

ANGOLA'S EASTERN HINTERLAND IN THE 1750s:  
A TEXT EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF  
MANOEL CORREIA LEITÃO'S "VOYAGE" (1755-1756)

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EVÁ SEBESTYÉN  
EÖTVÖS LORÁND TUDOMÁNYEGYETEM

JAN VANSINA  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

In 1754 the newly-arrived governor of Angola, António Alvares da Cunha, announced to the court in Lisbon that, inspired by plans his uncle had made in 1725, he had decided to revive the old attempt to find a way overland to link Angola and Mozambique. He was initiating this enterprise by sending, at his own expense, an expedition to the fair of Cassange, the farthest known point eastwards of Luanda, to gather information about the lands between Angola and Mozambique.<sup>1</sup> The governor's envoy was Manoel Correia Leitão—an experienced trader, but one who had never been to Cassange—accompanied by a pilot, António Roiz Grizante, whose task was to fix the latitude of Cassange.

A suspicious reader could conclude with the subsequent governor António de Vasconcelos, that this venture was a slave trading expedition by Leitão to recover some debts.<sup>2</sup> But it was financed by the governor and one suspects that the whole enterprise was in fact a joint business venture, disguised as an exploration, because governors were forbidden to trade. Be that as it may, the reaction from Lisbon to this news was unexpected. The governor was ordered to abandon his plans and to recall his envoys because this enterprise was too "delicate." Knowledge about it was to be shrouded in absolute secrecy and a report about this was to be treated as top-secret. Whereupon the governor recalled Leitão.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Anonymous, "Ligação entre Angola e Moçambique" *Arquivo das Colónias* I(1917), 41-43. He would finance this first expedition himself. In practice it was financed by trading in slaves.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 49-50. Letter by da Cunha informing the court that he had recalled the envoys. Grizante is called here António Francisco.

The document we present here consists of the governor's instructions and Leitão's report. It is best known for its vivid description of the Lunda expansion then in progress, but it also contains valuable information about various trade routes, and it gives much information about the polities and peoples on both banks of the middle Cuango between about 8° S. and 10° S. As it is the earliest document to tell us about this area, other than Cassange, and as the next reports date from at least a century later, when the area had undergone major political and economic changes, Leitão's report is of considerable interest.

The document has been edited before by G. Sousa Dias and has been extensively paraphrased and commented on by J-L. Vellut.<sup>4</sup> Given its importance, however, we felt that a lightly annotated translation should be published to make it more accessible.<sup>5</sup> During this process it became clear that the text itself would have to be edited again, as Sousa Dias had "modernized" the original by introducing modern spelling and by writing out the abbreviations, while he had misread or omitted a few words or sequences of words. An edition closer to the original text would thus be useful.

The only known manuscript of this text is kept in the Arquivo Histórico Militar in Lisbon.<sup>6</sup> It consists of sixteen folios, 33.8 cm. x 23.5 cm., of which the first is a cover sheet and the others are written *recto* and *verso*. Each page contains between 23 and 28 well-spaced written lines with a mean of 26-27 written lines, an empty line between paragraphs, and ample standard margins of 4.5 cm. on each side, 8 cm. on the top, and 1 cm. at the bottom.

The writing is careful and easy to read, despite some bleeding, and the capitals show a mastery of calligraphy. There are no erasures. A few interlinear or marginal annotations in pencil are modern. The whole gives the impression of having been written with the mastery of a professional scribe. Leitão's signature and the line stating his identity above it are slanted and may well be in a different hand. Hence the text may well have been written by a professional scribe, who copied from a draft written by Leitão, who then authenticated the result. This text is an original because it lacks the usual notarial formula which certifies the au-

<sup>4</sup> Gastão Sousa Dias, "Uma viagem a Cassange nos meados do século XVIII," *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* 56a(1938), 3-30; Jean-Luc Vellut, "Relations internationales du Moyen-Kwango et de l'Angola dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe s.," *Etudes d'histoire africaine* I(1970), 80-81, 89-106.

<sup>5</sup> Few historians, apart from Joseph C. Miller and Vellut, have used this document carefully, and a number of misconceptions about its contents exist.

<sup>6</sup> We thank the archive for a copy of the manuscript. A dozen additional documents relating to Leitão and his voyage exist, which Evá Sebestyén proposes to edit separately.

thenticity of copies, even though it may not have been the only original.<sup>7</sup>

The only unusual feature about the document is that it is not dated. Because of its secret nature this report was not handled by the chancery in a routine way, for it was not recorded in the book of *ofícios* and it was not kept in the archive where documents from Angola were normally kept, nor is there a copy among da Cunha's papers now in Coimbra. Where the report was kept before it was filed in the military archive is not known, nor is it known when it arrived there.

The named author of the report, Manoel Correia Leitão, was born in Luanda. He was an experienced slave trader by profession, and knew the Kimbundu language.<sup>8</sup> The patronym Leitão is attested in Angola from the 1620s onwards, but all the Leitãos did not belong to the same family.<sup>9</sup> A local military officer, José Correa Leitão, involved in an attempted coup in 1732, may well have been his father or a relative.<sup>10</sup> Caetano Matias Leitão, a colonel mentioned in 1781, and a lieutenant António Rodrigues Leitão, mentioned in 1834, may well have been direct or collateral descendants of our author.<sup>11</sup> In 1754 Manoel Correia was still relatively young and as his title "Sergeant major of the settlers on the Dande river" indicates, he enjoyed a certain esteem in Luanda.

If this document is in his own hand it shows that he had a certain education, probably acquired at the Jesuit school in Luanda. He certainly was in contact with the Jesuits, as shown by the reference to the work of Manuel Godinho, which could only have been consulted in their library. But the spelling uncertainties of unusual words also show that he was not very learned. Governor da Cunha presents him as an expert of the bush, but it is clear that he had never traveled to Cassange before. Given his title and his casual references to Mutemo and Ambuela one suspects that his earlier trading ventures were confined to the Dembos region of south Kongo.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Evidently this was not the copy of the document which governor Vasconcelos refers to in Luanda in January 1759. Cf. "Ligação," 50, 53.

<sup>8</sup> Ff. 3, 3<sup>v</sup>: Da Cunha's letter of 24 August 1755.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Beatrix Heintze, *Fontes para a história de Angola do século XVII*, (Wiesbaden 1985) Vol. 1, 94 (António Leitão and António Nunes Leitão); Graziano Saccardo, *Congo e Angola con la storia dell'antica missione dei Cappuccini* (3 vols.: Venezia-Mestre, 1983), 3:403. João Pedro Leitão, a black priest involved in a struggle about the election of a head for the church in Angola in 1642 was certainly not an ancestor of Manoel Correia. Cf. *ibid.*, I: 360.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death* (Madison, 1988), 551n26.

<sup>11</sup> Saccardo, *Congo*, 2:378; Mário Milheiros, *Ofícios para o Reino* (vols.: Luanda, 1971), 3:103 (12-402/403).

<sup>12</sup> f. 14<sup>v</sup>. His allusion to experiences at sea may point to experience in coastal trade. Cf. f. 5.

Governor Vasconcelos, who interviewed him, depicts him as unreliable because he was an inveterate drunk and liar, and claims that he was so absorbed by his business that he did not observe much.<sup>13</sup> This opinion is clearly biased by his dislike for Luso-Africans in general and Leitão in particular, and by his wish to downplay the achievements of the governor who preceded him. Just the same, one should not totally disregard his opinion.<sup>14</sup>

If Leitão was the only author of this report, some of his information comes from Grizante. Vasconcelos found a note whereby Leitão urgently requested some information from Grizante concerning the latitude of Ambaca and the number of days' travel required from there to Cassange, which shows that Leitão did not keep a journal and left the *roteiro* or record of travel to Grizante.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the report does not include a *roteiro*. Vasconcelos found out that after a few days' travel both men had separated, with Grizante traveling one day ahead. Nor did he return from Cassange with Leitão. Instead he went to Pungo aNdongo to record the latitude of that garrison town. From there he traveled to Ambaca, where he rejoined Leitão. Vasconcelos describes Grizante as an older man, very poor, and "without a shadow of intellect," an opinion which is demonstrably exaggerated, as Grizante's latitude of Ambaca is close to the correct figure.<sup>16</sup>

As to the date of the document, one can deduce from da Cunha's letters that it was written after 11 March, but before 25 May 1757, i.e., at least seven months after Leitão's return to Luanda on 15 August 1756.<sup>17</sup> On a matter of such importance to the governor and to Lisbon, this long delay raises the suspicion that this report was not straightforward and spontaneous, written directly from notes kept during the voyage and without any further input by the governor, but rather that it had been "doctored." Apart from the data needed from Grizante, which delayed its redaction, there may have been other factors. Da Cunha's claim in March 1757, probably after conversations with Leitão, that the latter had no idea about the Cuango's width or depth, even though a month or two later those data were in the report, suggests that Leitão reacted to the governor's insistence and fabricated it after 11 March. He may also

<sup>13</sup> "Ligação," 51.

<sup>14</sup> Sousa Dias, "Viagem," 5-6.

<sup>15</sup> "Ligação," 51. The latitude is in the report, the number of days traveled is not.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. Sousa Dias, "Viagem," 6. Grizante gave Ambaca (praça velha) at 9° 3' South, whereas it lies at 9°16' South.

<sup>17</sup> "Ligação," 50. In the 11 March letter, da Cunha says that Leitão certainly could not have observed the depth of the Cuango river for lack of a sounding lead, but in his report Leitão claims to have found the depth by using a pole. The report was probably a part of the file transmitted on 25 May, as mentioned in the letter of Vasconcelos which follows.

have added other information about the inland peoples, as the governor pressed him to include this and that. Thus the issue of dating underlines the input of the governor even more than an analysis of the structure of the text.

After a table of contents, the document begins with Leitão's mandate. Then follows the report itself in the overall shape of descriptive information preceded by, and concluding with, a summary travel account. But there are some anomalies. The structure is: A. travel outwards (to Bondo, enquiries there, negotiations with the ruler of Cassange, and arrival near his court); B. information requested (about the kingdom of Cassange first, then politics across the Cuango); C. travel interlude (trip to the Cuango and back); D. information requested (about the Cuango river and lands far to the east of the Cuango first, then about the east coast and how to reach it); E. information supplement (resources, climate, distances, and religion of the whole interior); F. travel homeward (return via Olo). The position, length, and prominence of C is striking, as is the placement (out of place) and the perfunctory character of E. The prominence of C may be due to its importance both for the claim of Leitão to be an explorer and because it was the specific goal set forth in his mandate. As it stands, it was obviously written after March 1757 as an answer to the governor's queries. Everything about E suggests that it was an afterthought, probably written also at the last moment, and prompted by questions from the governor. Obviously Leitão fudged any precise and essential geographical information (rivers, distances) because he did not have it. It forcefully reminds us that there is no *roteiro*, a standard requirement for this type of document.

Much of what Leitão reports derives not from personal observation, but from hearsay: information provided by others. He gathered some information from experienced Europeans even before he left Luanda.<sup>18</sup> Some was gathered from unnamed European and African traders in Bondo and Cassange and from local free residents.<sup>19</sup> Most though was elicited from equally unnamed "pretos informantes" and slaves coming from Malundo and beyond which he bought.<sup>20</sup> They may even have included one or more slaves from Lunda, since he describes their physical appearance.<sup>21</sup>

Holo people were clearly especially informative and this connection may well explain why Leitão is much better informed about the

<sup>18</sup> e.g., f. 12<sup>o</sup> (the experienced Domingos Ferreira d'Assunção).

<sup>19</sup> ff. 8, 9<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> ff. 12<sup>o</sup>, 13. Buying informants was suggested by da Cunha in his 1754 letter. Cf. "Ligação," 42, and f. 15 for the testimony of Lunda slaves or slaves from their vicinity as were reported by hearsay to him.

<sup>21</sup> f. 13<sup>o</sup>.

lower Lui valley and Holo country than about other lands. Among these Holo one suspects that Quisuheia, a trader at Cassange's fair who told him about the approaches to the river Cuango, was a key informant.<sup>22</sup> Leitão thus collected a medley of often discordant testimonies, compared them, and drew his own conclusions, which are the information he gives in the text.<sup>23</sup> We know that Leitão did not keep a journal and, despite his claims to the contrary,<sup>24</sup> it is unlikely that he took notes during his busy slave trading. He relied on his memory, and on his return to Luanda he may well have questioned or continued questioning his slave informants.

In evaluating the reliability of the document we edit here, it is important to distinguish between first-hand observations by Leitão and hearsay. His own observations are not always credible. He clearly exaggerates the terrors of the forests and the perils of travel between the Lucala river and Bondo; he is probably mistaken in claiming that Zundo Aquembi was a chief subject to Ambaca; and we think that the whole tale of his stealthy trip to the river Cuango from Cassange and his measurements is an invention.

