the place, was very common. Having got hold of the unfortunate king, he had the temerity to have him publicly burnt.<sup>37</sup>

With the aid of the Portuguese, Mukombwe, baptized Dom Philipe, a son of Mavura, now became Monomotapa. He was described as ‘the most intelligent and capable prince so far on that throne’<sup>38</sup> and succeeded in holding onto his kingdom until his death in 1692.

During this long reign the disorder in the Portuguese community increased, with the powerful Portuguese backwoodsmen and their private armies operating as free agents, refusing to recognize either the Portuguese Crown or the Monomotapa. It seems that Mukombwe was able to exploit these divisions and to reassert some authority not only over his own kingdom but over Barue and Manica as well. For him the greatest danger proved not to be the Portuguese but the rising power of Changamira. Ultimately the Monomotapa kingdom found itself crushed between the rival powers of the Portuguese and the new Rosvi state that emerged after 1684.

The Karanga monarchy described in the *Tratado* was in many respects typical of the African states of this region. The kingdom was a loose and decentralized collection of wards ruled over by their traditional authorities. At the centre the monarch tried to hold the kingdom together through the rituals of kingship, his marriage ties linking him to the leading lineages of his subjects. The *Tratado* explains that having many wives was the principal sign of the ruler’s power. He maintained complex relationships with the spirit cults, many of them pre-dating the establishment of the monarchy, claimed various fiscal rights, and exercised supreme judicial authority. The *Tratado* describes the annual ceremony in May when all the regional chiefs had to assemble at the ruler’s capital—a ceremony that is attested in the earliest descriptions of the monarchy. Although the Dominican priests saw to the education of some younger members of the chiefly families<sup>39</sup> and maintained an active, and frequently interfering, presence in the *zimbabwe*, Christianity never became anything more than one among many spirit cults whose power had to be recognized and appeased by the rulers. The *Tratado* also makes it clear that this was a kingdom far removed from European concepts of what a state should be. The monarch, for example, was primarily supported by the agriculture of his own wives and immediate followers, and had become very dependent on the imported goods, particularly cloth, brought to him by the Portuguese.

<sup>37</sup> Anon., ‘Descrição dos Rios de Cuama’, Ajuda, 51-VIII-43, fols. 473<sup>r</sup>–483<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Mudenge (1986), 19–22.



Although it was deeply rooted in the cultures of the people, the Monomotapa monarchy remained fundamentally weak. Mudenge explains that the Monomotapas practised a system of adelphic succession (brother succeeding brother with eventual reversion to the eldest son of the eldest brother) which was not understood by the Portuguese, who thought that legitimacy depended on primogeniture.<sup>40</sup> The succession rarely passed without dispute, which often resulted in civil war and gave the Portuguese ample opportunity to intervene. Moreover, the Monomotapa had little military strength of his own and remained dependent on the forces of his provincial chiefs, who continually probed at the boundaries of his power and sought greater autonomy for themselves. In times of trouble the monarchy broke down easily into its component parts. During the seventeenth century the Monomotapas were forced to alienate lands to the Portuguese, and they lost control of gold mining as the Portuguese fairs and *bares* became effectively independent enclaves.

The chieftaincies of Manica, Quiteve, and Barue experienced much the same in their relations with the Portuguese. The Portuguese came to control the Manica chieftaincy, and after the war of 1632 made and unmade Chicangas<sup>41</sup> at will; the ruler of Quiteve was forced to cede large portions of his kingdom to the Portuguese, while Barue was frequently invaded and, as the *Tratado* shows, was forced to accept the presence of Christian priests and Portuguese endorsement when a new Macombe<sup>42</sup> ascended the throne.

### The silver mines

The *Tratado* discusses at length the Portuguese search for silver mines at the end of the seventeenth century. Indeed, the author expresses complete confidence that these mines had been located and would yield substantial profits to the residents of the Rivers and to the Crown. Here lies one of the great mysteries in the history of East Africa. For over a hundred years the Portuguese remained convinced that the discovery of important silver mines was about to take place, and numerous expeditions were set on foot to find and take possession of them. Yet there are no silver deposits in East Africa, and this remains an almost inexplicable example of self-delusion passed down through three or four generations.

The Portuguese first started to talk about silver mines when Francisco Barreto's army was sent to East Africa in 1569. At approximately the same time Paulo Dias was granted a captaincy in Angola and rumours began to circulate about silver in the West African interior—significantly, a mountain of silver called Cambambe. Barreto's successor, Vasco Fernandes Homem, heard that the silver mines were located upstream of Tete near Chicoa. He sent a strong expedition there and built a fortified camp. No mines were found 'for no Cafre dared to point out the

<sup>40</sup> Mudenge (1988), 81–3.

<sup>41</sup> Chicanga was the title of the kings of Manica.

<sup>42</sup> Macombe was the title of the kings of Barue.

exact situation of the mines, as they were in great fear that the Portuguese, after discovering them, would take their lands from them'.<sup>43</sup> Eventually, according to Santos, some Africans buried two lumps of silver ore weighing four or five pounds each at a location that they subsequently revealed to the Portuguese. The Africans then vanished and the Portuguese dug in vain for the mine they thought had been shown to them. After further delay some Africans came and offered to show the Portuguese the mines and one hundred and fifty Portuguese set off into the bush, where they were attacked. All but a few were killed and, after a siege of the fort at Chicoa, the forty remaining Portuguese were massacred.

The incident closed with the governor ordering the two lumps of ore to be smelted. 'Three parts were found to be fine silver and only one part dross, from which we may infer that these are the richest mines and the finest silver known at the present time.'<sup>44</sup> Francisco Monclaro, who wrote a contemporary account of the expedition, limited himself to saying, 'we received a sample of five or six small bars of silver from the silver mines, after our arrival in India . . . When we reached Mozambique we heard from Sena that they were very rich, and were near the river.'<sup>45</sup>

In this account can be seen all the elements that characterized the Portuguese search for the mines: the Portuguese start by believing in the existence of the mines; they believe they are located in or near Chicoa; they send an expedition; the Africans refuse to show them where the mines are and lead them on false trails; eventually the Portuguese obtain samples of ore which yield fine silver but find no mines; the Portuguese are forced to retreat baffled. This pattern was to repeat itself again and again in the course of the next century and a half.

In 1607, after successfully intervening on behalf of the Monomotapa, Diogo Simões Madeira received a grant of the mines. In 1609 he joined the Monomotapa near Chicoa and was presented with three small bars of silver by a local chief. However, the Monomotapa refused to reveal the whereabouts of the silver mines. Meanwhile samples of ore, yielding two parts silver, had been received in Spain and Dom Estevão de Ataíde was appointed as conquistador of the mines in 1609.<sup>46</sup> Ataíde remained as conquistador until 1613 but achieved nothing, largely because he refused to pay the traditional annual present (*curva*) to the Monomotapa and provoked opposition not only from him but also from the local Portuguese. He was succeeded in command by Madeira, who paid the *curva* and, on receiving a promise that the mines would be handed over, marched to Chicoa. Here the now familiar scenes were re-enacted. A local chief was asked to reveal the mines but refused and decamped. However, another chief brought samples of silver ore, for which he was rewarded by Madeira. The Portuguese were now shown diggings

<sup>43</sup> Santos, bk. 2, ch. 14, p. 214.

<sup>44</sup> Santos, bk. 2, ch. 14, p. 217.

<sup>45</sup> Monclaro, in Theal, iii. 235.

<sup>46</sup> King to viceroy, Lisbon, 21 Mar. 1608, in Theal, iv. 64–74.

where small pieces of ore, previously buried, were duly uncovered and sent by Madeira to Goa. Again no mines were found.

The following year the Portuguese apparently discovered more samples of ore and collected in all 600 lbs, all of it of high yield. Again samples were sent to India to be assayed. In March 1616 Madeira sent reports on the mines and fresh samples overland to Kilwa. However, there was evidently suspicion in Lisbon that the samples of ore had not come from any genuine mines, and in 1616 a judge was sent to investigate. The judge received conflicting testimony, some people saying there were mines, others denying their existence. A new judicial inquiry upheld Madeira's claims and reported that so far 2,000 marks of silver had been produced.

In 1619 a new attempt was made to secure the mines and Nun' Alvares Pereira was sent as conquistador. In 1620 he travelled to Chicoo and found there was no silver.

It was not until after the wars of 1629–32 that the Lisbon authorities at last sent out a team of expert silver miners under Andres de Vides y Albarado. He carried out an extensive inquiry at Sena, interviewing a number of the residents of the Rivers. They told him of the richness of the silver mines and how Madeira had coined money to pay his soldiers; how 'rocks of very fine silver' had been seen at the *zimbabwe* of the Monomotapa, and how '25 *arrobas* [375 kg] of pure silver of good quality' had been mined at Chicoo; while the Dominican priest in Sena, admitting he had never been to Chicoo, said he had heard that 'the stones underfoot are of silver'. Albarado reported that the mines indeed existed and were very rich.<sup>47</sup> However, when he visited the area of Chicoo himself, he had exactly the same experiences as his predecessors. Various people were produced who were alleged to know the location of the mines. One inconveniently disappeared. Another claimed he had to dream where the mines were. Meanwhile none of the places where the miners dug yielded any silver. Albarado sent samples of ore back to Portugal but these never arrived as the ship carrying them was intercepted by a pirate. Although the Crown prepared to follow up these reports by sending a major expedition, the next report on the Rivers, from the then captain Filipe de Mascarenhas, stated that the African miners of the region had no knowledge of silver and that the only silver to be found was 'perfectly pure'.<sup>48</sup>

The important report written by the Jesuit Manoel Barretto in 1667 limits itself severely to the following statement:

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.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> D. Andres de Vides y Albarado to the king, LM, 41, fols. 13<sup>r</sup>–14<sup>r</sup>; 'Declaration of Domingos Henriques', Sena, 31 July 1632, in 'Legal Testimonies Taken about the Matter of the Mines by D. Andres de Vides y Albarado', LM, 41, fols. 15<sup>r</sup>–16<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Axelson, p. 108.

<sup>49</sup> Theal, iii. 494.

In the supplement to his report he wrote revealingly:

As to the 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 made 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.<sup>50</sup>

In 1673 Gaspar Simões Madeira, captain of the *zimbabwe* garrison, reported that he had

endeavoured to find the silver of which there has been talk for so many years without any positive result and, after much effort and spending of my own money, I managed to obtain a sample of it and gave it to the governor, to whom I also handed over the native who knows everything about the silver.<sup>51</sup>

Later it was reported that the Africans who knew where the silver was had been murdered by local Portuguese, who feared the imposition of effective royal government if the mines were revealed. João de Sousa Freire, meanwhile, actually had a small fort built at Inhacasse near Chicova and maintained a garrison of soldiers there for two years. Again nothing definite was found.

In 1679 a resident of the Rivers, Theodosio Garcia, went to look again for the silver. After eighteen months at Chicova no discoveries had been made, so he crossed the Zambezi to investigate the region north of the river. He was told that silver had been found but that Caronga had ordered the site's location to be kept secret. However, three baskets of ore were produced that, when smelted, yielded a lot of silver.<sup>52</sup>

It is not, therefore, surprising to read in the *Tratado* that once again silver had been discovered and that the author is entirely confident as to the extent of the discoveries, which will not only pay for the expenses of the government of East Africa but will also help restore the whole Estado da Índia. Writing about the same time as the *Tratado*, Felipe de Assumpção also gives details of the discovery of silver, which he claims to have witnessed himself, until 'they struck a big and very hard rock and because there is nobody who knows about the vein, the work was interrupted'.<sup>53</sup> The governor of the Rivers (the *tenente geral*) himself, José da Fonseca Coutinho, also wrote to the viceroy that he personally 'went there and ordered the work to continue for forty days in the direction in which the vein supposedly cut into the rock, but we got no results'.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Theal, iii. 505.

<sup>51</sup> Gaspar Simões Madeira to viceroy, Tete, 18 Apr. 1673, LM, 38A, fol. 229<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Axelson, p. 153.

<sup>53</sup> Felipe de Assumpção, 'Breve informação dos Rios de Cuama . . .', Ajuda, 51-VIII-40.

<sup>54</sup> José da Fonseca Coutinho to viceroy, Sena, 29 July 1698, Ajuda, 51-VIII-40.

*Introduction*

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The story of the search for silver did not end there. Following Changamira's attack on the *zimabwe* of Monomotapa in 1702, some Portuguese traders fled to Inhacasse, where a Dominican, Manuel da Encarnação, was living. He persuaded them to get their African servants to dig,

and with such good fortune that they had hardly dug one and half fathoms [*braças*] when they found some stones of silver and among them a rock of almost twelve palms in length, two in height, and three or more in width, valued at two hundred thousand cruzados.<sup>55</sup>

Unfortunately this rock was too big to be transported across the Zambezi to safety without being broken up, and when the Portuguese returned the next day they found this had already been done by local Africans. The Portuguese then traded with the Africans for the silver, giving them beads, cloth, and wine. When they had got enough the Africans ceased trading, leaving the Portuguese to conclude hopefully, and not for the first time, that once the country was at peace and miners could be sent, the mines would certainly be discovered. The author of this account, the ecclesiastical administrator Bravo de Moraes, claims to have heard from a miner with experience in Peru that 'it was impossible to find anywhere in the world another mine as full and rich in silver as this one' and that it would yield enough to fill 'twenty galleons'.<sup>56</sup>

So what, one might well ask, was going on? Why were the mines so frequently 'discovered' and yet somehow never yielded any returns and could never be exactly located? There are no rich silver-bearing ores in East Africa, but small quantities of silver can be extracted from copper, lead, and zinc ores. However, this requires sophisticated modern techniques, and in any case the quantities of silver are tiny, most ores containing only 0.085 per cent silver. In the seventeenth century the only method employed to extract silver was the use of mercury in so-called 'patios'. There is no indication that any such process was ever tried in East Africa.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, the existence of reports claiming that the silver ore discovered was very rich and even 'almost pure silver' makes it very unlikely that genuine discoveries of silver-bearing ground had been made. 'I am sending to you two little pieces already molten,' wrote João de Sousa Freire to the viceroy in 1673, 'and the reason why it is not in greater quantity is that they do not dig for it and only take these little pieces that are found in the rocks because the abundance of it must be such that it already comes out of the soil'.<sup>58</sup> This was certainly suspected by many contemporaries.

<sup>55</sup> Bravo de Moraes, in Rocha, p. 27. The presence of Dominicans on the Zambezi above Tete is interesting as the fair of Zumbo, which was established around 1715, was dominated in its early days by the Dominican priest Frei Pedro da Trindade, who achieved considerable fame for his great wealth, his discovery of a gold reef north of the Zambezi, and for having, allegedly, thirty African wives (Newitt (1995), 204).

<sup>56</sup> Bravo de Moraes, in Rocha, p. 27.

<sup>57</sup> However, there is reference to mercury being sent out to test the silver in a letter from the prince to the viceroy, Lisbon, 3 Apr. 1675, LM, 39 & 40, fol. 184<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> João de Sousa Freire to viceroy, Sena, 12 June 1673, LM, 38A, fol. 225<sup>r</sup>.

António Bocarro, writing in 1634, said, 'it has been ascertained that these lands are not of a nature to contain silver mines',<sup>59</sup> while in 1667 Manoel Barretto wrote of 'the pretended mines of Chicova given by the emperor Gassulicere, where Dom Estevão de Ataíde found silver buried in great quantities, but not formed there'. Moreover, the only time that we know that experienced miners investigated the possible presence of silver deposits, nothing was found. However, this scepticism did little to dispel the belief that silver was there, and in quantity. The evidence for this was the frequent discovery of samples, the manufacture of silver objects for use in churches, the houses of residents, and for decorative purposes by the Monomotapa, and the reports that soldiers were sometimes paid with this silver.

The phenomenon of the East African silver mines can be more easily understood by anyone who has studied great hoaxes from Piltdown Man to Van Meegeeren's Vermeers. The essential ingredients are a strong interest by certain people in the propagation of a fraud and the equally strong desire of others to believe in it. It has been said that the genius of such fraudsters is to know exactly what their public most wants to believe at any moment.

Following the discovery of Potosí (the mountain of silver in Bolivia) and the mines in Mexico in the 1540s and 1550s, the Portuguese became obsessed with finding similar mines in Africa, which they already knew to be rich in gold. A report of 1683 claims specifically that there are 'rich silver mines superior to those of Potosí'.<sup>60</sup> However, this obsession with finding silver arose not only from jealousy of the Castilians but also from the needs of the Estado da Índia, which required silver in large quantities to make purchases of spice and other eastern products. The Union of the Crowns in 1580 gave the Portuguese access to Spanish silver but, after the founding of the English and Dutch East India Companies (1601–2), and still more after the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618, silver became increasingly difficult to obtain in Europe. Moreover, output from the South American mines was in sharp decline and access to Japanese silver was becoming increasingly problematic as the persecution of the Jesuits and their converts gathered momentum. Faced with such pressures, the authorities in Lisbon and Goa were easily persuaded that a new Potosí was waiting for them in East Africa.

However, a successful fraud needs fraudsters as well as gullible victims. Here one has to understand the interests of the Portuguese in the Rivers. There was strong competition to secure the trade monopoly of the Rivers and the grant of lands from the Crown. Reports of silver discoveries would be rewarded with honours, grants, the sending of soldiers and trade goods, and even advances of money. The Jesuit António Gomes recorded that when Madeira first reported his finds of silver, 'he was called Excellency by some, Your Honour by others, thinking him already a Count or Marquis'.<sup>61</sup> It was also in the interest of some factions to discredit those

<sup>59</sup> Bocarro, 'Livro', p. 30.

<sup>60</sup> Anon., 'Descrição dos Rios de Cuama', 1683, Ajuda, 51-VIII-43, fols. 473<sup>r</sup>–483<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> Gomes.

who had been successful in gaining the ear of the Crown, hence the swings in opinion between faith in those who reported the discovery of silver and those who denied its existence. It was also in the interest of Africans to pretend they knew where the silver was, since they often received rewards and gifts on the promise of revealing the mines. Monomotapa Mukombwe himself wrote to the king of Portugal saying that two Africans had come to him claiming to know where the mines were, 'and I spent some cloth and cows on them only to find out where it might be, and after they had taken that from me, they left without saying where it was and went to cheat the Portuguese'.<sup>62</sup> According to Francisco de Sousa, who wrote in 1710 but obtained his information from the author of the *Tratado*, an African called Manuel persuaded the Monomotapa to make him a chief, after which he would reveal the mines.<sup>63</sup>

How was the fraud carried out? It is impossible to say exactly, but it is clear that samples of silver allegedly assayed and smelted in the Rivers did from time to time reach Goa and Lisbon, but this was almost certainly fashioned from the silver *patacas* which were in use on the coast and formed the currency of international commerce in the Indian Ocean, or from other silver objects. The same is probably true of the silver items found in the houses of the Portuguese and worn as jewellery at the court of the Monomotapa. António Gomes heard a story about the Peruvian miner Andres de Vides y Albarado. He had a smelter with him, and together they

began to make a big fire and in the end they took about two silver patacas. A few months later D. Andre and the smelter had a fight, and we learnt that the silver came from a fork of D. Andre.<sup>64</sup>

### Changamira

For the author of the *Tratado*, Changamira is the great enemy of the Portuguese—a man of devious cunning whose reputation as a sorcerer is such that Africans are terrified of him and are defeated at the very sound of his name. It was he who outwitted the Portuguese in 1684 at the battle of Maungue, who destroyed the Mokaranga fairs in 1693 and the Manica fairs in 1695, and whose death in 1696 alone prevented the total destruction of the Portuguese settlements in Zambesia. Who was this Changamira?

The name Changamira first appears in the famous letter of Diogo de Alcáçova in 1506. In this letter Changamira Toloa kills the Monomotapa and expels his son from his capital. Then in 1547 we hear of conflict between a certain Changamira and the Portuguese over control of the ivory trade in the interior.<sup>65</sup> A great deal of ink has been spilt in the effort to answer the question whether these early references

<sup>62</sup> AHU Moç Cx 2, Monomotapa to the king, Zimbabwe, 28 June 1679.

<sup>63</sup> Sousa, para. 39.

<sup>64</sup> Gomes.

<sup>65</sup> 'Letter from João Velho to the king', c. 1547, Baxter and Silva Rego, vii. 168–83.

to Changamira are connected in any way to the figure who is represented so dramatically in the *Tratado*. There are basically two views. One, that of Beach, is that there was a Changamira dynasty of minor chiefs, one of whom achieved great power and influence in the 1680s and 1690s and conquered the kingdom of Butua.<sup>66</sup> The other view is that of Mudenge, who has argued that 'Changamira' was a title used at different times by a number of chiefs and not the name of a dynasty at all.<sup>67</sup>

Either case can be argued, but the following clarification helps explain the events described in the *Tratado*. The south-west region of modern Zimbabwe (roughly the area now known as Matabeleland) was rich in gold and cattle. In the late fifteenth century the region came under the rule of the Toloa (also written Torwa, Togwa, and Thoroë) dynasty of Karanga chiefs. The kingdom ruled by this dynasty remained distinct from the Mocaranga state of the Monomotapas, though it shared with it a common heritage of Karanga beliefs and customs. The state ruled by the Torwa dynasty was known as Butua and the traditional boundary between Butua and Mocaranga was on the Sanyati river. Butua was famous for its cattle, and Santos, writing in 1609, thought that it had contact with traders from Angola. It was the Torwa dynasty that built the famous stone structures at Khami, Nalatali, and numerous other sites in south-western Zimbabwe. During the seventeenth century there was one occasion when the Portuguese invaded Butua and installed their nominee on the throne. They subsequently maintained an irregular presence in the country and established a fair in Maramuca, a small pocket of Tonga people sandwiched between Mocaranga and Butua.<sup>68</sup>

The Changamira who features in the *Tratado* was named Dombo. He is represented as having been a herdsman of Monomotapa, which may indicate that he was the keeper of one of the royal herds. He was able to attract a following of fighters because of his reputation as a sorcerer, and his military success attracted yet more supporters. His power enabled him to overthrow the Torwa dynasty and to seize control of Butua. He also appears to have occupied Maungue, a smaller Karanga chieftaincy which was situated due west of Inyanga and Manica, and to have planned an invasion of Manica. The Portuguese who were resident there panicked and retreated into one of the fortified fairs.<sup>69</sup> The Portuguese had already identified Changamira Dombo as 'the deadly enemy of the Portuguese nation' and had planned to combine with the forces of the Monomotapa to punish him.<sup>70</sup> Before any invasion could take place, Changamira met and defeated a Portuguese army in the battle described in the *Tratado*. Monomotapa Mukombwe, however,

<sup>66</sup> Beach, pp. 120–1.

<sup>67</sup> Mudenge (1988), 57.

<sup>68</sup> Gomes.

<sup>69</sup> Caetano de Mello e Castro to the viceroy, Sena, 28 June 1684, LM, 49, fol. 331<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Copy of the letter of Manuel Vaz to the Court of Appeal, Sena, 28 June 1688, LM, 53, fol. 278<sup>r-v</sup>.



took the opportunity to invade Butua, forcing Changamira to return in order to protect his rear.

On the death of Mukombwe in 1692, Changamira supported the claims of Nhadunimbire as Monomotapa against the rival claims of the Portuguese candidate, Dom Pedro. In 1693, with the encouragement of Nhadunimbiri, Changamira's army destroyed the Portuguese fairs in Mokaranga. However, after this he ceased to give unqualified support to Nhadunimbire and instead concentrated his forces against Manica, which he conquered in 1695. This enabled the Portuguese to oust Nhadunimbire and place Dom Pedro on the Monomotapa throne. Mudenge suggests that, although Changamira failed to protect Nhadunimbire, he may have installed him as chief of Manica in place of the reigning Chicanga.<sup>71</sup>

Changamira Dombo had the reputation for being a sorcerer—'feiticeyro finisimo' as Conceição describes him (para. 100 [108]). It is not clear how he acquired this reputation or indeed whether it amounted to anything more than an excuse for Portuguese military failure. However, a letter written in 1698, after Dombo's death, refers to the belief that 'as soon as the Changamira's son smears himself with the oils everybody dies', suggesting a form that the magic may have taken.<sup>72</sup>

The dynasty founded by Changamira Dombo survived until the 1830s, when it was destroyed by invading Nguni. Some time during the eighteenth century the ruling élite adopted the name Rosvi (Borobzes according to the Portuguese) but the rulers themselves continued to use the title of Changamira. According to Mudenge, 'the Rozvi appear to have been those people associated with the rise to power of Dombo I'. Throughout the eighteenth century the Rosvi ruled not only in Butua but maintained a paramountcy over Manica and Maungue. They refused to allow individual Portuguese or Indians to enter their land but permitted trade to be carried on through the fairs of Manica and Zumbo, and agreed that the *vashambadzi* (commercial agents, referred to by the Portuguese as *mussambazes*) might come to trade in Butua. The Rosvi allowed the Portuguese to maintain permanent settlements at these fairs but it was always clear that they were dependent on the good will of the Changamiras. In 1780, for example, a Rosvi army was sent to restore the fair at Zumbo after it had been sacked and looted the previous year by a neighbouring chief. However, Mudenge is emphatic that the economy of the Rosvi kingdom was based on cattle ownership and not on the trade in gold.<sup>73</sup>

### Dambarare and the loss of the Karanga fairs

Central to the narrative of the *Tratado* is Changamira's destruction of the fair of Dambarare. The gold fairs pre-dated the arrival of the Portuguese, and some were

<sup>71</sup> Mudenge (1988), 292.

<sup>72</sup> António da Camara Coutinho to king, Goa, 12 Dec. 1698, LM, 62, fol. 109<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> For the history of the Rosvi state see Mudenge (1972), esp. pp. 40–2, 52, 97, 167–9, 276.

visited by António Fernandes during his travels in the interior in 1511–13. The Portuguese used the word *feira* to describe them, clearly seeing some resemblance to the seasonal fairs of medieval Portugal. It seems they were semi-permanent trading centres to which gold miners brought their gold for sale. Swahili, and later Portuguese, traders from the coast travelled to the fairs, where they paid taxes to the chiefs in whose land the fairs were held—according to Santos, there was a tax of one cloth in twenty of those imported. The fairs were a way not only of regulating the trade but also of controlling the foreign traders. At the fairs the traders elected their own officers, who exercised jurisdiction on behalf of the chiefs and who were also recognized as officers of the Portuguese Crown.

As well as these official fairs, there were less formal, privately owned fairs or mining camps which grew up at or near the site of new gold diggings. The miners would converge on the newly discovered reef, which overnight became a centre for mining and trading activity. These private fairs were often short-lived and disappeared when the particular gold reef was worked out. One such private fair, which is mentioned throughout the seventeenth century, was Vumba in Manica, and it is possible that Quitamborvize was also a fair of this kind. These mining camps were known as *bares* but in the seventeenth century they are often included together with the official fairs.

The major Portuguese fairs sometimes assumed the physical dimensions of small towns. They might have fortifications, a church with its priest, and numerous storehouses and residences. The fortifications were usually made of earth banks and palisades but sometimes had guns for their protection. António Bocarro described the fort at the fair of Luanze as a

palisade of stakes, filled up inside with earth, allowing those within to fight under cover. The stakes are of such a nature that when they have been two or three months in the ground they take root and become trees which last many years. The size of this fort is like a large terrace, being a hundred fathoms in circumference.<sup>74</sup>

The site of this fair was surveyed and excavated in 1964 by Peter Garlake, who found two fortified enclosures, a cemetery with 20–30 graves, and a church. However, very little sign of intensive occupation was found and Garlake concluded that ‘the architecture of the Mtoko earthworks clearly shows that they were never intended primarily for defence’. A similar survey was carried out of the fair at Maramuca, which was also surrounded by a wall with bastions. Again Garlake thought that as a defensive structure it was very weak. The archaeological evidence therefore supports the idea that these were indeed trading posts and not the nuclei of colonization or defensive settlements with a permanent population.<sup>75</sup>

The most important fair at the end of the sixteenth century was Masapa near Mount Darwin. This was located near the capital of the Monomotapa. Dambarare

<sup>74</sup> Bocarro, ‘Livro’, p. 28.

<sup>75</sup> Garlake (1967).

is first mentioned in 1634 and thereafter remained among the most important of the Portuguese fairs until it was destroyed in 1693. The fair lay close to the Marodzi river, a tributary of the Mazoe, and in 1967 the site was surveyed by Garlake and some excavations were carried out.<sup>76</sup> Garlake located four, and possibly five, earthworks and mounds in an area of about four square miles. Each structure was at least half a mile from its nearest neighbour. This immediately brings to mind the statement in the *Tratado* that the Portuguese in the fairs always lived widely separated from one another. Again Garlake concluded that there was little sign of intensive occupation:

Occupation of the enclosures by large populations could not have been anything more than intermittent . . . A small permanent population may have been supplemented by short seasonal influxes of large trading groups.<sup>77</sup>

There were large numbers of burials in and around the church—all the males buried in the church being of European origin and mostly very young. Garlake found no sign of the destruction of the church or the digging up of bodies described in the *Tratado*, but he did conclude that the fair had experienced two distinct phases of building. He suggested that the earliest phase lasted roughly from 1630 to 1675, after which the fair was abandoned during a period of famine and epidemic. In 1682 it was reported that there were only three Portuguese at the fair.<sup>78</sup> It was reoccupied, or at any rate the fortifications were rebuilt, around 1684, when Caetano de Mello e Castro reported that he had ordered the construction of *chuambos* at all the main fairs.<sup>79</sup> Felipe de Assumpção says there were ‘some mud and wooden walls . . . with a moat that was made at the time of Caetano de Mello e Castro, where there were two artillery pieces’.<sup>80</sup>

The loss of Dambarare is graphically described in the *Tratado*, which makes it clear that the other nearby fairs of Ongoe and Quitamborvize were abandoned at the same time. However, there is some evidence that not all the Portuguese at the fairs were killed, many being taken away as prisoners, while Garlake found no physical evidence of a violent end to the fair. The stories of the atrocities carried out by Changamira—the murder of all the Portuguese and the desecration of the church and the burials—may well have been exaggerated.

### The aftermath

After the death of Changamira Dombo in 1696 and the installation of Dom Pedro as Monomotapa, the Portuguese were accorded a breathing-space. However, no

<sup>76</sup> Garlake (1969).

<sup>77</sup> Garlake (1969), 50.

<sup>78</sup> Memorandum of the Conselho Ultramarino, 8 Feb. 1684, in Theal, iv. 419–26.

<sup>79</sup> Caetano de Mello e Castro to viceroy, 26 June 1684, LM, 49, fols. 328<sup>r</sup>–330<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> Felipe de Assumpção, ‘Breve informação dos Rios de Cuama . . .’, Ajuda, 51-VIII-40.

campaign of reconquest was mounted, the death of Dom Estevão da Gama removing the only figure likely to have undertaken such an enterprise, while José da Fonseca Coutinho, who assumed control of the Rivers settlements, had too many local interests to endanger his position by a possibly disastrous campaign in Butua. Gradually the Portuguese learnt to live with the Rosvi élite. The Manica fair was restored in 1714, and around 1715 a second fair was established at Zumbo at the confluence of the Zambezi and the Luangwa, probably by Indian traders. These were the only two fairs at which the Rosvi would trade with the Portuguese and, although attempts were made to re-establish Dambarare, these met with very transient success. One explanation for this was the fact that the Portuguese now focused their efforts on expansion north of the Zambezi. There, in the course of the eighteenth century, a number of *bares* were established to exploit new gold discoveries, and the Portuguese began to acquire land concessions from the Maravi chiefs.

The Monomotapa Dom Pedro (Nyamaende Mhande) died some time in 1697–8 and was succeeded by his brother, Chirimbe. Chirimbe was expelled by the Rosvi army in 1702<sup>81</sup> in favour of Samutumbu but was restored to his throne by the Portuguese in 1703 and continued to rule until his death in 1711, after which Samutumbu reigned again until 1718. Meanwhile two of Dom Pedro's sons had gone to Goa and become Dominican priests.<sup>82</sup> The Monomotapas were now little more than puppets either of the Rosvi or of the Portuguese, who continued to appoint a captain and soldiers to serve as the *zimbabwe* garrison. The kingdom was permanently eclipsed by the power of the Rosvi of Butua and never regained any of its former power or prestige. It gradually became confined to the control of a small core of territory in Chedima upstream of Tete.

After the *Tratado* had been discussed in Lisbon, the opinion of the viceroy was sought on the question of the pearl fisheries and the possibility of opening trade with Angola. However, as with so many other reports on the Rivers, the main recommendations were not implemented. The silver mines never materialized and without their supposed wealth the ambitious plans for the Church and the missions were also a dead letter.

### The author

Little appears to be known about the author of the *Tratado*, although fifteen pages are devoted to him in Paul Schebesta's history of the Zambezi missions.<sup>83</sup> Schebesta asserts that António da Conceição came to India as a missionary in 1685 and became prior of the Augustinian convent before going to East Africa in 1690. Leopoldo da Rocha says that he was appointed administrator in 1690, but

<sup>81</sup> Bravo de Moraes, in Rocha, pp. 26–9.

<sup>82</sup> Mudenge (1988), 295–7.

<sup>83</sup> Schebesta, pp. 179–93.

Schebesta says that he served six years as ecclesiastical administrator (presumably 1694–1700) and that after his visit to Goa in 1696, when he delivered the *Tratado*, he returned to resume his office. He himself provides the information that he translated two catechisms, a long one and a short one, and a confessional (*confessionário*) into a local African language.<sup>84</sup> He submitted far-reaching plans for the reform of the Church in East Africa, which are discussed above, but his dispute with the Dominicans meant that most of his ideas came to nothing. The *Tratado* was addressed to Frei Diogo da Conceição, the procurator of the Mozambique Church in Portugal, ostensibly to provide information for the author's successor as administrator. However, it is clear that the author intended it to be seen by the viceroy and the king. It was written after the author had offered his resignation from the position of administrator of the Church in Mozambique, a resignation that was evidently not accepted because he returned to resume his office, which he held until his death in 1700.

Conceição was murdered in Sena on 12 March 1700. According to a letter from the viceroy to the king, when he went 'to intervene in a dispute and help a man whom they wished to kill, a black hit him with an arrow and in a few days he died'.<sup>85</sup> His body was taken to Goa and buried in the Church of Nossa Senhora da Graça in the Augustinian convent.

Francisco de Sousa says that it was from the author of the *Tratado* that he obtained all the information about the silver mines, which he published in 1710 in *O Oriente Conquistado*, and one can surmise that it was the inquiry which Conceição carried out into the martyrdom of Gonçalo da Silveira that provided Sousa with information on that subject as well.<sup>86</sup> There is an intriguing phrase in the draft of the *Tratado* (in the Évora manuscript) which may throw some light on António da Conceição's opinions. In a paragraph that did not find its way into the final version, he writes about the success of the silver mines being 'for his honour and glory and for the increase of Christianity and [the prosperity] of our kingdom of Portugal until the Fifth Monarchy which we all long for shall arrive'.<sup>87</sup> This is a reference to the apocalyptic and visionary belief that the Portuguese monarchy would form the fifth empire after the empires of the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. This Messianic doctrine is linked with Sebastianism in that many Portuguese were prepared to see the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy, in the person of Dom João IV, as heralding the beginning of the fifth empire, while at the same time preparing the way for Dom Sebastião, who had miraculously survived the defeat at Alcazar el Kebir, to return to bring Portugal a new era of prosperity. The theme of the fifth empire featured prominently in the sermons and writings of the great Jesuit António Vieira, whose

<sup>84</sup> 'Resposta do Padre Administrador', *O Chronista de Tisuary*, 2: 136.

<sup>85</sup> Rocha, pp. 21–2.

<sup>86</sup> Sousa, p. 38.

