

CHAPTER VIII

Wherein is DESCRIBED the LAND that LIES BETWEEN the TWO RIVERS ÇANAGÁ and GAMBEA, and their COURSES: how PERO VAZ BISAGUDO, who accompanied PRINCE D. JOÃO BEMOY wrongfully KILLED HIM, on the grounds that he was PLOTTING TREASON, and the GRIEF of the KING at HIS DEATH.

This land, commonly called Jalof by the natives, lies between these two remarkable rivers, Çanagá and Gambea, which, as their courses are long, receive several names from the different peoples who live on their banks. Though we call it Çanagá where it enters the sea, the Jalofs call it Dengueh; the Tucuroes, Maio; and the Caragoles, Cólle; where it runs through the Province of Bagano¹, which is the most eastern, it is called Zimbalá,—for which reason this Province is sometimes known by the same name—and in the Kingdom of Timbuktu it is called Iça². Though it runs through a great extent of country, coming from the eastern springs of the lakes which are called by Ptolemy Chelonides and Nuba, and the river Gir³, and continuing almost straight until it enters the Ocean in fifteen and a half degrees of latitude, we do not know what the other peoples call it. The reason

¹ A province of the empire of Mali, north of the Niger and west of Timbuktu, conquered by the Songhai in 1499.

² These names for the Senegal river are simply the words for 'water' in the various dialects. The Caragoles are the Soninké.

³ Ptolemy's geography of the interior of Northern Africa is characterized by two hydrographical systems, one formed by the Chelonidas Paludes and the river Gir, with an independent Nuba Palus, the other, and more westerly, by the river Nigir, the Libyae Palus, and the Nigritis Palus. These are said to flow 'in the middle of the land'. It is improbable that either represent the Niger—Senegal or Gambia, as Barros supposed. Dr John Ball has argued that the Chelonidas Paludes are to be identified with the Kufara depression, and the Gir with a wadi to the west. Col. Tilho thinks that the former was the lowland north-east of Lake Chad. The Nigir was probably one of the wadis on the south-eastern slopes of the Atlas mountains, and some have identified it with the Wadi Gir (see *Geogr. Journ.* LXX (1927), pp. 209-11, 512).

why we generally call it Çanagá¹—from the name of a lord of the country with whom our men at the beginning of this discovery traded—is because here they did not know any other name for it. Being a river which comes from so far, it does not bring down so much water², neither does the tide run so far up it as happens with the river Gambia of Cantor. It forms some islands, most of them inhabited by animals and insects on account of their wildness; in some places it is not navigable, for many rocks cross it³, principally at a point about one hundred and fifty miles from its bar, where it is called Cólle. Here there are water-falls almost like those of the Nile. This place is called Huaba by the natives. The river runs so impetuously over them, and the rocks are cut so perpendicularly by its furious fall, that it is possible to pass dry-shod along the edge of the rocks: this however, (according to the inhabitants) can be done only when the wind blows from above, and not when it blows from below, because then the wind throws the water against the rocks, thus impeding this passage. The negroes call this place Burto, that is, ‘the bow’, because the water makes a column in the air until it reaches the foot. This river receives many other great tributaries, which as they come from uninhabited regions, where there are many animals, have no names among the peoples with whom we trade, much less among our men: although in the tables of our *Geographia* we place its course under graduation. Among its tributaries, there is one which comes from the south of the country called by the negroes Guinea, or Gennij, (as we shall see later); as this river flows

¹ Çanagá appears to have no connection with Zenaga, or Azanaghi. El Bekri employs the form *Senegana*, or *Sangana*. This is still preserved by the Moors in the term Isongân, applied by them to the lower Senegal valley. On the Medici portolan of 1351, a river *Senegany* is shown. The form Senegal originated in the eighteenth century (Delafosse, *op. cit.*, p. 57).

² Compared with the Gambia, the Senegal is an indifferent line of communication with the interior. During the wet season it is a turbulent, muddy flood, and in the dry season navigation is hindered by the exposed rocks and sandbanks. The Portuguese never made much use of it to penetrate the interior. According to Duarte Pacheco (*op. cit.*, p. 81) their ships ascended the river for sixty leagues only, to Tucuról.