His description of the four streams one crosses to get to the Cuango is revealing. As three of these names occur on maps, it is easy to see that they could not have been traveled in a day and a half and did not lead to the Cuango nearest to Cassange. But when one goes straight from Casange to the Cuango, a distance of some 45 km as the crow flies and which could be traveled in a day and half, one crosses four small streams of which three are different from the ones named. As Map 3 shows, Leitão conflated accounts about two different routes into a single road.

Furthermore there are his misleading silences. Leitão does not mention any fair either in Bondo/Ginga or at Cassange nor does he mention meeting any Europeans or Africans trading for Portuguese houses, although they were numerous at Cassange—probably because that would rob his trip of its aura of "discovery." He knows a great deal about the lower Lui but mentions none of its famous salt pans—probably as a trade secret. All this is in contrast to what he says about the regions beyond Holo, where he tells us at least that he gathered much information, but gives us none—perhaps on orders of a governor fearful of competition by Europeans trading on the coasts of Congo.

Finally none of his numbers, including the calculation of distances, is reliable. His leagues vary in length between 2 and 5 km

<sup>22</sup> f. 11. Also informants at Somba, f. 16.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., f. 14<sup>v</sup>. (disagreements over distances); f. 16 (checking in Somba what he had found out at Cassange).

<sup>24</sup> ff. 8, 16.

and are not in good agreement with days traveled. Whether his numbers of days traveled are correct can also be doubted. The best that could be done with these data was to calculate the approximate position of Somba from the estimated distance in leagues between Ambaca and Cassange, Cassange and Somba, and Somba and Ambaca, and that was only possible because the position of Cassange is indicated by its latitude, its position east of the upper Cassanza river, and its distance from the Cuango at a day and half distance "African travel" (about 45 km at 30 km a day).

In addition Leitão's cardinal directions are unreliable: while he consistently equates true southeast with east and true northwest with west, his north also is off toward true northwest and his south toward true southeast. The pilot Grizante would probably not have made this kind of error. Moreover, Leitão is sometimes indifferent to the correct spatial sequence in his enumeration of places, at least at the end of his report where the order Ilamba-Ilumbo-Golungo-Icollo-Bengo should be Golungo-Ilumbo-Ilamba-Icollo-Bengo.<sup>25</sup> One cannot be certain that other lists of place names are given in the correct spatial sequence, and therefore a placement on the maps which derives only from a position in a sequence is indicated by a question mark.<sup>26</sup>

As to hearsay, all numbers given in the report are round figures and all are equally suspect. It is clear that Leitão wrongly blended various testimonies into a single report as in the case of the road(s) from Cassange to the Cuango. His report that the Cassai was the nearest river to the Cuango even though that there are many rivers in between, is another good example.<sup>27</sup> Leitão did accept mythical accounts current in the region, as in the obvious cases of the Mucutiba or the lake Fuam Gila, but also in stories about whites of the east coast, which were clichés in the region, well established at least since the 1680s. And he put his own forced or wrongful interpretations on what he heard so as to obtain the "right" answer. The case of the Malagis and the great lake is the most blatant.<sup>28</sup> Many of the data he received were correct. The Cassai river does run from south to north (but not a lake!) in Malaji country, and foreign goods of non-Angolan origin were traded there (but came from Congo). Finally the specific references to Portuguese on the coast reflect inland knowledge about Ambaca and Angola, not about Mozambique.

<sup>25</sup> f. 16<sup>v</sup>. But his sequencing of streams between Cassange and Cuango is correct.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. ff. 5<sup>v</sup>-6, 9<sup>v</sup>. In this last list Malundo, as the most important chief to Cassange, is mentioned first, and certainly out of geographic sequence.

<sup>27</sup> f. 12<sup>v</sup>. On f. 13 he confuses a description of the Cuango below Quiluba (7° S.) with that of the Cassai and later with the Congo river.

<sup>28</sup> ff. 14, 14<sup>v</sup>, 15.

Is this report then completely unreliable? Far from it; it contains many reliable and precious descriptions about various groups. Indeed even much of his hearsay evidence seems to be reliable—e.g., about the trade in hoes to the upper Cuango, the trade to Quiluba, or indeed the picture painted of the Lunda wars. Such data make it a very valuable document indeed. But valuable or not, documents need to be approached critically.

Can we agree with governor Vasconcelos that Leitão discovered nothing that had not been known before to the Portuguese? That opinion is only partially correct. While Leitão traveled on well-trodden ground to Cassange, his trip from there to Somba and back to Ambaca followed relatively new itineraries. But then he has very little to say about those. As to the novelty of the information, the fact is that traders to Cassange may have known everything that is in his report, and some information had undoubtedly filtered through to Luanda. But Luanda was ill-informed before this trip, as da Cunha's 1754 letter listing the potentates on the Cuango shows.<sup>29</sup> Leitão's virtue is that he wrote this knowledge down and made it accessible. Hence the report was valuable at the time, so valuable that it had to be suppressed!

One may well wonder whether Leitão's voyage had any consequences at all before his report disappeared from view. Evidently it laid to rest the notion that one could reach Mozambique through Cassange, both because of local opposition and because of Grizante's latitude. This would never be forgotten. Later attempts at getting information about the *contra costa* were made eastwards from Benguela, and when in 1806 Honorato da Costa directed an attempt from the area of Cassange, the travelers did go to the south-east—exactly as Leitão had recommended.<sup>30</sup> By then his report was unknown, but one can assume that oral tradition in Luanda had at least preserved this finding. Moreover, Leitão's notes about trade bypassing Angola to the north certainly helped to convince da Cunha that Encoge needed to be garrisoned to prevent foreign trade from the Congo coast from tapping the lands across the Cuango, even though considerations about copper and rumored gold mines in that area also played a role in this. Lastly, Leitão's route from Ollo to Ambaca may have facilitated communications with this region,

<sup>29</sup> "Ligação," 42. of the names mentioned there, Cabaço and Quicomba Acoassa are unknown, Cafuxi is the title of a chief in Bondo, far from the river, and Cabonda probably is Kambunda, a generic name for the Lunda used by the Songo and Ambundu, ca. 1842, as asserted by Nkongal, a Rund, in Sigismund W. Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana* (Graz, 1963), 15.

<sup>30</sup> "Documentos relativos á viagem de Angola para rios de Senna," *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes* 5/6 (1843), 162-90, 223-40, 278-97, 423-39, 493-506, 538-50.



which eventually led to the establishment of a fair there and a treaty by 1765 between the Portuguese and Holo Marimba.<sup>31</sup>

Whatever its value to contemporaries, Leitão's report is precious because he is the only known source to describe the political landscape of the Cuango just on the eve of the arrival of Lunda conquerors (*in casu* Capenda caMulemba) and Suku refugees in the 1760s which transformed this landscape. His report is also the only one which gives us some ethnographic detail about various groups. His abundant commentary about activities relating to the slave trade are especially valuable as is his famous description of the Lunda. A careful reader will also find (in the mythical description of the Mucutiba) some information about local trade, ethnicity, and local notions of civilization. There are even a few useful minor comments about the colony itself (e.g., Massangano, the Catholic religion, the diaspora of Ambaquistas). So while we, unlike Sousa Dias or even Teixeira da Mota, do not today rank Leitão as a significant contributor to Portuguese discovery, we appreciate his report as a unique and irreplaceable testimony to Luanda's eastern hinterland in the 1750s.<sup>32</sup>

### Note on Orthography

The spelling of the names of rivers follows the modern usage on maps of Angola. The spelling of place names is the one usual in the eighteenth century, except for Luanda (rather than Loanda). All other names are spelled according to Leitão's text.

<sup>31</sup> Treaty of 9 July 1765, reproduced in *Annaes do Conselho Ultramarino* 1(1858), 523–24.

<sup>32</sup> Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *A cartografia antiga da Africa central e a travessia entre Angola e Moçambique, 1500-1860* (Lourenço Marques, 1964), 100–101.

## ARQUIVO HISTORICO MILITAR, Lisboa

Cota: 2.<sup>a</sup> Divisão, 2.<sup>a</sup> Secção, Angola, Caixa 1. Doc. 6.

[f.1]

Viag.<sup>m</sup> que eû o Sarg.<sup>to</sup> Mor dos moradores do Destrito do Dande fiz, as remotas partes de= Cassange, e Óllos, no anno de 1755, thê o seg.<sup>ta</sup> de 1756

[f.2]

ReLação e breue Sumario da= viag<sup>m</sup> q' eû o sarg.<sup>to</sup> Mor dos moradores do Dande fis as remotas partes de Cassange e Óllos p' mandado do Ill<sup>mo</sup> e Ex.<sup>mo</sup> Snr<sup>o</sup> Governador, e capp<sup>m</sup> General destes Rey<sup>l</sup> nos. D. Antonio Aluães da Cunha-

Ordem excrita q' tiuy= Viag<sup>m</sup> que da cid<sup>e</sup> de São Paulo da Assumção fis thê o Prez<sup>o</sup> de Embaca= a deste Prez<sup>o</sup> de Embaca thê o citio do bondo= medos que cauzaõ aquelles maus dezertos= q<sup>m</sup> ecomo saõ os pretos q' acompanhaõ aq<sup>m</sup> vay por estes caminhos= Notícia que dá o Rey do Bondo ao Jaga Cassange da min= ha hida= Cauza porque os gentios naõ querem q' os Portuguezes tratem com os gentios de alem do Rio Quango, eq<sup>m</sup> saõ= Arogançado Cassange para impedir a minha viag<sup>m</sup>, e p' q' cauza; Modo que me ocorreo p<sup>a</sup> o enga= nar= Recado que lhe mandey= Ambição delle= Emanda receberme <sup>2</sup>ama Gille= recado que me mandou= Embayxada fingida q' lhe dó do= meu General, em que lhe peço daixa, eos Ladroins' de Estradas<sup>3</sup> = Ignorolhe o maû trato que daua ao Excriuains' da feyra do resgate dos catiuos, e aos= punbr,<sup>os</sup>; eos roubos que lhes fazia= Outras barbaridades q' lhe noto, elhe= trago p' aresto o que fes propondo lhe aprohibição das suas cazas de magi= cas emq' morre infinita gente, ultimo ameaço q' lhe faço, e medo q' toma delle= reposta que me dá m<sup>to</sup> urnilde= Tempo que tiuy p<sup>a</sup> expecular o aq' vinha= Poder deste barbaro peLo menos; eo deseus vassaLos= modo comque me ouve<sup>4</sup> nestes exames= Modo de vestir desta gente, edonde moraõ= Quem hê o Potentado Muzunbo a Callunga= Emq' altura está a corte deste Cassangi; eo nosso Prez<sup>o</sup> de Embaca= comq' armas brigaõ= Potentados de alem do Rio Quango, q<sup>m</sup> sam= comfinaõ com= outros= Gentio m<sup>to</sup> bestial deque tiuy notícia= Notícia doRio Quango= Mando dous pretos avello, q' tornaõ sem efeito= Persuado-

<sup>1</sup> Neste texto o y aparece em ditongo no valor de i. ex. *Reyno*. Normalmente leva um ponto em cima ou no meio dos dois pés superiores. Quando é acentuado por circumflexo tem o valor de i acentuado vy<sup>^</sup>. Como os programas presentes não permitem reproduzir o y com ponto ou com circumflexo, optei para ambos os casos por um y sem sinalização e com valor de i. Raras vezes aparece no tritongo ai leva dois pontos em cima do Y ex. *qusueya*.

<sup>2</sup> Posteriormente sublinhado por lápis

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

# **Índice**

Voyage de Monsieur de la Caille ...

**Voyage de Monsieur de la Caille** - Voyage que de la Caille a fait au Cap de Bonne-Espérance ...  
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 ...