<sup>87</sup> Appendix A below, ad fin.

battles with the Inquisition would have been fresh in the minds of Portuguese churchmen.<sup>88</sup>

### The texts

There are two versions of the *Tratado dos Rios de Cuama*. One is located in the Biblioteca da Ajuda (Codice 51-IX-33, fols. 120<sup>r</sup>–148<sup>r</sup>), the other in the Biblioteca Pública da Évora (Fundo Rivara, GR Arm. III e IV, No 31-4 para 107–12). It was the Évora manuscript that was printed by J. H. Cunha Rivara in the periodical he edited in Goa called *O Chronista de Tissuary* (vol. 2 (1867), 39–45, 63–9, 84–92, 105–11). Rivara says in a note that ‘the manuscript is among the papers which belonged to the convent of St Augustine in Goa’.<sup>89</sup>

The author says in the introduction that the *Tratado* was written in great haste, and there can be little doubt that the Évora manuscript represents a rough draft, full of the author’s corrections and first thoughts. Moreover, it was originally signed and dated from Sena 20 June 1696. This was crossed out and ‘Goa 12 December 1696’ added instead. The Évora manuscript is in places very confused. There are numerous crossings out and a number of whole paragraphs which were struck through and not included in the final version. Where possible these discarded paragraphs have been deciphered and their texts given in an appendix.

From this confused manuscript Cunha Rivara produced a coherent text, making a few changes to the spelling and getting rid of most of the abbreviations of the original. He also used his own numbering for the paragraphs, so that his numbers and those of the Évora manuscript are not the same.

The Ajuda manuscript is included in a codex together with a number of other documents which were presumably copied for the king, and which survived in the royal archives housed in the Ajuda palace. The Ajuda copy is substantially different from the draft in the Évora manuscript, and one must conclude that there existed at one time a revised version of the Évora text from which the copy in the Ajuda codex was made. Whether this revised version was made by António da Conceição is not known. It is possible that the text was revised by Diogo da Conceição, to whom the *Tratado* was addressed, for António writes in the introduction: ‘If, in addition, it seems to your reverence that His Majesty would like to see it, you may present it to him, after you have corrected it, for I would not dare to do so.’

There are a number of differences between the Ajuda and Évora manuscripts. There are changes in individual words; some phrases exist in one manuscript but not in the other, and there are two paragraphs in the Ajuda manuscript which do not exist in the Évora manuscript, while the Évora manuscript has six paragraphs not

<sup>88</sup> For a discussion of the ‘fifth empire’ and its links with Sebastianism and the ideas of António Vieira see Cohen, ch. 5.

<sup>89</sup> *O Chronista de Tissuary*, 2: 39 n.

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in the Ajuda manuscript. In addition the orthography is very different. The Ajuda manuscript makes copious use of the abbreviations commonly used by copyists in the seventeenth century.

The choice to reproduce the Ajuda manuscript, interpolating the additional paragraphs that appear only in the Évora text and supplying the discarded Évora paragraphs in the appendix, was made not only because the Portuguese text of the Évora manuscript has been printed already by Cunha Rivara, but also because in its final form it differs from the manuscript. The formula adopted for the present edition means not only that both manuscripts are now in print, but also that the relationship of the one to the other has been clarified, providing a much better sense of the author's work.

A rough manuscript translation of the version printed in *O Chronista de Tissuary* was made in 1980 by H. de Noronha, and is in the library of the University of Zimbabwe in Harare.





## TRATADO DOS RIOS DE CUAMA

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### Note on the Text

The base text for the following edition is the Ajuda manuscript (A), with paras. **72–3** and **77–80** from the Évora manuscript (E) signalled by indentation at the left, inserted after paras. 69 [**71**] and 72 [**76**] respectively. Some shorter phrases or sentences from E are recorded in the textual notes to the Portuguese text (cued by superscript italic letters). The apparatus also records places where A is the sole witness to the text (including the whole of paras. 40 [-] and 41 [-]). Substantive variants between the two manuscripts are noted but the orthography of A is adopted throughout.

The paragraphs are consecutively numbered with the paragraph numbers of the Ajuda text in roman type and those of the Évora text in **bold** in square brackets. The initials CR are used in the textual notes to indicate readings made by Cunha Rivara which differ from both manuscripts.

The text of some paragraphs crossed out in the Évora manuscript is included in an appendix at the end.

## Tratado dos Rios de Cuama

Feito por Fr. Antonio da Conceição, Administrador da Christandade<sup>1</sup> de Mossambique, e Rios, e enviado ao Padre Fr. Diogo da Conceição Procurador<sup>2</sup> da mesma Christandade em Portugal, ambos Religiozos de S. Augostinho da mesma Provincia de Portugal.<sup>3</sup>

Ao P<sup>o</sup> Fr. Diogo da Conceição

Meu P<sup>o</sup> Fr. Diogo; Como V.R. se dignou de aceitar por serviço de Deos, e por m<sup>ce</sup> que quíz fazer a este seu Condiscipulo, a procuração desta Christandade, de juro lhe devo inviar este Tratado, composto com tanta pressa, que apenas tive lugar de o escrever, para V.R. de elle formar juizo do q' hê necessario procurar em ordem ao aumento da Christandade; e quando S. Magd<sup>e</sup>,<sup>4</sup> que Deos gd<sup>e</sup>, me faça nesta monção<sup>5</sup> a m<sup>e</sup>, que lhe peço de me aceitar a renuncia desta Prelazia,<sup>6</sup> pode V.R. dar delle as noticias que lhe parecer ao meu successor: e se tambem parecer a V.R. que S. Mag<sup>de</sup> tera gosto de o ver, despois de V.R. o emendar lho podera offerecer, que eu não me atrevo a tanto.

Ds gd<sup>e</sup> a Religiosa pessoa de V.R.

<sup>a</sup>Goa 12 de Dezembro de 1696<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Goa] preceded by ~~Senna 20 de junho de 1696~~ in E      <sup>b</sup>1696] followed on separate lines by Muito obrigado servo, e condiscipulo de V.R. | Fr. Antonio da Conceição in E

<sup>1</sup> The author uses the word *Christandade* in many different contexts, to refer to the 'Church' or the 'Christian community' or the 'Christian religion'.

<sup>2</sup> Diogo da Conceição was the 'procurador', the ecclesiastical official responsible for the affairs of the Church of Mozambique in Portugal.

<sup>3</sup> The Augustinian presence in East Africa dates from 1597. The order took over the Swahili mission field and was based in Mombasa (Freeman-Grenville, pp. xxxii–xxxvi).

<sup>4</sup> The king of Portugal at this time was Dom Pedro II (1686–1706). He had been prince regent between the deposition of his brother in 1668 and his brother's death in 1686.

<sup>5</sup> The word *monção* 'monsoon' was used to refer to the time of year when ships from Portugal or India might reach Mozambique.

<sup>6</sup> Mozambique had no bishop. Although proposals were put forward from time to time to appoint one, the Crown always rejected these and appointed an ecclesiastical administrator with the judicial powers of a bishop (often referred to in the text as a 'prelate') to run the Church in Mozambique and the Rivers. The author occupied this post. See Axelson, p. 105.

## Treatise on the Rivers of Cuama

Written by Frei António da Conceição, administrator of the Church<sup>1</sup> of Mozambique and the Rivers, and sent to father Frei Diogo da Conceição, procurator<sup>2</sup> of the same Church in Portugal, both being religious of the Order of Saint Augustine in the same province of Portugal.<sup>3</sup>

To Frei Diogo da Conceição

Father Friar Diogo, as your reverence has seen fit to accept the procuratorship of this Church for the service of God and as a favour which he wishes to grant to his colleague, by rights I ought to send you this treatise, which I have composed with so much haste that I have scarcely had an opportunity to put it into writing, so that your reverence will be able to judge from it what is needed in order to bring about the increase of Christianity. And if His Majesty,<sup>4</sup> whom God protect, by this monsoon<sup>5</sup> grants what I asked, namely to give up the office of prelate,<sup>6</sup> your reverence can give to my successor such information about it as seems appropriate. If, in addition, it seems to your reverence that His Majesty would like to see it, you may present it to him, after you have corrected it, for I would not dare to do so.

May God protect the holy person of your reverence.

Goa 12 December 1696

Tratado dos Rios de Cuama<sup>7</sup>

Dividido em tres capitulos<sup>8</sup>

No primeiro se descreve esta Conquista<sup>9</sup> pello Rio Zambezi, e seus destritos, com o que nella temos temporal, e espiritual.

No segundo se trata das couzas necessarias para o aumento temporal, e espiritual da mesma conquista, e dos effeitos que della se podem haver.

No terceiro se referem as guerras do Changamira.<sup>10</sup>

Capitulo 1<sup>o</sup>

Descrevese a Conquista dos Rios de Cuama pello Rio Zambezi e seus destritos, com o que nella temos temporal, e espiritual

1 [1]. No nosso Rn<sup>o</sup> de Portugal chamase a esta Conquista, que descrevemos, Rios de Cuama, mas só se pode dizer tal figuradam<sup>te</sup> por synedoché tomando a parte pello todo porque Rios de Cuama são propriamente duas veas de hum braco do Zambezi que vai parar no mar por hum porto, aque ordinariam<sup>te</sup> chamamos os Portuguezes Luabo, e os Cafres<sup>11</sup> Cuama. Entendo que por este porto entrarão a primeira vez os Portuguezes nesta Conquista, e que por esta cauza não repararão em a bautizar com o nome tão mal soante das agoas destes Rios, mas tambem me parece que sem afronta de alguém lhe podera agora na sua confirmação ou restauração impôr S. Mag<sup>de</sup> outro melhor nome, como hé o de Manamotapa,<sup>12</sup> ou o de Rio Zambezi, que hé o que rega pello meio todo este Imperio da Cafraria: por esta mesma rezão me resolvo a dar noticia desta Conquista por meio deste grande Rio, porque navegando por elle acima com o sentido na narração das terras que lhe correspondem, me ficarei de algum modo explicando menos mal, e dando alguma noticia do que aqui há; e comecemos.

2 [2]. O Rio Zambezi he hum dos maiores que tenho visto de agoa doce, mui sadia; e posto que tem muitos lagartos, e alguns cavallos marinhos, não fazem mal á navegação, mas só impedem a demaziada confiança de se botarem nelle a nadar; tem bastante peixe, mas não de muitas especies, nem mui sadio; o seu curso hé em voltas, mas ordinariam<sup>te</sup> vem a fazer o caminho de Oes Noroeste p<sup>a</sup> Sul Sueste.

<sup>7</sup> Portuguese territory in the area of the Zambezi valley was conventionally referred to as the Rivers of Cuama or simply the Rivers ('Rios'). The Cuama was one branch of the Zambezi as it entered the sea through its delta.

<sup>8</sup> The chapter-list appears in both manuscripts but for some unknown reason was not reproduced in the printed version of the Évora manuscript in *O Chronista de Tissuary*.

<sup>9</sup> From the earliest period of their overseas expansion the Portuguese had used the term *conquista* to describe lands which were occupied and annexed to the Crown of Portugal. It seems appropriate to translate this as 'conquest' as it gives the flavour of the Portuguese original.

## Treatise on the Rivers of Cuama<sup>7</sup>

Divided into three chapters<sup>8</sup>

In the first is described this conquest<sup>9</sup> along the Zambezi river and its districts with what temporal and spiritual authority we have there.

The second treats of the measures that are necessary for the temporal and spiritual growth of the same conquest, and of the results which could be effected there.

The third refers to the wars with Changamira.<sup>10</sup>

### Chapter 1

Describes the conquest of the Rivers of Cuama along the Zambezi river and its districts, with what temporal and spiritual authority we have there

1 [1]. In our kingdom of Portugal this conquest, which we are going to describe, is called the Rivers of Cuama; but this can only be said figuratively taking the part for the whole, using a synecdoche, because the Rivers of Cuama are, properly speaking, two veins in an arm of the Zambezi which reach the sea at a port which the Portuguese usually call Luabo and the Cafres<sup>11</sup> Cuama. I understand that it was through this port that the Portuguese entered this conquest for the first time, and that for this reason they had not noticed that the waters of this river had been baptized with such an ill-sounding name. However, it also seems to me that, without offending anyone, now that [this conquest] is being secured or restored, His Majesty could give it another better name such as Monomotapa<sup>12</sup> or the River Zambezi, which flows through the heart of all of this empire of Cafraria. For the same reason I have decided to give information about this conquest by means of this great river because navigating along it upstream with the aim of describing the lands which adjoin it will in some way make me explain everything less badly and give some information about what there is here. So let us begin.

2 [2]. The River Zambezi is one of the largest that I have seen. It has very healthy fresh water and, although it has many crocodiles and hippopotamuses, they do no harm to the navigation but only check the excessive confidence of those who think to swim in it. It has a lot of fish but neither of many different kinds nor very good. Its course has many bends but in general it flows from west-north-west to south-south-east.

<sup>10</sup> See the Introduction.

<sup>11</sup> The Portuguese usually used the term *cafres* to describe Africans, and also frequently employed *Cafraria* for Africa. This word derives from Arabic *kafir* 'infidel', as does the word *kaffir* of Dutch and English usage. Although the term could quite well be translated by 'African', the latter word does not carry with it the implied qualities of primitiveness and lack of civilization. I have therefore used the Portuguese term untranslated.

<sup>12</sup> See the Introduction. The term *Monomotapa* was sometimes used for the country itself as well as its ruler.

3 [3]. Deste grande Rio se não sabe ao certo o principio por mais que nisto se tem cansado os nossos, quiça p<sup>a</sup> athe nesta circumstancia ter vizos de incomprehen-sivel e só dizem por tradição alguns, que sahe de huma lagoa, da qual sahem outros tres tambem grandes;<sup>13</sup> e assim p<sup>a</sup> o descrever, visto lhe não saber o principio, me pareceo começar por onde elle acaba que hé Quillimane e Luabo, por outro nome Cuama.

4 [4]. Está Quillimane em 18 grãos, e [ ] minutos,<sup>14</sup> tem hum banco de area tres ou quatro legoas ao mar com dous canaes, hum p<sup>a</sup> a parte de Sofalla,<sup>15</sup> e outro p<sup>a</sup> Moss<sup>e</sup>,<sup>16</sup> mas m<sup>tas</sup> vezes se errão por falta de Pilotos praticos da Barra, e de quatro vezes que passei por ali duas passei por braça e meya, e outras duas vezes por quatro braças com meya enchente de agoas vivas, que hé a occazião em que se entra. Por esta cauza não vem demandar este porto, senão embarçaõens pequenas, e que demandem pouco fundo; mas hé certo que podem entrar Naos maiores, havendo Piloto da Barra que todos os annos ponha balizas nos canaes, e em aparecendo Nao, a vá buscar: dizem que assim se pertende fazer na monção futura.<sup>17</sup>

5 [5]. Passadas as ditas tres legoas se entra pello Rio de Quill<sup>e</sup> em cuja ponta da banda de Sofalla estão huas palmeiras brabaes <sup>c</sup>meãas e <sup>c</sup>enterradas, que são vestigios de hum fortim que ali se começava.

6 [6]. Pello Rio acima se andão outras tres legoas p<sup>a</sup> chegar á povoação<sup>18</sup> de Quillimane aonde hé a descarga das embarçaõens. Consta esta povoação de catorze ou quinze cazas de paredes de madr<sup>a</sup>, todas divididas huas das outras, sem modo algum de muro nem de defeza, mais que humas estacadas com que cada hum cerca a suas cazas por modo de repartimento de quintal, mas sempre teve m<sup>r</sup><sup>19</sup> que a fizesse respeitar da Cafraria circumvezinha: de sorte que nunca a invadirão. Nestes tempos proximos tinha hum Henrique de Faria Leytão,<sup>20</sup> a quem os Cafres chamavão Muzungo Barra, e em ouvindo o seu nome temião, e tremião igualm<sup>te</sup>

<sup>c-c</sup> meãas e: meyas *E*      <sup>d</sup> m<sup>r</sup>: morador *E*

<sup>13</sup> The idea of a great central lake from which the major rivers of Africa flowed can be traced to the earliest representations of Africa in the 16th cent., which in turn had their origins in Ptolemy. The Portuguese still relied on the description of this lake given by João de Barros in Decade 1, bk. 10, ch. 1.

<sup>14</sup> The town of Quelimane lies at 17° 55'. Neither MS has a number entered before 'minutos'.

<sup>15</sup> Sofala was the gold trading port near the modern city of Beira which had been the site of the first Portuguese fortress in East Africa, established in 1506.

<sup>16</sup> This is a reference to Mozambique Island, which was the seat of government of the Portuguese settlements south of Cabo Delgado and the main port of call for the Portuguese Indiamen.

<sup>17</sup> Local pilots on the East African coast were known as *malem*os. Caetano de Mello e Castro had been asked whether *malem*os were needed at Quelimane and had concluded in 1684 that they were not, as any large ship could enter at high tide: Caetano de Mello e Castro to viceroy, Sena, 26 June, 1684, LM, 56, fols. 328<sup>r</sup>-330<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> The word *povoação*, here translated as 'settlement', is sometimes translated as 'town' or 'village'.

3 [3]. No one knows for certain the origin of this great river, to the extent that our people have tired of this question, perhaps because they have seen in it the sign of something beyond comprehension. Only some people say that there is a tradition that it flows from a lake from which flow three other [rivers], which are also very great.<sup>13</sup> And so, seeing that its origin is unknown, in order to describe it I have decided to begin with where it ends, at Quelimane and Luabo, which is also called Cuama.

4 [4]. Quelimane is situated at 18 degrees [ ] minutes.<sup>14</sup> There is a sandbank three or four leagues out to sea with two channels, one in the direction of Sofala<sup>15</sup> and the other in the direction of Mozambique.<sup>16</sup> However, because of the lack of pilots with experience of the bar, frequent mistakes are made. Of the four times that I came that way, I crossed it twice at one and a half fathoms and the other two times with four fathoms at half tide, which is the time that one should enter. For this reason only small boats and those requiring little depth seek out this port. However, it is certain that larger ships could enter if there was a pilot for the bar who placed buoys in the channels every year and who, on the approach of a ship, would go to meet it. And they say that it is intended to do this in the next monsoon.<sup>17</sup>

5 [5]. Once these three leagues have been passed one enters the river of Quelimane, at whose mouth, on the side towards Sofala, there are some wild palms, half buried, which are the remains of a small fort which was begun there.

6 [6]. Three leagues further up the river one reaches the settlement<sup>18</sup> of Quelimane, where the boats unload. This settlement consist of fourteen or fifteen wooden-walled houses, all separate one from the other without any kind of wall or defence except for the stockades with which each person surrounds his house to separate off his garden. However, there has always been one resident<sup>19</sup> who could make the neighbouring Cafres respect him so that they will never attack it. In recent times this was Henrique de Faria Leitão,<sup>20</sup> whom the Cafres called Muzungo Barra, and at the sound of whose name they fear and tremble as much or still more

<sup>19</sup> The word *morador*, here translated as 'resident', is widely used in Portuguese colonial contexts to indicate the free Portuguese subjects of the Crown resident in a certain place. It is sometimes used interchangeably with *casado*—a married man—though strictly *casados* were men who had come out from Portugal as soldiers and served their term in the armed forces before being officially given the right to marry. The *moradores* had very specific rights and duties in their relationship with the Crown, and in the larger towns operated through a chartered town council or Senado da Câmara. The East African settlements were not allowed to establish a Senado da Câmara until 1753, after the colony had been formally separated from India in 1752.

<sup>20</sup> Henrique de Faria Leitão was a native of Ourem and had come to the Rivers in about 1683 with his brother, Bernardo Falcão de Faria, who was killed in the wars. In 1687 Henrique petitioned to be allowed to return to Portugal as his widowed mother, aged eighty, was in distressed circumstances. It is not known if he left the Rivers but he is reported in the *Tratado* as having died in 1696. The king was obviously unaware of his death because in the following year he instructed the viceroy to consult him about the possibility of opening direct links with Angola, as had been suggested in the *Tratado*. See King to Dom Rodrigo da Costa, Lisbon, 14 Mar. 1688, and King to Conde de Villaverde, Lisbon, 15 Mar. 1697, in Theal, iv. 445 and 491.

ou mais ainda do que os nossos Cafres ouvindo o do Changamira:<sup>21</sup> e tanto hé isto assim, que de Quill<sup>e</sup> athe Mossambique não havia quem levantasse olhos a Cafres seus, e assim hião, e vinhão como por nossas terras com dinh<sup>o</sup>, e cartas p<sup>a</sup> aquella Fortaleza todas as vezes que importava ao serviço de S. Magd<sup>e</sup>. Este Henrique de Faria faleceo nos ultimos de Junho de 696 <sup>e</sup>quando eu estava de partida p<sup>a</sup> Moçambique.<sup>e</sup> Tem tambem aqui os Religiozos da Comp<sup>a</sup> hua residencia, e o superior della hé juntam<sup>te</sup> Vigario Parrochial, e da vara dos moradores.<sup>22</sup>

7 [7]. Em Quillimane se divide a carga das embarçaõens que vem de fora em outras muito mais pequenas sem quilha a que chamão Coxos, e Almadias,<sup>23</sup> e navegando nestas pello Rio acima vinte e cinco legoas, se chega aonde chamão a Boca do Rio Zambezi,<sup>24</sup> e neste lugar lança o mesmo Rio outro braço hua quarta mais p<sup>a</sup> o sul, deixando em meio hua piramide de terra baixa: este braço hé mais forte e copiozo de agoa, do que o que vai p<sup>a</sup> Quillimane, porque nunca lhe falta agoa p<sup>a</sup> navegarem por elle semelhantes embarçaõens, o que não podem fazer pello de Quill<sup>e</sup> em Setembro, Outubro, e Novembro.<sup>25</sup>

8 [8]. Este segundo braço vai acabar em Luabo, a q' os Cafres, como já disse, chamão Cuama. Não há aqui povoação alguma de Portuguezes, porque tudo forão sempre terras de particulares, e só habitão alem de Cafres, algus mestiços coitados, aos quaes chamão aqui Muanamuzungos, e dous Religiozos da Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus por vigarios da quella chrandade em hua ilha que o mesmo braço faz dividindose em duas ametades athe chegar ao mar, e estes são propriam<sup>te</sup> os Rios de Cuama, por hum dos quaes que fica para Quill<sup>e</sup>, dizem pessoas de credito que ha melhor entrada, que pello mesmo Rio de Quill<sup>e</sup> e com effeito no anno de 684<sup>f</sup> entrou por elle hua embarcação da India, sendo q' com seu risco, mas dizem que tambem por falta de praticos.<sup>26</sup>

9 [9]. Todas estas terras de Quill<sup>e</sup>, e Luabo são fertillissimas e com pouco trabalho dão tres novidades por anno; hua de arros muito fino, e outro grosso em tanta abund<sup>a</sup>, que não so basta p<sup>a</sup> os moradores destes Rios, senão que muitas vezes vai p<sup>a</sup> Moçamb<sup>e</sup>, e em havendo mais diligencia em fazer trabalhar os Cafres, que são mui preguiçosos, escuzava aquella fortaleza provimentos comestiveis da India; outra de trigo, e morumbe,<sup>g</sup> que he mantim<sup>o</sup> de Cafres, e toda a casta de legumes, principalm<sup>te</sup> ervilhas, abóbaras, e mais ortalice; e outra de muxuera, naxenim, e outros mantimentos de Cafres, tudo em muita abund<sup>a</sup>.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>e-e</sup> quando . . . Moçambique: *not in E*      <sup>f</sup> 684: 694 *E*      <sup>g</sup> morumbe: *muscombe E*

<sup>21</sup> This was Changamira Dombo I, the founder of the Rosvi dynasty of Butua. See the Introduction.

<sup>22</sup> The Portuguese use the term 'Companhia' or 'Companhia de Jesus' for the Jesuits.

<sup>23</sup> These are dugout canoes made from a single tree.

<sup>24</sup> Literally 'Mouth of the River Zambezi'.

<sup>25</sup> The waterways connecting the Zambezi to Quelimane were navigable only when the river was high. At the end of the dry season there was insufficient water even for canoes. During the course of the 18th



than our Cafres on hearing the name of Changamira.<sup>21</sup> And this is so much the case that from Quelimane to Mozambique there is no one who will look his Cafres in the face, and as a result they [messengers] are able the whole time to come and go as though in our lands, carrying money or letters for that fortress whenever it was necessary for the service of His Majesty. This Henrique de Faria died towards the end of June 1696 when I was about to depart for Mozambique. The priests of the Company [of Jesus] also have a residency here whose superior is jointly parochial vicar of the settlement and of the whole judicial region.<sup>22</sup>

7 [7]. At Quelimane the cargoes of the boats that come from abroad are divided among other smaller ones that have no keel and which are called *coches* or *almadias*.<sup>23</sup> By sailing in these up the river for twenty-five leagues, a place is reached called the Boca do Rio Zambezi<sup>24</sup> and in this place the river throws out another arm a quarter towards the south, leaving in the middle a triangle of low-lying land. The water in this arm [of the river] is greater in volume and flows more strongly than in that which goes to Quelimane because it never lacks sufficient water for such boats to sail on it, which they cannot do in the Quelimane branch in September, October, and November.<sup>25</sup>

8 [8]. This second arm ends at Luabo, which, as has already been said, the Cafres call Cuama. Here there is no Portuguese settlement, because the whole of this land belongs to individuals and, apart from the Cafres, only some wretched mestizos, who are here called Muanamuzungos, live there. There are also two priests of the Company of Jesus who act as vicars for the Christians in one of the islands which is made when the said arm of the rivers divides itself into two halves before reaching the sea. These are properly speaking the Rivers of Cuama, and some persons of credit say that one of these [rivers], in the direction of Quelimane, provides a better entrance than that of the river of Quelimane itself. Indeed, in the year 1684 a boat from India entered by that route though it was very risky and because they say there are no pilots.<sup>26</sup>

9 [9]. All these lands of Quelimane and Luabo are very fertile and with very little work yield three harvests a year, one of very fine rice and another of coarse rice, in such great abundance that it is not only enough for the inhabitants of the Rivers but is frequently sent to Mozambique. And if the Cafres, who are very lazy, showed more diligence in working, that fortress would not have to obtain food from India. Other crops are wheat and *murombe*, which is the food of the Cafres, and all sorts of vegetables, principally peas, pumpkin, and greens. And other [crops] are *muxuera*, *naxenim*, and other food used by the Cafres, all in great abundance.<sup>27</sup>

cent., and particularly after the great drought of the 1820s, the channels became increasingly blocked and Quelimane ceased to provide practical river access to the Zambezi valley.

<sup>26</sup> Attempts to use one of the major arms of the Zambezi as a port of entry had been made as early as the second decade of the 16th cent. Although the delta rivers were often used by small craft, they were not suitable as permanent ports for the Indiamen because the Zambezi floods resulted in frequent changes to the course of the rivers.

<sup>27</sup> *Muxuera* (more usually *meixoeira*) is bulrush millet, *naxenim* is finger millet. *Muscombe/murombe* (also *murume*) is the Shona name for finger millet. See Randles, ch. 5.

10 [10]. Tem tambem bastantes Palmares, que sem grangeam<sup>10</sup>, ou cultivação alguma dão muitos cocos, e sura;<sup>28</sup> de sorte que os naturaes da India se admirão, porque lá lhes custa m<sup>10</sup> o fruto das suas palmeiras, e aqui nada. Tambem se admirão da facilid<sup>e</sup>, com que nacam as canas de acucar em Luabo, posto que ategora não há grandes canaviaes, nem engenhos, por haver pouco tempo que começarão, e menos coriozidade; que como no contrato havia mais interesse, só deste tratavão, e não da cultivação das terras.<sup>29</sup>

11 [11]. Das frutas da India tem muita pera, figos, jangomas,<sup>30</sup> ananazes, tudo em abund<sup>a</sup>, principalm<sup>te</sup> em Luabo; tem tambem alguas mangueiras que dão bastantes mangas no n<sup>ro</sup>, e na qualid<sup>e</sup>, muita caça, muito peixe, muito sal, e arvoredos, mas miudo.

12 [12]. Tirase tambem destas terras algum marfim dos sertoes que confinão com os de Sofalla, p<sup>a</sup> onde há caminho, todo por terras nossas.<sup>31</sup> Os m<sup>es</sup> de Quillimane vão ou mandão contratar cõ os Cafres vezinhos a que chamão Bororos,<sup>32</sup> e tambem trazem marfim bastante p<sup>a</sup> comprarem o que lhes hé necess<sup>ro</sup> de provimentos da India, que para comer lhes basta a cultivação de seus escravos: o marfim assim destas terras nossas, como do contrato, importava em trinta bares,<sup>33</sup> que hão de valer na India hoje perto de trinta mil x<sup>es</sup>.<sup>34</sup> Athequi de Quillimane, e Luabo.

13 [13]. Tornando agora ao corpo do Rio Zambezi, e hindo por elle acima dezoito legoas se acha huma Freguezia dos Religiozos da Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus na Caya terra, que pertence á rezidencia dos mesmos Religiozos de Senna, cujos Freguezes são Cafres seus, e algũs Muanamuzungos, tão pobres que mal tem com q' passar a vida. O Vigario se sustenta pobrissimam<sup>te</sup> de sua seara, e de esmollas que ordinariam<sup>te</sup> lhe fazem os seus Religiozos superiores das rezidencias de Senna, Quillimane, e Tete, que os de Luabo apenas tem tambem com que passar; os ordenados destas Freguezias são cincoenta cruzados<sup>35</sup> por anno pagos em Moçamb<sup>e</sup>; aonde ordinariam<sup>te</sup> ficão para pagamento dos fretes dos seus provimentos de Goa, e ajuda de pagar os gastos das viagens que elles fazem.<sup>36</sup>

14 [14]. Navegando da Caya mais sete legoas se chega a Povoação de Senna.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Palm wine.

<sup>29</sup> Luabo was not only the name of a branch of the river in the Zambezi delta and the name given to a potential port of entry, but also the name of one of the large Portuguese landholdings, or *prazos*.

<sup>30</sup> Possibly this is the *jamboeiro* (*Eugenia jambos*), which in English is called the rose-apple and is a tropical fruit cultivated in the east.

<sup>31</sup> The hinterlands of Sofala and Sena had been joined into a continuous stretch of Portuguese territory in the 17th cent. when Sisnando Dias Bayão acquired the territory of Cheringoma from the Quiteve. See Newitt (1995), 102–3; (2002), 120–1.

<sup>32</sup> The name 'Bororo' was widely used for the Lolo people of the lower Zambezi. As the author says, this was the name which had been used for the left bank of the lower river ever since the 16th cent. See Nurse.

<sup>33</sup> The bar was a measure of weight, the equivalent of c.518 lbs.

<sup>34</sup> The xerafin was a coin worth 360 reis.

<sup>35</sup> The cruzado was a coin worth 400 reis.

10 [10]. There are plenty of palm trees, which without any tilling or cultivation give large quantities of coconuts and *sura*<sup>28</sup> so that the natives of India are astonished, because there the fruit of their palm trees costs them a lot, and here nothing. Moreover, they admire the ease with which sugar cane grows in Luabo even though up to now there have been no large cane fields or mills, since [sugar] was introduced only a short time ago. Nor is there much curiosity about it since they have more profit from trade and work only at that, not at the cultivation of the land.<sup>29</sup>

11 [11]. Of the fruits of India there are many pears, figs, *jamgomas*,<sup>30</sup> and pineapples, all in abundance and principally to be found in Luabo. There are also some mango trees, which bear mangoes sufficiently good in number and quality, a lot of game, fish, and salt as well as trees, although these are mostly small.

12 [12]. From these lands they also obtain some ivory that comes from the interior, which adjoins the lands of Sofala, the road to which runs wholly through our territory.<sup>31</sup> The Quelimane residents go themselves, or they send [their agents] to trade with the neighbouring Cafres, who are called Bororos.<sup>32</sup> They also bring a lot of ivory in order to buy what they need in the way of provisions from India, while the cultivation performed by their slaves is enough to provide them with food. The ivory obtained from our lands, as well as that which is traded, amounts to thirty bares,<sup>33</sup> which in India today is worth nearly thirty thousand xerafins.<sup>34</sup> So much for Quelimane and Luabo.

13 [13]. Turning now to the main body of the River Zambezi, and going eighteen leagues upstream, one finds a parish of the priests of the Company of Jesus at Caia, a territory which belongs to the residency of those priests at Sena. Its parishioners are their own Cafres and some Muanamuzungos, who are so poor that they can barely keep alive. The vicar maintains himself in great poverty from [the produce of] his fields and from the alms which are given to him by his superiors in the residencies at Sena, Quelimane, and Tete, since those in Luabo also have hardly enough to live on. The stipends of these parishes are fifty cruzados<sup>35</sup> a year, paid in Mozambique, where it is usually spent on paying the freight charges on the provisions they bring from Goa. It also helps to pay the expenses of the journeys that they make.<sup>36</sup>

14 [14]. Sailing seven leagues beyond Caia one reaches the settlement of Sena.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> In the 18th cent. the Jesuits owned Caia and Chemba in the Sena captaincy and no fewer than eighteen *prazos* in the Tete captaincy. For details of the Jesuit mission lands see Rea.

<sup>37</sup> Sena was one of the oldest river ports of the Zambezi. In the 16th cent. there was a settlement of Muslim traders there, which was destroyed by Francisco Barreto in 1572. It then became the capital of the Rivers settlement until the 19th cent. After the great drought of the 1820s Sena was largely abandoned and Tete became the principal Portuguese town on the Zambezi.

As terras que demorão ao Nornordeste por toda esta viagem do Zambezi, são propriam<sup>te</sup> do Emperador<sup>h</sup> de Muanamutapa, mas há annos que lhas tem usurpado o Caronga, Cafre, cujo dominio passa muito alem de Mossamb<sup>e</sup>, e faz a sua assistencia quinze dietas distante de Senna pella terra dentro.<sup>38</sup>

15 [15]. Nestas terras do Caronga há muito marfim, mas com tal prohibição, que ninguem nos pode vender hum dente, senão o mesmo Caronga, e dous ou tres grandes a q<sup>m</sup> elle da licença; e desta sorte os caçadores dos elefantes, so a elle, e aos grandes vendem o marfim; e como lhes não paga nem o trabalho de o acarretarem, deixão no antes ficar no mato; e daqui nasce levarem lhe muito menos do que lhe havião de levar se elle lhes desse o seu justo preço, e esse pouco que lhe levão, como está só na sua mão, e dos dous grandes, revendemnolo pello que querem; e por estas cauzas de ser pouco, e mui caro, ordinariam<sup>te</sup> vem os nossos mercadores com as mãos na cabeça, depois de estarem hum, dous, e algumas vezes tres annos pellos mattos, fora de suas cazas. Não falta tambem nestas terras mantimento, e principalm<sup>te</sup> em hua serra a que chamão Morambara, que esta a vista de Senna, e hé a sua quinta<sup>39</sup> regada de fontes nativas, donde lhe vem muita fruta todo o anno, e muito arros; tem tambem muitas madeiras grossas.

16 [16]. As terras porem que demorão ao sul sudoeste do Zambezi, todas são Del Rey de Portugal, nosso S<sup>r</sup> como as de Quillimane, e Luabo, e fertillissimas tambem de mantimento; e alem disto tem madeiras tão grossas altas, e direitas, que de hum pão<sup>i</sup> se faz hum coxo, que carrega seis, e sete moyos de mantimento;<sup>40</sup> tem tambem muito algodam, de que os Cafres sabem fazer huns panos, a que chamão machiras,<sup>41</sup> com que muitos se vesstem. Dos sertoes destas terras se tira mais marfim que dos de Quillimane, e Luabo.

17 [17]. A povoação de Senna que está em 16 grãos, e 50<sup>j</sup> minutos,<sup>42</sup> consta de trinta cazas poucos mais ou menos de moradores graves alem de outras somenos. Esta povoação hé a cabeça das mais, e foi em algum tempo huma grande Alfandega de ouro, e de marfim, que vinha das de cima: os seus moradores se tratavão com grande fausto, não tanto de gallas como de acompanhamento de Cafres; ainda nestes meus tempos sempre se tratarao gravam<sup>te</sup>, mas confessando que nem sombras erão dos passados. Della costuma sahir o grosso dos nossos exercitos, e todas as outras povoações juntas botarão, quando muito, tanta gente, como ella só.