³ Duarte Pacheco speaks of a great rock, Feleuu, 250 leagues from the mouth. These are the Felu falls, 500 miles upstream. It is probable that Barros's Burto are to be identified with these, and that ‘leagues’ should be read for ‘miles’ in his text (*Esmeraldo*, p. 81).

through areas of clay, its waters are reddish, and as the waters of the Çanagá are white from that place up-stream, the Çaragoles call the junction Gufitembó¹, that is, white and red. They say that they are both competitors and contrary; because when anyone drinks water from one and then from the other, he begins to vomit, though neither of them, separately, cause this, or even after they have run together. The other river Gambea², of the *resgate* of Cantor³, has not such a variety of names; the whole, as far as the *resgate* of the gold, to which our ships go, about one hundred and eighty leagues from the bar, on account of its devious course, or eighty in a straight line, is called Gambu by the natives, and Gambea by us. The greater part of it is tortuous, with many small turns, chiefly from the *resgate* down-stream until it enters the sea in thirteen and a half degrees, to the south-east of the Cape which we call Verde. It brings a greater quantity of water than the Çanagá, and is much deeper, because it receives many wild tributaries with much water, which rise in the interior, called Mandinga, and their principal sources are those of the river Niguer, and the lake Libya of Ptolemy⁴. As it comes tortuously its waters break in such a manner, that they do not come with violence against our ships when these go up the river; half way to the *resgate*, it forms a small island, which our men call the 'Island of Elephants' on account of the many elephants there. Above the *resgate* of the gold there is a large rock⁵; as it obstructed the passage, this King João, of whom we speak, sent craftsmen to remove it, but this proved to be too expensive and difficult. Both these rivers Gambea and Çanagá, produce in general a great variety of fish and aquatic animals,

¹ The Gufitembó may be the Feleme: the red colour of the water would be due to the laterite in which the gold is found.

² 'Next to the Congo, it (the Gambia) is probably the safest river to enter on all the West African coast, and among all African rivers it is remarkable for a bar which can be crossed at any time of the tide. . . . The river is tidal as far as the so-called "falls"—really shallows—of Barraconda, distant some 350 miles, and is navigable up to this point by steamers drawing 6 feet of water' (Archer, F. B., *The Gambia Colony and Protectorate*, p. 2).

³ The *resgate* of Cantor was situated below, and near to, the shallows of Barraconda. This district is known today as Kantora.

⁴ See note, p. 135, *above*.

⁵ 'At Barraconda navigation is impeded during the dry season by a ledge of rocks which stretches practically across the river' (Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 2).

such as sea-horses (hippopotamus), very large lizards, which in shape and nature are like the Nile crocodiles celebrated by so many authors, and also serpents, which are small and not as monstrous as they are often painted and fabled. The animals which drink the waters of these rivers, are so numerous, and of so many varieties, that even elephants go in herds, as our cattle do here. Gazelles, pigs, panthers, and all kinds of game, of which we do not know the names, are found here in as great numbers and varieties. The land which lies between these two rivers, forms a remarkable cape, called by our men Verde, and by Ptolemy 'Arsinarium promontorium'¹; it must be the same, although he places it in $10 \frac{2}{3}$ degrees of latitude, and we have verified that it is in $14 \frac{1}{3}$ degrees, according to its figure, because of the islands which are opposite it towards the West, which we therefore call the Islands of Cabo Verde, and he the 'Hesperides', and also because it lies between two remarkable rivers which he calls Darago, which is the Çanagá, and Stachires, that is, the Gambia, which in the manner of their course to the sea are much alike those we have now. However, he underestimates their course, placing their sources no great distance inland, although they come from the above-mentioned springs, to which Ptolemy gives no outlet, as we can see in his map. The land which lies between them, stretching towards the East for one hundred and sixty leagues, is generally called Jalof, and its inhabitants Jalofos, though they comprise many more of the races that Ptolemy included in the courses of the Darago and Stachio. The soil is coarse, very fertile, and heavy, especially that which is watered by these two rivers during their floods. In summer the heat of the sun makes such large clefts in this soil, that it is possible to bury a horse in one of them. To grow varieties of millet—which we call 'zaburro'—the general food of

¹ The identification of the features of the North-west African coast given by Ptolemy is difficult. Barros is supported by later geographers in identifying the 'Arsinarium promontorium' with Cape Verde and the two rivers with the Senegal and the Gambia on the strength of the latitudes assigned to them by Ptolemy. It is apparent, however, that the majority of his latitudes for this coast are placed too far south, and assuming that, as is probable, his 'Fortunate insulae' are the Canary Islands, the Darago would be the Wadi Dra'a, the 'Arsinarium promontorium' Cape Juby, and the Stachires a wadi to the south (see Bunbury, E. H., *Ancient Geography*, II, ch. xxix, Pt. 2).