[f.2<sup>v</sup>]

Persuado <sup>5</sup>hum barbaro p<sup>a</sup> <sup>6</sup>hir comigo aelLe= Cuidado em que me <sup>7</sup>uy, sobre o perigo aque me expunh<sup>a</sup>= Protexa de me não fal= tar, e jura pellos seus deozez= Parto com elle etrabalho q' tuiemos no caminho= Largura fundo do Rio= medo q' padesemos por amor de= "huma tropa de Lobbos= Juizos do Casangi sobre Portuguezes= Donde nasse este Rio Quango= Notícia do rio Cassaê, que nasse da Lagoa Fuam= Gila, e hê o Legitimo Zayre= Quango entra no Rio Cassae = Lâgoam Fuam Gila= Em caresim<sup>u</sup> do gentio a resp<sup>u</sup> da Largura desta Lagoa= Quem hê o Snr' dos MuLuas= Vallor desta gente, ecomquistas q' faz<sup>m</sup>= thê onde chegaõ hoje avender os excauos que tomaõ= Confinãõ com= a nação Malagis, Juizo que faço do vallor dos maLagis= Outro sobre ser a Lagoa Fuam Gilla azachf= proua deq' bem pode ser= sepode ser, oû não o fazersse esta comquista= Notissias de brancos da= contra costa, aqual continua= Metais que hã, bellos cLimas, eagoas, e Legoas q' andaria de Embaca a Cassangi= Notícia da reLegiam catolica; Intento o sahir de Casangi p<sup>a</sup> o Óllo, elhe mando recado= Parto e viag<sup>m</sup> que fis p<sup>a</sup> o Óllo= recebimento que mefez, e comq.<sup>us</sup> dos seus= embayxada que dey e úmildade comque me responde= Notícia que tiuy do mesmo que expeculey em Cassangy = Parto do Óllo, ep' fa= zer Largas marchas adoesso Em Ambaca, e chego com DEos a cid<sup>e</sup>= de Saõ Paulo daAsumpção em 15 de Agosto de 1756

Por Ser

## [f.3]

Por Ser prezizo econveniente ao Seru<sup>co</sup> deSua Mag.<sup>de</sup> mandar peçoa pratica e emteligente no chhessim<sup>u</sup> e Lingoas destes certoins' aexaminar varias partes delle: Ordeno aMan<sup>el</sup> Corr<sup>a</sup> Leytaõ natural desta cidade vã atal deLigençia, naqual obseruarã oque p' este regim<sup>u</sup> lhefor detreminado:

Hyrá o d.<sup>s</sup> Manoel Corr.<sup>a</sup> Leitaõ p' Massang<sup>no</sup>, Cam= banbe, e Ambaca, thê as remotas partes de Cassangy, e neste citio hirã ver o Rio Quango, o qual examinarã comtoda aatenção, de sua Largura, fundo, qualidade de agoa, aruores q' tem, e q' casta deg<sup>te</sup> abitaõ, as margens' delle; aqual experienssia fará p' varias pr<sup>tes</sup> dedito Rio, obseruando os seus vaons', e emq' pr<sup>tes</sup> se poderá passar á= outra banda:

Feita esta averiguação buscarã todos os= meyoz de o poder paçar, e conseguindo O imquirirá aqualid.<sup>s</sup> dag<sup>te</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Um H maiusculo de século XIX ou XX. posteriormente escrito a lápis para elucidar o "h" do s<sup>ec</sup>. XVIII. no manuscrito

<sup>6</sup> ibid.

<sup>7</sup> um v minúsculo de século XIX ou XX. em cima do u de século XVIII. posteriormente escrito a lápis para elucidar a leitura de u no sentido de v no século XVIII.

<sup>8</sup> ibid.

<sup>9</sup> ibid.

que abita aquella pr<sup>te</sup> do Norte, setem amesma Lingoa, costumes, eforma de viuer que o daparte de câ, sesaõ Guerreyros, q' forssas, epoder tem, seuestem conforme os gentios dos nossos certos; se= os vestidos deq' úzaõ sam daquelles mesmos generos de fazendas q' Le= uamos aos nossos punboz, oû úzaõ alguma roupa q' paressa da In= dia eselhe traga pella contra costa:

Fará a deLig<sup>ca</sup> poçiuEL p' emquerir da= melhor forma que puder, comq' naçoins' comereçaõ, deq' qualidade defazendas secompoem o seu neg.,<sup>ca</sup> aq<sup>m</sup> saõ sugeitos; q' forma deGouer= no tem, ese hã entre está gente alguma Lux da reLigiaõ ca= thoLica:

Se Man.<sup>ca</sup> Corr<sup>a</sup> Leitaõ chegar-

[f.3<sup>v</sup>]

Chegar atratar esta gente, elhe emtender á Lingoa, os examinarã com meudeza, seelles vaõ aoutra banda do Mar fazer negoçio, oû se uem gente daquella costa fazello com elles, setem visto oû tratado com brancos, q' dias gastaraõ de caminho em hirem aoutra parte do mar, p' q' estradas vem agente comerciar com elles, se saõ brancos oû pretos os q' fazem o neg<sup>ca</sup>, selhe trazem aroz, oû bebidas, eque qualidade dellas:

Todas estas averiguaçoins' fará com m<sup>ta</sup> cLareza e indiuiduação da uerdade p<sup>a</sup> sepoder formar juizo serto neste particular, edetudo fará exacto assento, sem deyxar circuns= +<sup>to</sup> tançia alguma:

Observará tambem se da pr<sup>te</sup> de câ do= Ryo há ao pê delle algum monte, oû alto onde se posa fazer fortaleza, se nessa parte hã agoa que possa seruir aos q' assistim<sup>m</sup> dentro, sejunto ao monte hã campos capazes deproduzirem mantimentos p<sup>a</sup> a sua sustentação, eque qualidade de mantim.<sup>tos</sup> poderã produzir aterra, se hẽ montuoza oû campina raza, o q' tudo averiguarã pello melhor modo que lhefor possiuEL, edestes exames medará parte as mais repetidas vezes q' puder p<sup>a</sup> eû lhe mandar advertir o que mais meparesser nessesario p<sup>a</sup> o bem do= seru.<sup>ca</sup> deSua Mag<sup>de</sup> Sam Paulo daAsumpcaõ e de Agosto 24 de 1755

(ass.) D. Ant<sup>o</sup> Aluares da Cunha  
Com

[f.4]

Anno  
1755.

Com aórdem aSima do meo General sahy da cidade de Loanda aos 31 do mesmo Agosto, eanno, p' q' p<sup>a</sup> taõ diLatada viag<sup>m</sup> estaua preparado de m<sup>to</sup> tempo, e comigo o Piloto

<sup>m</sup> Posteriormente escrito a lápis.

Antonio Roiz Grizante p<sup>a</sup> obseruar o sol na ultima parte, e ca= minhandomos p<sup>a</sup> Leste 8 Legoas boas a meu julgar, as 5 e meya ó= ras datarde chegamos ao citio chamado Calunbo beyra Rio Quan= za; eaquy medemorey 12 dias p<sup>a</sup> me terem fugido hun's pretos com humas cargas de emportanssia, thê que final m<sup>te</sup> pella deligência que fis p<sup>a</sup> ellas, chegaraõ 6<sup>a</sup> fr.<sup>a</sup> 12 de 7br<sup>a</sup>, dia emque me embar= quey em canoas p<sup>a</sup> hir pelo Rio asima, como defacto ofis com= DEos nomesmo dia:

Aos 16 do d.<sup>o</sup> mês cheguey ao Prez<sup>o</sup>= deMuchima, e sahindo delle no dia seg.<sup>te</sup> pello mesmo Rio asima, emq<sup>a</sup> tiuy varios emcontros de cauaLos marinhos; monstruozas feras que coalhaõ este grande Rio, cheguey a villa deMassangano aos 19 do sobre dito mes, cuja villa sendo nos tempos passados huma grande pouoação de gente branca, hoje seacha reduzida ahuma aldeia despouoada ecoazy sem moradores, e dando aquy a carta doSnr<sup>o</sup> General ao Capp<sup>m</sup> Mor Regente Antonio Glz<sup>o</sup> de Carvalho p<sup>a</sup> mefazer dar os pretos carregadores, party em= 22 do d.<sup>o</sup> mês p<sup>a</sup> o citio chamado Lembo, epello Rio Quanza ao= sima, navegaria 36 Legoas:

Cheguey a subir ainaceciueL serra do an= tigo Prez<sup>o</sup> de Cambambe dia do Arcanjo Sam Mig<sup>l</sup> 29 de 7br<sup>a</sup>,<sup>o</sup> eaquy entregando as cartas doSnr<sup>o</sup> General ao capp.<sup>m</sup> Mor Fran.<sup>co</sup> deBarros emq<sup>a</sup> lhefazia a saber oaq<sup>a</sup> hia, obseruou [f.4<sup>a</sup>]

Obseruou o PiLoto o sol dous dias, e no seg<sup>te</sup> nos deu o cap<sup>m</sup> Mor bom aviamento epassandomos p<sup>a</sup> caminhos ruins de montes e= vales como sam todos destas conquistas; passamos ao ultimo capp<sup>m</sup> = Mor do Prez<sup>o</sup> de Embaca donde chegamos com DEos:

Quarta feira 22 de 8br.<sup>o</sup>, e nesta viag<sup>m</sup> deMa sanganho thê Embaca, entre o Rio Quanza, eo LucaLa; este ao= Norte; eaquelle ao Sul, atravessamos seis rios e marchariamos sento e uinte Legoas em varios rodeyos, ep<sup>a</sup> q<sup>a</sup> este Prez<sup>o</sup> hera aul= tima parte de nossas jurisdiação edominios de Portugal doq<sup>a</sup> avia de sahir p<sup>a</sup> as Longas edilatadas partes aq<sup>a</sup> hia de barbaros ferozes; dando a carta doS.<sup>r</sup> General ao Capp<sup>m</sup> Mor ApoLi= nario Fran<sup>co</sup> de Carualho, este comessou aatender nos carre= gadores p<sup>a</sup> aminha sahida, os q<sup>a</sup> como aviaõ deser recomduzidos no diLatado de sua Jurisdiação p.<sup>a</sup> taõ Longe, secomessaraõ a fazer remissos eemchendo eu o tempo com aminha preparação de ma= taLotajez de carnes secas efarinhas, em surroins<sup>o</sup>, p<sup>a</sup> razaõ das m<sup>tas</sup> chuvas que cahem do ceu naquelles caminhos, apertey ao cap<sup>m</sup> Mor apressando aminha sahida pela razaõ deseperder a monção, detal sorte que este veyo adespedir m.<sup>tas</sup> soldados eofficiaes a á= tracar nas furnas os pretos mais desobedientes, desorte q<sup>a</sup> vindo muintos, e naõ querendo eũ perder tempo, party com DEos

do dito Prez" de Embaca em 26 de Janr'doproximo anno de 1756. 1756. No dito dia 26 de Jan<sup>o</sup> arancheyme no sitio de hum souva chamado Capenbe, Em 27, arancheyme [f.5]

Arancheyme no citio de hum souva chamado quibequeta, equ\_ me fugiram 14 carregadores q'saõ ho=meins' pretos decarga, cujos surroins' de mantimentos que Leuavaõ mandey botar fora= 4<sup>a</sup> ffr.<sup>a</sup> 28 de Janr." arancheyme no sova Zum=do aquembi, todos da jurisdicção do mesmo Prez" de Embaca, edeste souva fugi no seguinte dia, p' q' os Leoins' lhe comiaõ agente sacan=doá de suas proprias cazas, e fuy áarancharme no certaõ no citio chamado Seõ, donde naõ avia mais esperança degente úmana, nem depouoassoins' nossas ou alheyas, nem mais vista senaõ q' de matos, aruores, serranias, couas, e feras, que p' aquelles certoins' edezertos moraõ avista do Rio Lucala que aqu\_ corre Longo eclaro, com=singular pexi q' comfacilidade se toma:

Contar na realid.<sup>e</sup> o que passey daqui

+<sup>11</sup> p<sup>a</sup> diante p' tam brauos , eagrestes matos, o que tudo tenho p' asento, hê trabalho excuzado, vista de dia deferas ede serranias montuo= zisimas, extampidos de expantozos trouoins', grossos paus fei= tos emastilhas pellos curiscos que cahem, perturbação de noute nos ranchos, de Leoins' que fazem deLig.<sup>ca</sup> p' pilharem alguma g.<sup>ta</sup>, Ladroins' de estradas que sempre estaõ roubando edegolando os nossos P<sup>12</sup> pumbeyros; dos quais, edos bichos me Liuraua de noute sigurando as extradas com armadilhas de canos deque hia preuenido; hê couza m<sup>ta</sup> grande de nouo repetiLo grandes perigos saõ os do mar emque já me vy, mas m<sup>tas</sup> vezes os dezegey, antes que os deterras tam mãs.

Os Pretos que acompanham os homeins'

[f.5<sup>v</sup>]

Os homeins' em semelhantes Jornadas, po= im a saluação desuas vidas no fugir, trepaõ nas aruores com a mes=ma ligeireza de monos, ou macacos, andaõ nus sem temor de chu=vas, ou ventos, p' serem filhos destes mesmos males; saõ faltos de juizo p' destenguiem o mayor perigo do menor, p' cujo motiuo p' q<sup>o</sup> q<sup>o</sup> mouimento dezemparaõ o rancho, esemetem talvez nas bocas dos animais cuydando se Liuraõ delles; e couzas passey com estes homeins' tam bem dignas de memoria, the q' em 2 de Feur<sup>o</sup> chegamos em humas matas m<sup>tas</sup> soturnas e serradissas, cujo Lugar sechama Bondo, que forma furnas e covas emq' moraõ negros brauos, que sem embargo de o serem costumaõ trocar man=timentos por generos nossos, porem q<sup>m</sup> lhos compra deue estar ar=

<sup>11</sup> ibid.