<sup>h</sup>Emperador: ~~Rey~~ Emperador E; subsequent examples of this are not separately identified      <sup>i</sup>pão: pao so E      <sup>j</sup>50: 10 E

<sup>38</sup> Caronga (or Kalonga) was the most important of the Maravi chiefs, who, the Portuguese believed, was paramount or emperor over the others. It is not recorded as a title before 1660. Before that the leading Maravi chief was known to the Portuguese as Muzura. It may be that the Caronga and Muzura chieftaincies are the same, or it may be that the Caronga title was adopted by a new dynasty of chiefs. See discussion in Langworthy, p. 169, and Newitt (1982).

The lands that lie to the north-north-east during the whole of this Zambezi journey properly belong to the emperor of Monomotapa, but some years ago they were usurped by the Caronga, a Cafre whose dominion extends far beyond Mozambique and who resides fifteen days' journey inland from Sena.<sup>38</sup>

15 [15]. There is a lot of ivory in the lands of Caronga, but he imposes such an embargo that no one can sell us a tusk except Caronga himself or two or three important men to whom he grants a licence. As a result the elephant hunters sell their ivory only to him and his great men and, as he does not pay them the cost of having to carry it, they leave it behind in the bush. The consequence of this is that much less is brought to him than would be brought if a just price were paid. And as the little that is brought comes into his hands and those of two important men, they resell it for whatever [price] they wish. Since for this reason there is little, and that very dear, our merchants often return in despair after being one, two, or sometimes three years away from their homes in the bush. In these lands there is no lack of provisions, especially in the mountain they call Morambara, which can be seen from Sena and is its garden.<sup>39</sup> It is watered by local springs and from there they get fruit all the year round and rice. And there are also many large trees there.

16 [16]. However, the lands that lie to the south-south-west of the Zambezi belong to our lord the king of Portugal. Like Quelimane and Luabo, they are very fertile in provisions and in addition have trees so large, straight, and tall that, from a single trunk, they can make a canoe which can carry six or seven *moios* of foodstuffs.<sup>40</sup> There is also a lot of cotton, from which the Cafres know how to make cloths, called *machiras*,<sup>41</sup> with which many of them clothe themselves. More ivory is taken from the interior of these lands than from Quelimane and Luabo.

17 [17]. The settlement of Sena, which is situated at 16 degrees and 50 minutes,<sup>42</sup> consists of more or less thirty houses belonging to residents of importance, as well as others of less importance. This settlement is the head of all the rest and at one time had a great customs house for gold and ivory, which came from settlements up river. Its citizens displayed great luxury, not so much in their dress as in their entourage of Cafres and, even in my time there, they always lived well though admitting that this was not a shadow of what happened in the past. From here we used to obtain the bulk of our armies, and all the other settlements together could assemble only as many people as this one alone.

<sup>39</sup> Mount Morumbala was not formally part of the Portuguese possessions, although the Portuguese were very dependent on its population and from time to time tried to impose their control. The mountain was the location of the important rainmaking cult of Mbona. See Schoffeleers.

<sup>40</sup> The *moio* was equal to 60 alqueires or 828 litres.

<sup>41</sup> *Machiras* were cloths made from cotton grown locally in Zambesia.

<sup>42</sup> The correct location of Sena is 17° 30'.

18 [18]. As cazas desta povoação são de adobes cubertas de palha, podendo ser de pedra e cal, e cubertas de telha; sendo q' alguns dizem que a palha hé mais sádia: estão mais conchegadas que as de Quillimane, porque só as dividem os quintaes, e ruas, as quaes com a occazião dos ameços do inimigo Changamira se taparão no anno passado de 695; pode esta <sup>k</sup>fortaleza, digo<sup>k</sup> Povoação fortificarse belissimam<sup>te</sup>; porque de hua parte lhe fica o Rio, e da outra huma sorreta, que parece a pos Deos ali para hum castello.<sup>43</sup>

19 [19]. Nesta povoação de Senna está a Sé Matriz destes Rios, de que he vigario hum Religiozo Eremita de Santo Augostinho; e ordinariam<sup>te</sup> nella assiste o administrador da Christand<sup>e</sup>, que ao presente tambem tem o habito, posto que indignamente do mesmo Santo Patriarca. Faz tambem nella, como em corte sua assistencia o Capp<sup>am</sup> G<sup>l</sup>, ou Gov<sup>or</sup>, ou Capp<sup>am</sup> mor destes Rios; e aqui está tambem a feitoria de S. Magd<sup>e</sup>.<sup>44</sup> Tem tambem aqui os Religiozos de S. Domingos hum convento em que ordinariam<sup>te</sup> assiste o Prelado somente, e os Religiozos da Companhia de Jesus tem sua rezidencia com seu superior som<sup>te</sup>.<sup>l</sup>

20 [20]. Nas arrabaldes da Povoação, terras dos Religiozos de S. Domingos, está tambem hua Freg<sup>a</sup>, cujo vigario hé Religiozo do mesmo Santo, mas ordinariamente está sem Parrocho por não ter com que se sustentar.<sup>45</sup>

21 [21]. Os Moradores graves de Senna ordinariam<sup>te</sup> vivem do contrato da Mucaranga,<sup>46</sup> e Anvuas,<sup>47</sup> aonde huns vão pessoalm<sup>te</sup>, outros mandão seus famulos, ou escravos. Disse ordinariamente, porq' alguns se negoçoão comprando, e vendendo na mesma Povoação. Os que tem terras da Coroa, se ajudão muito dellas, mas nenhum pode sustentar o estado que tem, somente com suas rendas, sem contrato, e nem por isso se há de cuidar que o estado hé superfluo, mas antes que hé muito necessario para nos fazermos respeitados nesta Cafraria. Os moradores pobres fazem viagens mais breves, e com menores<sup>m</sup> empregos p<sup>a</sup> o Baroe, e Manica, de que agora tratarei.

22 [22]. O Reyno de Baroe<sup>48</sup> confina com as nossas terras de Senna, e o Rey tem a sua Corte, a que chamão Zimbaué,<sup>49</sup> distante da nossa Povoação outo

<sup>k-k</sup>fortaleza, digo: *not in E*      <sup>l</sup>som<sup>te</sup>: *not in E*      <sup>m</sup>menores: maiores *CR*

<sup>43</sup> A fort was built in 1704 by João Fernandes de Almeida and a carved stone gateway erected.

<sup>44</sup> Until 1676 the trade of the Rivers had been a monopoly of the captains of Mozambique, who had been reluctant to make a permanent appointment to govern the Rivers settlements. At the end of the 17th cent. a Crown appointment was made carrying the title of *tenente geral*. See para. 39 [39].

<sup>45</sup> This may be a reference to the parish of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios da Macambura, described in 1766 as follows: 'established outside the town, it was the first parish church of Sena and the Dominicans act as parish priests' (Miranda, p. 259). A list of Dominican properties in 1637 is given in Rodrigues, 'Mercadores . . .', p. 476.

<sup>46</sup> The Portuguese used the term *Karanga* in general for speakers of Shona (a term which is still the designation of one branch of the Shona-speaking people). *Mokaranga* (the land of the Karanga) was used to describe the territory subject to the Monomotapa.

18 [18]. The houses in this settlement are made of mud bricks and are covered with straw. They could be made of stone and mortar and roofed with tiles but some people say that straw is more healthy. They are built closer together than those of Quelimane because they are separated only by their walled gardens and streets, which they barricaded when they were threatened by our enemy Changamira last year in 1695. This settlement could be very well fortified because on one side is the river and on the other a small hillock, which, it seems, God placed there to have a fort built on it.<sup>43</sup>

19 [19]. In this settlement of Sena is the Mother Church of these Rivers, whose vicar is a friar of Saint Augustine. Usually the ecclesiastical administrator resides there. At present he wears the habit, however unworthily, of the same holy patriarch. The captain-general, governor, or captain-major of these Rivers also holds court here, and here also is His Majesty's factory.<sup>44</sup> The Dominicans also have a convent here, in which there is usually only their prelate, and the priests of the Company of Jesus have a residency where only their superior resides.

20 [20]. In the neighbourhood of this settlement, in the lands of the Dominicans, there is also a parish whose vicar is a priest of the same Saint [order], but usually it is without a parish priest because there is nothing to support him.<sup>45</sup>

21 [21]. The important inhabitants of Sena usually make their living by trading to Mocaranga<sup>46</sup> and Anvuas,<sup>47</sup> where some go in person and others send their servants or slaves. I say 'usually' because some do business by buying and selling in this settlement. Those who have Crown lands receive considerable benefit from them, but no one can maintain the status he has simply from his rents, without trading. One should not think that maintaining this status is unnecessary but rather that it is essential in order to make us respected in Cafraria. The poorer settlers make shorter journeys and do less business in Barue and Manica, which I shall now describe.

22 [22]. The kingdom of Barue<sup>48</sup> is adjacent to our lands of Sena, and the king's court, which they call *zimbabwe*,<sup>49</sup> is eight days' journey inland from our

<sup>47</sup> Anvuas (called Amuvas by Manoel Barretto in 1667) were the people immediately upstream of the Maravi and described as 'formidable to Maravi for their numbers and their courage' (Barretto, p. 481); Barretto says that their land was rich in ivory.

<sup>48</sup> Barue was one of the Karanga chieftaincies whose ruler bore the ceremonial title of Macombe. The chieftaincy is first heard of in the early 16th cent., shortly after the Karanga chiefs had conquered their Tonga subjects. Occupying the low-veldt area between Tete and Sena, it may at one time have been subject to the Monomotapa but, although it still paid a symbolic tribute, it had become effectively independent by the end of the 17th cent. It maintained a precarious independence from the Portuguese until 1902 and was the location of a major uprising in 1917. Portugal maintained close relations with the Macombes since trade caravans had to pass through Barue country.

<sup>49</sup> The word *zimbabwe* has often been considered to derive from the Shona *dzimba dza mabwe*, meaning 'house of stone'. However, Garlake considered it more likely that it came from the Shona *dzimba woye*, meaning 'venerated houses': see Garlake (1973), 11. Whatever its original meaning, it was the Shona word used for the capital of a chieftaincy, where the chief usually resided. The *zimbabwes* mentioned in the text are not to be confused with the ruins of Great Zimbabwe near Masvingo.

dietas pella terra dentro; nella assiste por vigario o Padre Gonçallo Soares Clerigo do Habito de S. Pedro, que por ordem do Administrador da Christand<sup>c</sup> começou aquella missão em Fevr<sup>o</sup> de 695; teve no principio tanta contradição, que o obrigou o Rey a sahir não só do seu Zimbaué, mas tambem de todo o seu Rn<sup>o</sup>.<sup>50</sup>

23 [23]. Acodio o Administrador mandando seu Inviado com presentes p<sup>a</sup> o Rey, e seus grandes, e carta em que lhe dizia o que o seu limitado talento, e tibio espirito lhe ditou nesta matr<sup>a</sup>. Por resposta desta carta, mandou o d<sup>o</sup> Rey outra tambem por seu Inviado, dizendo que nunca ali estivera Vigario, nem Igreja; e que se o P<sup>e</sup> queria hir fazer o<sup>n</sup> seu contrato, podia hir e vir, como os mais Portuguezes, mas fazer Igr<sup>a</sup>, nem estar de assistencia; não. Isto dizia a carta, e o Inviado por entre dentes dava a entender que nós por esta via lhe queriamos tomar o Rn<sup>o</sup>. Entendeo o Administrador, e disse lhe que nem elle, nem aquella casta de Padres, que lá lhe mandou, tinha terras, nem lhe erão necessarios, porque o nosso Rey de Portugal o sustentava de sua fazenda sem mais interesse seu, nem obrigação nossa que<sup>o</sup> a de ensinar o verdadeiro caminho do Ceo a quem o quizesse aprender: De tudo se informou o Inviado, e achou q' assim era.

24 [24]. Parecendo comtudo ao Administrador, que pouco, ou nada tinha feito; se valeo de Guilherme de Araujo e Sylva, Capp<sup>m</sup> mor dos Rios, com o qual o Rey do Baroe tem muita correspondencia, e quer conservarse ainda prescindindo da occupação, e cargo da Capitania mor, por ser o mais poderozo de Senna nestes tempos, e confinarem as suas terras com as Del Rey, em que lhe pode fazer muito mal. Pedio pois o Administrador ao dito Guilherme de Araujo que mandasse seu Inviado ao Rey de Baroe com carta em que o persuadissem ao nosso intento, o que elle fez; e vendose o d<sup>o</sup> Rey desta sorte obrigado, concedeo tudo o que queriamos; de sorte q' pellos seus Cafres mais mimozos, mandou reedificar tudo, e admitio outra vez ao mesmo P<sup>e</sup> mas entendo que abaixo de Deos, se deve a restituição desta missão ao dito Guilherme de Araujo; e daqui se pode inferir o pouco que nestas partes pode o Prellado Ecc<sup>o</sup>, quiçá por sua tibeza, sem ajuda do braço secular, que por esta cauza me dilatei tanto nesta materia.

25 [25]. Os Reys de Baroe sempre correrão bem comnosco, mas entendese que mais por medo, que por vontade, e isto mesmo se há de suppor nos mais Regulos, reconhece sugeição ao Emperador de Manamotapa com limitado tributo, e p<sup>a</sup> comnosco mede a sua obediencia pello nosso poder, ou conveniencia sua de o ajudarmos.<sup>51</sup> Hé costume deste Rey sustentar aos mercadores, e seus escravos, em quanto estão nas suas terras fazendo contrato, o qual se faz com drogas da India q' levão, e trazem muita vacaria, alguns escravos, e não trazem mais; porque aqui em Senna tem pouca sahida, algum marfim, e algũ ouro, mas pouco.

<sup>n</sup>o: *not in E*      <sup>o</sup>que: *que he CR*

<sup>50</sup> Gonçalo Soares was an Indian priest whose appointment by the administrator caused outrage among the Dominicans, who accused the administrator of exceeding his authority. See the Introduction.



settlement. There is a vicar resident there who is Father Gonçalo Soares, a cleric of the order of St Peter, who began his mission there by order of the ecclesiastical administrator in February 1695. At the outset he became involved in such serious disputes that the king obliged him to depart not only from his *zimbabwe* but from his whole kingdom.<sup>50</sup>

23 [23]. The administrator tried to help by sending his envoy with presents to the king and his elders, and with a letter in which he said to him what his limited talent and timid spirit suggested to him in this matter. In reply to this letter the king sent another, also with an envoy, saying that there had never been a vicar there nor a church, and if the father wished to come to carry on trade, he could come and go like other Portuguese, but he could not build a church or remain there. This is what the letter said, but the envoy muttered that he believed that through this means we desired to take over the kingdom. The administrator listened to him and told him that neither he, nor any priest of the kind that he sent there held lands, nor did they need lands because our king of Portugal maintained them from his treasury without any other interest or obligation on our part except to teach the true way to heaven to whoever desired to learn. The envoy informed himself of all this and found that it was so.

24 [24]. As it appeared to the administrator that little or nothing had been achieved, he turned to Guilherme de Araujo e Silva, captain-major of the Rivers. The king of Barue had many dealings with him which he desired to maintain. Although he was giving up the occupation and office of captain-major, as he was still the most powerful man in Sena at that time and his lands were adjacent to those of the king, he was in a position to do him a lot of harm. The administrator therefore asked the said Guilherme de Araujo to send his envoy to the king of Barue with a letter in which he would persuade him of our intentions. This he did, and when the king saw himself put under an obligation in this way, he conceded all that we desired to the extent that he ordered everything to be rebuilt by his most skilled Cafres and allowed the same priest to return once more. However, I understand that, under God, the restoration of this mission is due to Guilherme de Araujo, and from this can be inferred how little the ecclesiastical prelate can achieve in these parts, perhaps because of his half-heartedness, without the aid of the secular arm. For this reason I have enlarged to such an extent on this matter.

25 [25]. The kings of Barue always remain friendly towards us, but it must be understood that this is rather through fear than good will, and one must suppose the same to be true of other chiefs. He recognizes his dependence on the emperor of Monomotapa by paying a small tribute and, as for us, he measures his obedience according to our power and the extent which it suits us to help him.<sup>51</sup> This king is accustomed to help the merchants and their slaves while they are trading in his territory, which they do, bringing cheap Indian goods in exchange for cattle, some slaves, and not much else, because here in Sena little is exported except ivory and some gold, and that very little.

<sup>51</sup> Although Barue was never officially converted to Christianity, the Portuguese played a major part in the affairs of the kingdom and a new Macombe had to receive the *madzi-manga* or holy water from a Portuguese priest before being formally installed as ruler. See Isaacman (1973).

26 [26]. A Manica são propriam<sup>te</sup> hus Rn<sup>os</sup> divididos por varios Regulos que todos conhecem vassallagem ao de Manamotapa, mas muito maior aos Portuguezes, porque nenhu hé Rey, senão o que nós metemos no governo; e quando se entende que o desmerecem, os privamos delle, e tambem da vida, sem intrevir em alguma destas couzas o Emparador de Manamotapa.<sup>52</sup> Todas estas terras são de ouro, e em hua dellas por nome Massequeça, tinhamos huas taipas a que aqui chamão Chuambo,<sup>53</sup> dentro das quaes estava a Igreja com Vig<sup>to</sup>, que era Relig<sup>so</sup> de S. Domingos, e Capp<sup>m</sup> somente:<sup>54</sup> os mais moradores moravão pellos arrebaldes distantes hua dos outros a perder de vista, o que era grande dezordem, não só contra o bem commum temporal (porque desunidos estavão mais incapazes de se defenderem) mas tambem contra o bem de seu espirito, porque raro era o que morria com todos os sacram<sup>tos</sup>; e por mais q' nisto se trabalhou, nunca houve remedio p<sup>a</sup> os reduzir a viverem juntos em modo de Povoação; e a cauza de o não fazerem (dizião elles) era<sup>p</sup> por não terem guerras hus com outros, mas os de fora assentavão que era por suas conveniencias, e trapaças de contratarem ás furtadellas huns com os Cafres dos outros.<sup>55</sup>

27 [27]. Esta Feira de Massequeça que ordinariam<sup>te</sup> se chama Feyra da Manica dista de Senna por caminho direito doze dietas, algumas das quaes são pellas terras do Baroe; botaria neste meu tempo em ouro, e marfim cem pastas<sup>q56</sup> q' na India fazem noventa mil x<sup>es</sup>; em outros tempos antigos, dizem que vinhão quatro centas, e quinhentas pastas quando conservavamos naquelles dstrictos outras feiras, ou Povoçoens com seus Cappitaens, e Vigarios, que por falta de gente nossa deixamos perder.

28 [28]. As terras todas de Manica são mui ferteis de mantim<sup>to</sup>; e tambem tem canas de açúcar, e muito ferro, e hua raiz medicinal a que chamamos raiz da Manica;<sup>57</sup> confinão por huma parte com as da Mucaranga, e da feira de Massequeça; hão á de Dambarare em sete dias, mas este caminho hé pouco versado; o que mais se continua hé p<sup>a</sup> Sofalla, e ordinariam<sup>te</sup> passão pello Zimbaue do Rey de Quiteve.

<sup>p</sup> era: que era *E*      <sup>q</sup> pastas: pastas nesta povoação de Senna ['brought to this settlement at Sena']  
*CR*; phrase crossed through in *E*

<sup>52</sup> This rather brutal statement appears to have been the reality of the power relations. The Portuguese had dominated Manica ever since 1632, when a Portuguese army had conquered the kingdom and dethroned and executed the reigning Chicanga. A number of Portuguese mining camps and fairs had operated in Manica but by the end of the 17th cent. there was only the fair of Masekesa (sometimes called Chipangura), which was the most important, and Vumba. Although Masekesa was sacked by Changamira in 1695, the Portuguese re-established the fair in the 18th cent. See Bhila, ch. 4.

<sup>53</sup> A *chuambo* was a traditional fortification consisting of earth embankments with a palisade on top. The idea was that the green posts from which the palisade was made would take root and form a wall of living trees.

<sup>54</sup> The Dominicans provided priests for the fairs and it was they who had taken the lead in trying to convert the Monomotapas to Christianity. See Mudenge (1986).

26 [26]. Manica is, properly speaking, a number of kingdoms divided among different chiefs who all recognize their vassalage to Monomotapa but still more to the Portuguese, because no one becomes king unless we place him in the government. And when it is understood that he no longer deserves it, we remove him from government and even kill him without any interference from Monomotapa in these matters.<sup>52</sup> All these lands are gold-bearing and in one of them, called Masekesa, we had some mud walls, which are here called *chuambo*,<sup>53</sup> within which there was only a church with a priest, who was a Dominican, and the captain.<sup>54</sup> Most of the settlers lived round about but at a distance and out of sight of each other, which was a great disadvantage not only to the common good in temporal matters, because disunited they were less able to defend themselves, but also to their spiritual welfare, because it was seldom that anyone died having received all the sacraments. And no matter what effort was made, I never heard of any remedy which would make them live together in some kind of a settlement. They say that the reason why they will not do this is to prevent them fighting each other, but outsiders agree that it was for their own convenience so that they could swindle each other by trading in secret with the Cafres belonging to others.<sup>55</sup>

27 [27]. This fair of Masekesa, which is usually called the fair of Manica, is twelve days' journey from Sena by the most direct road. Some of these involve crossing the lands of Barue. During my time gold and ivory worth a hundred *pastas*<sup>56</sup> were brought which in India are worth 90,000 *xerafins*: they say that four or five hundred *pastas* were brought in former times when in those districts we had other fairs or settlements with their captains and priests, which we allowed to be lost for lack of our people.

28 [28]. All the lands of Manica are very fertile in foodstuffs and also contain sugar cane, a lot of iron, and a medicinal root, which we call Manica root.<sup>57</sup> One part adjoins Mokaranga and from the fair of Masekesa one can travel in seven days to that of Dambarare, but this road is little used. It is more common to continue to Sofala, usually passing by the *zimbabwe* of the king of Quiteve.

<sup>55</sup> Caetano de Mello e Castro, writing in 1684, gives a slightly different gloss on this: 'The Cafres who come there to sell the gold see different people on different days and this they want to do secretly because they generally owe a lot, and if the residents live near one another they will not have the freedom . . . besides the prices will suffer some change if they are all together' (Caetano de Mello e Castro to viceroy, 26 June 1684, LM, 56, fols. 328<sup>r</sup>-330<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>56</sup> A *pasta* was a measure of gold equivalent to 800 cruzados.

<sup>57</sup> According to Francisco de Sousa, Manica root 'has many admirable properties, and in particular, when it is applied to fresh wounds after being pounded and mixed with water, it is of equal or superior effect to balsam' (Sousa, para. 29).

29 [29]. O Rey de Quiteve hé o maior dos Regulos da Manica, e o segundo ao de Manamotapa pellas grandes terras que tem,<sup>58</sup> mas por mal obedecido dos seus, fica quazi igual a todos: nas suas terras tem muito marfim, e bastante ouro, mas como os seus Cafres lhe obedecem mal, pouco lhe rendem a elle, e a nós; porque os mesmos Cafres são tão agrestes, q' não fazem cazo das nossas roupas, só por não terem trato, nem communicação com nosco. O Zimbaue deste Rey dista da nossa Feyra da Manica tres dietas, e delle se vai a Sofalla em cinco, ou seis dias.

30 [30]. Sofalla fica em altura <sup>r</sup>de [ ] graos, e [ ] minutos,<sup>59</sup> tem bastante entrada p<sup>a</sup> Naos de alto bordo em occasião de agoas vivas: todos<sup>s</sup> os annos lhe vem de Moçamb<sup>e</sup> huma Galeota com roupas de Cafres, e vai carregada de marfim, e de escravos, que valem ali baratissimos. Hé mui farta de carne, e peixe, milho arros, e mais fructos da terra, excepto trigo, que o não há; as terras são cortadas de Rios, e hum por nome Pungue hé o que as divide das do Quiteve, Senna e Luabo.<sup>60</sup>

31 [31]. Os moradores de Sofalla ordinariam<sup>te</sup> vivem de suas searas, e do contrato que vão fazer com os Cafres pella terra dentro, onde levão fato, e trazem marfim, mas ordinariam<sup>te</sup> interessão m<sup>to</sup> pouco, porque lhes tem posto esse contrato por estanco, e ao marfim hum preço tão<sup>t</sup> limitado; e por esta cauza quazi todos vivem pobrem<sup>te</sup>. Na Costa de Sofalla p<sup>a</sup> Nhambane há pêrolas, e aljofares que agora se descobrirão.<sup>61</sup>

32 [32]. De Sofalla para Senna por caminho direito se gastão catorze dias, todos por terras Del Rey de Portugal, nosso S<sup>or</sup>. Postos outra vez em Senna tornaremos a navegar pello Zambezi acima, e andando sete legoas acharemos hua Freguezia na Chemba, pertencente aos Relig<sup>os</sup> da Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus, que nos meus tempos nunca teve Vigr<sup>o</sup> effectivo por não ter com q' o sustentar, mas o P<sup>e</sup> superior da residencia de Senna, a q<sup>m</sup> pertencem as terras, hia, ou mandava outro Religiozo de quando em quando, e pellas quaesmas a dezobrigar aquelles christãos, que todos são Cafres.

33<sup>u</sup> [33]. Navegando mais vinte legoas se chega a Lopata, a qual hé hum espinhaço inexpugnavel que atravessa o Rio de Leste, ao Este, de grossura de tres legoas, nas quaes vem o Zambezi mui apertado, e por isso com grande corrente, mas com tudo hé navegavel, posto q' com mais trabalho; em todo este districto se pode facilmente tomar o passo ao mais poderozo exercito: por cima das mesmas

<sup>r-t</sup> de . . . minutos: blank spaces in both MSS      <sup>s</sup> todos: e todos E      <sup>t</sup> tão: muy E      <sup>u</sup> Para. 33 unnumbered in A

<sup>58</sup> The chieftaincy of Quiteve lay between Manica and the sea and controlled the road from Sofala to the Manica highlands. It was another Karanga chieftaincy, which may have recognized the symbolic paramountcy of the Monomotapa but was effectively independent. The Portuguese had acquired a large part of Quiteve in the 1640s, which formed the *prazos* of Cheringoma and Gorongosa, and they had a fair at Bandire in the chieftaincy.

<sup>59</sup> The old site of Sofala lay at 20° 10'.

<sup>60</sup> The Pungue river enters the sea at the port of Beira, the second city of Mozambique.

29 [29]. The king of Quiteve is the greatest of all the chiefs of Manica and second only to Monomotapa in the extent of his lands.<sup>58</sup> However, because he is not well obeyed by his people he is more or less on a level with the others. In his lands there is a lot of ivory and gold but, because his people do not obey him, they bring him and us little income, for these same Cafres are so rustic that they do not esteem our cloth and they do not trade with us or hold much communication with us. The *zimbabwe* of this king is three days' journey from our fair of Manica, and from there it is five or six days' journey to Sofala.

30 [30]. Sofala is situated at [ ] degrees and [ ] minutes.<sup>59</sup> At spring tides there is a sufficiently good access for decked ships. Every year a galliot comes from Mozambique with Cafre cloth and leaves loaded with ivory and slaves, which are very cheap there. The land is plentiful in meat, fish, maize, rice, and other produce of the land, except for wheat of which there is none. Its lands are divided by rivers and one called the Pungue separates them from those of Quiteve, Sena, and Luabo.<sup>60</sup>

31 [31]. The Sofala settlers ordinarily live from their crops and from the trade which they have with the Cafres in the interior, where they take trade goods and from which they bring back ivory. However, they derive little profit from this because this trade has dried up and the ivory fetches only a very limited price. For this reason almost all of them live poorly. On the Sofala coast south towards Inhambane pearls and seedpearls are now being discovered.<sup>61</sup>

32 [32]. It takes fourteen days' journey from Sofala to Sena by the direct route, which is all through the lands of our lord the king of Portugal. Finding ourselves once again in Sena, we will continue to follow the Zambezi upstream and, having gone seven leagues, will reach a parish church in Chemba, belonging to the priests of the Company of Jesus, which in my time never had a vicar because there was a lack of the wherewithal to maintain him. The father superior of the residency of Sena, to whom these lands belong, went himself or ordered another priest to go there from time to time, and especially during Lent, to perform the religious ceremonies for the Christians there, who are all Cafres.

33 [33]. Sailing a further twenty leagues one reaches Lupata, which is an impregnable mountain ridge three leagues wide that crosses the river from east to west. [At this point] the Zambezi becomes very narrow and for this reason has a very strong current, although it remains navigable with a great deal of difficulty. In all this district it would be possible to hold the pass against the most powerful army.

<sup>61</sup> In the Ajuda manuscript there is a marginal note 'nota', which is presumably designed to draw the attention of the king to the importance of the discovery of pearls. Pearl fisheries had been known in the Bazaruto islands, south of the Sabi mouth, since the early 16th cent., when the islands were known as the Hucicas. In 1696 a fresh discovery of pearls was made, which José da Fonseca Coutinho was accused of attempting to control in his own interest: King to viceroy, Lisbon, 31 Aug. 1697, Theal, iv. 495.

serras<sup>v</sup> habitão alguns Cafres, e lá fazem suas searas, que eu vi mui fermozas, e tambem em algumas quebradas q' há junto do Rio.

34 [34]. Marangué dista do fim da Lopata quinze legoas, onde esta hua Freguezia dos Religiozos da Companhia de Jesus quazi do lote da<sup>w</sup> Caya,<sup>62</sup> e navegando mais seis legoas se chega á Povoação de Tete. Por todo este Rio Zambezi desde o seu principio athe aqui, há bastantes povoaçoes de Cafres, assim de hua como da outra parte, e muitas mais pella terra dentro; pella nossa parte se chama Botonga, e pella parte do Caronga Maravi:<sup>63</sup> os naturaes destas terras, principalm<sup>te</sup> de Senna p<sup>a</sup> cima, são belicozos, e quanto mais de dentro, tanto mais fortes, e mal obedientes ao senhorio Portuguez, e ao Emperador pior: de sorte que ordinariam<sup>te</sup> estão levantados sem quererem pagar a ninguem o costumado tributo que hé bem limitado; mas os cativos dos Portuguezes são mais briozos na guerra, e mais valentes q' elles.<sup>64</sup>

35 [35]. A povoação de Tette está em hus altibaxos escalvados, que no tempo de verão parece que estão exhalando fogo,<sup>65</sup> e não deixa de haver por ali perto sitios em q' se podia fundar melhor: está cercada de taypas com tres Beluartes, q' por ordem do Capp<sup>m</sup> Geral Cahetano de Mello e Castro<sup>66</sup> fizeram aquelles moradores, e principalm<sup>te</sup> huma Vicencia João viuva de Fran<sup>co</sup> Pinhr<sup>o</sup> de Faria, que ou por mais coutada, ou por mais zelosa do serviço de S. Mag<sup>de</sup>, fez a maior parte, ou quazi tudo.<sup>67</sup>

36 [36]. Nesta povoação são os Religiozos de S. Domingos Vigarios Parochi-  
aes, e os da Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus tem sua residencia com seu superior. Os m<sup>es</sup> vivem com trato grave em tudo á immitação dos de Senna. Aqui costumão os que levão fazendas pello Rio dezembraraçallas, e buscar Cafres p<sup>a</sup> lhes levarem ás costas p<sup>a</sup> onde os donos querem; não obstante que o Rio Zambezi ainda he navegavel p<sup>a</sup> cima mais seis, ou sete legoas, depois das quaes vem o Rio tão despenhado, que fica innavegavel em muitas partes.<sup>68</sup>

37 [37]. As minas de prata estão em huma terra a que chamão Nhacasse, distante de Tette cinco dietas entre duas serras,<sup>x</sup> em q' não há arvores, junto do

<sup>v</sup>serras: terras CR      <sup>w</sup>da: da da E      <sup>x</sup>serras: terras CR

<sup>62</sup> Marangue was a Jesuit *prazo* in the Tete district. See details in Rea, pp. 29, 53, 82–3.

<sup>63</sup> The Tonga people who inhabited the Zambezi valley had been brought under Portuguese control in the 16th cent. The Portuguese called the right bank of the Zambezi Botonga, or the land of the Tonga. The term Maravi referred to the chiefs who had established themselves on the left bank at the end of the 16th cent. The most important of these were Undi, Rundo, and Muzura or Caronga. See Newitt (1982) and Langworthy, ch. 4.

<sup>64</sup> The Africans who lived in the hinterland of Tete had come under nominal Portuguese control at the end of the 16th cent. when the Monomotapa granted these lands to the Portuguese. According to João dos Santos, writing in 1609, the captain of Tete had assumed all the duties of a chief over them (Santos, bk. 2, ch. 17, p. 224).

<sup>65</sup> Tete was a river port, which pre-dated the Portuguese and came under Portugal's control as a result of the expedition of Francisco Barreto in the 1570s. The site was notoriously hot and dry.

On top of these mountains live some Cafres and there also on some slopes close to the river they make their harvests, which I saw to be very good.

34 [34]. Marangue is fifteen leagues distant from the end of Lupata. There is a parish church of the priests of the Company of Jesus there, almost of the same importance as that of Caia.<sup>62</sup> Navigating six leagues further brings one to the settlement of Tete. All along the Zambezi river from its mouth to this point there are a number of villages of Cafres on both banks and many more inland. Our side is called Botonga and the side of Caronga is called Maravi.<sup>63</sup> The natives of these lands, especially upstream of Sena, are bellicose, and the further inland, the stronger they are and less obedient to Portuguese authority, still less to that of the emperor. They are usually in a state of rebellion and are not willing to pay the customary tribute, which is very little, to anyone. However, the slaves of the Portuguese are braver in war and more daring than they.<sup>64</sup>

35 [35]. The settlement of Tete is situated on some bare hillsides, which during the summer look as though they are breathing fire.<sup>65</sup> There cannot fail to be better sites nearby where it would be possible to build. The town is surrounded by mud walls with three bastions which the settlers built by order of the captain-general Caetano de Mello e Castro<sup>66</sup>—principal among them Vicencia João, the widow of Francisco Pinheiro de Faria, who, either because she was wealthier or because she was more zealous in the service of His Majesty, carried out the greater part, indeed practically the whole of it.<sup>67</sup>

36 [36]. In this settlement the priests of St Dominic are the parochial vicars and those of the Company of Jesus have a residency with its superior. The settlers live from their important trade, in every respect like those of Sena. Here those who are carrying goods by river unload them and look for Cafres to carry them on their backs wherever their owners want, even though the Zambezi remains navigable for a further six or seven leagues, after which it becomes so tempestuous that in many places it is unnavigable.<sup>68</sup>

37 [37]. The silver mines are in a land which they call Nhacasse, five days' journey from Tete, near the Zambezi between two hills where there are no trees.

<sup>66</sup> Caetano de Mello e Castro was captain of Mozambique 1682–6. Filipe de Assumpção says that there were 'three bulwarks of rock and lime' (see Assumpção). The walls around Tete were already in existence in 1634 (Bocarro, 'Livro', p. 24).

<sup>67</sup> See paras. 54 [54], 112 [120].

<sup>68</sup> This is a reference to the Caborabassa rapids.

Zambezi; a prata dellas hé tão fina, que sem a acrizolarem tem toque muito melhor q' o de pataca,<sup>69</sup> como por experiencia se pode ver em alguma q' nesta monção vai p<sup>a</sup> fora fundida por Cafres, <sup>y</sup>e em outra sem ser fundida.<sup>y</sup>

38 [38]. Do principio em que os Portuguezes entrarão nestes Rios, entendo que logo tiverão sospeita, ou noticia de que nestes districtos, que são terras de Mucaranga, havia minas de prata, mas hua noticia tão confusa, que por mais delig<sup>as</sup>, que fizerão em varios tempos, e principalmente haverá vinte annos, governando estes<sup>z</sup> Rios João de Souza Freyre, nunca as poderão acabar de descobrir,<sup>70</sup> e a cauza dizem q' era porque o Emperador de Manamotapa, a q<sup>m</sup> estas terras de Mucaranga estão immediatam<sup>te</sup> sogeitas, as ocultava, parecendolhe que tendo nós dellas noticias,<sup>a</sup> serião aqui tantos os Portuguezes, e tão grande o nosso poder, que lhe não deixariamos <sup>b</sup>couza alguma<sup>b</sup>.