these peoples—they clear the silt left by the floods, then scatter the seeds without further tillage, and cover them with a thin layer of sand. They can then germinate; for if they are buried in the soil, so hard a crust forms on the surface—for the heat of the sun draws up the moisture below—that the seeds cannot spring up. The sand does not form an impediment, and the layer of soil below, saturated by the preceding flood, and by the night dews, which penetrate the sand, is sufficient for the germination and growth of the seeds. They do not grow wheat or the other seeds we use; it seems that the climate would not allow them to ripen, for the soil, especially near the Gambea, is very damp. Only in the lands inhabited by the Çaragoles, in some fields near the deserts, a small quantity of wheat, much bigger and finer than that of Spain (according to what they say) is grown. This is rather tilled with the hoe than ploughed. According to our division, this river Çanagá separates the country of the Moors from that of the Negroes, though on its borders all are half-castes, in colour and in customs, on account of the promiscuous intercourse with women of all races which is the habit of the Moors. However, regarding the quality of the land, it seems that nature placed that river between them as a boundary and a division; because that part lying to the north, principally inhabited by Moors, begins at the Western Ocean, like a band one hundred leagues and sometimes more in width, the edge of which is the river Çanagá, and continues towards the east until it is watered by the Nile. After receiving some moisture from these waters, it becomes dry and sterile again until it reaches the salty waters of the Red Sea. This desert is not so completely sterile that no inhabited places are to be found. These are the *Abeses*¹ of which Strabo writes; the rest is used as pasture by many Alarves, who traverse it in companies. They give it different names according to its qualities. The land which is covered with fine sand, without any green thing they call Çahel; that covered with herbs or bushes like poor heathland, whither they bring their cattle to pasture, they call Azagar; and that covered with gravel, like thick sand, they call Çahará. On

¹ 'Abeses.' There are references to the oases of Libya in Strabo, Bk XVIII, sect. 5, 24. The correct transcription of the Greek is 'auases'.

account of these conditions the inhabitants of this poor country come near this river Çanagá, and others seek out the oases of which we have spoken, which are, as it were, their orchards. By reason of this river the more inhabitable land is that which lies along its banks, where there are a number of towns; the principal, Timbuktu, lies three leagues to the north of the river¹. Thither go many merchants from El Cairo, Tunis, Oran, Tremecem, Fez, Morocco, and other Kingdoms and dominions of the Moors, on account of the gold that is carried there from the great Province of Mandinga. They used also to go to another town called Genná² near this river, which in former times was more famous than Timbuktu. Either it takes its name from the Kingdom or the Kingdom from it. We call all that region from Çanagá onwards Guiné, although some negroes call it Genná, others Jannij, and others Gennij. As it is farther to the west than Timbuktu, it was usually frequented by the peoples in its neighbourhood, such as the Çaragoles, Fullos, Jalofos, Azanegues, Brabaxijs, Tigurarijs, and Luddayas, from whom, through the Castle of Arguim and all that coast, gold came into our hands. Other peoples from the interior of Mandinga come to the *resgate* of Cantor, to which our ships go by the river Gambia. And though the sands of these two remarkable rivers Çanagá and Gambia do not carry as much gold as those of our Tagus and Mondego, the opinion of men is so unreasonable that they do not appreciate so much what they have near them, as what they expect to gain through much danger and toil, such as those endure who go in search of gold to these two barbarous rivers. And since King João, of whom we are speaking, was already very well informed of these and other matters, which we have treated in our *Geography*³, before the coming of Bemoy, by whom they were further confirmed, he thought that it would

¹ Barros was still of the opinion that the Senegal and Niger were identical. His position for Timbuktu in relation to the latter is approximately correct, though he was not aware that the river flowed eastwards.

² Jenné, on the upper Niger, in 13° 51' N., 4° 23' W. Barros follows Leo Africanus in deriving the name Guinea from Jenné, but it is more probably derived from Ghana, the former important trading centre considerably further north. From Barros's reference to its former greatness, he may have been confusing 'Genna' with Ghana (see Leo Africanus, III, p. 822, and Bovill, *op. cit.* p. 144).

³ See above, p. 106, note.

be very convenient for his power, and for the good of his subjects to build a fortress on this river Çanagá, which would be a door, through which with the help of these Jalofos, whom he hoped in God would, by the agency of this Prince, D. João Bemoy, be converted to the Faith (as was the Kingdom of Congo)—he might be able to penetrate the interior of that great country and eventually to reach Preste João, whom he accounted so important for the affairs of India. Moreover, as by the Castle of Arguim, the *resgate* of Cantor, Serra Lioa, and the fortress of El Mina, a great part of the land of Guiné was bled of its gold, so this fortress on the river Çanagá would tap the gold coming to the said two markets, which lay close to its banks, and it would not fall into the hands of the Moors, who went to seek it by camel caravans across many deserts, in which sandy plains of Libya many of them were often buried on their journeys. For these and many other prudent reasons the King commanded that a fleet of twenty caravels should be equipped, as we have said, the command of which he gave to Pero Vaz da Cunha, nicknamed Bisagudo. He had with him many gallant men, soldiers, craftsmen for the building of the fortress, and some religious for the conversion of the negroes, of whom the chief was Master Alvaro, Friar of the Order of St. Domingos, his confessor, and a person very remarkable for his life and learning. But it seems that those peoples had not yet deserved from God the merit of baptism; for when Pero Vaz entered the river Çanagá with that great power, which amazed all the barbarians of that land, and while he was erecting the fortress, (which they say is built in an ill-chosen place on account of the floods of the river), he stabbed Bemoy to death on board his ship, saying that he was preparing a treason. Some maintained that Pero Vaz was deceived in this, and that what chiefly condemned D. João Bemoy to death was the fact that many people began to fall sick, because the place was very unhealthy, and that Pero Vaz was more fearful of having to remain in the fortress when completed than he was of Bemoy's treason. After the murder of the Prince, Pero Vaz returned to this Kingdom; the King was very displeased with the event, and ordered the cessation of work on the fortress of that river Çanagá. A part of these walls can still be seen today, according to our men.