<sup>12</sup> ibid.

mado p<sup>a</sup> q'ó não tomem, e façam mal:

Estava de Embaca a este citio em=  
meja jornada p<sup>a</sup> Cassangi; e como peLas com cauidades destas  
serras mora hum souva chamado muene Bondo que hê ó=  
mesmo que Rey dos bondos, este p<sup>r</sup> ser uasallo do Emperador  
e Jaga Cassangi, lhe mandoû recado que eû pessoa de emportan=  
çia entre Portuguezes, hera chegado aaquelle citio, eq' hera  
noudade p<sup>r</sup> nunca ter chegado as suas Terras tam apartadas  
dos dominios de Portugal:

Todo o Gentio que abita ao Sul do rio  
Quango, a saber Ginga que seintitulla Sr<sup>a</sup>, e Raynha destes  
Reynos; Marimba a Cogi, potentado, Somba de quem  
dequem auelle procede: Cassangi Camocunza també  
[f.6]

Tambem parente dos dois, Calunga Guéé;  
Cogi a Cassonde= Mueto aguimbo= Gombe a Óllo= Xingiri,  
Matamba, e Caxinga; e Este grande cassangi empedem todos q'  
em cazo nenhum tenhaõ os Portuguezes trato ou commercio com=  
os poderozos e m.<sup>tas</sup> potentados de alem do Rio; penna deuida, ede=  
geração vendida aos seus vassalLoz que mostrarem tal caminho,  
ea razaõ desua teyma eórdem hê; alem deoutras particula  
ridades, p<sup>a</sup> q' senaõ ponhaõ os portuguezes daoutra banda do Rio,  
elhe tiremos o comerccio dos excravos deque viuem, eos deyxemos  
avasalados, e Sugeitoz a Prezidios enos não façamos Senhores de=  
ssas m.<sup>tas</sup> gentes que ábitaõ tam diLatadas Terras:

O Cassangi descomfiando com anoticia da=  
minha hida, me não queria deyxar entrar nas suas Terras, ea ra=  
zaõ que teue p<sup>a</sup> este empedimento, foy pella pouca cautella que  
teue o pilloto, o qual em Cambanbe e em todo o tempo q' estiu e=  
mos Em Ambaca fes as obseruaçoins' do soL publica m.<sup>te</sup>, e como todo  
o nosso gentio hê amigo de noudades, Leou aaquellas Terras, adeq'  
aminha hida hera fingida atitulo de neg.<sup>co</sup>, p<sup>r</sup> q' eû na realidade  
Leuava hum homem feitiçeiro p<sup>a</sup> lhe emfeitiçarem as terras, e me=  
dir o Ryo Quango e vadealo; e vendo eû este embaraço, me ench\_  
de cuydados epennas na conssideração detanto trabalho perdido=  
epassado; ver demais que perdia aocaziaõ de fazer deligencia de=  
tanta emportancia, avista doq' entrey aestudar o como avia de=  
emganar aos barbaros, elhe mandey huma embayxada, dizendo:

Que eû não vinha a neg.<sup>co</sup> p<sup>r</sup> q' nunca  
[f.6v]

x

Nunca atais partes fora aelLe, e que nem trazia tal  
feitisseyro, como se avia falça m.<sup>te</sup> divulgado nas suas Terras; por<sup>m</sup>  
que trazia recado do capp.<sup>m</sup> General destes estados eReynos peLo  
que vinha a ser Emuiado resp.<sup>to</sup> p<sup>r</sup> q', epello Direito das gentes  
me não deuia negar a entrada, p<sup>r</sup> q' de semelhante prosedim<sup>to</sup> lhe



poderia rezultar grande dam: no:

Ambiçiozo o barbaro com oprezente q' acompanhaua este recado, epello mais que esperaua, como ofis diuylgar p' serem m<sup>to</sup> emteresseyros estes barbaros, mandou que entrasse; fazendo fazer primeyro muintos conselhos e magicas p' advinhar oaque hia, cuja certeza naõ souberaõ conforme fuy depois emformado, easim me mandou reçober ao citio chamado MagiLe p' huã tropa degente sua, aos q' tratey com grandeza conforme seus estillos:

No outro dia mandou p.<sup>los</sup> mesmos, eoutros prinssipais senhores do seu estado saber o que órdenaua o Snr'Gn<sup>ll</sup> p' q<sup>m</sup> estes Cassangis naõ fallaõ elles proprios com branco p' seus regimentos eagouros que p.<sup>a</sup> isso tem:

Na forma mais decente, fis armar o meu Lugar , eo para estes grandes, eos receby, epassadas as prim<sup>ds</sup> serimo= nias conforme seus extillos, lhes dey aembayxada que em suma continhaõ: deuia o Jaga Cassange dar adaxa ou trebutto como seus antepassados sempre ofizeraõ como vassallos= Que o grande numero defugidos que coalhavaõ aq.<sup>las</sup> dilatadas [f.7]

DiLatadas matas do Bondo, deviaos elle mandar degollar, etomar todos os que se podessem prender, e reme= tellos a cidade de Sam Paulo, p' pertensserem aos dominios de Por= tugal dedonde setinhaõ abzentado, ejunta m<sup>te</sup> p' ser bem com= mum fossem os caminhos Liures detaõ crueis Ladroins' p<sup>a</sup> bem do= comerssio delles Cassangis, e Portuguezes, emais potentados nossos comfidentes:

Que devia elLe Jaga tratar bem aos Escriuiains' dafeira, p'q' heraõ em nome deSua Mag<sup>te</sup> Fidi= Lissima, mandados pello seu Capp<sup>am</sup> General aaquellas diLatadas partes, aSerem cabeças dos nossos pouos que comcorriaõ p<sup>a</sup> afeyra do resgate dos catiuos, deq' lhe hia aelle Jaga Lucro<sup>to</sup> emteresse:

Que devia reportarçe do seu mau proçedim.<sup>to</sup> no maũ trato que daua aos nossos pumbeyros, roubando os, eao seu Excriuaõ, quando queria, com oameasso deos comer cozinhados, fa= zendo trazer diante delles, panellas, Lenha, eagoa p<sup>a</sup> mais depreça os intimidar, elhe darem bebidas, efazenda:

Que as faz<sup>das</sup> que seus vassallos tomavaõ aos nossos a titulo defiadadas as deuia mandar satisfazer, eq' aq.<sup>la</sup> barbarid.<sup>e</sup> deprohibir compra da comida aos nossos, eas aguas p<sup>a</sup> beber dos Rios, e possos q' DEos Nosso Snr' avia criado p<sup>a</sup> toda aSorte de uiuen= tes, que sedeuia evitar.

Que ultimam<sup>te</sup> se Lembrasse q' do estado [f.7<sup>v</sup>]

Do estado de barbaro, vestido de coiros, se achaua

hoje reduzido atanta Limpeza com as nossas fazendas; eq´com as nossas armas se fizerá Snr´ detam poderozoz potentados, eTerras o q´tudo vinha a Ser deSua Mag<sup>de</sup> FidiLissima, p´q´de Embaca aviaõ sa=hido seus antepassados com Licença de Portuguezes a áquellLas com=quistas eque a naõ ser o caLor do nosso nome, armas epoluora seria já extruydo da nação MaLundo, eque naõ zombaçe com oLugar Thenente detam Soberano Monarca que ao prez<sup>te</sup> Gouernava estes estados, p´q´infaliuel m.<sup>te</sup> afiaria a expada que tinha coazy dezembaynhada no pescosso delle Jaga, ede todos os seus vassa=llos, eacabaria de huâ ues como hum agoureyro, feitisseyro, eengrato a seu Rey; eque deuia exting«u»ir as duas cazas de magicas chamadas Emduás donde com o pertexto de expecularem verda=des, testemunhos, ou falssos que searguião huns´ aos outroz, mo=rriaõ tantas criaturas com o veneno q´se lhes daua; gente naõ só de seus mesmos dominios, mas detodoz os senhorios dePortugal nestes Reynos, eda noção LiboLo; Quissamas, dos Denbos, e dos=Reynos do Congo que as tais cazas comcorriaõ pello engano comque o Demonio tinha atado o Juizo dos mizeraveis pretos:

x Que finaL m.<sup>te</sup> sedecLarasse, p´ q´os Prinçi= pes cathoLicos naõ castigauã, senaõ que depois de bem justifi=cada a cauza, pella conta que deuiaõ dar aDeos.

Estas eoutras naratiuas meteraõ medo ao barbaro Lembrandosse inda hoje do ualor dos antigos [f.8]

Dos antigos Portuguezes comq´seus açendentes Lidaraõ, oq´lhes ficou p´ tradiçã= Ememandou dizer que elle hera vassallo deSua Mag.<sup>de</sup> FidiLiçima, e que tudo heraõ falsoz testemunhos que lhe Leuantauã; Que adaxa sepunha prompta, eque os fugidoz seriaõ amarrados, eq´eû esperasse p´ elles; enesta forma uim ater tempo de entrar na terra deste barbaro, eex=pecular o que sessegue, tratandome elles sempre com grande resp.<sup>to</sup>

Sabbado, 28 deFev.<sup>to</sup> tendo dado a Em= bayxada aos Cassangis naforma declarada, efazendo as expecu=Laçoins pello mais exacto modo, p´ emtender bem as Lingoas destas naçoins´, e com o nessesario Segredo, fuy sabendo de m.<sup>tas</sup> da Terra, e denaturais de nossa grande Embaca que entre estes homeins´ viuem hã m.<sup>to</sup> tempo. O seguinte

Terá o Cassange negros capazes detomar armas, mais deSento evinte mil desta sua nação natural p´ outro nome, echamados Quimbangallas, que val o mesmo q´valero=zoz, mulheres e meninos, etodoz os incapazes, como sepode julgar conforme o mais que desta gente hã emtoda aparte:

O Numero de g.<sup>te</sup> capas detomar armas de= seus Potentados, e mais gentes que avassalou desde o tempo que passou aestas partes de nossa Embaca com licenssa dePortugue=

zes, com sô duas armas defogo comforme tradiçãõ entre elles; passa de duzentoz trinta eSinco mil, de cujos potentados tenho tomados os nomes com distincãõ; fora os potentados já nomeadoz [f.8<sup>o</sup>]

Nomeados atras dos que negaõ apassage aos Portugue= zes aoutra banda do R\_o, p' q' nenhum delles hê seu vassalo; e naõ fallo em outroz muitos Sovetas, como alguns' denossa Em= bacã que lhe obedessem firme m<sup>te</sup>, e nesta conformidade vem a ser este Cassange potentado grande:

x<sup>13</sup> Veste todo este gentio como o dos nosoz certos' porem os Senhores defazendas, de sedas excarLatas, e re= des forradas de tafetás, e chapheus de sol com grandeza, p' q' sam ricos; E todos os pouos deste homem abitaõ desde donde mora Matamba, e Caxinga, eMueto aguimbo,emq<sup>m</sup> já faley, beira Ryo Quango, subindo com elle p<sup>a</sup> Leste thê onde vaõ confinar com matos, etomando outra ues ao este pello bondo p' onde passe\_; Rio Lunhinhy, Rio Cambo, Rio Luando Rio Quanza; thê confinar com terras do potentado Muzunbo a Calunga, senhor absoLuto egrande possuidor das Terras dos Sumbes ao sul de Cassange trinta jornadas, efoy já Snr' deste Cassange, cujo x<sup>14</sup> jugo, sacudiu com as nosas armas defogo q' o Mozumbo naõ te=.

Estã a corte do Cassange em altura

de noue graos, evinte enoue minutos da Linha p<sup>a</sup> o Sul, ecom forme o Pilloto está o nosso Prez<sup>o</sup> de Embacã em 9, e 3 minutos; as terras destes barbaros sam montuozas, e campinas razas, criaõ toda a casta de mantim.<sup>uo</sup> que lhe metem p' q' brancos tem feito experienssias, thê de arros: sam tantas as chuvas q' emfadaõ, alingogem dos Cassangis, hê a melhor destes certos.