39 [39]. Mas como no fim do anno de 1693 o Changamira destruisse a Mucaranga p<sup>la</sup> parte de cima, e os<sup>c</sup> moradores do Ongoe,<sup>71</sup> que escaparão, viessem para baixo, ficarão alguns naturaes da Índia por aquelle districto das Minas, e entre elles hum Domingos Carvalho da obrigação de Manoel Pires Saro, que tomou conhecimento com o grande da quella terra;<sup>72</sup> de conhecim<sup>to</sup> passou a contrato, que foi fazendo com elle dandolhe roupas, e recebendo prata, mas o Cafre a tirava com tal cautella ao principio, que nem suas mulheres, nem seus filhos o sabião; e assim foi guardando este segredo m<sup>to</sup> tempo, athe que ultimam<sup>te</sup>, no mez de Fevreyro de 1696, se veyo a saber o lugar certo por via de Cafres do d<sup>to</sup> Domingos Carvalho, e de Manoel Pires Saro,<sup>73</sup> e ambos mandarão pedras da mina a Joseph da Fonseca Coutt<sup>o</sup> Tenente Gen<sup>al</sup> que então era destes Rios,<sup>74</sup> de que se fundio parte, e se dedicou como premicia para hua lua<sup>75</sup> que se fez p<sup>a</sup> a custodia do Sanm<sup>o</sup> Sacramento de Seé Matriz de Senna.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>y-y</sup>e . . . fundida: *not in E*      <sup>z</sup>estes: aquelles *E*      <sup>a</sup>noticias: a riqueza *E*      <sup>b-b</sup>couza  
alguma: *porse em ramo verde E*      <sup>c</sup>os: os Portuguezes, e Indios *E*      <sup>d</sup>Saro: Saro, que  
espreitarão ao senhorio da terra *E*

<sup>69</sup> The pataca or peso was a Spanish silver coin with a nominal value of 8 reales. For the non-existent silver mines, see the Introduction.

<sup>70</sup> João de Sousa Freire was captain of Mozambique 1670–3. He organized a major expedition to the Rivers and was responsible for building a fort near the supposed site of the mines, which his brother is alleged to have discovered (Prince regent to viceroy, Lisbon, 3 Apr. 1675 and 8 Apr. 1677, Theal, iv. 375, 377–86). Freire returned to East Africa in 1678 to supervise the arrival of settlers (Axelson, p. 150).

<sup>71</sup> Ongoe was a Portuguese fair on the Angwa river. See para. 56 [56].

<sup>72</sup> According to Francisco de Sousa, his name was Domingos Carvalho Bramane and he came from the village of Sanquali in Salcete (Sousa, para. 38).

<sup>73</sup> These events are described in greater detail in Sousa, paras. 38–9.

<sup>74</sup> José da Fonseca Coutinho came to East Africa in 1665 as captain of a fleet and subsequently commanded the garrison of the fort of Mozambique. He served two terms as captain and factor of



The silver there is so fine that, without being refined, it assays much better than the pataca,<sup>69</sup> as can be seen in a sample smelted by the Cafres which is being sent in this monsoon, and in another which was not smelted.

38 [38]. From the moment that the Portuguese first entered these Rivers, I understand that they suspected or had information that in these districts, which are part of Mocaranga, there were silver mines. However, it was such confused information that no matter how much diligence they showed at different times, and especially twenty years ago when João de Sousa Freire was governor of the Rivers, they never managed to discover them.<sup>70</sup> The reason for this is said to be because the emperor Monomotapa, to whom these lands of Mocaranga are directly subject, has concealed them as it seems to him that, if we had news of them, so many Portuguese would come here and so great would be our power that we would not leave him a single house.

39 [39]. However, when at the end of 1693 Changamira destroyed the upper part of Mocaranga and the settlers of Ongoe<sup>71</sup> who had escaped came down, some natives of India had remained in the district of the mines and among them one Domingos Carvalho, a client of Manoel Pires Saro, who got to know the chief of that land.<sup>72</sup> Having made his acquaintance, he continued to trade with him, giving him cloth in exchange for silver. However, the Cafre at first obtained it with such caution that neither his wives nor his sons knew about it and in this way the secret was preserved for a long time until, at last in February 1696, the precise place came to be known through the Cafres of the said Domingos Carvalho and Manoel Pires Saro.<sup>73</sup> Both sent ore from the mine to José da Fonseca Coutinho, who was then *tenente geral* of the Rivers.<sup>74</sup> He smelted part of it and donated it by way of a reward towards a monstrance,<sup>75</sup> which was made to hold the Holy Sacrament in the Mother Church of Sena.<sup>76</sup>

the fortresses in the Rivers and had spent nine years in Zambesia when he petitioned to be allowed to return home. The reference here may be to his son of the same name. In 1696 a Fonseca Coutinho was made *tenente geral* of the Rivers and led an expedition to find the silver mines. In 1697 the viceroy was told to consult him about matters raised in the *Tratado*. The pearls mentioned in the *Tratado* had apparently been found on the seashore of his land, which he had conquered from Quiteve and over which he had subsequently been confirmed as chief. In revenge for Quiteve having supported Changamira, he had invaded the chieftaincy, killed the Quiteve, and substituted his own nominee, Inhaunda, who in turn was ousted by a rival (see José da Fonseca Coutinho to king, Sofala, 14 June 1699, LM, 63, fols. 127<sup>r</sup>–128<sup>r</sup>). Early in the 18th cent. he was again appointed *tenente geral* but the patent was cancelled when information reached the king, via the viceroy, about his activities in Quiteve. See also para. 125.

<sup>75</sup> The Portuguese word *lua* actually means moon. Church ornaments in the shape of a crescent moon were common in Indo-Portuguese art. An example can be seen in the Indo-Portuguese museum in Fort Kochi, Kerala.

<sup>76</sup> At this point the Évora manuscript has two deleted paragraphs numbered 40 and 41 not reproduced by Cunha Rivara. See Appendix A. In the Évora MS these numbers are retained in the consecutive numbering of the paragraphs, but since Cunha Rivara did not include them, from this point his paragraph numbering falls out of step with the Évora MS.

40 [-<sup>e</sup>]. Tirarsehião desta Mina quatro mil marcos de prata com mui pouca gente, e menos trabalho, e as farta dellas, porque como o Changamira estava com hum poderozo exercito em campo ameaçando as Povoçoens de Senna, e de Tette que erão as unicas que lhe restavão p<sup>a</sup> concluir com nosco, não era rezão que os nossos se divertissem com as minas descuidandose da guarda, e prizidio das nossas Povoçoens; e ainda q' já se dizia que o Changamira era morto, lhe não davamos inteiro credito, porque este enemigo era tão ardilozo, q' quando queria se fingia morto p<sup>a</sup> fazer, como muitos vezes fez a sua mais a seu salvo: juntavase a isto estarmos esperando por novo governo de Gen<sup>al</sup> dos Rios, q' era já monção, como com effeito veyo meado Março D. Francisco da Costa,<sup>77</sup> mas tão doente entrou em Quillimane aonde morreo q' não diz nos de lá couza alguma chegarão a Senna as novas de sua morte nos ultimos de Abril, e nos principios de Mayo fazendo o Tenente General conselho pareceo conveniente, supposta a nossa atinuação que se mandasse hum prez<sup>te</sup> de roupas ao Emperador de Manamotapa, em cuja terra esta a mina, pedendoselhe juntamente o seu beneplacito p<sup>a</sup> a lograrmos, e entendiasi que facilmente o concederia, como com effeito o concedeo, de que vierão noticias certas a Senna nos ultimos de Junho. Disse (supposta a nossa atinuação) porque a não ser ella, nenhua necessid<sup>e</sup> tinhamos da sua licença, pello que ao diante se vera do numero 60.

41 [-<sup>f</sup>]. Neste meyo tempo mandou o Tenente Gen<sup>al</sup> hum seu famulo natural da India com dez, ou doze Cafres seus, e dos moradores de Senna a ver o lugar da mina e com effeito foi com os ditos Cafres incorporarse em Tette, com outros de Manoel Pires Saro, que sabião o caminho, e voltou p<sup>a</sup> baixo em Junho deste anno de 696 certificando a todos, e ao dito seu amo que cavando com os Cafres no lugar da mina não achara prata algua; mas isto não obstante os moradores dos Rios tão fora estavam de perder as esperanças de atornarem a descobrir que todos estavam com os olhos nella sem fazerem cazo do ouro pello muito lucro que esperavão ter, e atribuião aquella falta a pouquidade da gente, e a falta da ferramenta e de mineiros, com que quazi todos os principaes se ficavão já aparelhando para hir as minas da prata, sendo o primeiro o mesmo Tenente Gen<sup>al</sup> que ficava de caminho. Alem da mina q' está descuberta, dizem algus q' há outras muitas por ali perto; e principalm<sup>te</sup> da parte de alem do Zambezi fronteira a esta, e isto tenho eu por provavel: o que eu tenho por certo hé que tambem por ali se achou ferro, e chumbo, e que na Chiddima<sup>78</sup> distante de Tette tres dietas tambem se achou prata, porque me disse hua pessoa a q<sup>m</sup> eu dou muito credito, que sabia que hum Andre Furtado natural da India a resgatara com roupas do poder dos Cafres, mas que não sabia se

<sup>e</sup> Para. 40 not in E      <sup>f</sup> Para. 41 not in E

<sup>77</sup> Later in the manuscript the name of the governor is given as Dom Estevão da Gama. However, this possibly refers to another incident as the author claims to have been present at the death of da Gama but only to have heard indirectly of the death of da Costa.

40 [-]. They would have extracted from this mine four thousand marks of silver with very few people and less work, and they should have been satisfied with this because, as Changamira was in the field with a powerful army threatening the settlements of Sena and Tete, which were the only ones that remained for him to destroy, it was not right that our people should be distracted by the mine and neglect to guard or garrison our settlements. And although it was rumoured that Changamira was dead, we did not entirely believe this because this enemy of ours was so cunning that, if he wanted to, he would feign his death in order to carry out his plans in safety, as he had already done many times. In addition, we were waiting for a new governor general of the Rivers as it was the right monsoon, and in the middle of March Dom Francisco da Costa<sup>77</sup> came, but arrived in Quelimane so ill that he died there. However, no one said anything to us about this and the news of his death reached Sena only at the end of April. At the beginning of May the *tenente geral* took advice and, bearing in mind our weakness, it seemed appropriate that a present of cloth should be sent to the emperor Monomotapa, in whose territory the mine was situated to seek his permission to exploit it. It was understood that he would readily make a concession of it, as in effect he had already done, and certain news of this reached Sena at the end of June. I say 'bearing in mind our weakness' because, but for that, we would have had no need to obtain his permission, as will be seen later in paragraph 60.

41 [-]. At the same time the *tenente geral* sent a servant of his, a native of India, with ten or twelve Cafres belonging to himself and the Sena settlers to see the site of the mine. And he went with these Cafres to meet up in Tete with those of Manoel Pires Saro, who knew the road. And he [the servant] returned down the river in June of this year 1696 confirming to everyone and to his master that, after digging with the Cafres at the site of the mine, he did not find any silver. In spite of this, the settlers of the Rivers, forgetting about the gold, were reluctant to lose their hopes of returning to discover it with their own eyes because of the great profits it was expected to yield. The failure to find silver was attributed to the small number of people and the lack of equipment and miners. All the principal settlers were already equipped to go to the silver mines, first among them the *tenente geral* himself, who was already on the road. And some said that in addition to the mine that was to be discovered, there were many other mines near there, principally on the other side of the Zambezi immediately opposite, and this I consider probable. I know for certain that iron and lead is found there, and in Chidema,<sup>78</sup> three days' journey from Tete, silver is also to be found. I was told this by a person to whom I give a lot of credence,

<sup>78</sup> Chidema was the area of the right bank of the Zambezi immediately upstream of Tete and Chicoa. It was the heartland of the Tavara section of the Karanga and the base to which the Monomotapas could retreat during the frequent wars on the high veldt.

o d<sup>o</sup> Andre Furtado<sup>79</sup> sabia o lugar da Mina; mas que lhe parecia que sim, e que se o não sabia, não podia tardar muito que o não soubesse.

42 [42]. Pello dstricto das minas da prata se faz caminho p<sup>a</sup> as Anvuas encostandose ao Zambezi por espaço de trinta dias, depois do que o atravessão, e caminhão pello sertão dentro inclinados p<sup>a</sup> o nascente, oito dias, para chegar a hum lugar a que chamão Uroano onde se faz a maior parte do contrato: outros vão pello Zambezi mais acima, quatro dias, e junto a elle fazem seu contrato em hua terra a que chamão Umburuma: outros vão mais por diante seis, ou outo dias p<sup>a</sup> chegarem a Angoza; e ultimam<sup>te</sup> outros chegão ao Mozimo com dez ou doze dias mais de caminho tudo pello Rio Zambezi, ou por junto delle.<sup>80</sup>

43 [43]. Estas terras todas são de varios Regulos; e nellas ha muita Cafraria, toda despida, e só nas pernas trazem as molheres humas manilhas de cobre, de q' ali há quantid<sup>e</sup>, e ao pescoço, e pella cintura trazem hua couza a que aqui se chama conta de Balegate, e he como vellorio<sup>81</sup> grosso, e mal feito; com esta droga q' vem da India, he que se lá vai fazer o contrato e o retorno que se traz hé muito marfim, e poderão ser por anno duzentos bares, e bastante cobre. No Mozimo tambem há ouro, mas não tem conta aos Portuguezes trazello pello avantajado lucro que tem no marfim; que he tanto, que basta a hum morador destes Rios fazer duas, ou tres viagens destas com bom successo, p<sup>a</sup>, como lá dizem, levantar cabeça, e lhe ficar com que possa hir passando alguns annos com limpeza.

44 [44]. Nas Anvuas não temos Povoação alguma, mas isso não obstante os nossos vão, e vem com muita confiança, porque levão algumas espingardas, de que os naturaes tem tanto medo, que hus lhe chamão catanas de fogo; e outros Rayos; aonde elles tem muito perigo nas fazendas hé no Rio, porque em muitas partes da quellas vem muito arrebatado, cauza porque se perdem alguas embarçaõens, e nellas o marfim que trazem.

45 [45]. Por estes dstrictos das Anvuas passão, huns Cafres, que pellas noticias que dão, entendo que vem a costa de Angolla, porque gabão muito a mansidão do nosso Zambezi, e a docura da sua agoa: tudo mui diferente da<sup>s</sup> sua terra, que he muito salgada, e muito braba, que nunca está quieta, senão sempre a encher, e a vazar, e dizem que da outra parte não vem trr<sup>a</sup>, nem sabem o que la há.<sup>82</sup>

46 [46]. Do Mozimo p<sup>a</sup> cima não ha mais noticias certas do Rio Zambezi, com que voltando outra vez pello mesmo Rio, ou por junto delle para Tette, faremos agora daqui viagem por terra para a Mucaranga. As terras que ficão pellos

<sup>s</sup> da: da da E

<sup>79</sup> This is another account of the discovery of silver by an Indian, called in this paragraph André Furtado. This could possibly be the same incident as that described in para. 39 [39].

<sup>80</sup> The only one of these places that can be identified with certainty is Umburuma. This Cewa chief-  
taincy was incorporated into the Crown lands of Tete in the 18th cent.

<sup>81</sup> Velório were trade beads. Balegate is the region of India inland from Mumbai around the city of  
Aurengabad.

who knew that one André Furtado,<sup>79</sup> a native of India, had traded it with the Cafres in exchange for cloth. However, it is not known if the said André Furtado knew the site of the mine, though it seems that he did and that, if he did not know it, it would not be long before he would find out.

42 [42]. From the district of the silver mines the road to the Anvuas runs along the banks of the Zambezi for the space of thirty days, after which they [the traders] cross it and travel eastwards inland for eight days to arrive at a place called Uroana, where the greater part of the trade is carried on. Others go further up the Zambezi for four days and carry on their trade near to it in a land called Umburuma. Others go still further for six or eight days to reach Angoza, and others eventually reach Mozimo by travelling a further ten or twelve days, always by the river or near to it.<sup>80</sup>

43 [43]. These lands all belong to different chiefs and a lot of Cafres live there. All go naked and the women only wear on their legs some rings made of copper, of which there is a quantity there. Round their necks and waist they wear what are here called Balegate beads, which are large, badly made beads.<sup>81</sup> They trade with this junk which comes from India and in exchange they bring a lot of ivory, which can amount to two hundred *bares* a year, and plenty of copper. In Mozimo there is also gold, but the Portuguese do not take the trouble to obtain it because of the enormous profits they make from ivory. This is so great that a settler in these Rivers has only to make two or three successful expeditions before he can, as they say here, lift his head, and he will have enough on which to live for some years without any worries.

44 [44]. We do not have any settlement in Anvuas, but nevertheless our people come and go with confidence because they carry muskets, which the natives fear greatly. Some call them swords of fire and others lightning. However, where their goods are in most danger is on the river because in many parts it is very impetuous, which is the reason why some boats are lost and with them the ivory that they carry.

45 [45]. By the information obtained from some of the Cafres who pass through Anvuas, I understand that they come from the coast of Angola, because they are amazed at the tameness of our Zambezi and the sweetness of its water, all very different from that in their own land, which is very salty and rough and never quiet except at high and low tide. And they say that they have never seen land on the other side nor do they know what is there.<sup>82</sup>

46 [46]. There is no certain information about the Zambezi river upstream from Mozimo, so returning again to Tete by the same river, or near to it, we will now make a journey by land to Mocaranga. The lands for two or three days' journey

<sup>82</sup> In March 1697 the king wrote to the viceroy, the Conde de Villaverde, asking him to inquire further into the possibility of an overland trade route (King to viceroy, Lisbon, 15 Mar. 1697, Theal, iv. 490–1). Rumours of an overland trade route from the Angolan coast were already being recorded by João dos Santos early in the 17th cent. (Santos, bk. 2, ch.10, p. 205).

arrebaldes de Tette duas e tres dietas, pertencem á coroa Del Rey de Portugal nosso S<sup>r</sup>, sem nellas ter dominio algum o Emperador de Manamotapa, por quanto seus antecessores fizeram dellas doação por escritura pub<sup>la</sup> ao d<sup>to</sup> senhor,<sup>83</sup> mas passadas ellas, se entra pellas terras da Mucaranga immediatam<sup>te</sup> sogeitas ao d<sup>to</sup> Emperador, por todas ellas há Povoaçõens de Cafres, em que todos os dias os mercados fazem noyte, athe chegarem ao Zimbaue, ou Corte de Manamotapa, em que gastão outo dias.

47 [47]. Neste Zimbaue assiste o Emperador com o seu estado, que não consiste em tapeçarias, nem em Palacios, nem em carroças, nem em cavalharias, ou outras magnificencias regias, se não em ter innumeraveis concubinas, entre as quais há hua maior de todas, a qual as mais respeitão, e obedecem, quazi como a senhora.<sup>84</sup> Todas fazem suas searas; e o Rey a manda fazer tambem pellos seus Cafres a perder de vista; e algumas vezes assiste pessoalm<sup>te</sup> a ella, mas com gravid<sup>e</sup> ao seo modo, e todos lhe tem mui grande respeito, e lhe fazem huas veneraçõens que passão de cortezias a postraçõens; vem por fim de contas a recolher tanto mantimento, que ordinariam<sup>te</sup> vive com fartura, e tambem com luxo, assim elle, como as mulheres.

48 [48]. Alem disto tem tambem os tributos que os Regulos lhe mandão, e outros Cafres grandes a quem elle tem feito m<sup>ce</sup> de algumas terras do seu Imperio,<sup>85</sup> e conforme os fructos da terra na mesma especie lhe pagão o tributo, mas sempre mui limitado; e muito melhor lhe correspondem os nossos Portuguezes, a quem elle tambem dá alguas das suas terras por isso mesmo, e porque por entrada lhe dão mui bons panos de vestir, e outros drogas de Goa que elle muito estima.

49 [49]. O cappitão mor da sua guarda, que sempre hé Portuguez morador destes Rios, lhe dá tambem de vestir a elle, e a sua mulher grande, e a alguns mais por entrada na quelle posto,<sup>86</sup> e despois disto sempre lhe está mandando o tabaco, o vinho da terra,<sup>87</sup> a pimenta, e outras miudezas. Em que tambem tem renda, e consideravel he em julgar as demandas todas dos seus Cafres que as de maior importancia todas vem ali acabar, e p<sup>a</sup> este effeito, hus levão marfim, outros ouro, outros vacas, e outros roupas nossas; de sorte que sempre tem que vestir assim elle como toda a sua casa, e ordinariam<sup>te</sup> elle sempre veste panos de seda, de damasco p<sup>a</sup> cima.

50 [50]. A sua guarda, alem dos Cafres seus cativos, consta do cappitão mor que temos dito, com vinte e cinco soldados tambem Portuguezes, ou filhos seus,

<sup>83</sup> See para. 60 [60].

<sup>84</sup> António Bocarro says that the chief wife (*senhora* here) had the title Mazarira and was always a sister of the Monomotapa. Mudenge says the title should really be Mazvarira. See Mudenge (1988), 105. She acted formally as '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' (Bocarro, 'Década', in Theal, iii. 358). Her selection was a prerogative of the Karuva cult of Choma: see Beach, p. 118.

<sup>85</sup> The principal chieftaincies of the kingdom are given by Bocarro, 'Década', in Theal, iii. 356.

around Tete belong to our lord the king of Portugal, without the emperor of Monomotapa having any dominion over them, for his predecessors made donation of them to the said lord by public deed.<sup>83</sup> Having passed them, one enters the lands of Mokaranga, which are immediately subject to the said emperor. Throughout there are Cafre villages where the merchants can stay every night until they reach the *zimbabwe* or court of the Monomotapa, at which they stay eight days.

47 [47]. The emperor resides in this *zimbabwe* surrounded by all his ceremonial, which does not consist of tapestries, palaces, or coaches, nor in horsemen nor other types of royal magnificence, but in having innumerable concubines. Among these there is one greater than the others whom they respect and obey as though she was their queen.<sup>84</sup> All of them sow their fields and the king orders one to be sown by his Cafres [which stretches] as far as the eye can see. Sometimes he personally sees to it but in his own manner and with great dignity, and everyone treats him with very great respect and veneration, which they show through bows and prostrations. After the harvest they collect so much food that usually he and his wives live in plenty and even in luxury.

48 [48]. Apart from this he also has the tribute paid to him by the chiefs and other important Cafres to whom he has made grants of lands in his empire.<sup>85</sup> They pay the tribute to him according to what the land produces but it is always rather little and he gets much more from us Portuguese, to whom he also gives some of his lands, because on entering into these agreements they give him very good cloths to wear and other trifles from Goa which he greatly values.

49 [49]. The captain-major of his guard, who is always a Portuguese and one of the settlers in the Rivers, also gives him cloth to clothe himself and his great wife and some more when he takes up his post.<sup>86</sup> And on top of this he is always sending him tobacco, local wine,<sup>87</sup> pepper, and other luxuries. He [the emperor] also derives a considerable income from judging all the cases of his Cafres, since those that are of importance are all brought to him to settle. And to this effect some bring ivory, others gold, others cattle, and others our cloth so that he always has enough to clothe both himself and all his household. And usually he wears silk with damask on top.

50 [50]. Apart from his Cafre slaves, his guard consists of a captain-major, as we have said, with twenty-five soldiers who are also Portuguese or sons of

<sup>86</sup> The Portuguese had maintained a garrison of soldiers at the Monomotapa's Zimbabwe since the wars of 1629–32. This was ostensibly to help protect the Monomotapa but in reality was a powerful means by which the Portuguese sought to control the chieftaincy. The Zimbabwe guard continued throughout the 18th cent., long after the Monomotapa chieftaincy had gone into decline.

<sup>87</sup> The phrase *vinho da terra* probably refers to palm wine.

e sempre p<sup>a</sup> esta capitania se ellege algum dos moradores destes Rios que tem Cafraria, p<sup>a</sup> com ella se fazer mais respeitado, e neste posto faz a El Rey Nosso S<sup>or</sup> grande serviço, porque o sitio he infame, o interesse nenhum mas antes o dispendio q' temos dito. O vigario deste Presidio hé Religioso de S. Domingos com bem limitados quarteis.

51 [51]. Os grandes do Imperio pouco cortejo fazem ao seu Rey; porque cada hum ordinariam<sup>te</sup> assiste na sua terra, e só pella Lua de S. João o vem buscar todos, assim gr<sup>des</sup>, como pequenos, p<sup>a</sup> celebrar hum rito, e cerimonia gentilica, aque chamão Mando em que fazem mil immundicias;<sup>88</sup> e neste tempo necessita o Rey mais da nossa guarda, porq' então se recea mais de alguma treição, ou levantamento: só a caza do Gocha por sua muita grandeza, não vem a este rito, nem se avista com o Emperador, depois de posto no governo, por lhe não ser dado fazerlhe as continencias, ou postraçoens q' os outros costumão.<sup>89</sup>

52 [52]. Os Emperadores para serem reconhecidos por taes dos seus Cafres, hão de ser postos no governo por nossos Portuguezes, e ou hão de ser christãos, ou ao menos lhes hade o Vig<sup>to</sup> botar agoa na cabeça antes de tomarem a posse,<sup>90</sup> e depois disto fazem elles Cafres outras ceremonias como suas, com q' todos os Emperadores atheagora viverão, e morrerão como gentios; o que de presente hé foi bautizado de pequeno com o nome de D. Pedro, porque foi criado com nosco, e com o ensino da doutrina christãa, mas depois se auzentou de nós pella razão seguinte.<sup>91</sup>

53 [53]. Em vida de seu Pay o tinhamos jurado os Portuguezes por legitimo successor ao Imperio, e por morte do d<sup>o</sup> seu Pay, devendo entrar elle no governo, não entrou se não seu tio Nhacuvimbiri, que na quelle tempo nos trazia avexados,<sup>92</sup> e por não embaraçar mais o contrato com a perturbação das guerras que intentava continuar com mais força, lhe derão posse do governo, o que vendo o d<sup>o</sup> D. Pedro se auzentou das terras de Mucaranga, mais por fugir do tio, do que por se apartar de nos que bem conhecia, que neste particular obravamos mais por força, que por vontade; sendo que como tinha noticia da nossa ley e da nossa politica, não deixava de nos botar em rosto alguas vezes a falta da nossa palavra, e juramento.

54 [54]. Com este D. Pedro andar athegora pellos mattos, não deixa de ter alguma pia affeição ao leyte da doutrina Christãa, com que foi criado; tanto assim

<sup>88</sup> According to Bocarro, this annual ceremony (which he said was called *chuavo*) occurred on the day of the new moon in May. The ceremonies, which lasted for eight days, involved mock battles and continuous drumming, culminating in the ceremonial execution of some important criminal (Bocarro, 'Década', in Theal, iii. 360). The feast of St John the Apostle is on 27 December but there is a second feast (6 May) commemorating the miracle performed by the saint 'before the gates of Rome'.

<sup>89</sup> Gocha had rebelled against the Monomotapa in 1687 and won this concession. On this occasion the Portuguese had sent an army to help the Monomotapa. See Dom Miguel de Almeida to viceroy, Sena, 23 June 1687, LM, 26, fol. 403<sup>r-v</sup>; and para. 107 [115] below.

<sup>90</sup> This ceremonial 'baptism' of the Monomotapas began after the war of 1629–32 and the formal conversion of the royal house. See discussion in Mudenge (1988), 259–60, 271–2. However, the ceremony is best attested in the case of the Macombes of Barue. See above, n. 51.



Portuguese. And they always choose for this captaincy one of the settlers of the Rivers who has his own Cafre following, which makes him respected. And in this post he performs a great service to the king our lord because the place itself is vile and there is no profit but rather the expenditure which we have mentioned. The vicar of this garrison is a Dominican priest who has very limited accommodation.

51 [51]. The great men of the empire do not pay much court to their king because each one normally resides in his own land and only at St John's moon do all, great and small, come together to celebrate a heathen rite and ceremony called Mandó during which a thousand horrific things take place.<sup>88</sup> At this time the king has the greatest need of our guard because it is then that he most fears treason or rebellion. Only the [chief of the] house of Gocha, because of its importance, does not attend these ceremonies, nor does he have a face-to-face meeting with the emperor after he takes over the government, so that he does not make the salutations and prostrations that the others are accustomed to make.<sup>89</sup>

52 [52]. In order for the emperors to be recognized as such by their subjects, they have to be installed in the government by us Portuguese and either have to be Christians, or at least have the priest pour water on their heads, before they assume power.<sup>90</sup> And after this their subjects perform their own ceremonies, with the result that all the emperors up to now have lived and died as heathens. When he was little the present emperor was baptized with the name of Dom Pedro as he was brought up by us and was taught Christian doctrine, but later he deserted us for the following reason.<sup>91</sup>

53 [53]. During the lifetime of his father, we Portuguese had sworn that he would be recognized as the legitimate heir to the empire. On the death of his father he ought to have taken over the government, but instead his uncle, Nhacunimbiri, who at that time had quarrelled with us, seized power.<sup>92</sup> And in order that trade would not be interrupted by the disruption of the wars, which he intended to prosecute with the greatest possible force, he was installed in government. When Dom Pedro saw this, he left the lands of Mocaranga but more with the intention of escaping from his uncle than distancing himself from us. He knew that in this matter we acted more out of necessity than desire, but since he had some knowledge of our law and politics, he continually threw in our faces the fact that we had broken our word and our oath.

54 [54]. Although this Dom Pedro has been wandering in the bush until the present, his pious affection for the milk of Christian doctrine, in which he had been brought up, has not ceased, to the extent that he not only still knows some prayers

<sup>91</sup> Dom Pedro's African name was Nyamaende Mhande. He was the son of the Monomotapa Mukombwe, who died in 1692. See Mudenge (1988), 287.

<sup>92</sup> He reigned from 1692 to 1695.

que não só sabe ainda algumas oraçoens, mas elle mesmo as tem ensinado a muitos de seus captivos, e conhece que a Ley de Jesus Christo hé a verdad<sup>ra</sup>, e que tudo o<sup>h</sup> mais são erros; alem deste conhecim<sup>to</sup> não lhe faltam tambem inspiraçoens de melhorar de vida: por vezes manifestou isto mesmo em Tette a hum Relig<sup>o</sup> de S. Augostinho <sup>i</sup>por nome Theodozio de Santa Maria<sup>i</sup>, filho de Fr<sup>co</sup> Pinheiro de Faria, em cuja caza teve elle Emperador a primeira criação,<sup>93</sup> mostrando juntam<sup>te</sup> vontade de se confessar mas que não se acabava de resolver a fazello, por saber que era outro maior peccado chegar áquelle sacramento sem proposito de emmenda, e que elle o não tinha, mas antes tenção de fazer as ceremonias gentilicas de seus antepassados p<sup>a</sup> entrar no governo, e ser conhecido por Emperador. Tenho para mim que criandose os filhos dos grandes do Imperio em hum seminario se acabarão com a graça de Deos, estes ritos, e ceremonias gentilicas: o que mais difficultoso acho nesta Cafraria, hé a emmenda da sensualid<sup>e</sup> nos que se tem por mais graves, porque a sua gravidade principal, consiste em ter muitas mulheres, mas tudo com ajuda de Deos poderá ter remedio.

55 [55]. Dambarare<sup>94</sup> dista seis dietas do Zimbaue de Manamotapa; lá tinhamos hua Feyra com suas taypas, e mui boa cava, e suas pecetas,<sup>95</sup> mas dentro não estava mais que a Igreja com seu Vigario, e capp<sup>am</sup>, os mais vivião pellos arrebaldes mui divididos hus dos outros, como os da Manica, e pella mesma cauza. De Dambarare sahia nestes tempos proximos a maior parte do ouro, que em todo aquelle districto se acha em mais, ou menos quantid<sup>e</sup> e quando se acha muito junto se chama Bar.<sup>96</sup>

56 [56]. O Ongóé dista de Dambarare para a parte do Nascente tres dietas, ali não tinhamos defeza alguma, e o modo de habitação dos moradores era como os de Dambarare, e Manica<sup>97</sup> divididos, só o capp<sup>am</sup>, e Vigario vivião juntos. Esta Feyra do Ongóé foi sempre de menor rendimento, e de menos moradores do q' a de Dambarare, mas no anno de 691 apareceo nella hua mina de ouro de muita importancia.<sup>98</sup>

57 [57]. Quitamborvize dista de Dambarare para o poente outros tres dietas; aqui tivemos tambem Feyra nos tempos antigos, e nos proximos ainda alguns Indios lá habitavão, e tiravão algua couza,<sup>99</sup> mas como era ás furtadellas, por confinar com as terras do Changamira nosso inimigo declarado, q' a cada passo lhes estava

<sup>h</sup>o: not in E      <sup>i-i</sup>por . . . Maria: not in E

<sup>93</sup> See para. 35 [35]. His mother was Vicencia João, who had rebuilt the walls of Tete.

<sup>94</sup> For Dambarare see the Introduction and Garlake (1969).

<sup>95</sup> The phrase 'mui boa cava, e suas pecetas' is problematic. Later the author refers to 'pecetas columbrinas' as a kind of light artillery. *Cava* is a word used at the time for ditches or trenches.

<sup>96</sup> A *bare* was the site of gold diggings.

<sup>97</sup> In 1673 João de Sousa Freire had written: 'it is imperative that all those who live outside the fairs come to live in them because their residence in the bush is the reason why the *bares* do not exist, on account of the many injustices they commit' (João de Sousa Freire to viceroy, Sena, 12 June 1673, LM, 38A, fol. 225').

but has himself taught them to some of his slaves. And he knows that the law of Jesus Christ is the only true law, and all else is error. Apart from this knowledge, he does not lack motivation to improve his life. At times he demonstrated this in Tete to a priest of the order of Saint Augustine, by name Theodozio de Santa Maria, the son of Francisco Pinheiro de Faria, in whose house he, the emperor, had received his first education.<sup>93</sup> He showed a desire to take confession but never reached the point of resolving to do so as he knew that it was a still greater sin to receive that sacrament without the intention of amending one's life. This intention he did not have, as he meant to carry out the heathen ceremonies of his ancestors in order to assume the government and be recognized as emperor. I believe that if the sons of the important men of the empire could be educated in a seminary, an end could be made, with God's grace, to these rites and heathen ceremonies. What I find to be more difficult in Cafraria is the correction of sensuality among the people who are the most important, because the principal indication of their greatness consists in having many wives. However, everything can, with the aid of God, find a remedy.

55 [55]. Dambarare<sup>94</sup> is six days' journey distant from the *zimbabwe* of Monomotapa. There we have a fair with its own mud walls and a very good ditch and cannon.<sup>95</sup> However, within there is only the church with its priest and the captain. Most of the other people live round about, very much separated from one another like those of Manica, and for the same reason. In recent times most of the gold found in greater or lesser quantity in this district came from Dambarare. And when it is found nearby it is called a *bare*.<sup>96</sup>

56 [56]. Ongoe is three days' journey to the east of Dambarare. There we have no defences at all and the settlers live separately from one another like those of Dambarare and Manica.<sup>97</sup> Only the priest and the captain live near one another. This fair of Ongoe always yielded smaller returns and had fewer settlers than that of Dambarare, but in 1691 a gold mine of great importance was discovered there.<sup>98</sup>

57 [57]. Quitamburvize is another three days' journey to the west of Dambarare; here we also had a fair in former times and more recently some Indians still lived there and mined a little.<sup>99</sup> However, this was done secretly because it adjoins the lands of Changamira, our sworn enemy, who was continually attacking them.

<sup>98</sup> See above, n. 71.

<sup>99</sup> Quitamburvize was a recently founded fair, called Chitomborwizi by Beach. It was situated on the upper Angwa river near Ongoe. Axelson says that it was 'probably at Chitomborgwizi hill on the Hunyani' (p. 181 n. 28).

dando sobre saltos, não tirvão muito ouro, sendo q' não falta em abundancia por todo aquelle dstricto, e quanto mais se chega p<sup>a</sup> o poente, que são terras q' confinão com as da Abuttua, tanto mais se acha em quantid<sup>e</sup>.