CHAPTER XII¹

Of what resulted from the sending of the GREAT FLEET by the KING to AID PRINCE D. JOÃO BEMOY, as well in the ALLIANCES and FRIENDSHIPS that the KING had with SOME LORDS of the interior of GUINÉ, as in its DISCOVERY by SOME MEN whom he SENT THERE, until OUR LORD TOOK HIM from THIS LIFE.

Although the death of Prince D. João Bemoy, as related above, changed all the purposes which the King had set before himself from Bemoy's return and from the building of the fortress, he did not abandon the trade with the rivers Çanagá and Gambea, which was carried on as usual each year. From the ships coming thence he learned that the fleet which he had sent to Çanagá had not been as unsuccessful as he thought. For, though it had not served to restore Bemoy, it had benefited the trade, and caused the interior to become better known than it had been before. The princes of those parts had been accustomed to see one or two ships only in their ports, on which were poor and ill-clothed sailors, so that they had not formed a very high opinion of the power of the King, despite all the interpreters had told them of the Kingdom. But when they saw so many ships, so many gallant people, and such warlike equipment, as went on that fleet, they were so amazed that from one to the other its fame spread through the whole of Guiné. Thus the friendship of the King came to be much more highly appreciated, and as most of them were quarrelling or fighting with one another, when they saw that the King had sent a large fleet merely to restore Bemoy, whose sole merit had been to deal expeditiously with the King's trading ships, they all began to do their best to dispatch the ships, each in his own fashion, and to send presents and promises, in their own interests and in the hope of obtaining

¹ Chapters IX, X and XI have been omitted; the first two deal with the Kingdom of Congo, the last with Columbus.

similar help from him should they need it, or from fear of angering him. This resulted in so much intercourse with these peoples, that the King began with more confidence to send his agents with messages to their greatest princes, and to intervene in their affairs and wars, as a known and valued friend. During this time he sent Pero de Evora, and Gonçalo Eanes to the King of Tukuról¹, and also to the King of Timbuktu, and at other times he sent, by the river Cantor², to Mandi Mansa³, one of the most powerful of that part of the Province of Mandinga. On this mission went one Rodrigo Rabelo, a squire of his household, Pero Reinel, gentleman of the spurs, and João Colaço, cross-bow man of the chamber, with other auxiliaries, making a total of eight persons. They took him as a present horses, beasts of burden, and mules with their harnesses and several other gifts much appreciated in that land, for they had been sent before. Of them all Pero Reinel alone escaped, being more accustomed to these parts; the others died of disease. This King was then waging war against another King of the Fullos called Temalâ⁴. On account of these and of other persons whom the King sent thither, so strong a friendship sprang up between our men and this (King) Mandi Mansa, that when in the year fifteen hundred and thirty four, in the course of my duty as Factor of the House of Guiné and the Indies, I sent Pero Fernandes to this Kingdom of Mandi Mansa, [kingdom of Mali] in the name of King João the Third, Our Lord, who reigns at present, on affairs of the *resgate* of Cantor, this king was very pleased with the royal message saying that he considered the arrival of the messenger as a good omen, because another messenger had been sent to his grandfather, who had borne the same name as he did, by another King João of Portugal. Such was the memory of the deeds of King

¹ Tekrur. The Peuls, a nomad cattle-raising people, probably of Mediterranean origin, are scattered throughout the Western Sudan. They migrated to the region west of Timbuktu, and adopted the language of the Toucouleurs, the autochthonous inhabitants of the banks of the Senegal. They later attempted to return eastwards, and the area between the Senegal and Darfur was known to Arab writers as Tekrur, from the language of the Peuls. Their capital was also known as Tekrur, and this has been identified with Podor (Delafosse, *op. cit.*, I. p. 235).

² The Gambia.

³ King of Mandi, or Mali; also here referred to as king of Timbuktu.

⁴ Delafosse believes that Temala was ruler of a Peul kingdom.