Briga To=

[f.9]

Todo este gentio com frechas deferro, edepau duro como o mesmo ferro, e com as nossas armas defogo, deque tem quantidade, e sam taõ bons atiradores que os não excedem os= Portuguezes, com as q<sup>a</sup> setem Liurado o Cassange deseus fronteyros ignemigos, p' q' o excedem no numero, e no valor ep' resp.<sup>uo</sup> deseuer hoje o Cassange forte epoderozo com as nossas armas, faz Ludibrio dellas, e dis quando q.<sup>er</sup> disbarates do nosso poder, mas quando oameã= cey, mostrou temor, expressial m<sup>te</sup> quando lhe dissy que sessefiava nas armas, visse que lhas aviamos de reduzir a paus, ficando todas sem prestimo negando«se»lhe totalm<sup>te</sup> a poLuora, edefacto se sepo= der vedar este maũ genero aestes homeins', os veremos mais umil= des, p' q' já p' lhe faltar aquella abundança della, depois q' o Ill<sup>mo</sup>

<sup>13</sup> ibid.

<sup>14</sup> ibid.

e Ex.<sup>ma</sup> Snr. Dom Antonio Aluares da Cunha o prohibio, temos visto no mato m<sup>tas</sup> naçoins timoratas; emtendendo q' aquella pro=hibiçãõ insinuava algum castigo geral que Sua Mag.<sup>de</sup> FidiLisi=ma quereria fazer dar emtodo o certaõ:

Os Pottentados de aLem do Rio Quango frontr.<sup>ta</sup> ao Cassange eseus antigoz inimigoz pella razaõ delhes negar o trato dos brancoz, e lhe emvejarem olugar em que mora p<sup>a</sup> negossiar<sup>m</sup> com nosco, os q<sup>a</sup> moraõ desuiadoz do rio ao seu Norte seis jornadas, e coatro , e duas mais abayxo, oû aSima=Sam os seguintes:

MaLundo Potentado grande mayor que o Cassangi em todo o seu poder de vassallos diuidido tam=bem em sovas epotentadoz, edo interior do certaõ sempre lhe vem [f.9<sup>v</sup>]

Lhe vem socorros p<sup>a</sup> q' expila do Lugar ao Cassangi ep' isso o seu mayor inimigo, e inda que fazem pazes, Logo o malumdo hê o que sem motiuo sempre as quebra-

CamdaLa potentado como o Cassangi-

Caballo omesmo que oasima-

Cay também poderozo grande, como estes

Mueto aguimbo tambem poderozo grande, mas de menos po=der que os asima, de quem tenho reLaçaõ particular, e com meudeza, que mederaõ dous vassallos seus, o qual tem o seu poder diuidido em=ambas as margens do rio, etem algumas expingardas q' a nassaõ Óllo lhetem vendido; eestes potentados todoz tem seus comfi= nantes p<sup>a</sup> o Norte, e p<sup>a</sup> Leste, e estes tem outros comfinantes com= quem sempre andão em Guerras; há poucos annos annos teue o Ma Lundo huma batalha comdois, naqual seafirma morreraõ mais de 200 mil<sup>15</sup> criaturas, a corte de catana, p' q' da Guerra hê q' viuem estes brutos, que sô pella cauza deprezionarem gente p<sup>a</sup> vender, a fa= zem, e como morrem m<sup>tas</sup> naõ se uem avender nem o dizimo dos que morrem.

A Lingoag<sup>m</sup> destas naçoinz' hê diferente, m<sup>to</sup> emba= rassada, e brigaõ todos comfrecha de ferro epau, e catana Larga 5-poLegadas, edo comprim<sup>to</sup> detres palmos, rodeLa q' os cobre atodoz de Sipós que reziste as frechas, e na maõ da rodeLa trazem 5 e 6-Lancinhas curtas com chopa de ferro, com as q<sup>a</sup> fazem sertissimos tiros de bote, vestem ordinaria m<sup>te</sup> panos depalha feita em say=otes de m<sup>to</sup> emchim<sup>to</sup> que lhe dã p' sima do Joelho; da Sintura p<sup>a</sup> sima

<sup>15</sup>O símbolo do mil chamado *cifraõ* já foi utilizado na Idade Média. Como não existe nos programas de computador, por isto é desenvolvido pela palavra mil, o equivalente actual deste símbolo é \$ com um traço só, em vez do dois traços que cruzam o S. Este novo simbolo do mil somente é utilizado para unidade do dinheiro português para expressar mil reis. Não tem o significado geral de mil, que no nosso texto de séc. XVIII. refere ao número de pessoas.

couza nemhuá, faca a tiraco<sup>h</sup> ao pescosso, rodella e lansas, eeste [f.10]

Este hê o seu ordinario modo deandar depasseyo: na= guerra armamsse huns´ desta mane\_ra p<sup>a</sup> as duas primr.<sup>as</sup> Linhas da bem= goarda emuitas tropas, asim armadas no Lado direyto, eexquerdo, e no sentro de seus exercitos toda a mais chusmaria defrecha; ordenaõ capitains´ que são goardados detropas dos de catanas, naõ trazem bagagem, nem nada p<sup>a</sup> comer, p<sup>r</sup> q´ oû Logo ham de dar abatalha p<sup>a</sup> comer nos mortos, oû se ham de retirar, por<sup>m</sup> se caminhaõ p<sup>a</sup> Lonje, cadahum tras desua caza huma rais de mandioca, e eruas do mato, e feras que vaõ matando, cobras, e Lagartos e macacos, hê oseu aLimen= to, e marchando de dia edenoute venssem grandes jornadas empoucos dias: Leuaõ mulheres que tambem brigaõ , enas batalhas os nobres de huns´ exerçitos e do outroz, conhessendosse pellas diuizas brigaõ noble com noble: Com o temor da batalha avista dos exercitos formados naõ fazem com serto, p<sup>a</sup> p<sup>r</sup> meyo delle, evitarem mortes, daõ quartel apessas dindias, e moLeques, e moLecas, e barbados, ainda vendauéis: Os velhos e velhas incapazes de venda degoLam p<sup>a</sup> comer, ep´ este motiuo os capitains´ sempre se excolhem velhos p.<sup>a</sup> fazerem p<sup>r</sup> vensser, animando agente, p<sup>r</sup> naõ cahir elle mesmo capp<sup>m</sup> na desgraça de ser comido sendo tomado.

Por<sup>m</sup> antes departirem p<sup>a</sup> aGuerra o que amoue manda de zafiar ááquelle aq<sup>m</sup> aq.<sup>er</sup> fazer; que oû seprepare p<sup>a</sup> a batalha tal dia, oû sefaçaõ seus escrauos, jurandolhe o menagem detalhes, p<sup>a</sup> q<sup>do</sup> elle quizer gente p<sup>a</sup> vender mandar excolher aq´lhe paresser de= seus estados, ecomo estes gentios tem p<sup>r</sup> serto que vendidoz ham deuir aparar na maõ de Portuguezes que os ham decomer, naõ faz.<sup>m</sup> antes tal conserto, esendo derotados, todoz os que podem poem aSaluaçaõ nafugida, a metersse emfortalezas q´ tem feitas de paû. [f.10<sup>r</sup>]

De paû a pique m<sup>ho</sup> fortes com suas portas emq´ se em= serraõ, dentro das q<sup>o</sup> podem fazer m<sup>ho</sup> danno ao exercito vitori= ozo seos seguir, p<sup>r</sup> q´ de dentro pellas frestas dos paus os frechaõ sigu= ros com pontaria serto, e destas fortalezas vy huma na praça do Óllo, detaõ fortes ealtoz paus que sô artilharia apoderia ron= per; com suas estradas cubertas, eemcada paû dafortaleza vy espetada huma caveira, efoy omais que vy de caveiras juntas: Gran= deza daquelles saluagens´, p<sup>r</sup> q´ q<sup>m</sup> mostra mais caueyras hê reputado por grande Snr´:

Por sima destes potentados nomeados hã huns´ gentios Mucutibas p<sup>r</sup> nome, tam barbaros que nem p<sup>a</sup> vender os querem os outros vender, oû tomar p<sup>r</sup> q´ infaliuel m<sup>le</sup> semataõ, inda que seja adentadas aSy mesmo, p<sup>r</sup> q´ naõ tem em nada o matara, nem o matar.<sup>m</sup> Comem sempre carne úmana, eandaõ absoLuta m<sup>le</sup> núz homenz´ e molheres sem vergonha, naõ hã just.<sup>a</sup> nenhuma

entre elles, comem aranhas e bicho crús asim como osapanhaõ: com os enfermos úzaõ da mayor empiedade p' q' ao tempo da morte sendo parentes, Irmaonz', Pais, oũ filhos os botaõ fora nasex=tradas, p' q' outros que os não conheçaõ os achem, eos comaõ Logo, p' q' aestes pello parentesco, não podem comer. Não tem Re\_, nem sova, moraõ emfurnas grandez ás familias p' se=defenderem humas das outras, seruindosse sô nauida; tre=paõ de dia nos paus p' vigiar<sup>m</sup> os outros que paçaõ descuidados p' os matar e comer; feitisseiros, e nimgromaticoz, eoutras co=uzas mais q' me contraraõ delles:

Hê sem duvida q' o Rio Quango

[f.11]

Quango hê pequeno, e nas frontr.<sup>as</sup> de Cassangi vadi=aeL no tempo das mayores chuvas, de sorte que q'<sup>du</sup> o potentado Ma=Lundû tem vindo aGuerriar ao dito Cassangi nunca o passou em=canoas, e hê daLargura do tiro de huma pistola de alcanse, por<sup>m</sup> em alguns' portos se paça em canoas, p' ser prezizo procurar aq.<sup>les</sup> Lugares em que as hã eemq' hê mais fundo: dista da corte de Cassangi aque elles chamaõ Quillonbo, jornada emeya de preto, eantes de sechegar aelle sevadeaõ quatro regatos dos nomes, Cassanza, LuaLe, CatendeLa, Xarco de agoa emq' corre alguã; Lueto, o mais vezinho ao d' Quango.

Vendo eũ tam ajustadas as emformaçoins', do referido, contra o que sempre os brutos dos negros afirmavaõ dagrandeza deste Rio, o q' prosede denaõ terem outro mayor em suas terras; mandey dous escauos meus de noute, as ezcondidas p' q' mepodessem emformar se eũ denoute poderia hir sem risco avello, pellos m.<sup>tos</sup> poucos que hã p' toda aterra; mas como não sabiaõ doz caminhos com otemor depoderem ser colhidos pellos Casangis, se andaraõ ocultando em matas, e no fim de=quatro jornadas oũ dias, sem chegar aelle tomaraõ, encarsese=ndo perigozos trabalhos que aviaõ padessido, atempo q' eũ tinha reduzido ahum natural do Óllo chamado Quisueya asis=tente emdito Cassangy, que me segurava em tres noutes, edous dias hir euir comigo sem perigo, mais q' o do susto etrabalho excondendomo:nos de dia em algumas moutas, nestes ttr.<sup>as16</sup>

Embarasado

[f.11v]

Embarassado o Juizo na certeza do perigo de mecomerem os Casangis emfaliueL m.<sup>te</sup> semcolhessem, ainda o de áver de fi=

<sup>16</sup> ttr.<sup>as</sup> é abreviação de *termos*. É uma abreviação bem conhecida pelos paleógrafos portugueses. Aqui a palavra *termo* significa terra que se encontra fora das localidades habitadas. Na margem direita do fólio encontra-se, posteriormente escrita, a possível interpretação da abreviatura desenvolvida ttr.-(termos?)

arme do barbaro emq<sup>m</sup> não hera novidade o faltar, vim p' fim dealguns' dias adizer lhe que emq<sup>m</sup> fossemos, goardaria elle quysue=? ya em minha caza, o que lhe avia prometido, eq' prometia nauoL= ta de dobrarlhe o tal pagamento; respondeume seguro acressen= tado taõ orrorozos juramentos pellas suas deydades, que lhede y credito, prinssipal m<sup>m</sup> quando lhedissy que elle sempre hiria ao pê de mim, e que se conheesseçe alguã infidilidade , oatirasse apistolla, easim rezoLuto a hir com elle athê o Rio apê p' q' deoutra sorte não podia ser, mepreparey:

Pasey hordem na caza emq' moraua q' sealguem meprocurasse lhedissesem lhenaõ podia fallar p' doente, e em= comendandome aDEos, eavir<sup>m</sup> Maria, parti com o barbaro, eoutros pretos meus as sete horas da noute do dia 14 de Mr,<sup>o</sup> e p' bons' caminhos vadiando dous regatos ao amanhesser nos agaixamos em humas matas de donde dedia trepado em= hum paũ vy varios montes, com boas campinas p' o entento das fortalezas, e medisseraõ os pretos que aviaõ m<sup>o</sup>, ecom agoa p' q' em toda aquella terra donde se caua seacha m<sup>o</sup> boa.