58 [58]. Nas ante vespas da vinda do inimigo Changamira a Dambarare se tinha descuberto huma mina de ouro em Quitamburvize, que prometia grandes effeitos, os quaes ainda se não lograrão por ficar tudo aquillo destruido, e sem moradores, que possão como de antes povoar as Feyras de Dambarare, e Ongoé; entre Quitamburvize, Dambarare, e Ongoé, e nos seus dstrictos tinhamos mais outras Feyras, que deixamos perder por falta de gente nossa, e pella mesma falta se forão atinuando estes Rios.<sup>100</sup>

59 [59]. Depois de Quitamburvize se seguem as terras de Abuttua, que he a May do Ouro,<sup>101</sup> e dizem que está tão recheada delle, que já impaciente o lança fora de si, sem ser necess<sup>to</sup> abrilha p<sup>a</sup> lho tirar do ventre, quando nestas terras tinhamos algum contrato, então erão os tempos nestes Rios, mais que dourados, e tudo resultava em prol da India, porque tudo lá hia parar mais tarde, ou mais cedo; mas depois que com ellas se levantou o Thoroe<sup>102</sup> contra o Emperador de Manamotapa seu legitimo S<sup>r</sup>; e depois do Thoroe o Changamira, e<sup>j</sup> logo as nossas couzas forão p<sup>a</sup> traz, e sempre de mal em pior. Há tambem nesta terra hua Raiz muy medicinal, a que chamamos Raiz da Abutua.

60 [60]. Por coroa de todo este capitulo digo, o que todos dizem, que o Emperador de Manamotapa tem direito em todas estas terras da Cafraria, de que temos fallado, porque seus antecessores as conquistarão, e senhorearão todas: e quiçá por esta cauza lhe darião os mesmos Cafres o nome de Muene-motapa,<sup>k</sup> que na nossa lingua portugueza quer dizer S<sup>r</sup> de tudo; o qual nos corrompemos em Manamotapa;<sup>103</sup> athe aqui digo com todos: o que agora particularm<sup>te</sup> digo hé, que o nosso muito alto, e poderozo Rey de Portugal, parece que tem muito melhor direito, e muito mayor dominio nas mesmas terras; e principalm<sup>te</sup> nas minas da prata; consta isto pellos contratos que os Portuguezes fizerão em 24<sup>l</sup> de Mayo de 1629<sup>m</sup> com o Emperador Mavura, q' elle aceitou, quando lhe entregarão o Reyno depois de o conquistarem com suas armas,<sup>104</sup> dos quaes contractos referirei o primeiro, e ultimo paragrafo que fazem mais ao nosso intento.

61 [61]. Diz assim o prim<sup>to</sup> paragrafo dos contractos<sup>105</sup>—Primeiramente, que

<sup>j</sup>e: not in E      <sup>k</sup>Muene-motapa E: Manamotapa A      <sup>l</sup>24: vinte e quatro E      <sup>m</sup>1629: mil e seis centos e vinte e nove annos E

<sup>100</sup> It is known that the Portuguese, at various times in the 17th cent., had fairs at Maramuca, Chipiriviri, Matafunya, Bocuto, Luanze, Masapa, and Makaha. These all lay along the gold-bearing reef between the Ruenha and Angwa rivers.

<sup>101</sup> 'Mãe do ouro' (mother of gold) was a phrase in current use to describe the goldfields in the south of present-day Zimbabwe. See Boxer (1938) and Newitt (2004), 120–2.

<sup>102</sup> The founder of the Torwa dynasty of Butua. See the Introduction.

<sup>103</sup> See Introduction, n. 21.

They did not obtain much gold, although there is an abundance of it in that district and the further one goes to the west, which comprises lands that adjoin those of Abutua, the greater is the quantity.

58 [58]. On the eve of the coming of our enemy Changamira to Dambarare, a gold mine was discovered at Quitamburvize which promised great results. However, these were never realized, for everything there was destroyed and there are no settlers such as those who were previously able to populate the fairs of Dambarare and Ongoe. Between Quitamburvize, Dambarare, and Ongoe and in their neighbourhood we had other fairs which we allowed to be lost for lack of our people, and for the same reason the Rivers are also being weakened.<sup>100</sup>

59 [59]. The lands of Butua come after Quitamburvize. This is the Mother of Gold<sup>101</sup> and they say that it is so stuffed with it that, in its impatience, it throws it out without the need to open it up and remove it from its belly. They were more than golden days in the Rivers when we traded with these lands, and everything in the end benefited India because sooner or later all wealth ended up there. However, after Thoro<sup>102</sup> rose up against the emperor Monomotapa his legitimate sovereign, and after Thoro Changamira, our affairs at once went into decline and continued from bad to worse. In this land there is also a very medicinal root, which we call Butua root.

60 [60]. To crown this chapter I will say what everyone says, that the emperor Monomotapa is the rightful ruler in all these lands of Cafraria of which we have spoken because his ancestors conquered them and ruled over all of them. And perhaps for this reason all those Cafres give him the title of Muene-Mutapa, which in our Portuguese tongue means lord of all, and which we have corrupted into Monomotapa.<sup>103</sup> I agree with everyone about this. However, for my own part it appears that our most high and powerful king of Portugal appears to have a better right and more dominion in those lands and especially over the silver mines. This stems from the treaties which the Portuguese made on 24 May 1629 with the emperor Mavura, which he accepted when they delivered the kingdom to him after they had conquered it with their arms.<sup>104</sup> I will refer to the first and last paragraphs of these treaties, which make clear our meaning.

61 [61]. The first paragraph of the treaty reads as follows:<sup>105</sup> Firstly, that this

<sup>104</sup> For these events see the Introduction. Mavura, whose African name was Mavhura Mhande and who was known to the Portuguese as Dom Filippe I, reigned from 1629 to 1652. The copy of this treaty that survives is dated 28 June 1629 (Theal, v. 287–93).

<sup>105</sup> The text of this paragraph of the treaty is given in Theal, v. 287.

se lhe entrega este Rn<sup>o</sup> em nome de Del Rey de Portugal, Nosso Senhor, a quem reconhecerá como seu vassallo, pois lhe dá este Reyno tomado por seus vassallos justam<sup>te</sup><sup>106</sup> pellas treçoens, que contra El Rey nosso S<sup>r</sup> commetteo, quebrando a fé, e palavra de Irmão em armas, e juntamente matando seu Embaixador, e roubando, e matando aos mercadores, que andavão por suas terras vendendo sua fazenda debaixo de sua fé, e palavra, e reconhecerá a todos os cappitaens q' vierão<sup>n</sup> a Fortaleza de Mossamb<sup>e</sup>, e os que tiverem seus poderes.

62 [62]. O ultimo paragrafo dos mesmos contratos, diz assim.<sup>107</sup>—Será obrigado a mandar saber por todo o seu Rn<sup>o</sup> aonde há prata, e avisar ao Capp<sup>am</sup> da Massapa, p<sup>a</sup> que o <sup>o</sup>faça saber<sup>o</sup> ao G<sup>or</sup>,<sup>108</sup> e mandando S. Mag<sup>de</sup> mineyros, a poderão buscar por todas as suas terras, e cavala libertamente—Ao pé deste paragrafo está—Mavura †Emperador de Manamotapa<sup>109</sup>—e despois disto está o reconhecimento do sinal, e do consentim<sup>to</sup> do dito Emperador, feito pello escrivão publico Manoel Cabral em prezença do Capp<sup>am</sup> mor, e cappellão da Guerra, e outras muitas mais test<sup>as</sup>, que todas se assinarão,<sup>110</sup> cujo treslado authenticico dizem que está no cartório do juizo de Tette, porque a este treslado se reporta o escrivão do dito juizo, quando o tresladou no seu Livro das notas; e a este treslado do treslado se reporta André Varregoso Franco, escrivão do juizo de Senna no Livro das notas do mesmo juizo, aonde eu o vi.<sup>111</sup>

63 [63]. Isto hé o que me consta: e alem disto me consta tambem que Nhacunimbiri, Emperador passado de Manamotapa, se valeo do Changamira para nos destruir a todos; e que D. Pedro que hoje hé o Emperador legitimo, foi metido no governo por força mais das nossas armas, que das suas. Estas são as cousas mais principaes dos Rios de Cuama de que me pareceo dar noticia neste prim<sup>to</sup> capitulo.

## CAPITULO 2<sup>o</sup>

Tratase das couzas necessarias para o aumento temporal, e espirital da Conquista dos Rios de Cuama, e dos effeitos que della se podem haver

64 [64]. As causas da atinuação desta Conquista, bem se podem inferir do que fica dito no capitulo precedente, que forão a perda das Feiras que <sup>p</sup>em algum<sup>p</sup> tempo

<sup>n</sup> vierão: tiverem CR      <sup>o-o</sup> faça saber: faça a saber E      <sup>p-p</sup> em algum: nalgum E

<sup>106</sup> The word 'justamente' ('justly') is not contained in the version printed by Theal (v. 287) but is in both manuscripts of the *Tratado*.

<sup>107</sup> The text of this paragraph is given in Theal, v. 288.

<sup>108</sup> Masapa was at that time the principal fair, located close to the *zimbabwe* of the Monomotapa. The captain of Masapa was the most important Portuguese officer in the interior. It is not certain that the fair of Masapa still existed, at least under that name, by the second half of the century.

<sup>109</sup> The symbol † indicates that Mavura had made his signature mark on the document.

kingdom is delivered to him in the name of the king of Portugal, our sovereign. He will recognize himself as his vassal, since this kingdom is given to him after being taken justly<sup>106</sup> by his vassals because of the treasons which he committed against the king our lord, breaking his faith and the vows of a brother in arms, both killing his ambassador and robbing and killing the merchants who were travelling in his lands selling their goods trusting in his faith and his word. And he will recognize all the captains who hold the fortress of Mozambique and those who hold their authority.

62 [62]. The last paragraph of this treaty reads as follows:<sup>107</sup> He will be obliged to make known where in his whole kingdom silver is to be found and to notify the captain of Masapa so that he can inform the governor.<sup>108</sup> And if His Majesty should send miners, they shall be able to search throughout his lands and dig there freely. At the foot of this paragraph is—Mavura †Emperor of Monomotapa<sup>109</sup>—and after this the acknowledgement of the sign and consent of the said emperor made by the public notary, Manuel Cabral, in the presence of the captain-major and army chaplain and many other witnesses, who all sign.<sup>110</sup> An authentic copy is said to exist in the office of the judge of Tete because the secretary of the said judge referred to this when he copied it in his record book; and a copy of the copy was referred to by André Varregoso Franco, secretary to the judge of Sena, in the record book of the said judge, where I saw it.<sup>111</sup>

63 [63]. This is what I know, and apart from this I also know that Nhacunimbiri, the last emperor of Monomotapa, availed himself of Changamira to destroy us completely, and that Dom Pedro, who today is the legitimate emperor, was installed in government more by the force of our arms than his own. These are the most important developments in the Rivers of Cuama of which I think that I should give notice in this first chapter.

## Chapter 2

Treats of the measures that are necessary for the temporal  
and spiritual growth of the conquest of the Rivers of  
Cuama and of the results that could be effected there

64 [64]. The causes of the weakness of this conquest can well be inferred from what has been said in the preceding chapter, namely the loss of the fairs, which at one time we had in Mocaranga and Manica, and the obstacles to the trade with

<sup>110</sup> There are nineteen signatories besides the Monomotapa himself. They include Manoel Cabral, Manoel Gomes Serrão (captain-major), Frei Luís do Spirito Santo ('vigário da vara', vicar delegate), and Frei Gonçalo Ribeiro (vicar of Masapa).

<sup>111</sup> At this point in the paragraph the Évora manuscript has additional deleted text not reproduced by Cunha Rivara. See Appendix B.

tivemos na Mucaranga, e Manica, e o impedimento do contrato da Abutua, tudo por falta de gente, e de armas nossas, e superabundancia das dos naturaes; como no capitulo seguinte poderemos ver, neste prezente detremino, com o favor de Deos, dizer o que me parece necess<sup>ro</sup>, não só para a restauração do perdido, mas tambem para muito aumento ao passado.<sup>112</sup>

65 [65]. Primeiram<sup>te</sup> o que me parece por hora necessario p<sup>a</sup> o aumento temporal da quella conquista, hé hum Gov<sup>or</sup> ou Capp<sup>am</sup> g<sup>l</sup> muito zeloso do serviço de Deos e de S. Magd<sup>e</sup> com trezentos soldados Europeos, ou Brazileyros, polvora, bala, pecetas columbrinas de bronze<sup>113</sup> de hua athe duas livras, bombas pequenas, frexas de fogo, espingardas, algumas couras, e podendo ser outo ou dez Cavallos, Artilheyros, Espingardeiros com suas ferramentas, sirurgioens com boas boticas, e com o mais que se entender necess<sup>ro</sup> p<sup>a</sup> em forma de exercito, se porem logo em huma comprida marcha; suppondo que não hão de achar cá mais que mantimentos, e cafres com seus arcos, <sup>q</sup>e agus<sup>q</sup> com espingardas, que por todas serão mil; e advertindo tambem, que a falta de pedras de espingarda foi a principal cauza de não ter effeito hum pé de exercito que sahio de Senna no anno de 1694.<sup>114</sup>

66 [66]. Este soccorro deve partir de Lisboa na monção das Nãos<sup>115</sup> da India em demanda de Sofalla, e tanto que ali aportar, he de crer que o Governador faça aviso ao Capp<sup>am</sup> mor dos Rios, e aos Cappitaens das Povoaçoes de Senna, Tette, e Quill<sup>e</sup>,<sup>116</sup> que todos se fação prestes com os seus partidos para se incorporarem com elle na nossa Feyra da Manica, athe tantos de tal mez, e elle d<sup>o</sup> G<sup>or</sup> pode hir marchando p<sup>a</sup> lá com o esquadrão europeu, e com o partido dos moradores de Sofalla, e seus Cafres.

67 [67]. Chegados que forem todos a Manica, hé de crer que o Governador mande marchar o exercito para a Abutua; no caminho, pouca, ou nenhuma rezistencia hão de achar, mas no que deve por muito cuidado hé em que nenhum Cafre faça adivinhaçoens, nem uze de mafutas, que são certas superstiçoens em que elles crém, e em os impedir faz hum grande serviço, não só a Deos, mas também a S. Magd<sup>e</sup>, porque muitas guerras nossas se tem perdido, por se não evitar isto atehora, e era tão pouco o nosso poder, que mais hiamos nos<sup>s</sup> exercitos sujeitos ás vontades, e superstiçoens dos Cafres, do que os Cafres as nossas ordens; e todos as vezes que a elles lhes parecia, se desfazia o exercito, porque em dizendo os Mozambos, que são os cabos dos Cafres,<sup>117</sup> que as suas mafutas lhe mostravão máo

<sup>q-q</sup> e agus: e com agus *E*

<sup>r</sup> Quill<sup>e</sup>.; Quill<sup>e</sup>, e Mucaranga *CR*

<sup>s</sup> nos: nos nos *E*

<sup>112</sup> At this point the Évora manuscript has five deleted paragraphs not reproduced by Cunha Rivara. See Appendix C.

<sup>113</sup> 'Columbrinas de bronze' is here translated 'bronze guns'.

<sup>114</sup> See para. 108 [116].

<sup>115</sup> *Naus* were large, square-rigged ocean-going ships. The term was used for the ships that operated the voyages to India (the *carreira da Índia*).



Butua, all resulting from our lack of people and arms and the superabundance of those of the natives, as we will be able to see in the following chapter. And in this chapter I determine, with the help of God, to say what seems to me to be necessary not only for the restoration of what has been lost but also for the increase of what we had in the past.<sup>112</sup>

65 [65]. The first thing that seems now to be necessary for the temporal increase of this conquest is a governor or captain who is very zealous in the service of God and His Majesty, together with three hundred European or Brazilian soldiers, powder and ball, bronze guns<sup>113</sup> of one or two pounds, small bombs, fireworks, muskets, some shields and possibly eight or ten horses, artillerymen, musketeers with their tools, surgeons with good medicine chests, and everything else that is understood to be necessary to form an army to undertake a long march. It must be assumed that nothing is to be found here except food and Cafres with their bows and some with muskets who may number a thousand, and also bearing in mind that the lack of musket balls was the principal reason that the army which left Sena in 1694 was not able to proceed.<sup>114</sup>

66 [66]. This help should leave Lisbon in the same monsoon as the *naus*<sup>115</sup> for India and should head for Sofala. When it arrives there the governor should tell the captain of the Rivers and the captains of the settlements of Sena, Tete, and Quelimane<sup>116</sup> that they should all get ready with their contingents to meet him at our fair of Manica in such-and-such a month, and the said governor could march there with his European squadron and with the contingent of the settlers of Sofala and their Cafres.

67 [67]. Once everyone had arrived at Manica, it is to be assumed that the governor would order the army to march into Butua. Little or no resistance would be encountered on the way but great care should be taken that no Cafre should perform any divinations or make use of *mafutas*, which are certain superstitions in which they believe. And putting a stop to these will perform a good service not only to God but also to His Majesty, for many of our wars have been lost because up to now these have not been prevented. And so weak was our power that we have had to rely on armies, which are more subject to the whims and superstitions of the Cafres than the Cafres are to our orders. And whenever it seems appropriate to them, the army disperses, for as soon as the Mocazambos (who are the chiefs of the Cafres)<sup>117</sup> say that their *mafutas* have shown them that there will be ill success in

<sup>116</sup> In the Évora text Mucaranga has been crossed out, but Cunha Rivara decided to include it in his transcription.

<sup>117</sup> Mocazambos were the leaders or chiefs of the Chicunda in Portuguese service. The Portuguese often referred to Chicunda as their 'slaves' or 'captives', but they were in fact Africans who had entered Portuguese service and, in return for performing duties principally as soldiers, enjoyed considerable prestige within the Portuguese *prazo* system. See Anon., 'Descrição dos Rios de Cuama', Ajuda 51-VIII-43; Isaacman (2004), 59–61.

successo dali por diante crião nisto tanto os mais, que hus fugião logo do exercito, 'aos mais' se lhes metia huma tal desconfiança e tão extraordinario medo, que se podia dizer, que hião ja vencidos em si mesmos, antes de verem a cara ao enemigo.

68 [70].<sup>118</sup> Na Abutua se entende que o nosso exercito, com o favor de Deos, castigará os desacatos que "os naturaes" cometerão contra o decoro das couzas sagradas, e contra o respeito da nação Portugueza, e que mandará o Govern<sup>orv</sup> fazer duas, ou tres fortificaçoens "nas partes que lhe parece mais conveniente ao contrato, deixando nellas seu Capp<sup>am</sup> m<sup>or</sup> dos Rios que tenha cafraria, e alguns soldados Europeos," com ordem que não consinta a morador algum fazer caza, ou morar de assistencia fora do Prezidio.

69 [71]. Voltando pella Mocaranga se deve fazer o mesmo em Quitamburvize, Dambar<sup>e</sup>, e Ongoé, e nas mais partes que parecer conveniente assim destes destrictos, como nos de Manica; porem os Prezidios destas fortificaçoens podem ser de menos<sup>t</sup> soldados, e pello tempo adiante havendo m<sup>tes</sup> bastantes, se poderão escuzar muitos Prezidios destes, porque elles por si com os seus Cafres som<sup>te</sup> se poderão defender da Cafraria enemiga, como antigam<sup>te</sup> fazião, e agora com mais razão engrossando como se espera em cabedaes com os avanços do contrato de Abutua, e das minas da prata.

– [72].<sup>y</sup> No Zimbaué, ou corte de Mana-motapa são tambem necessarios ao menos cincoenta soldados, com seu capitão-mór, morador dos Rios, como sempre foy.

– [73].<sup>z</sup> Nas minas de prata, sendo como se esperão, sem duvida averá huma grande cidade, mas sempre hade ser necessaria huma boa fortaleza com igual prezidio.<sup>119</sup>

70 [74]. O Govern<sup>or</sup> acabada esta função, deve assistir em Senna, ou em Tette como o resto da gente militar, que sera athe cem soldados, e tomar a si as terras circumvezinhas da Povoação em que assistir, p<sup>a</sup> que os Cafres moradores dellas não reconheção senhorio, nem sogeição a alguem, mais que a elle, e a El Rey de Portugal Nosso S<sup>t</sup>, e ordenar que nenhum Manamuzungo more fora das ditas terras; e com isto não só se fará respeitado e obedecido dos moradores dos Rios, mas evitará as guerras que muitas vezes fazem entre si de Cafres contra Cafres em que tem havido muitos absurdos; e se ainda isto entender que lhe não basta, a pouco custo pode ter hum terço<sup>120</sup> de mil Cafres, soldados pagos, porque com tres mil cr<sup>dos</sup> de Chuabo<sup>121</sup> comprado em Moçamb<sup>e</sup> lhes pode dar de comer, e de vestir

<sup>t-t</sup> aos mais: e aos mais *E*      <sup>u-u</sup> os naturaes: os seus naturaes *E*      <sup>v</sup> Govern<sup>or</sup>: Vizo Rey *E*  
<sup>w-w</sup> nas . . . Europeos: prezidiadas com cem soldados cada huma de ellas, e seu capitam [each one garrisoned with a hundred soldiers and their captain] *E*      <sup>x</sup> menos: cincoenta *E*      <sup>y</sup> Para.  
 – [72] not in A      <sup>z</sup> Para. – [73] not in A

<sup>118</sup> In the Évora MS paras. 68 and 69 are crossed out (see Appendix C) so that the numbering of the paragraphs continues from 67 to 70. Cunha Rivara, however, continued his numbering without a gap from 65 to 66 and 67.

future, they believe in this so much that some immediately desert the army, and in the rest it instils such an extraordinary fear and mistrust that it can be said that they are already defeated before they have even seen the face of the enemy.

68 [70].<sup>118</sup> Once in Butua, it can be assumed that our army, God willing, will punish the contempt which these natives have shown towards the sacred things and their lack of respect for the Portuguese nation. The governor will order two or three fortifications to be made, in places that seem to him most appropriate for trade. He will leave there his captain-major of the Rivers with some Cafres and European soldiers, with orders not to allow any settler to build a house or to reside outside the fortification.

69 [71]. On the return journey through Mocaranga, the same action should be taken at Quitamburvize, Dambarare, and Ongoe and at other places in these districts where it may be advisable, and also those in Manica. However, the garrisons in these forts could be of fewer soldiers and in future, when there are sufficient settlers, many of these garrisons could be dispensed with because the settlers, together with their Cafres, would by themselves be sufficient to defend them against enemy Cafres as previously they used to do. And now, with more reason, since it is to be hoped that with the progress of the trade with Butua and with the silver mines they will grow in wealth.

– [72]. In the *zimabwe* or court of the Monomotapa at least fifty soldiers are also needed together with their captain-major, who should be one of the Rivers settlers, as he always has been.

– [73]. At the site of the silver mines, if they are as we hope, there will be a large city, but a good fortress with an equivalent garrison will always be necessary.<sup>119</sup>

70 [74]. Having carried out this task, the governor should stay in Sena or in Tete with the rest of the military personnel, which will be around a hundred soldiers, to take possession of the lands surrounding the settlement where he will be stationed, so that the Cafres who reside there will not recognize any overlord nor be subject to anyone, except the governor and our lord the king of Portugal. And he must order that no *muanamuzungo* should live outside these said lands. In this way not only will he be respected and obeyed by the settlers in the Rivers but he will prevent the wars of Cafres against Cafres, which break out frequently and in which many absurd things have been done. If it turns out that this is not sufficient, a contingent<sup>120</sup> of a thousand Cafres, paid soldiers, can be had at little cost, because with three thousand cruzados-worth of *chuabo*,<sup>121</sup> bought in Mozambique, they can be fed

<sup>119</sup> At this point the Évora manuscript has a deleted paragraph also confusingly numbered 74, not reproduced by Cunha Rivara. See Appendix D.

<sup>120</sup> The *terço* was a Spanish military formation roughly equivalent to a regiment.

<sup>121</sup> Trade cloth, described as ‘the ordinary coarse cloth of the Cafres’.

com grandeza, e tendo os domesticados, e exercitados, pode escuzar muita parte dos soldados Europeos, e poupar nisto muito a fazenda de S. Magd<sup>e</sup>, porque com o pagamento de hum soldado Europeo pode satisfazer a “vinte e cinco<sup>a</sup>” soldados Cafres.

71 [75]. A fortaleza de Sofalla necessita de reedificação, e de maior presidio do que tem:<sup>122</sup> Quillimane e Luabo tambem se devem fortificar p<sup>a</sup> o que devem vir do Rn<sup>o</sup> engenheyros, e alguns pedreyros, e carpinteyros mestres de obras, que os mais officiaes melhor hé que sejam Indios, porque não convem nesta Conquista que os seus naturaes vejam trabalhar Portuguezes em officios mechanicos.<sup>123</sup>

72 [76]. Em se descobrir o caminho desta Conquista p<sup>a</sup> a Costa de Angolla nada se perdia a meu ver, mas antes poderia ser conveniente para delle se uzar em algum cazo de muita necessid<sup>e</sup>. De muita necessid<sup>e</sup> (digo) porque as menos portas que abrimos a este tezouro, sera o melhor: o descobrimento desta viagem se pode fazer facilmente hindo em companhia dos mesmos Cafres que aqui vem da quellas partes, que saiba observar o sol a titulo de que leva algum presente ao seu Regulo; <sup>b</sup>vejase o Cap 1<sup>o</sup> n<sup>o</sup> 45. <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup>O que em tudo o cazo hé muito necess<sup>o</sup>, e deve ir na prim<sup>a</sup> monção; são mineyros de ouro, e muito mais de prata, com suas ferramentas.<sup>c</sup>

– [77].<sup>d</sup> Dice assim no 67,<sup>124</sup> que esta armada devia partir de Portugal no primeiro de Março:<sup>125</sup> porq’ posto que todos dizem por informação de Cafres, que as minas de prata são de m<sup>to</sup> rendimento, e eu tambem assim o cuide, contudo, isto não se sabe ainda de certo por experiencia de homens peritos, nem por informação de mineiros de prata, que os não ha cá, e em todo o caso devem vir nesta primeira armada, e podera na realidade ser m<sup>to</sup> menos do q’ se imagina, ou quazi nada, mas neste caso, que Deos não permitta, nada se vem a perder no que temos ditto partindo a Armada do Reino no p<sup>to</sup> de Março, porque tem o Vizo Rey tempo para se enformar de tudo em Sofala e achando que as minas de prata não correspondem ás despezas, que demanda esta Armada toda, pode deixar em Sofala, ou em Quill<sup>e</sup> quatrocentos, ou quinhentos homens á ordem do G<sup>or</sup> ou Capitão Geral destes Rios, com proporcionados petrechos, para com elles, e com os moradores se castigar a Abutua, e he muy m<sup>to</sup> provavel que o passamos fazer, mediante o favor de Deos, e abrir o contrato da quellas terras, que he o que basta para estes Rios tornarem a florecer, e a dar copiosos frutos a S. Magd<sup>e</sup>, ainda prescindindo da prata; e a pessoa do Vizo Rey com o

<sup>a-a</sup> vinte e cinco: quinze, ou vinte *E* <sup>b-b</sup> vejase . . . 45: in both MSS but not printed by Cunha Rivara <sup>c-c</sup> O . . . ferramentas: not in *E* <sup>d</sup> Para. – [77] not in *A*

<sup>122</sup> For the fort at Sofala see Teixeira da Mota.

<sup>123</sup> For the debate over whether to fortify Quelimane, and if so how, see Montez.

and splendidly clothed. And once they have been disciplined and trained, most of the European soldiers can be dispensed with and in this way His Majesty's treasury will be spared, because what it takes to pay one European soldier will satisfy twenty-five Cafre soldiers.

71 [75]. The fortress of Sofala needs to be rebuilt and to have a larger garrison than at present.<sup>122</sup> Quelimane and Luabo should also be fortified, for which purpose engineers, masons, and master carpenters should come from Portugal, and it would be better if most of the skilled workmen were Indians because in this conquest it is not fitting that the natives should see Portuguese working at mechanical tasks.<sup>123</sup>

72 [76]. In my opinion, nothing would be lost by opening up the route from this conquest to the Angolan coast. On the contrary, it would be convenient to make use of it at times of great necessity. I say 'great necessity' because the fewer doors we open to this treasury the better. The discovery of this route can easily be made by sending someone who knows how to observe the sun in the company of the same Cafres who come from those parts, on the pretence of sending some present to their chief. See chapter 1, paragraph 45. In any case what is most necessary, and ought to arrive with the first monsoon, are gold miners, and still more important silver miners with their tools.

– [77]. In paragraph 67<sup>124</sup> it is said that this armada should leave Portugal on the first of March.<sup>125</sup> For, although according to the information provided by the Cafres the silver mines are very valuable, which I also believe, this is still not known for certain from the personal experience of skilled men or from information provided by silver miners, of whom there are none in this place. In any case they ought to come out in this first armada. And if in reality there is much less than is imagined, or even nothing, in this case (which God forbid) nothing will have been lost by the armada leaving the kingdom on the first of March because the viceroy will have time to gather all the necessary information at Sofala and, finding that the silver mines are not worth the expense of the whole armada, he can leave four or five hundred soldiers in Sofala or Quelimane under the orders of the governor or captain-general of the Rivers, with equipment in proportion, so that they, together with the residents, can punish Butua. And it is very probable that, with divine favour, we will achieve this and open up trade with those lands, which will be all that is needed for this colony to flourish and bear rich fruit for His Majesty, even leaving the silver aside. And the viceroy, with the

<sup>124</sup> See Appendix C.

<sup>125</sup> Ships normally left Lisbon between 15 and 30 March, so this proposal would have moved the departure date forward two weeks.

restante da Armada pode passar a governar a India, que para tudo tem tempo de monção partindo como digo no primeiro de Março.

- [78].<sup>e</sup> Se em Sofala não ouver noticia de que em Quill<sup>e</sup> ha Pilotos da Barra, nem os pilotos dos naos do Reino se atreverem a sondar o canal da quelle banco p<sup>a</sup> entrarem, como fica ditto n<sup>o</sup> 67,<sup>126</sup> deve desembarcar o Vizo Rey com a armada no mesmo porto de Sofala, e dali fazer avisos ás mais povoações destes Rios, ordenando aos moradores de ellas que se vão encorporar na Manica com elle p<sup>a</sup> onde hade marchar com o partido dos moradores, e Cafraria de Sofala.
- [79].<sup>f</sup> Pareciame m<sup>to</sup> acertado despedirse de Lx<sup>a</sup> antes da Armada huma caravella por todo Novembro, em demanda de Sofala, não so com os avizos da vinda da Armada para tudo estar mais prompto, nestes Rios, senão tambem com ordem, para que os Maritimos de ella passem a Luabo na mesma caravela, e com a sua lancha sondem aquelle canal, que tenho para mim pello q' me tem ditto q' he melhor que o de Quill<sup>e</sup>, e não podendo sondar este, vão sondar o de Quill<sup>e</sup>, e de tudo fação aviso logo a Sofala por terra; e tambem podem alguns maritimos desembarcar em Sofala para irem com mayor segurança por terra até Luabo, onde nas embarcaçoens da mesma terra podem sondar o canal.<sup>127</sup>
- [80].<sup>g</sup> No annos seguintes podem partir as naos de Portugal com duzentos homens cada anno nos ultimos de Março, e chegar a Quill<sup>e</sup> no fim de Julho, principios de Agosto; e de Quillimane podem voltar de quinze de 8bro por diante para onde S. Mag<sup>de</sup> ordenar ou para o Brazil, ou em direitura para o Reino aonde podem chegar por todo Fevereiro, se lhes não servir de estorvo o Inverno, e desta maneira poderão ir e vir no mesmo anno.

73 [82]. Depois de restaurada aquella<sup>h</sup> Conquista pello modo que fica dito, hé de crer que tudo fique pacifico, porq' da boa guerra nasce a boa paz; e então se devem povoar as terras de ouro, e ainda as do marfim com cazaes Indios, limpos, e briosos, que tenham genio p<sup>a</sup> o contrato, como ordinariamente tem. Da gente feminina que por varias vezes veyo do Rn<sup>o</sup> para esta Conquista, não apparece<sup>i</sup> geração alguma, excepto de huma, q' veyo muito menina, e cá se criou;<sup>128</sup> e desta sorte podem vir algumas, sendo de menos de dez annos, orfas de Pays honrados, com recommendação a q<sup>m</sup> governar que perfirão ellas, e seus maridos nas m<sup>ces</sup> das terras de Coroa, e nos officios da Republica; e em quanto não cazarem que

<sup>e</sup> Para. – [78] not in A    <sup>f</sup> Para. – [79] not in A    <sup>g</sup> Para. – [80] not in A    <sup>h</sup> aquella: esta E  
<sup>i</sup> apparece: apparece aqui E

<sup>126</sup> Cunha Rivara renders this 'N<sup>o</sup> 4', which is correct. This also refers to Appendix C.

<sup>127</sup> The previous two paragraphs are written in the margin of the Évora MS and were clearly added to that text after it was finished.

rest of the armada, can continue to take over the government of India, for which there will still be time in that monsoon if, as I say, the armada leaves by the first of March.

- [78]. If at Sofala there is no news that pilots are available at Quelimane, or if the pilots on board the *naus* from the kingdom do not dare to sound the channel across the bar to enter, as was said in paragraph 67,<sup>126</sup> the viceroy should disembark with the [personnel of the] fleet in the port of Sofala and from there send notice to the other settlements in the Rivers ordering the residents to go to meet him in Manica, whither he will march with the contingent of residents and Cafres from Sofala.
- [79]. It appears very sensible to me to dispatch a caravel from Lisbon to Sofala in November, ahead of the armada, not only with news of the coming of the fleet so that everything may be got ready in the Rivers, but also with orders that the sailors should go to Luabo in the same caravel and with their boat take soundings of the channel there, which I have been told is better than that of Quelimane. If they are not able to take soundings there, they should take soundings at Quelimane and send information about this to Sofala by land. Some sailors should disembark at Sofala so that they have a safer journey by land to Luabo, where they can take soundings of the channel using the local boats.<sup>127</sup>
- [80]. In each subsequent year the *naus* from Portugal can leave at the end of March with two hundred men, arriving at Quelimane at the end of July or the beginning of August. From Quelimane they can depart around the fifteenth of October for whichever destination His Majesty shall order, either heading for Brazil or in the direction of the kingdom, which they will reach in February if winter does not present an obstacle, and in this way they can come and go all in the same year.