João among these unlettered barbarians. And not only by these, and Pero de Evora, but also by Mem Royz, a squire of his household, and Pero de Astuniga, gentleman of spurs, whom he took as a companion, the King sent messages to the King of Timbuktu, and to the above-mentioned Temalá, who was called King of the Fullos. Temalá was a fiery warrior, and at that time he rebelled in the south in a district called Futa¹ with so many followers that on reaching a river they drank it dry. The stubborn and barbarous scourge of that pagan people ravaged all it came upon. As this ferocity wrought great loss to the friends and servants of our King, especially to the King of Timbuktu, Mandi Mansa, Uli Mansa², he sent him sometimes messages of friendship, and others of request about the conduct of the war he was waging with these people. Also at this time he sent a letter by an Abyssinian called Lucas, who went by way of Jerusalem, to the King of the Mosés, a name famed throughout the Negroes of these parts of Guiné of which we have spoken. This prince was then at war with King Mandi Mansa. From the information that King João had of this King of the Mosés³, and the customs of his people, he supposed him to be a subject or neighbour of Preste João, or the people of the Nobis; for he and his people had a form of Christianity, most of them bearing the names of the Apostles of Christ, in whom they believed. Also, by way of the fortress of Mina he sent to Mahomed ben Manzugul², grandson of Mussa, King of Songo⁴, one of the most populous cities of that great Province which we commonly call Mandinga. This city lies on the same parallel⁵ as Cape Palmas, about one hundred and forty leagues inland, according to its situation in the maps of our *Geography*. This Moorish king—in reply to our King's message, amazed at this novelty, (according to what

¹ The district of Fouta Jallon.

² Delafosse suggests that 'Manzugul' is probably the Portuguese attempt at rendering 'Mansa Uli'; so that the succession in the kingdom of Mali at this period was—Musa (or Mansa), Mansa Uli, and Mahomed ben Manzugul. (See Delafosse, *op. cit.*, p. 213.) Judging from what is said on the previous page, Mahomed ben Manzugul was probably the king to whom the emissary of King João III was sent in 1534.

³ See above, p. 133.

⁴ Delafosse states that the Fanti still call Mandinga 'Songo', so that 'King of Songo' is equivalent to king of Mali (*op. cit.*, p. 213).

⁵ ? Meridian.

we have read in these letters, which are in our possession)—said that none of the four thousand four hundred and four kings from whom he descended, had received a message or had seen a messenger of a Christian king, nor had he heard of more powerful kings than these four: the King of Alimaem¹, the King of Baldac², the King of Cairo, and the King of Tucuirol. When King João was exchanging messengers and letters with these barbarous princes, he also sent from the Castle of Arguim to the town of Huadem³—which lies about sixty leagues to the east of it—to establish a factory among the Moors, because there was some trade in gold there. On this business went Rodrigo Reinel⁴, as Factor, Diogo Borges, as writer, and Gonçalo d'Antes as assistant. They remained there a short time only, because the country was desert, and frequented solely by those Alarves, that is, Azenegues, Ludaias, and Brabarijs, who occasionally visited the Castle of Arguim. From these they were unable to obtain the information about the interior which the King sought, for his purpose in causing these factories to be set up inland was as much to acquire knowledge of it, and to reach the lands of Preste João and the Orient, as to trade in gold. The men to whom the King entrusted these messages and discoveries, in addition to those mentioned already, were Rodrigo Rabelo and João Lourenço, his servants, and Vicente Anes and João Bispo, interpreters, whom he rewarded for their work, although they did not achieve the principal aim of their missions. And not only to his own subjects did he entrust the discovery of the interior, but also, in order that every opportunity might be taken, to foreigners such as Abyssinians, and some Alarves who came to the Castle of Arguim. He was so occupied and so eager in these affairs, that his mind was never at rest, chiefly since he saw and enjoyed many things unknown to the classical writers on this part of Africa. And as a hungry lion, from whom the game

¹ Al Yaman, the Yemen.

² Baghdad.

³ Wadan, the Hoden of Cadamosto.

⁴ Duarte Pacheco says of this mission: 'The late King John II had a certain Rodrigo Reinel, his squire, there (at Oadem) as factor, but these bad Azenegues treated him so cruelly that he must needs return to Portugal; indeed he only escaped from them with great difficulty and personal risk and loss' (*Esmeraldo*, p. 75).