No mesmo dia ao anouteser partimos p' caminho ruim p' nos desuiarmos de huns' cazais emq' o preto disse poderiaõ aver cains' que Latissem, desorte q' paçadoz os dous ultimos regatos, chegamos ao Rio Quango, q' Por= tugues ainda naquellaparte, nunca viu, ecom huma [f.12]

Huma vara comprida que Lá chamaõ Libungos, son= dey, evy ali ser ofundo de seis palmos excassoz: alargura pa= resseume pouco mais da do nosso rio Lucala, que hê o mesmo que tiro depistoLa de alcanse, e nadita pr<sup>te</sup> emq' sahy. não ávia ma= dr.<sup>a</sup>, mas afirmoume o preto avella em varias partes delle m<sup>o</sup> boa, e grossa, asim como se uia naTerra; edehuns' fogos q' vy daoutrapr<sup>te</sup> medisseraõ serem defilhos oũ vassaloz de Cassangi que Lâ dromiaõ continua mente, p' q' vindo o ignimigo Ma= Lundo podesem hir dar pr<sup>te</sup> os que escapassem com uida: a ágoa não hê da melhor p' q' hê alguã couza asalitrada, como ado rio Lumhinhy que tambem o hê p' passar p' sais; e p' q' adetença hera perigoza partimos p' tras eemcontrando comhuma tropa deLobboz, aque prim<sup>o</sup> deraõ o nome de g<sup>te</sup>, edepois de Leoins': contar o trabalho q' passamos p' palhas altas cheyas de mosqui= toz p' donde fugimos, hê excuzado, thê que ao outro dia man= dey huns' pretos ver â pista doq' auia paçado, os q' conheseraõ pellas pegadas serem Lobos os que emtanto medo nos aviaõ posto.

Isto hê o que narrealidade vy e não pode ser mais p' q' hinda que sedê ao Cassangi, hum mi= lhaõ sendo tam ambiçiozo, não deixará nem hum Portug<sup>s</sup>

chegar aaquelle Ryo, p' seus regimentos como tenho dito, ea= gours de seus feittiseyros afirmarem q'q.<sup>do</sup> os Portuguezes ouvirem naquella parte seraõ Senhores das naçoins' daoutra banda, e elles perdidos; DEos lhe cumpra seu aGouro: pre= mihey ao barbaro quisuheya, antaõ fiel, inda q' p' Sua [f.12<sup>v</sup>]

+<sup>17</sup>

Sua conveniença naforma q' lhetinha pro= metido, o qual medisse que breue m<sup>te</sup> se hiria p<sup>a</sup> a sua Terra , p<sup>a</sup> q' nos juramentoz gerais que costuma o Casangi fazer dar: naõ ser colhido: bem podia eũ tentar apasagem, e comssegullo, mas emfaLiuel m<sup>te</sup> fica<sup>ua</sup> Lã com os barbaros, thê o fim daminha vida p' q' como certa m<sup>te</sup> o gentio desta banda o avia desaber Logo, tais goardas meporiam que, se eũ quizesse tomar aella, sem duvida me coLiaõ esacreficauaõ aseus deozêz, edepois me co= miaõ.

Hê tambem certo naser o dito

Ryo Quango nas terras do potentado Mozunbo a CaLunga, perto do nassimento do Rio Quanza, como na cid.<sup>a</sup> deSaõ Paulo disse antes de minha sahida o capp<sup>m</sup> Mor Dom<sup>ts</sup> Frr<sup>a</sup> daAsun= pçaõ, o que indaguey com tal circumspecçaõ, asim como tudo o mais, e medisseraõ que nadita Terra do Mozunbo, hera hum regatinho, ehum me dissy que hindo aos Sumbex com= prar emchadas pasarã a roda delle, sem o ver, pello q' deste rio já naõ hã mais que saber, p' que aquy acaba no coazy na= da deseu prinssipio:

Os Pretos emformantes, etodos geral m<sup>te</sup> dizem q' ao Norte deste rio Quango correm m<sup>ts</sup>, sendo o mayor, eo mais vizinho ao dito Quango o grandissimo rio chamado Cassaê, entre o qual, eo Quango, correm m<sup>ts</sup> abitados de imenssos po= uos, etodos eo mesmo Quango, entraõ no Cassaê p' boca que todas destas terras conheessem, evem quando vam aSeu neg<sup>co</sup> nas partes das naçoins' Quilubas, eque nestes grande Rio [f.13]

Rio Cassaê se navegaõ emgrandes canoas p' ser m<sup>to</sup> Largo thê onde podem p' q' empartes sepressepita de Caxoe= yras abayxo, e hê certissimo ser este Cassaê o Ligitimo Zayre, e não o Quango como os antigoz faltos de notissia emtenderaõ; cujo Ryo Cassaê correndo mais p<sup>a</sup> bayxo nas terras quyácas q' rega, já?quiyacas<sup>18</sup> lhe chamaõ Záyy enas dofosso tambem lhe chamaõ Zary, eq<sup>do</sup> entra no mar lhechamaõ os naturais Zayre, e compretos faley q' beberaõ agoa emtodas essas terras donde tem taõ diferentez

<sup>17</sup> Posteriormente escrita a lápis

<sup>18</sup> ibid.



no mês sendo o mesmo Cassaê câ em sima.

Os Pretos emformantes etodos em com mum prinssipal m<sup>o</sup> os naturais deMaLundo, e escrauos que compramoz afirmaõ que este grande Rio chamado Cassaê, no fim de 20 jornadas no em que vareaõ, nasse deoutro m<sup>o</sup> mais grande chamado Fuam Gilla, tam Largo que senaõ pode com a vista descobrir asoutras margens´delle, eque sô fogos quando sam grandes sevem denoute: o nome Fuaõ Gilla explica no nosso idioma, que todo o pasaro que tentar oa= travessar este grande Fuam Gilla, que morrerá no caminho afome, cujo rio, ou Lago conforme a melhor expliçaõ que fis fazer aos ne= gros p<sup>r</sup> Sinais de Sol eextreLas pairesseme que corre Sul a Norte, Lá m<sup>o</sup> p<sup>a</sup> Leste dessas terras que abita o Gram Snr´ dos MoLuas, o qual tendo m<sup>os</sup> titulloz, hê o seu mayor Matayamvoa, que quer dizer; o Snr´dos Senhores.

Este MuLua, hê m<sup>o</sup> poderoso, edeseus sen= horios, e dominios, sahem capitains´ despedidos p<sup>r</sup> elle p<sup>a</sup> Oeste; p<sup>a</sup> o Norte, e p<sup>a</sup> o Sul, e mais partes com tropas de muitissimas gentes afazer conquistas de escrauos que vendem comforme aparte mais vezinha onde os tomaõ, como p<sup>a</sup> BengueLa [f.13<sup>v</sup>]

Beng. <sup>La</sup>, e p<sup>a</sup> as partes por onde se em caminhaõ p<sup>a</sup> Cassange, p<sup>a</sup> os Óllos, thê p<sup>a</sup> os Reynos do Congo, Só Sós, Quiyacac, quilubac, unguac, que todos tem metido de baixo de suaforce expada, tam vaLerozac, etemidos pellos extragos que tem feito emtodos os dominios de quantos hã, que basta ano= tissia de seu nome p<sup>a</sup> vensserem; detal sorte que hoje já chegaõ avender gente aos comfinantes dos Dembos AmbueLa, eMu= temos; Grandes homeins´ por serto, e tam famozos entre as na= çoins´, de todos esses tam diLatados matos, que não se falla em= outra couza, eSerto que a não serem elles, não teriamos tan= tos escrauos, p<sup>r</sup> q´elles pella sua ambiçaõ efama de vencer, feitos Aguias terrestres, correm terras taõ remotas de sua Patria, só p<sup>a</sup> sefazerem Senhores das outras gentes:

Sam de gr.<sup>de</sup> conselho naGuerra, m<sup>o</sup> obedientes aSeus capitaens´, fieis aos tais, Dam quartel atoda a casta degente, com tanto que lhes façam tributarios no que se podem ajustar,= brigam de espada como os outros em que faley, rodella de couro que os cobre todos, e Lancinhas; não pegaõ em frecha, tomando emguerra armas defogo as fazem emespadas, edizem saõ armas, ruins´ as que embaraçaõ o vaLor; andaõ tantos juntos q´afirmaõ q´em huã noute fazem depaus grossos ecompridos, fortalezas de= duas, e huma Legoa em circuito e isto sabendo, e tendo p<sup>r</sup> serto que nimg<sup>m</sup> nestes certoins´ emtenderá com elles, mas fazem já p<sup>r</sup> extiLo que tem, com m<sup>o</sup> trabalho, e no outro dia adezempa= raõ, sam altos deestatura coazy todos, efermozos, naris pe=

queno como xinas; correm como cavallos, afirmaram=me m<sup>lvs</sup> brancos que tem notissia delles, epretos que naõ comem carne humana; o seu andar depasseyo dizem q'hê m<sup>lvs</sup> ao graue, damção [f.14]

Dançaõ imsigne m<sup>le</sup>, fazem óbras curiozissimas, e= tudo q<sup>lvs</sup> vaõ avendo em suas conquistas, remetem o dizimo ao seu soberano:

Matayamvoa, Snr'destes taó famosos como vaLerosos homeins'comfina com outros muintos poucos chamados Malagis, que sam os que verdadr.<sup>a</sup> mente se extendem thê as margens' dessa Lagoa Fuam Gilla deque dizem nasse o rio Cassaê, e sem embargo deste Matayamvoa ser taó valerozo= em varias Guerras que tem tido com estes MaLagis, naó pode su= geitaLos; e antes meafirmaraõ que no prinssipio do anno de 1755, hindo aMatayamvoa aGuerriar estes MaLagis, poucos da Lagoa, se retirará comperda demais deSento esincoenta mil dos seus, e elle ferido:

Eû tenho por sem duuida ser esta Lagoa Fuaõ Gila, a Lagoa Zachf que os cosmografos poem em 15 graos e 50 minutos no certaõ desta cafraria: bem pode isto ser; posto Cassangi está tanto ao Norte desta altura, p' q' os pretos que ouvem faLar desta Lagoa deoutros, eoutros de outros, thê esses Malagis, dizem o que os q'vam aella, sempre caminhaõ ao= sul deyxando o SoL a maõ exquerda, ecomo ajornada que estes andarilhos negros fazem em vinte dias, naó seraõ os brancos capa= <sup>lvs</sup> zes dea fazerem emsessenta dias, e no empreço daviag.<sup>m</sup> q' o Padre Manoel Godinho da comp<sup>a</sup>, fes da India p' terra diz que alem de 15 Legoas q' esta Lagoa tem, de Largo se lhe naó sabe o comprim.<sup>lvs</sup> o qual bem pode ser m.<sup>lvs</sup> p<sup>a</sup> o Norte, ep<sup>a</sup> o Sul a expelir deSy o rio aruv\_ que p' sima do nosso forte deTete se mete no Ryo Zam= beze, etambem o Rio chire que cortando p' m<sup>lvs</sup> terras, eultima= m<sup>le</sup> pellas do rondo sevay aajuntar com o Rio deCuanza para- [f.14']

Para bayxo deSenna; eafirma mais o d<sup>o</sup> empresso que hê sem duvida há adita Lagoa, p' q' naó sô o dizem cafres, mas tambem Portuguezes que já Lâ chegaraõ navegando pellos rios asima, ecomo oempreço corrobora com oq' dizem os negros destas te= rras, tenho p' certo ser este Fuam Gilla a Lagoa Zachf.