73 [82]. After that conquest has been restored in the manner described above, it can be assumed that all will remain peaceful, because from a good war comes a good peace. The lands of gold and also the lands of ivory should then be peopled with clean and honourable Indian families who have the disposition for trade, as they usually have. The women who at various times came from Portugal to this conquest do not appear to have produced any offspring, except for one who came here very young and grew up here.<sup>128</sup> More of this kind could be sent, but less than ten years old, the orphans of honest parents, with the recommendation to whoever is governing that they should give them and their husbands preference in the award of Crown lands and government appointments, and while they are not married

<sup>128</sup> This is probably a reference to the settlement scheme of 1677. The numbers of settlers who reached East Africa in 1678 totalled 78 (28 men, 29 women, and 21 children). See Axelson, ch. 10.

se repartão pellas cazas dos moradores mais graves, e mais honestos destes Rios, dando lhes sua congrua sustentação, quando elles reparem nos gastos q' pode ser o não fação se se virem abastados.<sup>129</sup>

74 [-].<sup>j</sup> Disse no 65 (por hora) porque pello tempo adiante achandose, como se espera, que as minas da prata perseverão, e rendem muito, deve-se acodir aisto com hum Vizo Rey ou Gov<sup>or</sup> apartado da India, o qual há de assistir com bastante poder, e Naos no porto de mar que lhe parece mais conveniente para defender aquella costa da ambição dos estrangeyros.<sup>130</sup>

75 [81]. Se se achar, como dizem, que Luabo dá entrada a Naos de alto bordo, sera mais conveniente que áquelle porto vinhão derigidias as nossas do Rn<sup>o</sup> do que a<sup>k</sup> porto de Quillimane <sup>l</sup>ou de Sofalla;<sup>l</sup> porque o Rio Luabo, como fica dito no Cap<sup>o</sup> antecedente, todo o anno hé navegavel, o que não tem o de Quillimane em Setembro, Outubro, e Novembro; <sup>m</sup>e p<sup>a</sup> o de Sofalla não pode hir a prata, nem vir a fazenda a Senna se não por terra, o que tem seus inconvenientes do trabalho. As Naos podem tornar de qualquer destes portos nos principios de Outubro, e sendo necess<sup>ro</sup> podem hir, e vir em hum anno.<sup>m</sup>

#### Dos effeitos que desta Conquista se pode haver

76 [83]. Os effeitos que aquella<sup>n</sup> Conquista depois de restaurada pode dar de si, a serem as minas de prata tais como se diz, e como se cré, podem ser não só super abundantes as despezas que demanda tudo o que temos dito, mas tambem suficientes p<sup>a</sup> restaurar a India, e subjugar a infidelidade, e o mundo todo, reduzindo juntamente á verdadeira Ley de Jezus Christo que professamos, e a obediencia do seu Imperio, que elle mesmo se prometeo estabelecer no invictissimo S<sup>r</sup> Rey D. Affonso o I<sup>o</sup>; e nos seus muito altos, e poderozos descend<sup>es</sup>: *Volo in te et in semine tuo Imperium mihi stabilire*,<sup>131</sup> e se hé não só o que dez<sup>o</sup>, senão tambem o que cuida, já o tempo he chegado, não hé do meu instituto o provalo neste capitulo, se não só mostrar as conveniencias e lucros que S. Magd<sup>e</sup> pode tirar destes Rios; e supposto que no capitulo antecedente mostrei o que nesta Conquista havia de mantim<sup>tos</sup>, madeiras, perolas,<sup>o</sup> metaes, marfim, escravos &a, o que agora me resta he só dizer o modo com q' se podera tirar mais cabedal.

77 [84]. Primeiram<sup>te</sup> parece conveniente que S. Mag<sup>de</sup> nestes principios deixe cavar nas minas de prata a seus vassallos com a condição, que elles querem de lhe pagarem os quintos,<sup>132</sup> e pello tempo adiante parecendolhe o contr<sup>o</sup> melhor, e mais rendozo, mandara cavar por sua conta, e p<sup>a</sup> fazer esta mudança sera

<sup>j</sup> Para. 74 unnumbered and on a separate page in E and not printed by Cunha Rivara <sup>k</sup> a o E <sup>l-l</sup> ou . . . Sofalla not in E <sup>m-m</sup> e . . . anno: not in E <sup>n</sup> aquella: esta E <sup>o</sup> perolas: not in E

<sup>129</sup> For the *orfãs del rei* and the award of Crown lands to women see the Introduction.

<sup>130</sup> East Africa was eventually separated from India in 1752 and given its own government.



they should be distributed among the households of the most important and honest residents of the Rivers, paying a sum for their maintenance which will repay their expenses, which would not be necessary if they are people of means.<sup>129</sup>

74 [-]. I have said in paragraph 65 that if in future the silver mines continue, as is hoped, and give good returns, they should be supported by a viceroy or governor, separate from India, who will have to be equipped with adequate strength and with ships in whichever sea port appears most appropriate to defend that coast from the ambition of foreigners.<sup>130</sup>

75 [81]. If it is found, as they say, that Luabo allows access to seagoing ships, it will be most convenient that our ships from the kingdom should be directed to that port rather than to those of Quelimane or Sofala, because the river of Luabo, as was said in the preceding chapter, is navigable all the year round, while that of Quelimane is unuseable in September, October, and November; and because the silver could not be brought to Sofala nor could the trade goods be sent to Sena except by land, which would require an inconvenient amount of labour. The *naus* could return from any of these ports at the beginning of October and if necessary could come and go in a single year.

Of the results that can be obtained for this conquest

76 [83]. If the silver mines are such as is said and is believed, the benefits that might result from the restoration of this conquest could not only far exceed the expenditure that everything we have asked for would need, but would also be sufficient to restore India and subjugate the heathen, and indeed the whole world, bringing it all to the true law of Jesus Christ which we profess, and to obedience to his rule. This he himself promised to vest in our invincible lord king, Dom Afonso I, and his most high and powerful descendants [with the words] *I wish to establish my empire in you and in your seed.*<sup>131</sup> And this is not only what I desire but is also that for which I believe the time has arrived. It is not my intention to prove as much in this chapter but only to show the advantages and profit which His Majesty could derive from these Rivers. In the previous chapter I showed what this conquest has in the way of provisions, wood, pearls, metals, ivory, slaves, etc., so that now it only remains for me to set out the ways in which greater wealth might be obtained.

77 [84]. First of all it seems to me that it would be most convenient if, to start with, Your Majesty would allow all the silver mines to be developed by his vassals, with the condition that they are willing to pay him the fifth.<sup>132</sup> In future if the opposite appears to him to be better and more profitable, he can order the mining to be carried out on his own account. To make this change it will be necessary that

<sup>131</sup> This is a reference to Afonso Henriques, the first king of Portugal (1128–85).

<sup>132</sup> The royal 'fifth' or *quinto real* was an ancient tax levied by the king on all bullion and on plunder taken in war.

conveniente que<sup>p</sup> V. Rey traga authorid<sup>e</sup> nem isto, me parece, que será em prejuizo<sup>q</sup> dos m<sup>tes</sup> dos Rios, porque tendo elles o contrato de marfim, e de ouro com a Abuá<sup>r</sup> aberta, e as terras pacificas, tem o q' lhes basta, e quiça se enfastiarão tanto da prata, que fação pouca deligencia p<sup>a</sup> tirala, e serão os quintos mui diminutos ao lucro que S. Magd<sup>e</sup> pode ter mandando tirala por sua conta.

78 [85]. Alem disto ha de S. Mag<sup>de</sup> tomar<sup>s</sup> o contrato fechado destes Rios, assim como o tinha nos annos passados de 691, 692,<sup>t</sup> e 694, em que teve muito avanço, e muitas vezes muito mayor sera<sup>u</sup> concertandose, e povoandose os Rios na forma que fica dito, porque se ha de gastar immensid<sup>e</sup> de roupas em que se interessão commumm<sup>te</sup> duzentos por cento de Mossamb<sup>e</sup> athe Senna, só no que podia haver mudança, era em não pagar<sup>v</sup> liberd<sup>e</sup> de Chuabo, q' he a roupa grossa ordinaria de Cafres aos officiaes que o servirem, senão pagar<sup>l</sup>he a dinhr<sup>o</sup> em tanta quantia,<sup>w</sup> quanta lhes paga agora a Comp<sup>a</sup> g<sup>al</sup> da India.<sup>133</sup>

79 [86]. Porem para aumento dos vassallos de S. Magd<sup>e</sup> que hão de fazer estas viagens, e para alivio dos que cá estão, podia S. Magd<sup>e</sup> conceder que tudo aquillo, q' fosse couza comestivel, e do uzo dos Portuguezes, como são açúcar, amendoas, doces, carnes do Rn<sup>o</sup>, vinho, cera, chapeos, roupabranca, e de vestir &<sup>a</sup> fosse livre a quem quizesse trazello pagando os direitos que costumavão pagar em Mossamb<sup>e</sup>, e desta sorte não fica<sup>x</sup> o contrato de S. Magd<sup>e</sup> prejudicado, pois lhe pagão os direitos, porem as roupas de ley como são Chuabo, Chucas, Dotins, Chaudeis,<sup>y</sup> velorio,<sup>134</sup> conta de Balagate, e os mais que gasta o Cafre deve ser tão vedado, e com as mesmas penas, que hé o tabaco em Portugal, porque se caro o comprão, caro o vendem.

80 [87]. Os effeitos deste contrato que vão para fora, são ouro, prata, e marfim, e tudo isto tem muito melhor preço na India do que no nosso Portugal, e por esta razão deve tudo hir p<sup>az</sup> India, para cuja restauração sera necessr<sup>a</sup> muita parte, que pello tempo adiante poderá tambem dar seu proveito; o<sup>a</sup> demais pode hir para Portugal empregado em Diamantes, ou no que S. Magd<sup>e</sup> ordenar.<sup>135</sup> A viagem do Rn<sup>o</sup> p<sup>a</sup> aqui entendo que será muito apetevida dos maritimos, porque concedendose a liberd<sup>e</sup>, que tenho dito de couzas comestiveis e uzo dos Portuguezes, a pouco custo levarão as Naos carregadas de escravos para o Brazil, quando os não mandarem hir em direitura para o Rn<sup>o</sup>.<sup>136</sup> <sup>b</sup>As perolas, e aljofares da Costa de Sofalla pode S. Magd<sup>e</sup> mandar levar p<sup>a</sup> o Rn<sup>o</sup>.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>p</sup> que: que o *E*      <sup>q</sup> prejuizo: grande desprol *E*      <sup>r</sup> Abuá: Abutua *E*      <sup>s</sup> tomar: tomar a si *E*  
<sup>t</sup> 692: 692, 693 *E*      <sup>u</sup> sera: o tera *E*      <sup>v</sup> pagar: pagar com *E*      <sup>w</sup> quantia: contia *E*  
<sup>x</sup> fica: fica tambem: *E*      <sup>y</sup> Chaudeis: Chauderes *E*      <sup>z</sup> p<sup>a</sup>: para a *E*      <sup>a</sup> o: e o *E*  
<sup>b-b</sup> As . . . Rn<sup>o</sup>: not in *E*

<sup>133</sup> After the Crown had ended the captain's monopoly, experiments were made with different commercial regimes. The trade of the Rivers was either directly administered by the Crown through a Junta do Comércio or by a company, or was left open to all comers. See the Introduction.

<sup>134</sup> *Chucas*, *dotins*, and *chauderes* are types of Indian cloth..

the viceroy should have the authority to order it. Nor does it seem to me that this would be to the great disadvantage of the residents of the Rivers, because, since they have the ivory trade and the gold trade of Butua would be open and the lands at peace, they would have enough to satisfy them and perhaps would have become so tired of the silver that they would not show much diligence in extracting it, so that the fifth would bring much less profit to His Majesty than he would get by ordering it [the silver] to be obtained on his own account.

78 [85]. Apart from this, His Majesty should take over the closed trade of the Rivers, as was done in the years 1691, 1692, and 1694, which led to much improvement. And very much more would have been achieved if the Rivers were restored and populated in the manner that I have indicated, because he would be able to profit from the immense amount of cloth, which generally increases in value two hundred per cent between Mozambique and Sena. The only change that should be made is not to pay the officials of the Crown in *chuabo*, the ordinary coarse cloth of the Cafres, but to pay them in money the same amount as the Companhia Geral da India now pays them.<sup>133</sup>

79 [86]. However, to increase the number of His Majesty's vassals who have to make these journeys, and for the relief of those who are there, His Majesty could make a concession that all goods for consumption and use of the Portuguese, such as sugar, almonds, sweets, meat from Portugal, wine, wax, hats, white cloth for clothing, etc., should be free for whoever wanted to import them, paying only the customary duties in Mozambique. And in this way His Majesty's trade would not be harmed since the dues would be paid. However, the official trade goods such as *chuabo*, *chucas*, *dotins*, *chaudeis*, *velorio*,<sup>134</sup> Balegate beads, and other things which the Cafres like, should be restricted and subject to the same penalties as are applied to tobacco in Portugal, because what is bought dear is sold dear.

80 [87]. The products of this trade which are exported are gold, silver, and ivory, all of which fetch a better price in India than in Portugal. For this reason everything should be sent to India: the greater part will be needed for that country's restoration and in future it will also be able to yield a profit. The remainder can be remitted to Portugal in the form of diamonds or in whatever way His Majesty shall order.<sup>135</sup> I believe that the voyage here from the kingdom will be much sought after by the sailors because if, as I said, they have the freedom to bring in foodstuffs and items to be used by the Portuguese at little cost, they will return the *naus* loaded with slaves to Brazil when they do not send them direct to the kingdom.<sup>136</sup> His Majesty can order the pearls and seedpearls from the Sofala coast to be brought to the kingdom.

<sup>135</sup> The custom of using diamonds as a way of remitting money to Portugal had grown up in the early 17th cent., when the Dutch and English were taking the lion's share of the spice trade.

<sup>136</sup> Mozambique began to supply slaves to Brazil during the 1640s, when the Dutch occupied Angola.

## Das couzas necessarias para o aumento desta Christandade

81 [88]. Não se me deve notar ter tratado primeiro do temporal destes Rios, não só porque podia responder que *quod est prius in intentione, est posterius in executione*; mas tambem porque se em alguma parte o espirital depende de algum modo do temporal, hé ‘na quella<sup>c</sup> Conquista, cujos naturaes mais se movem a aprender a doutrina, e fazer suas obrigaçoens pello interesse do premio, q’ vem, ou medo do castigo temporal, do que por motivos espirituas; mas nem por isso se há de assentar de pedra, e cal que são tão brutos, ou tão Demonios, como alguns os querem suppór, porque a experiencia me tem mostrado o contr<sup>o</sup>, e que os que se applicão a aprender a doutrina Christãa na sua lingua em que a traduzi; e detremino com o favor de Deos mandar imprimir despois de mais polida; sabem muito bem as oraçoens, e entendem bastantem<sup>te</sup> os misterios da nossa santa Fée Catholica; por test<sup>a</sup> da<sup>d</sup> verd<sup>e</sup> allegaria os meus domesticos, se não receasse, que por taes me virião com contraditas, e se não tivesse outras que são os pobres,<sup>e</sup> que pedem pellas portas de Senna.

82 [89]. Tambem fazem tal conceito do sacramento da Penitencia, e do que hé tornar para caza sem absolvição havendo quem saiba, e queira cansarse<sup>f</sup> em lho explicar, que todos os pobres de Christo, que andavão amancebados, cazarão muito por sua vontade, e vivem muito contentes, e na<sup>g</sup> quaresma de 696, se cazarão outros muitos, que não são pobres, e outros cujos complices não estavam na mesma terra, ou havia outra rezão p<sup>a</sup> não cazarem, prometião largar a occazião com taes mostras de arrependimento, q’ me persuadia que pro tunc estarião arrependidos, e capazes da absolvição, e os menos forão os que tornarão sem ella.

83 [90]. Não nego com tudo que esta terra hé mais aspera, e mais dura que outras muitas p<sup>a</sup> a cultivação da palavra de Deos, mas por conta do mesmo senhor corre a chuva, e o orvalho de sua Divina graça, que hé certo não falta, e pella nossa deve correr tambem o semear a sua santa doutrina, pois esta hé a nossa obrigação, este o principal, e<sup>h</sup> unico intento, com que os senhores Reys de Portugal descobrirão novas terras, e o presente nos envia com tanto zello, como se sabe, p<sup>a</sup> as missoens.

84 [91]. Assim não só o entenderão, mas tambem o executarão muitos Religiosos de espirito que aqui vierão, entre os quaes merece ser nomeado, e venerado o veneravel Padre Sebastião Berne,<sup>137</sup> da Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jezus pello muito q’ se cansou com a Christand<sup>e</sup> de Marangue,<sup>i138</sup> que ainda hoje por este respeito se destingue das mais, confesso que se algua couza tenho trabalhado nesta Christand<sup>de</sup>, foi movido do exemplo que nella deixou este veneravel Religioso.

<sup>c-c</sup> na quella: nesta E      <sup>d</sup> da: desta E      <sup>e</sup> pobres: Pobres de Christo E      <sup>f</sup> cansarse: conçarse E  
<sup>g</sup> na: nesta E      <sup>h</sup> e: ou E      <sup>i</sup> Marangue: Maxangue E

<sup>137</sup> Sebastian Berni was born in 1622 in Bologna. He began to serve in East Africa around 1652 and was rector of the Jesuit College on Mozambique Island. He was responsible for rebuilding it after the

Of the things that are necessary for the progress of the Christian religion

81 [88]. No significance should be attached to the fact that I have dealt first with the temporal things of the Rivers, because it could be replied that 'what is first in intention is last in execution' but also because, if there is any place where the spiritual depends in any way on the temporal, it is in this conquest, whose natives are moved to learn the doctrine and fulfil their [religious] obligations rather through interest in a reward or through fear of temporal punishment than for spiritual reasons. However, this does not mean that it should be set in stone and mortar that they are too brutish or devilish, as some would like to suppose, because experience has shown me the opposite. Those who apply themselves to learn Christian doctrine in their own language (into which I have translated it and which I intend with God's grace to get printed after it has been further polished) know the prayers very well and understand sufficiently the mysteries of our holy Catholic faith. As evidence of this truth I would cite the example of my servants, if I did not fear being contradicted, even if there were no others such as the poor of Christ who beg at the gates of Sena.

82 [89]. Moreover, they have such a [good] understanding of the sacrament of penance and of what it means to return home without absolution, that if there were people who knew how to explain it to them, and were prepared to take the trouble, all the poor of Christ who are now cohabiting would marry of their own free will and live contentedly. At this Easter of 1696 many others were married who are not poor and others, whose partners are not [resident] in these lands or who have other reasons for not marrying, promise to take the opportunity with such demonstrations of repentance that it persuades me that for the time being they are penitent and can be absolved, and very few went away without absolution.

83 [90]. I do not deny that this land is harsher and harder for the cultivation of the word of God than many others, but from the same lord comes the rain and the dew of his divine grace, which certainly is not lacking, so that on our part we should sow the seeds of his holy doctrine, because this is our duty and was the principal and only purpose of the kings of Portugal in discovering new lands, and of the present [king] in sending us with so much zeal to the missions, as is well known.

84 [91]. Many priests who have come here have not only understood this but have carried it out, among whom should be mentioned and venerated the venerable father Sebastião Berni<sup>137</sup> of the Company of Jesus for his tireless activity in the cause of Christianity in Marangue,<sup>138</sup> which in this respect is today still distinct from the others. I confess that, if I have laboured in any way in the cause of Christianity, I was moved by the example, which was left by this venerable priest.

Arabs burnt the town in 1671. According to the author of the *Tratado*, he translated the 'primer of Father Master Ignatius into the Cafre language'. See 'Resposta do Padre Administrador', *O Chronista de Tisuary*, 2: 136; Rea, p. 42. Two letters of his are known, dated 1652 and 1661. In the latter he writes of the Portuguese in East Africa: 'they live like Turks or *marranos*'; and of Monomotapa: 'if he is a Christian, or at least has been baptized, he does not live afterwards except as a Moor or a heathen and has nothing about him of the Christian' (Silva, ii. 37).

<sup>138</sup> Cunha Rivara's edition gives 'Maxangue', but this is clearly the Jesuit *prazo* of Marangue.

85 [92]. Não falo no veneravel P<sup>e</sup> D.Gonçalo da Sylveyra tambem da Sagrada Companhia de Jezus, e da illustre caza dos Condes de Sortelha, porque a sua vida já anda impressa em varios livros;<sup>139</sup> só digo que<sup>j</sup> devia ser tambem em laminas de ouro, pois nesta terra *post aurum non abiit*,<sup>140</sup> senão que levado do fervor do seu espirito, foi com muito trabalho prêgar a nossa Santa Fée ao Emperador de Manamotapa, por ordem do qual induzido de Mouros<sup>141</sup> que naquelles tempos aqui entravão a fazer seus contratos, e ensinar seus erros, foi morto, e seu corpo<sup>k</sup> lançado no Rio com opinião de Santo, não só entre os nossos, mas tambem entre os naturaes; isto me constou por fama legitimam<sup>le</sup> provida em huma inquirição que fiz em Tette no anno de 1692 ex officio, p<sup>a</sup> saber se alguma pessoa tinha derramado seu sangue *in odium fidei*, por estar assim encommendado aos Prellados<sup>142</sup> Ordin<sup>ros</sup> da Provincia de Goa em hum Decreto do 1<sup>o</sup> Concilio da mesma Prov<sup>ca</sup>.<sup>143</sup>

86 [93]. P<sup>a</sup> aumento pois desta Christand<sup>e</sup> me parece primeiram<sup>te</sup> necess<sup>o</sup> hum Bispo tão zeloso do serviço de Deos como todos devem ser, e principalm<sup>te</sup> os das Christandades novas, qual<sup>l</sup> hé esta,<sup>l</sup> e com tal talento que possa dispor esta nova planta em melhor forma da que atégora teve, pondo em ex<sup>am</sup> o que está ordenado em cinco consilios que se celebrarão em Goa; e<sup>m</sup> tudo o q' se segue, se lhe parecer conveniente fazerse, e deve ter tais ordenados que lhe não seja necessario olhar p<sup>a</sup> as mãos de seus subditos, nem contratar, p<sup>a</sup> se tratar com o estado devido a sua dignid<sup>e</sup>, pagar sallarios a seus famulos de sorte que tambem lhes possa prohibir o contrato, e fazer suas esmollas em terra de moeda<sup>n</sup> tão grossa como<sup>o</sup> aquella hé<sup>o</sup>.<sup>144</sup>

87 [94]. Tambem me parece necess<sup>o</sup> eregirse hum seminario em Senna, p<sup>a</sup> nelle se educarem não tanto os filhos dos Portuguezes e Indios, como os filhos dos Regulos destes Rios, e dos seus grandes, e será muito conveniente q' p<sup>a</sup> nestes principios<sup>p</sup> se recebão no d<sup>o</sup> seminario meninos<sup>q</sup> de seis ou sete annos p<sup>a</sup> baixo, porque de tenra id<sup>e</sup> se podem hir creando melhor com o leyte da doutrina Christã, e Religiozos costumes: os que tiverem melhor inclinação podemse aplicar aos estudos, e serem ordenados de sacerdotes a titulo de alguma vig<sup>ta</sup> das q', como adiante diremos, se devem eregir, e os outros aprenderão som<sup>te</sup> a doutrina muito bem p<sup>a</sup> a ensinarem aos seus naturaes, e os que tiverem exercicio de Cathequistas devem ter seus ordenados.

88 [95]. São tambem necess<sup>os</sup> nesta Christand<sup>e</sup> muitos Missionarios Religiozos, ou Clerigos de Espirito, cuja inquirição *de vita et moribus* deve ser feita e

<sup>j</sup> que: que o E      <sup>k</sup> corpo: corpo foi: CR      <sup>l-l</sup> hé esta: esta he E      <sup>m</sup> e: e superintendendo em E  
<sup>n</sup> moeda: moda E      <sup>o-o</sup> aquella hé: esta E      <sup>p-p</sup> nestes principios: estes E      <sup>q</sup> meninos: not in E

<sup>139</sup> The mission of Gonçalo da Silveira took place during 1560–1. The letters describing this mission have been published by Theal, vol. ii; Paiva e Pona; Leite; and Baxter and Silva Rego, vol. vii.

<sup>140</sup> From Ecclesiasticus 31: 8, 'he did not go after gold'.

<sup>141</sup> The Portuguese almost always referred to Muslims as *Mouros* (Moors).

85 [92]. I do not speak of the venerable father Dom Gonçalo da Silveira, also of the sacred Company of Jesus and of the illustrious house of the Counts of Sortelha, because accounts of his life have already been printed in various books.<sup>139</sup> I only say that this should also be done on sheets of gold because in this land *post aurum non abiit*<sup>140</sup> but rather, carried away by the fervour of his spirit, he went with much hardship to preach our holy faith to the emperor Monomotapa, by whose order, on the persuasion of the Muslims<sup>141</sup> who at that time used to go to that country to carry on their trade and teach their errors, he was killed and his body thrown into a river. And he is viewed as a saint not only by our people but also by the natives. This was established by information obtained at an official inquiry, which I held in Tete in 1692, to discover if anyone had shed his blood ‘through hatred of the faith’, for this [task] was entrusted to the prelates<sup>142</sup> of the province of Goa by a decree of the First Council of that province.<sup>143</sup>

86 [93]. To achieve the growth of Christianity, I think the first thing that is needed is a bishop zealous for the service of God, as all of them should be, and principally those appointed to new Christian communities such as this, and with sufficient talent that he can raise this new plant to a better growth than it has achieved up to now. He should carry out what was decreed in the five Councils held at Goa and everything that came after, if he sees that it is convenient to do so. He should have such remuneration which may be necessary so that he will not need to beg for donations from his flock nor to trade in order to maintain the dignity due to his position, to pay the salaries of his servants so that he can also forbid them to trade, and to distribute alms in a land as large as this one is.<sup>144</sup>

87 [94]. It also seems to me to be necessary to establish a seminary at Sena to educate not so much the children of the Portuguese and Indians as the children of the chiefs of the Rivers and of their elders. It would be best if these came to the seminary at the age of six or seven years or less, because when they are of tender age they can better be brought up in the milk of Christian doctrine and religious customs. Those who are better inclined can apply themselves to study and be ordained as priests to serve one of the parishes, which should be established as we will say later. The others will learn doctrine only well enough to teach it to the natives, and those who practise as catechists ought to be paid a salary.

88 [95]. The Christian faith also needs many missionary fathers or secular priests, whose lives and habits, before they come here, ought to be inquired into and

<sup>142</sup> For the Portuguese term *prelados ordinários* see above, n. 6.

<sup>143</sup> The First Council of Goa was held in 1567. The findings of this inquiry probably formed the major source used by Francisco de Sousa in *O Oriente Conquistado*.

<sup>144</sup> The five Councils of Goa were held in the late 16th and early 17th cents. The First Council of 1567 was concerned with the implementation of the Tridentine decrees and is discussed in Boxer (1969), 66–71. The Second Council of 1575 forbade forceable conversions and ordered all clergy to learn the local languages: see Mendonça. The other three Councils were held in 1585, 1592, and 1606.

approvada antes de virem para ella,<sup>r</sup> pello Tribunal das Missoens de Portugal, ou de Goa, conforme o lugar de que partirem; sendo que os Religiozos era muito conveniente que viessem só de Portugal, a cujos Prelados estivessem sujeitos sem dependencia dos da India por muitas rezoens que menos mal se podem considerar do que dizer; o exercicio destes Missionarios não ha de ser como o de Vigarios que estão sempre na sua Parrochia, se não discorrer pellos lugares que lhes forem encomendados p<sup>a</sup> nelles explicarem melhor a doutrina da nossa Santa Fé, que os Cathequistas hão de ter ensinado e com sua authorid<sup>e</sup>; exemplo, e talento arrancar vicios, e plantar virtudes.

89 [96]. Os Missionarios devem ter tambem taes ordenados por anno, que não tenham desculpa que dar a Deos nem ao mundo p<sup>a</sup> neste terem outro cuidado mais que<sup>s</sup> de enthezoura almas no ceo, e p<sup>a</sup> isto ter effeito com mais segurança se há de pedir a S. Santid<sup>e</sup> a renovação da Bulla, por que cõ pena de excommunhão maior *ipso facto incurrenda*<sup>145</sup> se prohibe o contrato ás pessoas ecc<sup>as</sup>; e alem dos seus ordenados devem ter tambem suas ajudas de custo p<sup>a</sup> as viagens que do Rn<sup>o</sup>, ou da India fizerem p<sup>a</sup> esta missão; e assim mais seus subsidios para os gastos que aqui fizerem missionando, assim com as suas pessoas, como com os novos Christãos a quem, se deve muito favorecer; porem nada disto devem ter sem serem approvados na lingua da terra, e a podem saber sufficientem<sup>te</sup> dentro de hum anno, e quem assim lhe não contentar pode escuzar de cá vir, porque não fará falta algua.

90 [97]. Tambem hé necess<sup>o</sup> erigiremse Igrejas nos<sup>t</sup> Zimbaues dos Regulos, e nas Povoações dos seus grandes e tambem em todas terras que já são de Coroa Del Rey de Portugal, nosso S<sup>or</sup>; e p<sup>a</sup> tudo isto, me parece que não bastarão duzentos Vigarios, cujo exercicio não há de ser<sup>u</sup> sem approvação da lingua, e com elles nas despezas se há de observar proporcionadam<sup>te</sup> o que temos dito nos Missionarios; e alem disto se há de deputar certa quantia<sup>v</sup> para cera, vinho, hostias, ornamentos, e concertos da Igreja.

91 [98]. Tudo isto se pode fazer facilmente se as minas da prata corresponderem como se espera ordenando S. Magd<sup>e</sup> a seus Ministros,<sup>w146</sup> que com effeito fação q<sup>t</sup> os moradores dos Rios, paguem os<sup>x</sup> dizimos a Deos de toda a prata que tirarem<sup>y</sup> das minas. Achandose que os dizimos excedem as sobreditas despezas do Prelado, Seminario, Missionarios, Vigarios Cathequistas, erecções, e fabricas de Igrejas, como se espera em Deos, que excedão, então poderão<sup>z</sup> fazer choro de Conegos, meyos Conegos, quartenarios &c mas prim<sup>o</sup> se deve tratar do que tratavão os Santos Appostolos, e seus immediatos successores no tempo da primitiva Igreja, q<sup>t</sup> era a conversão das almas.

<sup>r</sup> ella: cá E      <sup>s</sup> que: que o E      <sup>t</sup> nos: em todos os E      <sup>u</sup> ser: ter E      <sup>v</sup> quantia: contia E  
<sup>w</sup> Ministros: Ministros que não só dem todo o favor, e ajuda aos Prelados em ordem á cobrança dos dizimos, mas E      <sup>x</sup> os: os ditos E      <sup>y</sup> tirarem: se tirar E      <sup>z</sup> poderão: se poderá E

<sup>145</sup> Greater excommunication incurred by performing a certain action.



approved by the Tribunal of the Missions either in Portugal or in Goa, according to the place from which they departed. It is certainly most appropriate that the priests should come only from Portugal, to whose bishops they would be subject without any dependence on those of India, for many reasons which can better be thought about than said. The activities of these missionaries should not be those of vicars who are always in their parishes, but they should travel to other places, wherever they are sent, the better to explain there the doctrine of our holy faith which the catechists have to teach, and with their authority, example, and talent to root out vice and plant virtue.

89 [96]. The missionaries also ought to receive salaries each year, such that they have no excuse to offer to God or the world for having any other care than to lay up a treasure of souls in heaven. And for this to take place with greater certainty, His Holiness should be requested to renew the bull by which, on pain of incurring major excommunication,<sup>145</sup> trade is forbidden to ecclesiastical persons. Apart from their salaries, they should also have paid the cost of the voyage from the kingdom or from India to this mission, and [they should] also [receive] contributions towards the expenses which they will incur in carrying out missionary work here, both in respect of their persons and of the new Christians, whom they ought to favour. However, they should have none of this unless they are qualified in the language of the land, which they can learn sufficiently well within one year. And whoever is not happy to do this should be excused from coming here because he will not be missed at all.

90 [97]. It is also necessary for churches to be erected in all the *zimbabwes* of the chiefs and in the villages of the most important men, and also in all the lands which belong to the Crown of our lord the king of Portugal. It seems to me that for all this two hundred parish priests, who should not exercise their function without being qualified in the language, would hardly be sufficient. And with regard to their expenses, the same thing that we have said about the missionaries should be applied in proportion, while in addition a certain sum needs to be set aside for wax candles, wine, hosts, ornaments, and music in the church.

91 [98]. All this can be done easily if the silver mines live up to what is expected and His Majesty orders his ministers<sup>146</sup> that they should effect the means to make the residents of the Rivers pay tithes to God on all the silver that is extracted from the mines. If it is found that the tithes exceed the above-mentioned expenses of the bishop, the seminary, the missionaries, the vicars, the catechists, and the building and fabric of the churches, as we must trust in God will be the case, then a choir of canons could be created, with half-canons and quaternaries etc. However, first we must attend to what the holy apostles and their immediate successors attended to in the days of the primitive church, which is the conversion of souls.

<sup>146</sup> The Évora MS reads 'ministers who will not only favour and help the prelates in the collection of the tithes . . . '.

92 [99]. Tenho por mais<sup>a</sup> provavel que <sup>b</sup>se pode obrigar aos m<sup>resb</sup> a pagar estes dizimos a Deos, porque as rezoens commuas porque se deve pagar dizimos, militão neste cazo particular, a saber o reconhecimento do supremo dominio que Deos tem em tudo o que cria, e a congrua sustentação que se deve dar aos ministros da Igr<sup>a</sup>; e não sei de que modo possão estes sustentarse nesta missão decentem<sup>te</sup> sem estes dizimos, porque os naturaes por sua muita preguiça, e pouca vergonha, apenas tem hum pouco de milho p<sup>a</sup> comerem, e ordinariam<sup>te</sup> andão despídos.

93 [100]. A S. Magd<sup>e</sup> se há de pedir mais que ordene a seus ministros, que obriguem aos naturaes a mandar seus filhos pequenos a aprender a doutrina no lugar mais perto onde estiver quem a ensine: de sorte que com effeito vão todos os dias; e assim mais q' todos assim grandes, como pequenos, assim Christãos como Gentios, se ajuntem aos Domingos na Igr<sup>a</sup> ou no adro para a ouvirem.

94 [101]. Tambem se lhe há de pedir ley, porque obrigue aos foreyros das terras de sua real coroa, a apresentar certidão do Prellado Ordin<sup>ro</sup>, porque conste que não só, não estorvão, mas antes que ajudão, e favorecem os ministros da Igreja no q' podem em ordem á propagação de Nossa S. Feé, sob pena de que não apresentando a dita certidão ao recebedor dos foros,<sup>147</sup> este fara avizo ao V. Rey, ou Gov<sup>or</sup> destes Rios, p<sup>a</sup> fazer m<sup>ce</sup> dellas em nome de S. Magd<sup>e</sup> a quem melhor as merecer a Deos, e ao d<sup>o</sup> S<sup>r</sup>.

95 [102]. Há de pedirse tambem a S. Magd<sup>e</sup> que tudo o que se entender, que hé necess<sup>o</sup> p<sup>a</sup> as Igrejas, e pessoas ecc<sup>as</sup> seja livre de direito, e de estanco, ou que se lhes dé nas suas feitorias pellos preços, que nellas lhe sahirem as fazendas, precedendo juramento dos ecc<sup>os</sup>, de que hé p<sup>a</sup> seus gastos, ou das suas Igrejas.

–<sup>c</sup> [103]. A Sua Santidade se ha de pedir, alem da renovação da Bulla que temos tocado no 89,<sup>d148</sup> outra, porque prohiba aos eclesiasticos perturbarem o direito temporal aos senhorios das terras, e que só parendolhe mal algum uzo, ou costume, possão avizar ao Bispo, ou quem seu lugar tiver p<sup>a</sup> este prover no cazo como lhe parecer serviço de Deos.

96 [104]. Item se há de pedir a Sua Santid<sup>e</sup> que por vinte annos delegue a sua omnimoda authorid<sup>e</sup> ao Prellado ordin<sup>ro</sup> desta Christand<sup>e</sup> com poderes de a subdelegar, e revogar em todo ou em parte nos sujeitos que lhe bem parecer na forma mais ampla que athegora tem concedido p<sup>a</sup> outras christandades novas.

97 [105]. Se as minas de prata não corresponderem com o que se espera (o que Deos não permitta) ainda se poderá fazer alguma couza nesta Christand<sup>e</sup>, purificandose<sup>e</sup> as terras, abrindose o contrato de Abutua, e mandando S. Magd<sup>e</sup> que corra por sua conta o contrato fechado de Mossamb<sup>e</sup> na forma que fica dito no 78,<sup>f</sup> porque desta sorte entendo q' não só ha de haver p<sup>a</sup> pagar os Prezídios de que estes Rios necessitão, mas tambem p<sup>a</sup> S. Magd<sup>e</sup> poder dar hua congrua de S. real

<sup>a</sup> mais: mais que E      <sup>b-b</sup> se . . . m<sup>res</sup>: os Prelados podem obrigar a seus subditos E      <sup>c</sup> This para. unnumbered in A      <sup>d</sup> 89: 96 E; 92 CR      <sup>e</sup> purificandose: pacificandose E      <sup>f</sup> 78: 85 E; 81 CR

92 [99]. I consider it highly probable that the residents can be made to pay the tithes to God, because the general reasons why tithes should be paid apply in this particular case, namely the recognition of the supreme dominion that God has in all things which he created, and the appropriate sustenance that should be given to the ministers of the Church. And I do not know how they can be decently supported in this mission without these tithes, because the natives, owing to their great laziness and lack of shame, have only a small amount of maize to eat and usually go around naked.