hides fearfully in some thorny bush, which he prowls round and attacks on many sides, is wounded and hurt by the thorns, in entering and coming out, and tires of hurling himself upon the hidden prey—so the King, continually attacking on many sides this great bush of Guiné, which until today had not been entered, exhausted by this continual expenditure of his wealth, and also by the many worries arising from the affairs of the Kingdom, especially at the time of the treasons, rested somewhat from this great zeal which consumed him. Nevertheless the usual ships continued to make their voyages, until God was pleased to call him, and he was succeeded in the Kingdom by his cousin, D. Manuel, Duke of Beja, who (as we shall see) in the second year of his reign reached in the first voyage the goal towards which his predecessors had struggled for seventy-five years. It seems that divine prudence commands that, whereas some sow, others reap the fruit. Although we sometimes see this, we ought not to question the judgments of God; we must believe only that no one loses the reward of his good works, winning fame in this life and glory in the next. He Who was pleased that I, less from duty than inclination, not for reward but freely, and soliciting rather than invited, should be entrusted with recording the events of this discovery and conquest of the Orient, will allow me to go without reward,—should this work of mine deserve any—if I change or deny the merits of either. To be faithful to the achievements of King João in this discovery, we wish to note here three things this Kingdom owes to him: first, the praise of God, second, the glory and honour of the Royal Crown, and third, the increase of his patrimony. As to the praise of God, none greater could there be in His Church, than that, through the industry of this Prince, the altars of a Cathedral See, in the most remote place on earth and among people most ignorant of the name of Christ—where, we may believe, the preaching of the Apostles never reached—are today filled with offerings and sacrifices to God, in the name of Christ Jesus, our Saviour, and His Son. This Christ Jesus is believed, worshipped and confessed by a king, of barbarous blood and Catholic by Faith, with that great population of the Kingdom of Congo, which for seventy years has been in the Church of God by

faith and baptism, and always increasing in faith, as we learn from the bishops, priests, theologians and ministers sent to announce the Gospel. The second thing which he left to this Kingdom, with respect to the honour and glory of his crown, are two fortresses: one in Arguim, completed by his industry, though it was begun in the life of King Afonso, his father; and the other S. Jorge da Mina, in the midst of the great region of Ethiopia. By these fortresses he established possession over what he had discovered and hoped to discover along this route, and added to the Crown of this Kingdom the lordship of Guiné which it now enjoys. As a prudent baron, and resolute prince, in order to remove doubts between his successors and the Princes of Christendom with respect to this possession, he forthwith made an agreement with King Ferdinand of Castile, delimiting what each of them might conquer, details of which can be found in the contracts and treaties made between them. As to the increase of the Royal patrimony, I do not know in this Kingdom any yoke of land, toll, tithe, excise, or any other royal tax which is more certain in each yearly return than is the revenue of the commerce of Guiné. If we know how to cultivate it, much of it will yield with little seed better crops than the crown-lands of the Kingdom, and the *lexiras* of Santarem¹. It is, besides, so peaceful a property, quiet and obedient, that—without our having to stand at the touch-hole of the bombard with lighted match in one hand, and lance in the other—it yields us gold, ivory, wax, hides, sugar, pepper, and it would produce other returns if we sought to explore it further.

¹ *Lexira* was the term applied to meadows along the Tagus which owed their fertility to the inundations of the river.

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A P P E N D I X

NOTES ON THE NATURAL HISTORY OF CADAMOSTO'S NARRATIVE

Madeira. Cadamosto mentions several kinds of birds on the island of Madeira (p. 10 above). Quail are found to-day in the fields of maize and beans. They have certainly been on the island for a considerable period, as they are now recognized as a small dark subspecies of the migratory quail, *Coturnix coturnix confisa*. Madeira is rather far off the track of migrating birds, but quail must have first gained a footing during migration, and, finding conditions congenial, remained, eventually to become slightly differentiated. The island has always been famous for its pigeons. Besides the rock pigeons (*Columba livia*), there is also a race of wood pigeon (*Columba palumbus maderensis*) which is a resident breeding bird. The indigenous pigeon (*Columba trocax*), a large lawrel pigeon, is restricted to Madeira, it has a near relative in the Canary Islands, but there is no pigeon in Africa or Europe remotely connected with it. It was much more common in early days, and was probably the only pigeon on Madeira at the time of Cadamosto's visit. The partridge must have been introduced into Madeira. It is the red-legged partridge (*Alectoris rufa hispanica*), and is now rare. The date of its introduction from north-west or western Spain is unknown.

There are no 'peacocks' or any birds which could be confused with them on the island. Albino peacocks are not uncommon elsewhere, but it seems unlikely that they were introduced into Madeira before Cadamosto's visit, and subsequently disappeared.

Senegal. There are great numbers of parrots in Senegal (pp. 47-8). The yellow and green parrots (*Poicephalus senegalus senegalus*) are in large flocks, and do much damage to the ground nuts. The bigger species is a large-billed bird (*Poicephalus robustus fuscicollis*). The third is a parrakeet (*Psittacula krameri krameri*), which is found across Africa to the White Nile, and might well have been exported through Alexandria. There are many species of weaver birds in Senegal, but none are green and yellow. It is clear, from his description of the nests, that Cadamosto was confusing the weaver birds with parrots.