Posto que estes gentios vareaõ no N.<sup>o</sup> de dias q' sepoderaõ gastar aesta Lagoa; eû p' uarias ponderaçoins' que tenho feito, julgo ser p<sup>a</sup> brancos aviage mais dificultoza, eem que sendo numerozo o exercito, sechegarem viuos alguns brancos

<sup>lvs</sup> Desde aqui até o fim do fólio foi feita posteriormente uma linha traçada a lápis para destacar o conteúdo desta parte do texto.

aLagoa, seriam tam poucos que os q'escapassem acabariaõ nas maons 'dos barbaros, com forme tenho depois conssiderado na matr<sup>a</sup> milhor, pello que passey p'esses matos, sendo eú hum sô, porem seouvesse algum empenho p<sup>a</sup> se intentar, naõ deue ser p' Cassange ^ p' ficar m<sup>o</sup> ao Norte; e só deuia ser buscandosse o Prez' das Pedras, edelle as Terras bravias do potentado Mozunbo a CaLunga que fica m<sup>o</sup> ao Sul, e Leste das de Casangi, ep' qual q.<sup>er</sup> pr<sup>te</sup> na minha estimaçaõ, a couza mais trabalhoza, eem que háde acabar m.<sup>ta</sup> gente sem utilidade:

Os Praticos emformantes, e todos os gen=tios destas remotas partes, naõ têm Licença do daoutra banda p<sup>a</sup> chegarem ao menos ao Matayamvoa q<sup>to</sup> mais chegarem aesses Malagis, ep' isso naõ tem visto com oseu olho, branco da contra costa; mais do que ouvirem Sempre dizer que setem visto bran=cos nestas pr.<sup>tes</sup> diante do Matayamvoa, os q<sup>a</sup> aparessem embarcoz aque o gentio chama: *úátos*, eque tem Lâ seus Lugares donde sahem, eque fazem neg.<sup>os</sup>, dando p' escrauos zuartes, eoutras fa=zendas próprias, como as q'lhe uaõ de câ, missangas brancas, eazuis [f.15]

Eazuis, e buzio, eq'os potentados q' trataõ com ostais brancos, (que eú cuydo sam os MaLagis, ou outros) empedem aeste Matayamvoa, o poder buscaLos etratillos, o que hê com mum entre este gentio; asim como o Cassangi, eos mais nomeados, naõ querem que nós tratemos com os de aLem do Rio Quango, ecomo o tal Ma=tayamvoa tem tambem notissia dos brancos de câ, p' esta razaõ tam bem os q.<sup>er</sup> p' am<sup>os</sup>, fazendo=oz procurar p' seus capitains' p<sup>a</sup> q'lhe vendaõ fazendas:

Tem tanto p' serto estes gentios todos q'na= contra costa, ou na Lagoa hã, ou vem brancos que sempre pergun=taõ aos nossos Punbr.<sup>os</sup>, ea alguns' brancos Se o nosso Monarca mora daquella banda, donde andaõ nossos semelhantes, e selhe respon=de que temos Lâ praças, ealguns' escrauos que se resgataõ vindos desse Matayamvoa, resgatados, ou tomados Lâ a seus comfinan=tes, o tem contado, o q'eu tenho ouvido de m.<sup>tes</sup>, econtaõ tambem q'essas gentes vezinhas do Matayamvoa, tiueraõ hã poucos annos em seu poder hum rapaz branco, e que fora restetuido aSeus Pais, eq' o Matayamvoa naultima Gerra que teue com os MaLagis, to=marã panos deveLudo, e huns papeis pintados; couza que p' câ lhe naõ paçaõ os nossos Punbr.<sup>os</sup>, e isto hê o que alcansey nas terras do Cassangi contado pellas naçoins' demais Leste, como tenho excrito:

Hã m<sup>to</sup> ferro nessas Terras dedentro, cobre, e Lataõ, eo animal roniceronte que pellos nossos dominios, nun=ca foy topado, e todos os mais animais que nas nossas Terras hã, eoutros diuerssos: boy destes manços, porem brauios nas terras dos=

Nhungos e Luxicos, e manços emoutras pr.<sup>tes</sup>

Os ares

[f.15<sup>v</sup>]


Os ares e oscLimas de Embaca a Cassangi são bons', edizem que são melhores, os de dentro, grandissimos frios no enverno, m.<sup>tes</sup> e boas agoas; ede Embaca a Cassangi vadeey mais deSem riachos q' sempre correm, fora os rios grandes em que já faley, eandaria do= Prez' de Embaca a Cassangi 200 Legoas pouco mais ó menos de Ca= ssangi ao Óllo mais de sem: do Óllo a Embaca mais deSento é= vinty em varias voltas e caracois que os gentios p' esses matos= fazem:


Notícia de reLigiaõ cathoLica a naõ hã entre estes barbaros, sam todos feitisseyros e agoureyros, e pairesse q' sendo, bons' os operarios com ofauor de DEos, prinssipal m.<sup>te</sup> a nassaõ Muluê p' serem dados a razaõ que atomariaõ melhor que os nossos Gentios de Embaca p.<sup>a</sup> bayxo:


Vendo eũ as couzas acabadas da manr.<sup>a</sup> referida quis sahir de Cassangi p.<sup>a</sup> hir p.<sup>a</sup> os Óllos ajustar todas estas no= ticias com as emformaõins' destas naõins' dos Óllos, e p' q' o poten= tado Cassangi tinha despedido Guerra p.<sup>a</sup> castigar os fugidos, eSetinha com aminha asistencia na sua terra reportado dos= maus procedim.<sup>tes</sup> deq' lhe formey culpas, como se uê na Embayxada que lhedeey, lhemandey dizer que como o Snr' General me chamaua, eaprizaõ dos fugidos sedemoraua pella cauza que me dauaõ das pa= lhas estarem m.<sup>tes</sup> altas eser percizo esperar sequeymassem, q' eũ partia, elhedeyxaua ordenado q' quando os prendesse os remetesse p.<sup>a</sup> a cidade deSam Paulo, o que com efeito me afirmaõ tem obrado, nesta forma despedindome comtodas aquellas atençoins' que entre elles sepraticãõ:

Party ded.<sup>o</sup> Cassangi em 14 de Mayo do mesmo [f.16]

Do mesmo anno e caminhando sempre jornadas Largas caminho de Norte, sem dia nem hum fazer alto p' serem os matos m.<sup>tes</sup> agrestes e cheyos deferas de manr.<sup>a</sup> que em hum dia de= tarde vimos sete Leoins', evim aentrar no Óllo Somba, aos 23 ded.<sup>o</sup> Mayo, cujo potentado me recebeu com mais deSincoenta mil pretos, e pretas de sua naçaõ egrandes dasua caza aq.<sup>m</sup> eũ dando peças de extimaçaõ, entre elles me com responderaõ comoque quizeram, epuderaõ, ep'q' eũ uy que aEmbayxada Emcassangi fora deprouei= to p.<sup>a</sup> os nossos Punbr.<sup>tes</sup>, tambem adey aquy coatro dias depois da m.<sup>a</sup> chegada, nos q.<sup>tes</sup> se ajuntaraõ m.<sup>tes</sup> destes homeins', eos ameaços decas= tigo que lhefis, senaõ tratassem bem aos nossoz Punbr.<sup>tes</sup> cauzou o efeito da boa reposta q' mederaõ, eumildade de paLauras comq' o Prin= cipe seportou, p'q' mefalou publica epeçoal m.<sup>te</sup>, mandando p' fim aos seus grandes dancassem na minha prez.<sup>ca</sup>, ao som deseus extron=


 ...ango se peguen e mais fraldas de ...  
 ... tempo de ...  
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dozos instrum.<sup>lvs</sup>, edepois elle mesmo o fez como hê costume entre elles, o que hé demonstraçaõ de grande alegria e honrra q' requeiraõ:

Aquy me demorey poucos dias averiguando o mesmo q' tinha especulando em cassangi, etudo de Leste me confirmaraõ, prinssipal m<sup>te</sup> da Lagoa Fuam Gilla, edo rio Cassaê que nasse da mesma Lagoa, edanotiçia dos brancos na mesma formalid.<sup>e</sup> como moá=firmaraõ em Cassangy; ep' estes homeins' Óllos custumaõ desser mais ao Norte, mederaõ notissias detantos Potentados, ede rios, que fiquey admirado da grandeza deste que pairesse nouo Mundo, que tudo tomey p' asento:

Party deste Óllo em 2 de Junho p' caminhos mais mo=dermos, ep' essa razaõ mais agrestes, eentrey com Largas jornadas no Prez.<sup>o</sup> de Embaca, em 18 dito mesmo Junho, e p' q' no excesso [f.16<sup>v</sup>]

Excesso das grandes marchas, evirem os pretos já m.<sup>to</sup> cansados, adoessy Logo no d.<sup>o</sup> Prez.<sup>o</sup> de Embaca, donde estuiy thê 19<sup>o</sup> de Julho edaquy caminhando p' Terras de nossoz dominios, passey p<sup>lvs</sup> destritoz de ILamba, e ILumbo, e Entrey no GoLungo, virey pello destrito do Icollo, e emtrando, no destrito do Bengo cheguey acid.<sup>e</sup> deSam Paullo da Asumpçaõ em quinze de Agosto, fechando com=afim desta minha viag<sup>m</sup>, hum arco coazi redondo, p' q<sup>to</sup> tendo sa=hido pello Ryo Quanza p<sup>a</sup> Massang.<sup>no</sup> Cambambe eAmbaca, q' hê ao Sul, vim pello Norte pello Rio Bengo, gastando nesta forma hum anno, menos quinze dias, e bastante de minha fazenda, emprezentes q' dey aos potentadoz, eseus grandes, sustentaçaõ de mais de 150 negros que em tanto tempo me acompanharaõ, e cominha pessoa, sendo o mais e grande trabalho que tiuy; que tudo dô p' bem empregado por ser em seruisso, de nosso grande Monarca que Deos G<sup>de</sup> como nós todos os seus fieis vassaLos dezejamos.

Sarg<sup>to</sup> Mor dos moradores de destrito de Dand<sup>e</sup>

(ass.) M.<sup>te</sup> Correya Leytaõ

*[Handwritten text in Portuguese, likely a journal entry or report. The text is highly cursive and partially obscured by a circular stamp.]*

*[Circular stamp: TORRES VESIGIALES]*

*[Handwritten signature and text at the bottom of the page.]*

### Translation

Without being literal the translation strives to follow the text closely. It therefore respects the spelling of the original except for well-known place names and the names of known rivers, which are rendered in the standard spelling on modern maps of Angola rather than in a spelling which would be correct in African languages. Thus Ambaca rather than Embaca or Mbaka. Capital letters have been retained except for single "I" which is always capitalized in the text and for the capitalized first words of each new paragraph. Yet the translation also strives to be relatively easy to read. Hence punctuation follows common English usage, the = sign at the end of a line has been deleted, and so are the words at the end of each page which are repeated at the beginning of the next one, in the style of the time. The longer sentences in the original have been cut into several sentences, usually where clauses are coordinated by "and" in the original. Words added to make the meaning clearer appear in brackets. The translation itself is only lightly annotated, but a star after a personal name, an ethnic name, or a title means that the item is discussed in the onomasticon which follows. Underlined words follow the underlining in the original.

*/1/ Voyage which I, sergeant-major<sup>1</sup> of the settlers of the district of the Dande, made to the remote parts of Cassange\* and the Ollo\*, in the year of 1755, until the following one of 1756.*

*/2/ Relation and brief summary of the voyage which I, the sergeant major of the settlers of the Dande, made to the remote parts of Cassange\* and the Ollo\* by order of the most Illustrious and most Excellent Sir Governor and General Captain of these Kingdoms. D. António Alvares da Cunha\*.*

The written Orders I received. Voyage which I made from the city of Saint Paul of the Assumption [or Luanda] to the garrison town<sup>2</sup> of Ambaca. From this garrison town of Ambaca to the site of Bondo\*. Fear which these bad wildernesses instill. Who and how the blacks are who accompany whoever goes along these roads. Notice from the King of Bondo\* for the Jaga\* Cassange\* about my coming. Cause why the independent Africans<sup>3</sup> do not want the Portuguese to trade with the peoples beyond the river Cuango, and who they are. Arrogance of the Cassange\* to thwart my voyage and why.

<sup>1</sup> Sergeant major. A largely honorific military rank in the settler militia.

<sup>2</sup> *presídios* were headquarters of those territorial subdivisions of the colony that were fortified and garrisoned. The term also refers to their territory. Districts refer to headquarters and territorial subdivisions without garrisons.

<sup>3</sup> *gentio* applied both to non-Christians and to peoples beyond the colony.



The way which occurs to me to deceive him. Message which I sent him. His greed. He orders to receive me at maGille.<sup>4</sup> Message which he sent me. Imaginary diplomatic message which I communicate to him from the part of my General, in which I ask him for a dash and [the capture of] the Robbers on the Highways. I reproach<sup>5</sup> him the ill treatment doled out to the official Notaries of the market<sup>6</sup> for buying slaves<sup>7</sup> and to the slave traders<sup>8</sup> and the robberies which he inflicted on them. Other barbarous actions which he did which I record, and recall to him. I propose to him the abolition of his establishments for practicing magic in which an infinite number of people die. The last menace with which I threaten him, and the fear it inspires in him. Very humble answer which he gave me. Time I took to ponder about what was coming. Power of this savage [estimated] at the least. And that of his vassals. Manner in which I went about these inquiries. Manner of dress of these people, and where they live. Who is the potentate Muzunbo a Callunga\* ? At which latitude the court of this Cassange\* is situated; and our garrison of Ambaca. With which weapons they fight. Potentates from across the river Cuango. Who they are. They border on others. Very bestial savages about whom I was informed. Information about the river Cuango. I send two blacks to look at it, who return business undone.