93 [100]. It is necessary to request His Majesty to order his ministers to compel the natives to send their small children to learn the Christian doctrine at the nearest place where there is someone to teach it, so that they will go every day. And above all everyone, great and small, Christian and heathen, must gather on Sundays either in the church or in the plaza to hear [the word].

94 [101]. Furthermore, a law should be requested which would oblige the lessees of the Crown lands to present a certificate from the prelate which will state not only that they do not hinder the ministers of the Church but that they show them favour and help them in whatever way they can to propagate our holy faith, with the penalty that, if they do not present this certificate to the receiver of the rents,<sup>147</sup> he will notify the viceroy or the governor of the Rivers that they should make a grant of these lands in the name of His Majesty to someone who in the eyes of God and the King is more deserving of them.

95 [102]. It must also be requested of His Majesty that everything that is understood to be necessary for the churches and ecclesiastical personnel should either be free of duties and monopolies or should be sold from his factories at cost price, the ecclesiastics promising on oath that it is for the expenses of themselves or their churches.

– [103]. And His Holiness should in addition be asked, apart from the renewal of the bull which we have touched on in paragraph 89,<sup>148</sup> to prohibit the ecclesiastics from interfering with the temporal rights of the lords of the land, and that only if some use or custom appears bad to them should they notify the bishop, or whoever is acting in his place, for him to attend to the matter as seems best for God's service.

96 [104]. Again, it is necessary to request of His Holiness that for twenty years he should delegate his universal authority to the prelate of this church in the fullest form that until now has been conceded to other new churches, with powers to subdelegate it, or revoke it, in whole or in part, to subjects as he shall see fit.

97 [105]. If the silver mines do not fulfil what is expected of them (which God forbid), something can still be accomplished in this church by purifying the land, by opening up trade with Butua, and by His Majesty ordering that the restricted trade of Mozambique shall be administered on his account (as indicated in paragraph 78), because in this way not only can the garrisons which are needed in the Rivers be paid but His Majesty will also be able to give a stipend from his royal treasury

<sup>147</sup> *Foro*, here translated as 'rents', indicates the quit-rents that were paid by the holders of the *prazos da coroa*.

<sup>148</sup> i.e. para. 89 [96] in this edition.

fazenda ao seminario de que temos fallado, com hua boa terra das muitas que tem a<sup>g</sup> sua coroa, e poder sustentar aqui hum Bispo, e algus missionarios, e acrescentar os ordenados aos Parrochos;<sup>149</sup> de outro modo tenho por quazi impossivel haver nesta Christand<sup>e</sup> consideravel aumento.<sup>h150</sup>

98 [106]. Disse (mandando S. Magd<sup>e</sup> que corra por sua conta o contrato fechado de Mossamb<sup>e</sup>) porque correndo por conta da Companhia Geral da India; lhe rende somente trinta e tres mil cr<sup>dos</sup>, que a dita Companhia lhe paga e destes se pagão os ordenados de hum Gov<sup>or</sup>, ou cappitão geral de Mossamb<sup>e</sup> e Rios, que huas vezes são outo, e outras dez mil cr<sup>dos</sup>, os de Castellão que fica na Fortaleza, que são trez mil, os dos Feytores, escriuaens, refrendarios, e mais officiaes; e tambem se fazem as despezas das obras da Fortaleza de Mossamb<sup>e</sup>, e soldos dos cappitaens, e soldados, <sup>i</sup>refrescos, e refeiçãoens de matalotagem das Naos do Reyno e da India, e do Hospital Real, e quando as Naos ficão de arribada, são os gastos excessivos;<sup>i151</sup> com que apenas poderá Sua Mag<sup>de</sup> nesta forma dar o mesmo que agora dá, <sup>j</sup>que ainda não chegão a mil e nove centos cruzados p<sup>a</sup> todo o clero de Mossamb<sup>e</sup>, Sofalla e Rios de Cuama, de que nasce ocuparemse hus em contratos, outros em tratar de suas terras, e semealas p<sup>a</sup> comer e sustentar a vida humana<sup>j</sup>.

### Capitulo 3<sup>o</sup>

#### Referem se as Guerras do Changamira

99 [107]. O Changamira nos seus principios foi Pastor do Emparador de Manamotapa, o qual se deo por tambem servido delle, que o premiou com a m<sup>ce</sup> de huma terra da Mucaranga, que confina com as de Abutua, uzurpadas, como temos dito no Cap. 1<sup>o</sup> No 59<sup>k</sup> pello Thoroe ao dito Emperador.<sup>152</sup>

100 [108]. Tomou o<sup>l</sup> Changamira posse da sua terra, e parendolhe limitada esphera, senão para o seu nascim<sup>to</sup>, para os agigantados espiritos guerreiros com que se achava, começou a conquistar as de Abutua, com tão bom successo, que

<sup>g</sup> a: da *E* <sup>h</sup> aumento: aumento, e nunca isto se pode explicar [aplicar *CR*] como se entende [and none of this can be carried out as intended] *E* <sup>i-i</sup>refrescos . . . excessivos: *not in E* <sup>j-j</sup>que . . . humana: que são pouco mais de dous mil cruzados, ao Prelado e Vigarios, assim de Moç<sup>e</sup> como destes Rios [which are little more than two thousand cruzados for the prelate and vicars of Mozambique and the Rivers] *E* <sup>k</sup>59: 57 *CR* <sup>l</sup>o: *not in E*

<sup>149</sup> The *padroado real*, which had been established by papal bulls in the 15th cent., allowed the Order of Christ, of which the king became the head after 1495, to collect tithes in the overseas territories, in return for which it had to pay the costs of running the Church. As a result the missions were largely supported by direct grants from the Crown, although all of them had additional sources of income. See also para. 127 [135].

<sup>150</sup> A marginal note in the Évora manuscript reads 'notta que não foy escrita fazer os Cafres tributarios p<sup>a</sup> sustentar os ministros da Igr<sup>a</sup> e os prezidios' ('note that it was not written that the Cafres should be made to pay tribute to support the ministers of the Church and the garrisons').

to the seminary of which we have spoken, with a good grant of land from the many [lands] which his Crown possesses, and will be able to support a bishop and some missionaries here and increase the salaries of the parish priests.<sup>149</sup> For otherwise I consider it impossible to achieve any considerable growth in Christianity.<sup>150</sup>

98 [106]. I say 'by His Majesty ordering that the restricted trade of Mozambique shall be administered on his account' because if it is administered through the Companhia Geral da India, it will yield only the thirty-three thousand cruzados which the company will pay him, and from this it is necessary to pay the salaries of the governor or captain-general of Mozambique and the Rivers, which are sometimes eight and at other times ten thousand cruzados; that of the castellan who stays in the fortress, which is three thousand; and those of the factors, secretaries, accountants, and other officials, as well as the expenses of the works at the fortress of Mozambique and the pay of the captains and soldiers; food and refreshment for the sailors of the *naus* from the kingdom and from India, and the royal hospital, for when the *naus* are delayed in port the expenses are excessive.<sup>151</sup> As a result His Majesty will hardly be able to give what he gives today, which does not amount to one thousand nine hundred cruzados for all the clergy of Mozambique, Sofala, and the Rivers of Cuama, with the result that some occupy themselves with trade and others in looking after and cultivating their lands so that they have enough to eat and to sustain human life.

### Chapter 3

#### Refers to the wars with Changamira

99 [107]. In his origins Changamira was a cattle herder of the emperor Monomotapa and served him so well that he was rewarded with the grant of one of the lands of Mocaranga which adjoined those of Butua, which had been usurped by Thoro from the said emperor,<sup>152</sup> as was said in Chapter 1, paragraph 59.

100 [108]. Changamira took possession of his land and, since it seemed to him—not least because of his birth—that this was a rather limited sphere of activity for the ambitious warrior spirit with which he was endowed, he began to conquer the lands of Butua with such great success that he was soon lord of much

<sup>151</sup> Mozambique was the principal port of call between Portugal and India. A royal hospital was established there in the 16th cent., rebuilt in the 17th and entrusted to the Order of São João de Deus (St John of God). If ships arrived too late to catch the monsoon, they and their crews might have to wait nearly six months. A description of the great hardship experienced by the crews forced to 'winter' on Mozambique Island is to be found in Mocquet, chs. 4–8.

<sup>152</sup> The rise of Changamira was dated by Beach to 1684 and the years immediately following (Beach, ch. 7).

ficou logo S<sup>r</sup> de muitas, e ultimam<sup>te</sup> o veyo a ser de quazi todas ajudado som<sup>te</sup> da fama q' tambem teve de feiteyro finissimo.

101 [109]. Não parou na Abutua a soberba deste enemigo, porque não só se atreueo a contender com outros Cafres como elle, mas tambem não se receou de medir os seus arcos com as nossas espingardas, antes sahindo pessoalm<sup>te</sup> das suas terras a demandarnos, nos apresentou hua Batalha no Maongoé<sup>153</sup> terra de Manica, em tempo q' governava estes Rios Cahetano de Mello e Castro, que p<sup>a</sup> aquella função ajuntou <sup>m</sup>todo o seu poder<sup>m</sup>.<sup>154</sup>

102 [110]. Era tão astuto, e ardiloso, que depois de vencido por nossas armas, nos venceo com suas startagemas; Foi o caso, que sustentando hum dia intr<sup>o</sup> a batalha de Mangoé, em que por quatro, ou cinco vezes estivemos quazi perdidos, não obstante o valor tambem grande dos nossos Portuguezes, e dos seus cativos, e a ventagem conhecida das nossas armas de fogo aos seus arcos, vendo com tudo, que sobre<sup>n</sup> tarde hia o seu exercito affrouxando pella muita mortand<sup>e</sup> que nelle tinhamos feito com a espingardaria, animou, e persuadio aos Cafres que de nenhum modo deixassem de dia o campo, porque nenhum havia de escapar, e ás mulheres que costumão vir em companhia dos Cafres, ordenou que cortassem a lenha que pudessem; fizeramno assim todos, que em ser bem obedecido dos seus, nos levava muita ventagem: com q' se auzentou o sol deixando a batalha indeciza.

103 [111]. Os nossos Portuguezes não deixarão de conhecer as intercadencias do pulso do exercito contr<sup>o</sup>; cauza porque não ficarão de todo desconsolidados, mas antes convocandose o conselho, se assentou nelle que no mesmo lugar<sup>o</sup> esperasse o enemigo athe amanhecer; neste comenos que seria huma hora de noute, se vio o nosso exercito todo cercado de fogos, com que se intimidarão tanto os nossos Cafres, e alguns que o não erão, como os Madianitas vendo as tochas de Gedeão, aos quaes tambem imitarão na desordenada fugida;<sup>155</sup> e foi bom estar o enemigo já posto em retirada, que a não ser assim, nenhum lhe escaparia.<sup>156</sup>

104 [112]. Amanheceo o dia, e como o enemigo hia em melhor forma, hia tambem mais devagar, e achavase mais perto do campo, donde<sup>p</sup> nasceo ter elle primr<sup>o</sup> noticia da nossa fugida, do que nós a tivessesmos de sua retirada; e assim tornou ao mesmo campo a recolher sem contradição alguma os despojos do nosso exercito: não quiz porem seguirnos, quiça por ver que aquillo fora mais fortuna sua, que fraqueza nossa;<sup>157</sup> mas antes se resolveo a voltar p<sup>a</sup> as suas terras, aonde viveo sempre sem querer trato nem comunicação comnosco, antes ameaçandonos,

<sup>m-m</sup> todo . . . poder: o poder todo daquelles Rios *E*      <sup>n</sup> sobre: sobre a *E*      <sup>o</sup> lugar: lugar se *E*  
<sup>p</sup> donde: causa donde *E*

<sup>153</sup> Maungue was a Karanga chieftaincy whose chief bore the title of Makoni. The battle in Maungue took place in June 1684.

<sup>154</sup> He was captain of Mozambique from 1682 to 1686.

<sup>155</sup> Gideon's defeat of the Midianites is recorded in the Bible (Judges 7).

of them, and in the end almost all, aided solely by the reputation that he also had of being a very skilled sorcerer.

101 [109]. The pride of this enemy did not stop at Butua because he not only dared to fight with other Cafres like himself but did not fear to measure his bows against our muskets, eventually leaving his lands to seek us out in person. In Maungue,<sup>153</sup> a land of Manica, he offered us battle during the time when Caetano de Mello e Castro governed the Rivers, who in order to discharge his office assembled all his forces.<sup>154</sup>

102 [110]. He was so cunning and astute that, after being defeated by our arms, he defeated us with his stratagems. The occasion was this. The battle of Maungue lasted a whole day, during which we were close to defeat four or five times, notwithstanding the great valour of the Portuguese and their slaves and the known advantage of our muskets over their bows. Eventually, seeing that by evening his army was weakening after suffering heavy losses, which we had caused with our muskets, he raised the spirits of his Cafres and persuaded them not to leave the field during daylight because none of them would escape. And he ordered the women (who are accustomed to accompany the Cafres) to cut all the wood they could manage. All of them did this—his being readily obeyed by his people robbed us of much of our advantage—so that by sundown the battle was still undecided.

103 [111]. Our Portuguese did not fail to notice the weakening pulse of the opposing army, for which reason they were not at all disheartened but, after summoning a council, it was agreed to await the enemy the next day in the same place. In the meantime, around one o'clock in the morning, our army saw itself surrounded by fires, which so terrified our Cafres, and some who were not Cafres as well, that they imitated the Midianites seeing the torches of Gideon, and fled in a disorderly manner.<sup>155</sup> And it was fortunate that the enemy had already begun to retire, otherwise no one would have escaped.<sup>156</sup>

104 [112]. Day dawned, and as the enemy was in better formation, he moved more slowly and found himself closer to the battlefield, for which reason it happened that he had news of our flight before we heard of his retreat. So he returned to the battlefield in order to collect the spoils of our army unopposed. However, he did not want to follow us, perhaps because this [victory] was more due to his good fortune than to our weakness.<sup>157</sup> Instead he resolved to return to his own lands where he lived, without wanting to have any dealings or communication with us, but rather threatening us and terrifying the whole of Mokaranga without anyone

<sup>156</sup> An almost identical account of this battle is given in 'Proposta que fizerão as Moradores dos Rios de Cuama ao Senhor VRey', Ajuda 51-VII-34, fols. 51<sup>v</sup>–52<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>157</sup> Apparently the Monomotapa Mukombwe had attacked Butua in his rear and Changamira returned to face the invasion, inflicting a crushing defeat on the Monomotapa. See Mudenge (1988), 287.

e assombrando as terras todas de Mocaranga, sem todas juntas lhe poderem fazer a menor rezistencia, e ainda das dos Rios todos se duvidava muito, porque os nossos Cafres lhe cobrarão tal medo, q' temião, e tremiao só de lhe ouvirem o nome: e os que se prezavão de mais briozos, quando lhes dizião seus senhores que havião de hir pelejar com o Changamira, respondião que erão cativos, e que hirião a morrer com seus amos: e assim algumas vezes que o intentarão não só não sahião vencedores p<sup>a</sup> vencer, senão já vencidos, ou p<sup>a</sup> morrer, ou p<sup>a</sup> voltar do caminho p<sup>a</sup> caza como sempre fizerão.

105 [113]. Deste nosso enemigo declarado se valeo Nhacunimbiri Emperador que era de Manamotapa, para com as suas armas tomar satisfação de certos aggravos que dizem lhes tinhão feito alguns moradores de Dambarare, e com effeito deo na quella Feyra no mez de Novembro de 693 tão de repente, que a muitos apanhou dentro das proprias cazas, e não houve modos para se recolherem á fortificação da dita Feyra com os provimentos que cada hum tinha assim comestiveis, como de guerra:<sup>158</sup> e bem se vé que esta dezordem naceo de morarem muito divididos, e muito distantes da dita fortificação; o mais que fizerão alguns dos nossos, foi juntaremse em caza de hum Ant<sup>o</sup> Rebello, que como mais rico entenderão que estaria mais bem provido de tudo, onde acabou o enemigo de matar a todos, sem escapar de toda a Feyra (que era a mayor q' tinhamos, e em occasião q' nella estavam m<sup>tos</sup> m<sup>res</sup> de Senna, e Tette a seus contratos) nem Portuguez, nem Indio algum.<sup>159</sup>

106 [114]. Depois disto foise á Igr<sup>a</sup> donde (deixemos em silencio o que fez ás santa Immagens, Calices, e mais ornamentos sagrados, porque hé mais para chorar com lagrimas de sangue, do que para se descrever com pena e tinta), desenterrou os ossos dos nossos companheiros p<sup>a</sup> os queimar, como fez, desfazendoos em cinza, p<sup>a</sup> desta fazer suas ceremonias, com q' metia na cabeça aos seus que já era invencivel dos Portuguezes; de tudo isto tivemos noticia por via de Cafres.<sup>160</sup>

107 [115]. Os m<sup>res</sup> de Ongoe, e algus Indios, que assistião por Quitamburvize, tendo noticia do que passava em Dambarare, fugirão p<sup>a</sup> o Zimbaué do Emperador de Manamotapa, aonde estava por Cappitão mor do Prezidio Manoel Pires Saro, que quanto foi possivel, não só trabalhou por conservar o seu posto, mas intentou matar ao mesmo Emperador, e hindo hua vez com bastante gente p<sup>a</sup> este effeito, achou ao d<sup>o</sup> Emperador com muita mais de sua guarda,<sup>161</sup> e com tal cautella lhe fallou, que não pode pór em ex<sup>am</sup> o que intentava, mas antes recezo<sup>q</sup> de que o

<sup>q</sup>recezo: recebeu CR

<sup>158</sup> For the excavations at Dambarare see Garlake (1969).

<sup>159</sup> Pedro António de Noronha wrote to the king that 'according to what everybody writes to me from the Rivers, the provocations on the part of our people were the cause of these wars because the excesses of those who are powerful in the number of their Cafres are such as to infuriate those kings and princes' (Pedro António de Noronha to king, Goa, 23 Sept. 1694, LM, 58, fols. 360<sup>v</sup>-361<sup>r</sup>). In fact there are strong indications that a number of Portuguese were not killed but were taken to Butua as prisoners. As



being able to unite to make the least resistance to him. And those in the Rivers hesitated, because our Cafres were in such terror of him that they feared and trembled only to hear his name, and even those who considered themselves the bravest, if their master told them that they had to go to fight Changamira, replied that they were slaves and would go to die with their masters; and so they would often go out not as conquerors to conquer but as those already conquered, either to die or to take the road home as they always did.

105 [113]. Nhacunimbiri, who was emperor of Monomotapa, made use of this enemy of ours to obtain, by means of his arms, satisfaction for certain injuries which the settlers of Dambarare are said to have done to him. He [Changamira] gave effect to this at the fair in the month of November 1693 so suddenly that he caught many people in their houses who had had no chance of assembling in the fortification of the fair with the provisions and war material which each one possessed.<sup>158</sup> And it can clearly be seen that the cause of this disorder was the fact that they all lived separately and at a long distance from the fortress. The most that some of our people were able to do was to gather together in the house of one António Rebello, who, as the richest man, was understood to be best provided with everything. There the enemy eventually killed everyone without a single Portuguese or Indian being able to escape from the whole fair (which was the largest we had and on this occasion contained many residents from Sena and Tete with their trade goods).<sup>159</sup>

106 [114]. After this he went to the church, where (passing over in silence what was done to the holy images, chalices, and other sacred ornaments, because this is rather to be wept over with tears of blood than described with pen and ink) he dug up the bones of our companions to burn them. This he did, reducing them to ashes in order to use them in his ceremonies, in this way putting it into the heads of his men that he was invincible in relation to the Portuguese. We had news of all this from some Cafres.<sup>160</sup>

107 [115]. The residents of Ongoe, and some Indians who were in Quitamburvize, receiving news of what had happened in Dambarare, fled to the *zimbabwe* of the emperor Monomotapa. The captain of the garrison there was Manoel Pires Saro, who, as far as he could, not only sought to maintain his position but also planned to kill the emperor. Going on one occasion with sufficient men to carry this out, he found the emperor with very many of his guard,<sup>161</sup> and he spoke to him with such discretion that he could not put into execution what he intended. However, as

late as 1737 a Portuguese priest, Simão de São Tomás, was actively trying to negotiate the repatriation of Portuguese captured in 1694: see Mudenge (1988), 301–2.

<sup>160</sup> According to Mudenge, there were sixty people at the fair at the time of the attack. This number included two Dominicans, who were killed. It is alleged that their bodies were flayed and the skins paraded at the head of Changamira's army. See Axelson, p. 182; Mudenge (1988), 288.

<sup>161</sup> At this point the Évora MS has a phrase which has been deleted. It reads 'com que entenderão, que o Emperador intentava matar a todos, e de sorte' ('by which they understood that the Emperor intended to kill them all, so that').

Emperador podia ser soccorrido do Changamira muito antes do que lhe pudesse chegar a elle soccorro de Tette, se rezolveo com os mais a retirar-se p<sup>a</sup> Tette, aonde chegarão por m<sup>ce</sup> de D<sup>s</sup>, e pello Gocha, por cujas terras necessariam<sup>te</sup> havião de passar, não querer pór em ex<sup>am</sup> a ordem, q' tinha do d<sup>o</sup> Emperador, para matar a todos.

108 [116]. Chegarão estas tristes novas em Dezembro ao Cappitão mór destes Rios, que então era Manoel de Tavora e Sampayo, m<sup>or</sup> de Senna: e como tinha já tomado o pulso ao poder, e astucia do Changamira na batalha de Mangoé, e juntamente ao medo que os nossos Cafres lhe tinhão concebido; assentou q' sem hum bom soccorro de soldados Europeos, e outros petrechos, se lhe não podia apresentar outra, e assim se rezolveu a pedir tudo, o que entendeo ser necess<sup>o</sup>, e principalm<sup>te</sup> pedras de espingarda, de que estes Rios estavam mui faltos; a Thomé de Souza Correa Govern<sup>or</sup> que então era da Fortaleza de Mossamb<sup>e</sup>;<sup>162</sup> e tratou de ajuntar com os m<sup>es</sup> de Senna a Cafraria toda que poderão assim cativa, como forra das terras, q' sempre nos obedecerão, porque se receava que tudo o mais se puzesse contra nós.

109 [117]. Neste mesmo tempo teve tambem noticia do que passava na Mucaranga, o Principe Dom Pedro de quem temos dado noticia no Cap. 1<sup>o</sup> N<sup>o</sup> 52, 53, e 54<sup>r</sup> e parecendolhe boa occazião para entrar no governo do Imperio que por direito lhe pertencia, deixou as terras de Manica por onde vivia, e veyose chegando para as de Tette com seu irmão Chirimbe que he mui alentado Cafre, e com quatro centos, ou quinhentos Cafres mais, que sempre o acompanharão, e fez aviso ao Cappitão-mor dos Rios, que se os Muzungos (assim chamão a todos os que não são Cafres) querião dar cumprim<sup>to</sup> ao que tinhão jurado de o reconhecerem por Emperador despois da morte de seu Pay, fosse elle dito Capp<sup>am</sup> mor com o partido de Senna a esperalo em hum lugar a que chamão Chambo, p<sup>a</sup> ali incorporados com o partido de Tette, e com elle hirem matar o Nhacunimbiri, e meteremno aelle de posse do Zimbaué.

110 [118]. O cappitão mor com este avizo foi marchando p<sup>a</sup> o Chambo, ordenando juntam<sup>te</sup> ao Capp<sup>am</sup> de Tette que com a brevid<sup>e</sup> possivel fizesse prestes a quelle partido p<sup>a</sup> em comp<sup>a</sup> do Principe se incorporarem lá todos, aonde com effeito chegou o d<sup>o</sup> Capp<sup>am</sup> mor, e por mais avisos que fez em 17 dias que ali esteve, não acabarão os m<sup>res</sup> de Tette de se rezolver a partirem: dizem que por não se acharem com forças para fazerem caminho por aquellas terras por serem mui povoadas de Cafraria forte, e belicoza, nem os de Senna as tinhão já p<sup>a</sup> fazer o mesmo, e hir buscar os de Tette, porque na quelles 17 dias tinhão muitas vezes pelejado, e perdido bastantes Cafres das mangas<sup>163</sup> que botavão para a pilhagem do mantimento que já lhes hia faltando, e sobretudo se achavão faltos de pedras de espingarda que esta foi a principal cauza de se retirarem para Senna, mas em

<sup>r</sup>-52 . . . 54: 50, 51 e 52 CR

he feared that the emperor might receive help from Changamira before he himself could receive help from Tete, he resolved to retreat with the remainder [of the people] to Tete. There he arrived by the grace of God and thanks to the fact that Gocha, through whose lands he had of necessity to pass, was not willing to carry out the order which he had received from the said emperor, to kill everyone.

108 [116]. In December this sad news reached the captain-major of the Rivers, who was then Manuel de Tavora e Sampaio, a resident of Sena, and as he had already gauged the power and astuteness of Changamira in the battle of Maungue as well as the fear which our Cafres had conceived of him, he concluded that without considerable help in the form of European soldiers and other supplies he would not be able to take any action. He therefore resolved to ask Tomé de Sousa Correa, who was then governor of the fort at Mozambique, for everything which he understood to be necessary, especially musket balls, which were seriously lacking in the Rivers.<sup>162</sup> And he arranged to bring together all the residents of Sena with as many of their Cafres as they could, both slaves and freemen, from the lands that were still obedient, because he feared that all the rest had turned against us.

109 [117]. At the same time the prince, Dom Pedro, of whom we gave notice in chapter 1, paragraphs 52, 53, and 54, heard of the events that were taking place in Mocaranga. It appeared to him a good opportunity to assume the government of the empire, which by right belonged to him. He left the lands of Manica where he lived and reached Tete with his brother Chirimbe, who was a very courageous Cafre, and with four or five hundred men who always accompanied him. There he informed the captain-major of the Rivers that if the Muzungos (which they call all those who are not Cafres) would be willing to carry out what they had sworn when they recognized him as emperor on the death of his father, the captain-major, with the contingent from Sena, should go and wait for him at a place they call Chambo to meet up with the contingent from Tete, and together they would go to kill Nhacunimbiri and put him in possession of the *zimbabwe*.

110 [118]. On receiving this information the captain-major began to march to Chambo, ordering the captain of Tete to get his contingent ready in as short a time as possible so that, in company with the prince, all would assemble there together. The said captain-major duly arrived there but, in spite of all the messages that he sent during the seventeen days that he was there, the Tete residents did not make up their minds to set out, saying that they did not have sufficient forces to make the journey through those lands, which were thickly populated with very strong and warlike Cafres. Nor had those of Sena complied with the request and gone to meet those of Tete because during those seventeen days they had had to fight many times and had lost a number of Cafres from the *mangas*<sup>163</sup> which they had sent to pillage provisions, which were already in short supply. Above all, there was a lack of musket balls, which was the principal reason why they retreated to Sena,

<sup>162</sup> Tomé de Sousa Correa was captain of Mozambique in 1693–4. Pedro António de Noronha wrote in September 1694 that his death ‘was a very heavy loss for this State because in him Your Majesty has lost a subject such as no other in all India’ (Pedro António de Noronha to king, Goa, 23 Sept. 1694, LM, 58, fols. 360<sup>v</sup>–361<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>163</sup> Companies or raiding parties.

boa forma, que não foi pequena m<sup>e</sup> de Deos introduzila nos nossos Cafres, porque athe ali não sabião mais que vencer, ou fugir, e se ali se puzessem em fugida, era certa a perdição de todos, porque como tinhão ali chegado á força de armas unidos, voltando á desfilada, serião todos resachados,<sup>s</sup> e ainda assim por quatro ou cinco vezes forão picados.

111 [119]. Quando chegarão a Senna, que foi em Mayo de 694; já nella acharão o soccorro que tinha vindo de Moss<sup>e</sup> constava elle de trinta soldados Portuguezes com seus off<sup>es</sup>, de que era Capp<sup>am</sup> Theodozio Franc<sup>o</sup> de Souza; bastante polvora, e balla, e pedras de espingardas, mas sem nenhuma prestar p<sup>a</sup> nada porque erão muito grandes, e não havia quem soubesse concertálas,<sup>164</sup> tudo isto era da fazenda de S. Magd<sup>e</sup>. Alem do que vinhão tambem mais de cem bares de roupas, que hé o dinhr<sup>o</sup> com que cá' se faz a guerra, e mais polvora, balla, e espingardas do hum donativo que os m<sup>res</sup> de Mossamb<sup>e</sup>, e alguns mercadores da India que ali se achavão, espontaneam<sup>te</sup> fizerão a S. Magd<sup>e</sup> p<sup>a</sup> esta empreza, e tambem offerecião suas pessoas, e vidas lembrados de que quando o Arabio deo na quella Fortaleza, acharão nos moradores destes Rios não só a mesma vontade, mas tambem a ex<sup>am</sup> de se terem alguns postos a caminho por terra com<sup>u</sup> seus Cafres.<sup>165</sup>

112 [120]. Constando em Tette que o partido de Senna se tinha retirado do Chambo, começarão os Cafres naturaes das terras em q' estava alojado o Principe com a sua gente, a mostrarlhe tão má cara, que entendeo que se querião levantar contra elle, e a causa era, porque já não tinhão que comer nem hus, nem outros; e posto que Manoel Pires Saro tinha soccorrido ao mesmo Principe, já o não podia soccorrer mais, porque tambem se lhe tinha acabado o mantim<sup>to</sup>; por esta cauza deixou o Principe aquellas terras, e foi p<sup>a</sup> as de Nhabanzoe aonde actualm<sup>te</sup> estava com seus filhos a viuva de Franc<sup>o</sup> Pinhr<sup>o</sup> de Faria em cuja caza, como dissemos no Cap 1<sup>o</sup> n<sup>o</sup> 54 teve elle Principe a primeira criação;<sup>166</sup> dizia o Principe q' hia a despedirse della, como de sua May que era, porque se tornava p<sup>a</sup> os mattos; e ella como May tambem o persuadio a que não fizesse tal, se não que se deixasse ficar na quellas terras, q' erão suas, e tambem delle Principe, p<sup>a</sup> nellas se alojar com a sua gente, athe ver o fim em que as couzas vinhão a parar, e que por entre tanto nellas tinha que comer; aceitou o Principe tudo o q' se lhe offereçeo, como quem tanto o dezejava.

<sup>s</sup> resachados: rechaçados CR      <sup>'</sup> cá: *not in CR*      <sup>u</sup> com: com os E

<sup>164</sup> Pedro António de Noronha, in a letter written in September 1694, says that the contingent consisted of 35 men not counting the officers with 'thirty barrels of gunpowder. . . twenty-five arrobas of shot, and two artillery pieces' (Pedro António de Noronha to king, Goa, 23 Sept. 1694, LM, 58, fols. 360<sup>v</sup>-361<sup>r</sup>). The residents of Mozambique themselves claimed in a letter to the viceroy that they 'took the bread from their children's mouths and the blood from their own veins and made a voluntary contribution of one hundred and sixty bares of merchandise, gunpowder, ammunition, and all that was needed to the total amount of over thirteen thousand cruzados' ('Proposta que a Câmara e mais moradores de Mosse fizerão ao Snor VRey', 30 July 1698, Ajuda, 57-VII-34).

although [they did so] in good order—no small mercy for God to introduce among our Cafres, because until that time all they knew was to conquer or to flee. If they had been put to flight, it was certain that all would be lost because, as they had arrived there as a united body, by returning in a wild flight they would have been defeated. Even so, they were attacked four or five times.

111 [119]. When they had reached Sena, which was in May 1694, they found the help which had come from Mozambique already there. It consisted of thirty Portuguese soldiers with their officers and Theodosio Francisco de Sousa as captain, with a sufficient quantity of powder, cannon, and musket balls but none of them fit for use because they were too large and no one knew how to adjust them.<sup>164</sup> All this came from His Majesty's treasury. Apart from this there arrived more than a hundred *bares* of cloth (which is the currency with which they make war) as well as more powder, cannon balls, and muskets, a gift which the settlers of Mozambique and some Indian merchants who were there spontaneously offered to His Majesty for this enterprise. And they also offered their own persons and lives, mindful of [the time] when that fortress was attacked by the Arabs and the settlers of the Rivers had not only shown the same good will but had also put it into execution and had set out by land with their Cafres.<sup>165</sup>

112 [120]. When it was confirmed in Tete that the Sena contingent had retired from Chambo, the native Cafres of the lands in which the prince was living with his people began to look upon him with such ill will that he believed they wanted to rise up against him. The cause was that neither the one nor the other had anything to eat. And although Manuel Pires Saro had sent help to the said prince, he was not able to help him further because he too had exhausted his food supplies. For this reason the prince left the said lands and went to those of Nhabanzoe, where the widow of Francisco Pinheiro de Faria lived with her children, in whose house, as we said in chapter 1, paragraph 54, the Prince had received his first education.<sup>166</sup> The prince said that he was going to take his leave of her, as if she had been his mother, because he was returning to the bush. And she, as his mother, persuaded him not to do this but to remain in those lands, which belonged to her and also to the prince, to lodge there with his people. Meanwhile until it was clear how events would turn out, he had meanwhile to eat. The prince accepted all that she offered to him as if it was what he had wanted.

<sup>165</sup> The Arab attack on Mozambique was in 1671. See Axelson, p. 142.

<sup>166</sup> See paras. 35 [35] and 54 [54]. Nhabanzoe was a minor chieftaincy of the Monomotapa state, which had been transferred to the Portuguese in the 1620s in reward for Portuguese help in the civil wars. Its first Portuguese owner was Diogo Simões Madeira. Mudenge calls it Nyambanzou (Mudenge (1988), 230–1).

113 [121]. Poucos dias depois do referido, chegarão noticias certas a Nhabanzoé que o Emperador Nhabunimbiri tinha já feito m<sup>e</sup> da quellas terras a hum dos seus grandes, o qual vinha tomar posse com bastante gente, o que constando á senhoria mandou ajuntar a gente toda das suas terras, assim forra, como cativa, que era bastante, e entregandoa a hum filho<sup>v</sup> seu por nome Pedro Glvs<sup>w</sup> Pinhão lhe disse que em tudo seguisse ao Principe, e estivesse ás suas ordens.

114 [122]. O Principe vendose com aquelle poder, foi com elle cortar o passo ao inimigo ás suas mesmas terras, e o fez com tão bom successo, que aos que não matou, ou pôr em fugida, captivou; por via destes soberão que o Changamira não tinha decido p<sup>a</sup> o Zimbaué, e que nem tenção mostrava de descer por certos agouros que tinha; isto mesmo tinha já dito o Principe, e nos queria segurar, que o Changamira não havia de descer a Serra de Chiquiziri, que fica entre Dambarare, e o Zimbaue, porque elle como natural, e como grande sabia o que nisto havia, e o certo hé que não desceo, não tendo quem lho estorvasse; e tambem dizia que nem o Nhabunimbiri havia de pegar em armas contra elle; e assim foi, mas nós lhe não davamos muito credito. Dizião mais os prizioneyros que o Emperador estava mal acompanhado, e que o mandar aquella gente fora porque se lhe tinha metido na cabeça, que já não havia Muzungos em Tette.

115 [123]. De tudo o que passava, fazia a viuva aviso a hum genro seu,<sup>167</sup> e aos mais moradores de Tette; os quaes vendo que por ali hia a fortuna abridolhes algum caminho, resolverãose a seguillo, incorporandose com o Principe,<sup>168</sup> e avisando juntam<sup>te</sup> a Senna, p<sup>a</sup> que lhes fosse algum soccorro; achavãose porem os Cafres de Senna tão enfadados, que se teve por impossivel reconduzillos p<sup>a</sup> nova marcha; e assim se assentou por hum adjunto que se lhes mandasse a Companhia Portugueza com bastante polvora, e balla, e roupas de Cafre, e por Capitão mor destas emprezas de Tette se ellegea a Fran<sup>co</sup> Machado Tavares.