The reference to 'Guinea hens, "galine de faraon", which are brought from the Levant,' is puzzling. The 'Poule de Faraon' is the Royal Fowl of Egypt, probably the King Reed-Hen (*Porphyrio*

madagascariensis). A large purple bird, living in marsh and swamp, it is found in Senegal, but does not occur in the Levant. Cadamosto couples it with 'geese', which suggests a water bird rather than a turkey or guinea-fowl. Guinea-fowl (*Numida meleagris galeata*), however, are very numerous in Senegal, though this reference does not appear to be to them. There are no wild turkeys in Africa, though turkeys may have been imported in former times. It is possible that this passage is a confused reference to Guinea-fowl and King Reed-Hen.

There are three species of geese in Senegal, the commonest being the Spur-wing (*Plectropterus gambensis gambensis*), and this is probably the species referred to in the text.

It is not possible to identify with certainty the varieties of the kidney beans mentioned by Cadamosto as growing in Senegal (p. 42). The 'kidney beans, ... spotted with different colours, as though painted,' agree with an unnamed species of *Canavalia* preserved in the Kew Herbarium. The other beans he describes are probably the *Canavalia gladiata* DC., which has a pod 20-30 cm. long and 3.5-4 cm. wide, with bright red seeds, and the *Canavalia ensiformis* DC., the pod of which is usually longer than *C. gladiata*, and has white seeds.

The material upon which the above notes are based I owe to Dr David Bannerman, as regards ornithology, and to the Keeper of Botany, British Museum (Natural History).

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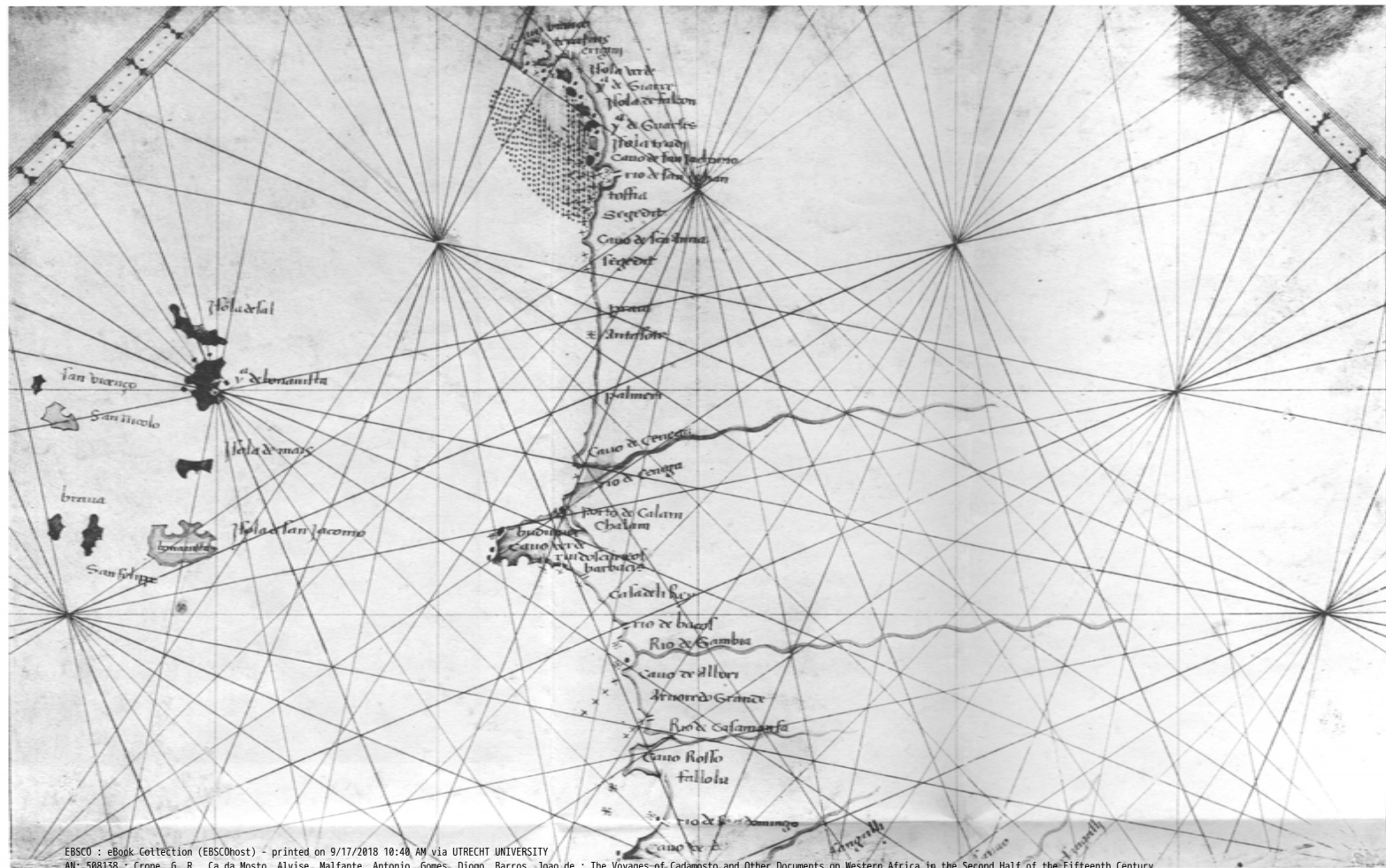
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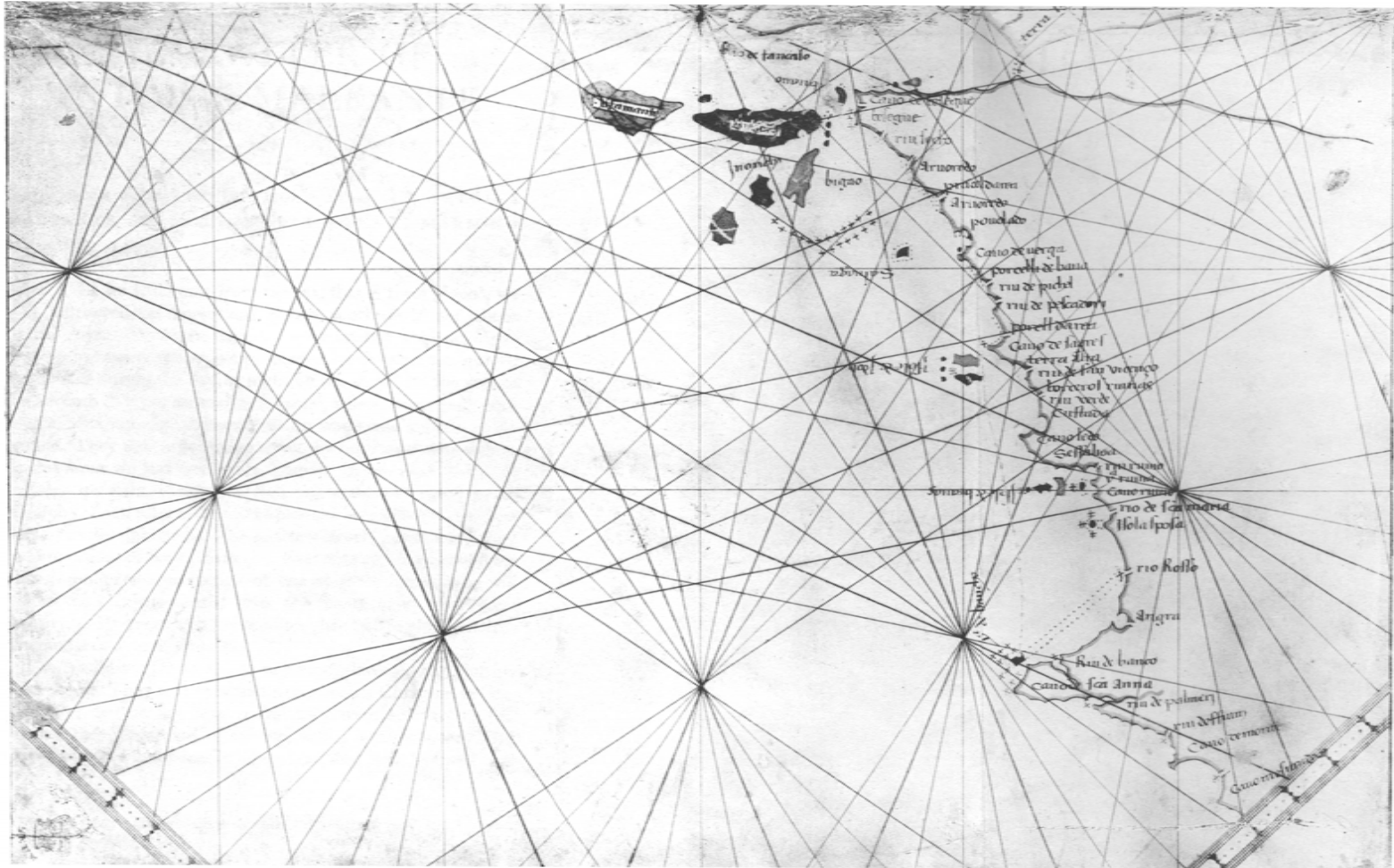


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WESTERN AFRICA AND THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS FROM THE ATLAS OF GRAZIOSO BENINCASA, 1468