116 [124]. Em quanto este soccorro não chegou a Tette, hia o Principe, e os moradores dando seus assaltos nas rayas das terras do Rey, e nellas achavão bastante mantimento; divulgouse isto pellas nossas terras, que estavam mui famintas, e foi cauza de se ajuntar ao nosso exercito espontaneam<sup>te</sup> muita Cafraria nossa, que se não esperava, porque dizião que se havião de ver morrer a suas mulheres, e filhos nas terras proprias, e acabar com elles a fome, querião antes morrer pelejando nas alheas á ponta da flecha, sem verem tantas mizerias, e com esta consideração pelejavão como Machabeos, mais afoitos, e cada vez hião ganhando mais terra, mas devagar.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>v</sup> filho: thio *CR*

<sup>w</sup> Glvs: Gonçalves *E*

<sup>167</sup> It is not clear whether this is the same person described in para. 113 [121] as son (or uncle in the Évora manuscript).

<sup>168</sup> Pedro António de Noronha gives a precise date for this of 14 June 1694 (Pedro António de Noronha to king, Goa, 23 Sept. 1694, LM, 58, fols. 360<sup>v</sup>–361<sup>v</sup>).

113 [121]. A few days after these events definite news reached Nhabanzoe that the emperor Nhacunimbiri had made a grant of these lands to one of his chiefs, who was coming to take possession of them with a considerable body of men. Hearing of this the *senhora* ordered all the people of the lands, both slave and free, who were a considerable number, to assemble; she then delivered them to her son, who was called Pedro Gonçalves Pinhão, and told him that in everything he should follow the prince and obey his orders.

114 [122]. When the prince saw himself reinforced with this army, he went with it to bar the road into these same lands against the enemy, which he did with such success that those who were not killed or put to flight were taken prisoner. Through these he found out that Changamira had not come down to the *zimbabwe* and that he had not shown any intention of coming because of some omens he had received. The prince had already told us this and he desired to secure our aid to prevent Changamira coming down from the mountains of Chiquiziri, which were between Dambarare and the *zimbabwe*, since as a native and a chief he knew what was happening (and it is certain that he did not come down, even though there was no one to prevent him). And he also said that Nhacunimbiri had not taken up arms against him, which was the case. However, we did not give him much credence. The prisoners also said that the emperor was accompanied by only a few men and that he had ordered these men to turn out because he had got it into his head that there were no Muzungos left in Tete.

115 [123]. The widow informed her son-in-law<sup>167</sup> and the Tete residents of all that had happened, and seeing that fortune had opened a way for them, they resolved to follow it and join forces with the prince,<sup>168</sup> at the same time informing those in Sena that they should send some help to them. However, the Cafres of Sena were so exhausted that it was considered impossible to lead them out on another march, so it was agreed at a meeting that the company of Portuguese soldiers should be sent to them with a quantity of powder and shot and Cafre cloth. Francisco Machado Tavares was chosen as captain-major of this Tete enterprise.

116 [124]. Although this aid had still not reached Tete, the prince and the settlers continued their attacks on the frontiers of the king's lands, and there they found sufficient supplies of food. When news of this spread through our lands, where there was serious famine, many of our Cafres, who were not expected, came to join the army of their own free will because they said that in their own lands they would have to watch their wives and children die, and they themselves would perish from hunger. And before dying of hunger they preferred to fight in foreign lands rather than see such great misery. And with this in mind they fought like the Maccabees in a very daring manner and gradually conquered more territory.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>169</sup> A reference to the Jewish rebellion against the Seleucids, which eventually established an independent Jewish state. The wars lasted from 164 to 142 bc. The best-known leader was Judah Maccabee.

117 [125]. Chegou o soccorro a Tette nas vespéras de S. João,<sup>170</sup> e com brevidé se incorporou ao<sup>x</sup> o exercito, que hia continuando seu caminho, no meyo do qual se lhe offereceo hum grande embaraço, e foi que necessariam<sup>te</sup> havião de passar pellas Terras de Gocha Cafre poderozo, e supposto athe ali o tinhamos por amigo pello que fica dito n 107,<sup>y</sup> e o confirmavamos por ter mandado hum filho seu com bastante gente p<sup>a</sup> acompanhar ao Principe D. Pedro, com tudo constavamos com certeza, que tinha mandado outro p<sup>a</sup> o Nhacunimbiri, sem disso nos dar parte, o que elle não negava, mas dizia que fossemos; porque ate o mesmo seu filho se havia de pôr contra o Nhacunimbiri; sobre isto houve varias replicas nossas, e repostas suas.

118 [126]. Neste comenos chegou á Povoação de Tette Joseph da <sup>z</sup>Fon<sup>ca</sup> Cout<sup>oz</sup><sup>171</sup> cappitão mor que então era destes Rios, a quem acompanharão Guilherme de Araujo e Sylva, e M<sup>el</sup> Freyre de Oliveira com os seus cativos, ambos dos principaes m<sup>tes</sup> de Senna; com a chegada dos tres se divulgou pella Cafraria do nosso exercito, que era chegado a Tette o partido de Senna, com que cobrou novos alentos, e dos nossos Cafres passou tambem ao Gocha esta fama, despois da qual se acabou de declarar mandando suas proprias mulheres de refens p<sup>a</sup> o nosso exercito, que era o maior sinal que nos podia mostrar de amizade, com que dali por diante forão sem embaraço algum athe o Zimbaue, donde o Nhacunimbiri se retirou á vista do nosso exercito, mas sem se pôr em defeza, como o Principe tinha dito, por mais que a isso o incitavão os seus; e principalm<sup>te</sup> sete, ou outro Cafres do Changamira, que forão os unicos que pegarão em arcos. Tomou o Principe posse do seu Zimbaue com as suas costumadas ceremonias, que são ridiculas, e dali por diante se intitulou Emperador.<sup>172</sup>

119 [127]. Contarão dous Cafres nossos, a quem seu amo dá credito, que o Nhacunimbiri, quando se retirou, hia seu passo cheyo, e ja sem companhia, que o podesse defender, e que querendo elles seguillo p<sup>a</sup> o apanharem, ou matarem, o não puderão fazer, porque lhe doerão a ambos os joelhos, de sorte q' não podião dar passo p<sup>a</sup> diante, e que por isso lhes escapára.

120 [128]. O Nhacunimbiri se foi valer do Changamira que neste tempo estava no Mangoé, entre Dambarare e Massequeça com tanto poder que a ambas as partes assombrava; não se quiz elle dar por achado p<sup>a</sup> o Restituir ao governo, podendo fazer facil<sup>m</sup><sup>te</sup>, mas foi-o detendo por ali com os olhos em saquear a Manica, como saqueou.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>x</sup> ao: com *E*

<sup>y</sup> 107: 115 *E*; 111 *CR*

<sup>z-z</sup> Fon<sup>ca</sup> Cout<sup>o</sup>: Affonseca Cou<sup>to</sup> *E*; Coutinho *CR*

<sup>170</sup> This might be either 26 December or 5 May.

<sup>171</sup> See above, n. 74.

<sup>172</sup> These events are described by the viceroy in a letter to the king: 'The inhabitants of Tete on the 14 June, had left with the prince, Dom Pedro, to take possession of Monomotapa which belongs to him, and they were successful in fighting the King's people who hated him, and because of the healthiness



117 [125]. The help arrived at Tete on the eve of Saint John's Day,<sup>170</sup> and in a short time was incorporated into the army, which continued its march. During [the march] a great difficulty arose, namely the need to pass through the lands of Gocha, a powerful Cafre whom we had supposed to be our friend (as can be seen in paragraph 107). This had been confirmed when he sent his son with a considerable number of men to accompany Prince Dom Pedro. Nevertheless, we were sure that he had sent another son to Nhacunimbiri without telling us, which he did not deny. However, he told us to go on because the said son would also turn against Nhacunimbiri. To this we gave various replies and he also responded.

118 [126]. At this moment Joseph da Fonseca Coutinho,<sup>171</sup> who was then captain-major of the Rivers, arrived in Tete. He was accompanied by Guilherme de Araujo e Silva and Manuel Freire de Oliveira, both of them among the principal residents of Sena, with their slaves. With the arrival of these three word spread through our army that the contingent from Sena had arrived at Tete, whereupon it regained its courage. And from our Cafres this news passed also to Gocha, who finally declared himself and sent his own wives as hostages to our army, which was the strongest sign of friendship he could show us. From this time onwards they advanced without any hindrances to the *zimbabwe*, from which, as the prince had said, Nhacunimbiri retreated at the sight of our army without putting up any defence, however much his men and seven or eight Cafres of Changamira, who were the only ones who took up arms, had urged him to do so. The prince took possession of his *zimbabwe* with the customary ridiculous ceremonies and from this time onwards he assumed the title of emperor.<sup>172</sup>

119 [127]. Two of our Cafres, who were trusted by their master, related that when Nhacunimbiri retreated, he fled very rapidly and was now without any companions who could defend him. Although they had wanted to follow him to capture or kill him, they were not able to do so because both of them suffered so much pain in their knees that they could not take a step forward, and for this reason he escaped them.

120 [128]. Nhacunimbiri went to seek help from Changamira, who at that time was in Maungue, between Dambarare and Masekesa, with so much power that he overawed both regions. However, he did not want to restore him [Nhacunimbiri] to government, although he could have done so easily, because he wanted to remain there setting his sights on the sacking of Manica, which he eventually carried out.<sup>173</sup>

of the lands of Inhanbanso they went two day's journey through the King's territory, and bravely approached the Simbae which is the fortress where the King Monomotapa resides; and already the people of Inhaparapara and the King of Minmuto, who is most powerful, and other people have come to do homage to the Prince' (Viceroy to king, Goa, 16 Nov. 1694, BL Add. MS 20903, printed in Welch, pp. 34–5). For these events see Mudenge (1988), 290–1.

<sup>173</sup> Mudenge suggests that Changamira may have installed Nhacunimbiri as the new chief of Manica (Mudenge (1988), 292).

121 [129]. Estando as cousas nestes termos, nos veyo a soccorrer da India D. Estevão Joseph da Gama filho do Marquez de Niza,<sup>174</sup> e Cappitão mór que havia sido das Naos da India, e de prezente vinha por Gov<sup>or</sup>, e Capp<sup>am</sup> Geral de Moçamb<sup>e</sup> e Rios, nos quaes entrou em Março de 1695 com hua comp<sup>a</sup>, que sustentou de sua fazenda athe a por em Senna. Tendo nós noticia deste zello do serviço de S. Magd<sup>e</sup>, que não podia por então chegar a mais, que<sup>a</sup> vir gastar do seu, e de seus parentes, donde seus antecessores sempre levarão, e juntam<sup>te</sup> que a sua prudencia, entendim<sup>to</sup>, e valor erão iguaes ao zello do serviço de El Rey Nosso S<sup>or</sup>, e á qualid<sup>e</sup> de seu illustre sangue,<sup>175</sup> nos pareceo que nelle tinhamos tão certo Restaurador dos Rios, e Conquistador da Abutua, como o forão seus ascend<sup>es</sup> da India, mas Deos o não permittio assim, porque lhe quiz dar mais cedo outra muito mayor gloria no outro mundo: assim o creyo piamente pella informação que tive de sua santa vida, e pellos evidentes sinaes que vi de sua predestinação pello discurço da doença athe a hora da morte, em que lhe assisti.

122 [130]. Com a morte deste Fidalgo se rasgarão<sup>b</sup> as gallas verdes de nossas esperanças, e se cobrirão os nossos coraçoes do triste luto de sentimento, e se nos fez mais sintida aos que da sua vida mais esperavamos: eu confesso que me considerava hum dos mais interessados nella, porque o via tão amigo, e zeloso do serviço de Deos, e do aumento da Christand<sup>e</sup>, que me persuadia ter nelle outro Moyzes da Ley da Graça.

123 [131]. Por sua morte ficou outra vez governando estes Rios Joseph<sup>c</sup> da Fonseca Cout<sup>oc</sup> com patente de Tenente Gen<sup>al</sup> que lhe veyo na mesma monção; e ainda tinhamos as lagrimas nos olhos, quando nos principios de Julho tivemos certeza em Senna de que o Changamira tinha arrazado a Feyra de Massequeça, e conseguintem<sup>te</sup> senhareado as terras todas de Manica que erão as que lhe faltavão p<sup>a</sup> totalm<sup>te</sup> não termos nem hum grão de ouro, sem o qual sabia elle mui bem que nos não poderiamos sustentar nestes Rios mais dous annos; e assim era porque já estavamos de sorte q' muitos, ou os mais delles, nem boca tinhão p<sup>a</sup> pedir a seus devedores, por verem a extrema necessid<sup>e</sup> em que quazi todos vivião, regulandose por si mesmos.

124 [132]. Mas antes que de todo se acabassem as roupas que havia na feitoria de Senna, queria o Chang<sup>a</sup> aproveitarse dellas, p<sup>a</sup> o que intentou marchar p<sup>a</sup> Senna pellas<sup>d</sup> Terras do Rey de Baroe<sup>d176</sup> o qual o foi detendo no Rio<sup>e</sup> Roangua, per que lhe era necess<sup>o</sup> passar;<sup>e177</sup> de que tendo nos noticia, tratamos de fortificar a

<sup>a</sup> que: que a *E*                    <sup>b</sup> rasgarão: regarão *E*                    <sup>c-c</sup> da Fonseca Cout<sup>o</sup>: de Affonseca Cout<sup>o</sup>  
*E*                    <sup>d-d</sup> Terras . . . Baroe: *illegible in E*                    <sup>e-e</sup> Roangua . . . passar: *illegible in E*

<sup>174</sup> Brother of Dom Cristovão José da Gama, he was born on 16 Aug. 1666 and died on 9 June 1695. He originally studied for the Church before taking up a military career. He sailed from Lisbon as captain-major of the armada in 1694 and was nominated captain-general of Mozambique by the viceroy. The viceroy wrote to the king: 'his disinterestedness and character will make him respected by

121 [129]. While matters were in this situation, Dom Estevão José da Gama, son of the Marquez of Niza, came from India to help us.<sup>174</sup> He had been captain-major of the India *naus* and now came as governor and captain-general of Mozambique and the Rivers with an entourage, which he maintained at his own expense until he reached Sena in March 1695. When we had news of this example of zeal for His Majesty's service, which at that time amounted to spending his money and that of his family in the place where his predecessors had always triumphed, and as his prudence, understanding, and courage were equal to his zeal for His Majesty's service and to the quality of his illustrious lineage,<sup>175</sup> it appeared certain to us that in him we had the man who would restore the Rivers and become the conqueror of Butua, as his ancestors had been of India. But God did not allow him this because he desired to give him, even sooner, a still greater glory in the other world. This I piously believe both from the information which there is of his holy life, and from the evident signs, which I saw, of his destiny through talking to him during his illness and up to the hour of his death, at which I was present.

122 [130]. With the death of this *fidalgo* were torn up the green shoots of our hopes, and our hearts were filled with feelings of melancholy, which was more strongly felt by those who had hoped so much from his life. I confess that I was one of the most interested because I considered him such a friend and so zealous in the service of God and for the spread of Christianity that I was convinced that in him there was another Moses of the Law of Grace.

123 [131]. On his death Joseph da Fonseca Coutinho was left governing the Rivers for a second time with the patent of *tenente geral*, which reached him in the same monsoon. We still had tears in our eyes when, at the beginning of July, definite news reached Sena that Changamira had destroyed the fair of Masekesa and in consequence had taken over the lands of Manica, which he needed to take so that we should no longer have a single grain of gold, without which he well knew that we would not be able to survive more than two years in the Rivers. And we were already in such a state that many people, perhaps even the majority, did not have the courage to call in their debts, because they saw for themselves the extreme necessity in which almost everyone was living and behaved accordingly.

124 [132]. However, before all the cloth in the factory at Sena was spent, Changamira wanted to take possession of it. So he planned to march to Sena through the lands of the king of Barue,<sup>176</sup> who waited for him on the River Ruangua which he would have to cross.<sup>177</sup> Having notice of this, we set about fortifying the

those inhabitants, and bring them to reason' (Viceroy to king, Goa, 16 Nov. 1694, BL Add. MS 20903, printed in Welch, pp. 34–5).

<sup>175</sup> Literally 'blood'. These are references to the activities of Vasco da Gama in East Africa and India.

<sup>176</sup> This and the following phrase noted as illegible in the Évora manuscript, and the similar cases in para. 126 [134] below, were shown as gaps in the *Chronista de Tissuary*. However, they are clearly legible in the Ajuda manuscript.

<sup>177</sup> This is almost certainly the Ruenha river, which was the traditional boundary between Barue and Mocaranga.

Povoação, de sorte que foi possível, q' como estavam sobre atenuados, mui faltos de mantimento, nem podemos correr hua taypa ao redor della, mas som<sup>te</sup> tapámos as ruas da Povoação, em cujas portas se puzerão algumas peças, e não deixava de nos dar muito cuidado á vista do pouco animo com que os nossos Cafres estavam, o receio que tinhamos de que na occasião nos acabassem de faltar, quando totalm<sup>te</sup> se não puzessem tambem contra nós, e a falta do mantimento, e de pedras de espingarda.

125 [133]. A este extremo de afflicções tinhamos chegados todos, e a este auge de soberba tinha tambem chegado, como outro Antiocho,<sup>178</sup> o Changamira; quando nos principios de Janeyro de 696 se começarão a divulgar humas novas de que o Changamira era morto, e de que o exercito se hia desfazendo, ou estava já desfeito por desunioens<sup>f</sup> dos filhos, que ficarão, sobre a preferencia ao governo, não se crerão estas novas por m<sup>10</sup> tempo, não só porque não mereciamos a Deos a certeza dellas, mas tambem por que aquelle inimigo era tal q' quando queria fazer a sua p<sup>a</sup> ser mais á sua vont<sup>e</sup>, fingiase morto; e assim o tinha feito varias vezes; mas finalm<sup>te</sup> viemos a assentar que assim era, e na realid<sup>e</sup> hé morto.

126 [134]. Com estas novas, que não forão pouco alegres, nem pouco dignas de se louvar a Deos por ellas, se corroborarão as do descobrimento das minas da prata no mez de Fevreyro; e parecendome que tão grandes m<sup>ces</sup> de Deos, devião agradecerse mais com obras, que com palavras, esperei o mez de Mayo, em que por occazião da monção se ajuntão em Senna os mais dos m<sup>tes</sup> dos Rios, e comuniquei aos principaes delles a tenção que tinha de lhes fazer huma proposta a todos, em que os persuadisse a prometer em acção de graças pagar espontaneam<sup>te</sup> os dizimos da prata a Deos p<sup>a</sup> sustentação dos Ministros da Igr<sup>a</sup>, e aumento da Christand<sup>e</sup> na forma que fica dito no Cap 2 n<sup>o</sup> 91<sup>g</sup> e nos seguintes; sem que fosse necess<sup>o</sup> serem a isto constrangidos por censuras: e p<sup>a</sup> os livrar do escrúpulo, que poderião ter do meu interesse proprio, lhes manifestei a vontade, que na realidade<sup>h</sup> tenho de renunciar esta prellazia pella mais pobre Cella da minha Religião, e que em quanto me não viesse successor, queria passar como athe então pobrem<sup>te</sup> sem couza alguma de dizimos.

127 [135]. Parecialhes <sup>i</sup>tudo cousa santa, <sup>j</sup>e tal houve q' com as <sup>j</sup>lagrimas nos olhos, dali <sup>k</sup>mesmo fez proposito de pagar fielmente<sup>k</sup> os dizimos, mas <sup>l</sup>despois que o inimigo homem lhes <sup>l</sup>sobre semeou a sizania, por meyo de quem tinha obrigação de ser Apóllo<sup>m</sup> (que hé mais p<sup>a</sup> se sentir) cresceo ella tanto, que sufocou a boa semente do Senhor, botando na mayor parte delles thais<sup>n</sup> raizes, que me parece, que sem a força do braço de S. Magd<sup>e</sup> se não poderão arrancar: e daqui fiquei tirando som<sup>te</sup> o conhecimento do pouco, ou nada que podia fazer nesta Christand<sup>e</sup>,

<sup>f</sup>desunioens: *illegible in E*; disputar hum CR      <sup>g</sup>91: 98 E; 94 CR      <sup>h</sup>realidade: verdade  
E      <sup>i-i</sup>tudo . . . santa: cousa tão santa *Cunha Rívara, misreading E*      <sup>j-j</sup>e . . . as: *illegible in E*  
E      <sup>k-k</sup>mesmo . . . fielmente: *illegible in E*      <sup>l-l</sup>despois . . . lhes: *illegible in E*      <sup>m</sup>Apóllo:  
Apostolo E      <sup>n</sup>thais: taes E

settlement as well as possible, but because we were so weakened and had so few provisions, we were not able to build a wall around it but only to barricade the streets, placing some guns at the entrance to them. And we became very concerned because of the low morale of our Cafres, our fear that they would fail us when the time came, if not actually turn against us, and our lack of food and musket balls.

125 [133]. We had all reached this extremity of our afflictions, and Changamira had also reached the height of his pride, like another Antiochus,<sup>178</sup> when at the beginning of January 1696 news began to spread that Changamira was dead and that his army was disbanding or had already done so because of quarrels between his sons about the succession. This news was not believed for some time, not only because we did not deserve the certainty of it from God but also because our enemy was such that, whenever he greatly desired to obtain something, he would feign his own death, as he had already done many times. However, finally we came to accept that it was so and that he was really dead.

126 [134]. With this news, which was a cause of no small happiness and was not a little worthy of praise to God, we also received corroboration of the discovery of the silver mines in the month of February. And as I thought that God ought to be thanked for such great blessings rather with deeds than with words, I waited till the month of May, when, on the occasion of the monsoon, most of the inhabitants of Sena met together. I then communicated to the principal among them my intention to make a proposal to them all so as to persuade them, as an act of grace, spontaneously to pay the tithes on the silver to God, for the maintenance of the ministers of the Church and for the spread of Christianity, in the form that is set out in chapter 2, paragraphs 91 and following, without it being necessary for them to be compelled to do this through a censure. And in order to remove any scruple that there might be about my personal interest in this, I revealed to them the desire, that in truth I had, to renounce the prelacy for the poorest cell of my order, and stated that until my successor should come I desired to live in poverty without receiving anything in the way of tithes.

127 [135]. This appeared to them to be such a holy action that, with tears in their eyes, they promised faithfully to pay the tithes. But afterwards a human enemy sowed discord although he was under an obligation to become an apostle (which is the more to be regretted) and [this discord] grew so much that it suffocated the good seed of the Lord, laying down such roots that it appeared to me that without the force of His Majesty's arm they could never be torn up. And I remained here in the knowledge that little or nothing can be done in this Christian community, especially

<sup>178</sup> A reference to Antiochus IV Epiphanes (215–164 BC), who died on campaign against the Jewish uprising.

principal<sup>te</sup> em quanto nella houvesse semelhantes Ministros mais do Demonio que da Igr<sup>a</sup>,<sup>179</sup> e por esta cauza me resolvi a vir a Goa a requerer a S. Magd<sup>e</sup> entre outras cousas que mandasse cobrar os ditos dizimos, pois lhe pertencem por Bullas Pontificaes, como Grão Mestre que hé da Ordem de Christo, <sup>o</sup>p<sup>a</sup> com elles se fazerem as congruas sustentaçoes dos Ministros Ecc<sup>os</sup>, Seminario, erecçoes, e fabricas de Igrejas, e Seé Capitular, tudo por ordens de hum Tribunal de Missoens, erecto em Senna ou em Tette a onde hé muito necessario,<sup>180</sup> neste requerim<sup>to</sup> fico em Goa, <sup>p</sup>a 16<sup>p</sup> de Dezembro de 696<sup>o</sup>.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>o-o</sup>p<sup>a</sup> . . . 696: *this passage is to be found on a separate sheet in E*      <sup>p-p</sup>a 16: em 15 E

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<sup>179</sup> He is referring to the vicar-general of the Dominicans. See the Introduction.

<sup>180</sup> See above, n. 149.

<sup>181</sup> The date given after the dedication at the beginning is 12 December.

while there were there such ministers, serving the Devil rather than the Church.<sup>179</sup> And for this reason I resolved to go to Goa to request His Majesty, among other things, to order the tithes to be paid which through papal bulls belonged to him as Grand Master of the Order of Christ, which he is, so that he can pay the stipends to maintain the ecclesiastical ministers, the seminary, the building and fabric of the churches, and the capitular see, which through the orders of the Tribunal of Missions are to be erected in Sena or in Tete, where they are most needed.<sup>180</sup> And in pursuit of this proposal I remain in Goa on 16 December 1696.<sup>181</sup>





## APPENDIX

### Passages Deleted in the Évora Manuscript

**A:** following para. 39

40 Ate o presente nenhum Portugues, nem natural da India tem visto as minas com seus olhos para se poderem descrever, como a materia pedia, so dizem por informação de Cafres que he huma couza m<sup>to</sup> grande, e todos o tem assim p<sup>a</sup> si; dizem mais que por todo aquelle destrito não ha arvoredos, e se entende que todo esta minado de metaes, mais p<sup>a</sup> diante da mina da prata que esta descuberta se achou chumbo, e mais p<sup>a</sup> tras ferro e da outra parte do Zambezi fronteira a mina da prata tambem dizem que se achou prata; e isto me contarão pessoas fidedignas, que tambem o crem.

41 A cauza de não terem ido Portuguezes, nem Indios as minas da prata, he por não queremos desgostar o Emperador de Manamotapa, e he certo que se ha de desgostar vendo que ja se não faz caso de elle, e que se tira a prata sem beneplacito seu; ja o ditto Joseph da Fonseca Coutinho que hoje e G<sup>or</sup> destes Rios lho mandou pedir com hum presente da fazenda de El Rey nosso senhor, e promessa de que todos os annos se lhe davão suas propinas, esperase que difira como nos queremos, e sendo assim determinão todos cavar com os seus Cafres, e dar os quintos da prata que fizerem a Sua Mag<sup>de</sup>, praza a Ds, que tudo assim seja, como se espera p<sup>a</sup> honra e gloria sua, e augmento desta Christandade, e do nosso Reino de Portugal, ate chegar a ser o Quinto Imperio que esperamos.

**B:** at end of para. 62

. . . em que podera aver alguma duvida he em não apparecer o original, e creio q' não esta nestes Rios mas he m<sup>to</sup> provavel que esteja no cartorio da Fortaleza de Moc<sup>c</sup> porque falando eu nesta materia em Moc<sup>c</sup> no anno de 693 com Thome de Souza Correa, que então era G<sup>or</sup> da quella Fortaleza, e cuidando que lhe dizia alguma couza de novo, me dice, que ja o sabia por consto, que estava na quella Fortaleza, que como era cuidadozo tinha revolido tudo.

**C:** following para. 64

65 Primeiramente o que me parece necessario para o augmento desta Conquista por ora he hum Vizo-Rey tam zelozo do serviço de Ds, e de S. Magde, e tam experimentado em guerras de Cafres como o Conde de Alvor Francisco de Tavora, que tudo mostrou na India, e em Angola, ou como Caetano de Mello e Castro, que tambem nestes Rios deixou muy bom nome: com isto tinha eu ditto tudo porq' ficando o mais na disposição de qualquer destes Heroes, sempre o farião mais acertado, doque eu o posso discorrer, mas porque se não imagine que isto he desculpa para me poupar ao trabalho direi nesta materia o que entendo.

66 Para esta empreza do augmento dos Rios deve trazer o Vizo Rey em sua Comp<sup>a</sup> mil homens com seus officiaes de guerra, polvora, bala, pecetas columbrinas de bronze de huma ate duas livras, pedreiros, bombas pequenas, frexas de fogo, espingardas, algumas coiras, e se poder ser tambem alguns cavalos, artelheiros, espingardeiros com suas ferramentas, medicos, cerurgioens com suas boticas, e o mais que se entender necessario para em forma de exercito se porem logo em huma comprida marcha, suppondo que cá não han de achar mais que mantimentos, e cafres com seus arcos, e alguns com espingardas q' por todos serão mil, que seus senhores lhes tem comprado, e advertindo tambem, que a falta de pedras de espingarda foi a principal cauza de não ter effeito huma guerra que sahiu de Senna no anno de 1694 como no capitulo seguinte no 118 veremos.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In fact the relevant paragraphs are 110 [118] and 124 [132].

**A:** following para. 39

40 Until the present day no Portuguese and no native of India has seen the mines with his own eyes, so as to be able to describe them as the matter requires. They speak only from information provided by the Cafres, which is an important thing and all do the same. They also say that in that whole district there are no trees and that everywhere there are mines of metal. In front of the silver mine that has been discovered lead is found and behind it iron, while on the other bank of the Zambezi, opposite the silver mine, silver is also to be found. And I have been told this by people who are trustworthy and who believe it.

41 The reason why neither Portuguese nor Indians have been to the silver mines is that we do not want to displease the emperor Monomotapa, for it is certain that he would be displeased since he himself has not paid any attention to it and the silver would be extracted without his permission. Already Joseph da Fonseca Coutinho, who today is governor of these Rivers, has sent to ask his permission with a present from His Majesty our lord's treasury and has promised that every year he would have a gift. He expects that he [the emperor] will do as we hope. And if this happens everyone will decide to dig with their Cafres and to give the fifths on the silver which they obtain to His Majesty. God grant that all should happen as is hoped, for his honour and glory and for the increase of Christianity and [the prosperity] of our kingdom of Portugal, until the Fifth Monarchy which we all long for shall arrive.

**B:** at end of para. 62

. . . In this there could be an element of doubt because the original does not exist. I believe that it is not in the Rivers but that it is very probable that it is in the office of the fortress of Mozambique because, when I was speaking about this matter in 1693 to Tomé de Sousa Correa, who was then governor of the fortress, he thought to tell me something new and he told me that he knew for certain that it was in that fortress since, as he was concerned about it, he had looked at it.

**C:** following para. 64

65 First of all, what seems to me at this moment to be necessary for the increase of this conquest is a viceroy who is very zealous in the service of God and His Majesty, and one who is as experienced in African warfare as the Conde de Alvor, Francisco de Tavora, who proved this in India and in Angola, or as Caetano de Mello e Castro, who also established a good reputation in these Rivers. In saying this I have said all I can because everything in the disposition of these heroes impels them to act more wisely than I can describe. However, because it may be imagined that I am apologizing for saving myself some trouble, I will say what I mean in this matter.

66 For this enterprise of increasing [the prosperity of] the Rivers the viceroy ought to bring with him a thousand men with their military officers, powder, shot, bronze guns of one or two pounds, swivel guns, small bombs, fireworks, muskets, some shields and possibly some horses, artillery men and musketeers with their equipment, doctors, surgeons with their medicine chests, and everything that is understood to be necessary for an army undertaking a long march. And all this on the assumption that there is nothing to be found here except food and Cafres with their bows, and about a thousand with muskets which their lords have bought for them. It should also be noted that the lack of musket balls was the principal reason why the army which set out from Sena in 1694 achieved no results, as we will see in paragraph 118.<sup>1</sup>

67 Esta armada deve partir de Portugal no p<sup>o</sup> de Março pella rezão que direi no 77,<sup>2</sup> em demanda de Sofala, e tanto que ali aportar, deve o Vizo Rey informarse, se haja Piloto de Barra em Quillimane, que he provavel avelo pelo que fica ditto no Cap 1<sup>o</sup> n 4 e achando que sim, ou que os Pilotos das mesmas naos do Reino poderão com lanchas sondar o canal da quelle banco, e por lhe balizar para entrarem, sera m<sup>o</sup> conveniente, irem de manda de Quill<sup>c</sup> levando de Sofala, que he terra abundante, tudo o q' poderem levar de mantimento, porque supposto temos ditto, que Quill<sup>c</sup> e Luabo são terras muy frutiferas, contudo mil hospedes em huma terra pequena fazem nella m<sup>o</sup> aballo.

68 Posto o Vizo Rey em Quill<sup>c</sup> he de crer, que faça logo aviso de sua chegada aos moradores de Senna e Tette com ordem, que com a brevidade possivel se fação prestes com os seus cafres p<sup>a</sup> se encorporarem com elle em Senna e entre tanto se pode vir chegando com os seus soldados, e com o partido de Quillimane para a mesma Senna pello Rio Zambezi, ou por terra m<sup>o</sup> a sua vontade; e em quanto não chega o partido de Tette pode em Senna mandar fazer algum exercicio militar assim aos nossos Portuguezes, como aos nossos Cafres, e fazer alguma bofada [?] para a bagagem.

69 Chegado que for a Senna o partido de Tette, trazendo o Vizo Rey em sua comp<sup>a</sup> pessoa de confiança, e em que, os que ca estão, a reconheção superioridade, seria m<sup>o</sup> acertado fazer a essa pessoa General do exercito e elle ficar em Senna para o respeito assim seu, como da terra, mas não sendo sogeito conhecidamente superior aos mais, hade ser necessario ir a sua pessoa ate Abutua; pello caminho pouca, ou nehuma rezistencia hão de achar indo na forma que temos ditto; e no que deve por m<sup>o</sup> cuidado he, em que nehum Cafre faça adivinçoens, nem leve mafutas, que são feitiços, ou couzas supersticiosas, e nisto não so faz serviço a Ds, mas tambem a S Magd<sup>c</sup> porq' algumas guerras se tem perdido por se não poder evitar isto ate agora; e estavamos em tal estado, que mais hiamos nos exercitos as ordens dos Cafres, do q' os Cafres as nossas ordens.

**D:** following para. – [73]

O resto da gente militar deve assistir nestes principios ao Vizo Rey em Senna ou em Tette para mandar acudir a qualquer alteração da Cafraria contraria. Dice (nestes principios) não so pella rezão que fica dita no 71;<sup>3</sup> senão tambem porq' pello tempo adiante, creio que sera mais necessaria a assistencia da pessoa do Vizo Rey com a infantaria em algum dos portos de Sofala, Quille, ou Luabo, assim p<sup>a</sup> os defender da ambição das naçoens estrangeiras, como para ficar mais expedito para despedir as monçoens do Reyno e da India.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. para. – [77] in this edition.

<sup>3</sup> See paras. 66 [66]–68 [70] in this edition.

67 This fleet ought to leave Portugal for Sofala on the first of March for the reason I have given in paragraph 77.<sup>2</sup> As soon as it arrives the viceroy ought to find out if there is a pilot at Quelimane—which is probable, as has been said in chapter 1, paragraph 4—and if it is found that the pilots from the *naus* can sound the channel from boats and buoy it for entry, it will be most convenient to go to Quelimane, taking from Sofala, where the lands have abundant crops, what they can in the way of food because, although we have said that the lands of Quelimane and Luabo are very fertile, a thousand extra guests in a small land will cause a lot of upset there.

68 The moment that the news of the viceroy's arrival in Quelimane has reached the residents of Sena and Tete, it must be assumed that they will get ready as soon as possible with their Cafres to join him in Sena, and meanwhile he will also go with his soldiers and with the contingent from Quelimane to Sena by the River Zambezi or by land, as he wishes; and, until the contingent from Tete arrives, he could order military exercises to be held as much for us Portuguese as for our Cafres and to make some storehouse [?] for the baggage.

69 When the Tete contingent reaches Sena, the viceroy should have in his company some trustworthy person whose authority will be recognized by those who are there. He will be well advised to make this person general of the army. And he should remain in Sena because of the respect he commands there and in the land. But if he is not known to be a person superior to the majority, it will be necessary for him to go in person to Butua. Little or no resistance will be met with if he goes in the manner we have outlined. And he should take great care that no Cafre makes any divinations or carries out *mafutas* (which are witchcraft) or any superstitious things. This will not only be a service to God but also to His Majesty because in the past some wars have been lost through not being able to prevent this. And we have been in such a state that our armies have been more under the orders of the Cafres than the Cafres under ours.

**D:** following para. – [73]

The rest of the military personnel should at first assist the viceroy in Sena or in Tete in order to send help against any hostile Africans. I say 'at first' not only for the reason that has been stated in paragraph 71<sup>3</sup> but also because from this time onwards I believe that the presence of the viceroy in person, together with the infantry, will be necessary in one of the ports of Sofala, Quelimane, or Luabo, both to defend against the ambition of foreign nations and to hasten the dispatch of the ships on the monsoon from Portugal and India.

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