/2<sup>v</sup>/ I convince a savage to accompany me to it [the river]. My concern about the peril to which I was exposing myself. He declares not to let me down<sup>9</sup> and swears by his gods. I leave with him, and the troubles which we encountered on the road. Width and depth of the River. Fear we suffered because of a troupe of hyenas.<sup>10</sup> Opinions of Casangi\* about the Portuguese. From where this river Cuango originates. Information about the river Cassai, which originates from the lake Fuam Gila,<sup>11</sup> and is the true Zaire. The Cuango enters into the river Cassai at the lake Fuam Gila. Opinions of the peoples

<sup>4</sup> This placename probably designates the location of the fair of Cassange. Could the name be *Magila* meaning "the roads," i.e., "crossroads"?

<sup>5</sup> Not the usual meaning of *ignorar* but indicated by the context.

<sup>6</sup> *escrivão*: Officially appointed notary to supervise transactions; *Feira*: official market where the Portuguese allowed trading.

<sup>7</sup> Literally the "redemption of captives."

<sup>8</sup> *pumbeiro*: Agent in charge of trading in the interior. Derived from *pumbo*. See note 16.

<sup>9</sup> The text of this section as written: *Protecota de me não fallão* is gibberish. Sousa Dias, *Viagem*, 10, reading *Protecota* as *Protesta* rendered it as *Protesta de me não fallar*, which is adopted in the translation.

<sup>10</sup> Literally "wolves."

<sup>11</sup> Or *fuwa njila*, "which kills the birds" because it is so wide that they die in the attempt to cross it. A mythical lake known to many peoples in northeast Angola and both provinces of Cassai in nearby Congo. For mentions among the Bushong and Tetela see Jan Vansina, *Geschiedenis van de Kuba* (Tervuren, 1963), 98-99, note 102.

concerning the width of this lake. Who the lord of the Mulua\* is.<sup>12</sup> Valor of these people and their conquests. Whereto they arrive today to sell the slaves they take. They border on the Malagis\* nation. My opinion about the valor of the Malagi\*. [My] other [opinion] about the lake Fuam Gilla being azachf.<sup>13</sup> Proof that this could well be. Whether or not this conquest can be made. News about whites of the East coast of Africa<sup>14</sup> which continues. Metals which there are there, nice climates, and waters, and leagues which I traveled from Ambaca to Cassangi\*. Information about the Catholic religion. I intend to leave Cassangi\* for the Ollo\* [region], and I send him a message. I leave and my voyage to the Ollo\*. Reception which he [the Holo chief] organized for me, and with how many of his [followers]. Diplomatic message which I gave to him and the humility with which he answered me. Information which I obtained from himself [concerning the same topics] about which I had enquired in Cassangy\*. I leave Ollo\*, and by making long marches I fall ill in Ambaca, and arrive, by the grace of God, to the city of Saint Paul of the Assumption on the 15th of August 1756.

/3/ Because it is necessary, and convenient to the service of His Majesty, to send an experienced person, knowledgeable in the languages of these bush countries to investigate various parts of them: I order Manoel Correia Leitão, a native of this city, to go on an official mission, to observe what has been set out for him by these official instructions:

Aforesaid Manoel Correia Leitão will go by way of Massangano, Cambambe, and Ambaca, until the remote regions of Cassangy\*. In this place he will go to see the river Cuango, which he will examine very carefully as to its width, depth, the quality of the water, the trees which grow there, and what sort of people live there, and its banks; he will conduct this observation in various parts of aforesaid River, observing its fords, and where one could cross to the other side.

Having investigated this, he will look for all the means by which one could cross. Following up, he will enquire as to the sort of people which live to its North<sup>15</sup>, if they have the same language, habits, and way of life as those on the nearby shore, if they are war-

<sup>12</sup> Sousa Dias, *Viagem*, 10, misread "Alulua."

<sup>13</sup> Zachf or Azachf, Zachaf, or Sachaf *lacus*. A lake supposedly in central Africa as found on maps from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Can sometimes be identified with lake Malawi. Cf. W.F.G. Lacroix, *Het binnenland van Afrika in de zestiende eeuw* (Delft, 1992), 222, 248-57.

<sup>14</sup> Literally the "countercoast," the usual name in Angola for the East coast of Africa.

<sup>15</sup> The Cuango was then perceived as running from east to west rather than southeast to northwest, so that peoples to its north are those living on its further (eastern) shore.

riors, which forces and what power they have, if they clothe themselves like the savages of our bush, whether the clothes they use are of the same types of textile which we carry to our inland markets,<sup>16</sup> or whether they use some clothing that seems to be from India and if this reaches them from the East African coast.

He will use all possible assiduity to enquire in the best way possible, with which nations they trade, of what quality the goods are which they trade, of whom they are subjects; what their form of government is, and whether among this population there is any light of the Catholic religion.

If Manoel Correia Leitão

/3/ succeeds in dealing with these people, and understands their language, he will examine them in detail, if they go to trade to the other coast of the Sea, or if people from that coast come to trade with them, if they have seen or dealt with whites, how many days' travel are required to go the other side of the sea, by which roads such people come to trade with them, if the traders are whites or blacks, if they carry rice, or beverages and of what sorts:

He will conduct all these investigations with much lucidity and attention to the truth in order to be able to form an assured opinion about this question, and he will make an exact record of everything, without omitting any circumstance:

He will also observe if on the near side of the River [Cuango], on the near side at the foot of some mountain, or height where one could build a fortress, if there is water that would be of use to the garrison in this place; if next to the mountain there are fields capable of producing foodstuffs for their sustenance and what sorts of foodstuffs the land could produce; if it is mountainous or flat land, all of which he will investigate in the best possible manner. He will notify me of these inquiries as often as possible, so that I can order him to give heed to what seems to me to be necessary for the good of his Majesty's service. Saint Paul of the Assumption

and of August 24 of 1755  
Dom António Álvares da Cunha\*

/4/ In the Year  
1755

According to the order of my general cited above I left the city of Loanda on the 31th of the same August and year, as I had been preparing a long time beforehand for such a long voyage and with me

<sup>16</sup>*Pumbo* is a technical term used at this time for inland markets which are not fairs. Cf. José Carlos Gaspar Venâncio, "A economia de Luanda e hinterland no século XVIII" (PhD, Universität Mainz, 1983), 165. *Pumbeiro*: "African bush trader, employed by a European trading house," is derived from *pumbo*.

[went] the pilot Antonio Roiz Grizante to observe the sun in the last part [of the trip]. Traveling eastwards some 8 good leagues,<sup>17</sup> in my opinion, we reached the place called Calumbo on the bank of the river Cuanza at half past five in the afternoon. Here I remained for 12 days because some black people with a few important loads had fled, until they finally arrived on Friday September 12 as a result of my assiduous efforts, the [very] day during which I boarded canoes to ascend the River, which, by the grace of God, I did in fact on the same day.

On the 16th of the said month I arrived at the garrison town of Muxima. Leaving it on the following day I went upstream by the same River, in which I had various encounters with hippopotamuses, monstrous wild beasts who congregate in this great River, and I reached the town of Massangano on the 19th of said month. This town had in past times been a great settlement of white people [but] is reduced today to a depopulated village<sup>18</sup>, almost without settlers. Here I gave the letter of the Lord General to the acting<sup>19</sup> Capitão mor Antonio Gonçalves de Carvalho\* so that he would give me carriers. On the 22nd of the month of October I left for the place called Lembo and ascending by the River Cuanza navigated 36 leagues.

I succeeded in climbing the inaccessible mountain of the ancient garrison town of Cambambe on the 29th of September, the day of the Archangel Saint Michael. Here I gave the letters of the Lord General to the capitão mor Francisco de Barros\* in which he [the governor] let him know what the goal of my mission was.

/4<sup>v</sup>/ The Pilot observed the sun for two days, and on the following one the Capitão mor gave us good provisions. Passing along neglected roads over mount and vale, like they all are in this colony<sup>20</sup> we went to the last capitão mor, the one of the garrison town of Ambaca where we arrived with the grace of God:

On Wednesday the 22nd of October. On this trip from Massangano to Ambaca, between the rivers Cuanza and Lucala, the latter to the North and the former to the South, we crossed six rivers and we marched one hundred and twenty leagues with various loops. Because this garrison town was the last part of our jurisdic-

<sup>17</sup> In this case Leitão's league corresponds to about five kilometers, but the measure is unreliable, as in some other cases his league seems to correspond to only about two kilometers.

<sup>18</sup> However, according to [Bernardino d'Asti] *La pratique missionnaire...1747* (Louvain, 1931), 159, Massangano in the 1740s was a large settlement in the European style: *Sendo M. popolazione grande, e formata all'uso europeo*.

<sup>19</sup> A *Regente* was appointed by the governor general *ad interim* until the Crown appointed a new commander for the garrison town and its district.

<sup>20</sup> Literally "In these conquests."

tion and of the dominions of Portugal, from where one had to leave for the faraway and vast regions where the ferocious savages go; having given the letter of the Lord General to the capitão mor Apolinario Francisco de Carvalho\*, he began to assemble the carriers for my leaving. As they had to be fetched all over the vast [area] of his jurisdiction, they began to delay. I filled my time with my preparation of the provisions of dry meat and various sorts of flour in leather bags because of the many rains which fall from heaven along these roads.<sup>21</sup> I pressed the Capitão mor to hasten my leaving so as not to lose the monsoon, in such a fashion that he came to send many soldiers and officials to track down the most disobedient black people in their dens so that many came. I did not wish to lose more time, and went with the grace of God from the aforesaid garrison town of Ambaca on the 26th of January of the next year of 1756.

On the aforesaid day of the 26th of January I camped on the site of a chief called Capenbe\*. On the 27th I camped

/5/ on the site of a chief called quibequeta\*. There 14 carriers, i.e. black people carrying goods, fled and I ordered to throw out the bags of provisions they were carrying. Wednesday the 28th of January I camped at chief Zumdo Aquembi's \*, all belonging to the jurisdiction of this same garrison town of Ambaca. I fled from this chief on the following day, because the lions were eating his people, taking them out of their very houses, and I went to camp in the bush in a place called Seô, where there was no expectation of finding any people, nor of finding settlements whether they be ours or foreign ones, nor [was there] anything to see except for forests, trees, mountain chains, caves, and beasts which dwell in this bush and uninhabited places in view of the river Lucala<sup>22</sup> which runs here long and clear<sup>23</sup>, with strange fish that can easily be taken.

In reality to tell what I went through from here onwards through such wild and rustic forests which I all take for granted, is a task to be forgiven. During the day [it is a] view of wild beasts and very hilly chains of mountains, detonations of appalling claps of thunder, huge trees turned into slivers by the lightning which falls, and at night turmoil in the camps [caused] by lions who assiduously tried to catch some people unawares, highway robbers who are always stealing and killing our traders. Whom, as well as of wild beasts, I freed myself nightly by securing the roads with traps of pipes<sup>24</sup> with which I had forearmed myself. All of this is, I repeat it again, a very great thing. Great are the perils at sea, which I had already experi-

<sup>21</sup> The first rainy season had begun. "Monsoon" may refer to this or to the timetable for this trip.

<sup>22</sup> At this point this river is probably the Cole.

<sup>23</sup> I.e., without a forest gallery, a fringe of forest normally found along rivers.

<sup>24</sup> Perhaps gunbarrels.

enced, but I would prefer them many times to those of such bad lands.

The blacks who accompany the people<sup>25</sup>

/5/ on similar journeys seek the salvation of their lives in flight. They climb trees with the same nimbleness as apes or monkeys, they go naked without fear of rains or winds, for they are children of these same woes; they lack the judgment to distinguish between the bigger and the lesser peril, for which reason they abandon camp when any sort of bustle occurs, and sometimes put themselves in the mouth of the animals in trying to free themselves of them. With these men I experienced things so worthy of memory, until we arrived in some very gloomy and mountainous forests, on the 9th of February. This place is called Bondo\*, where there are caves and dens in which wild negroes live, who in spite of being so [wild], are wont to exchange food for our goods, although the buyer must remain armed so that they don't take him and harm him.

In this spot I was at mid journey between Ambaca and Cassangi\*. As in the vales of these mountains there dwells a chief called Muene Bondo\*, which is the same as King of the Bondo\*s, and this one is a vassal of the Emperor and Jaga\* Casangi\*, I sent him a message that I, an important personage among the Portuguese, had arrived at this spot. That was a novelty for never had [such a person] ever arrived in his lands, so far away from the dominions of Portugal.

All the independent people<sup>26</sup> who live to the south of the River Cuango, to wit Ginga\* who entitles herself Lady and Queen of these Kingdoms; Marimba a Cogi\* potentate, Somba\* from whom that one proceeds; Cassangi Camocunza\*, also

/6/ a kinsman of [those] two, Calunga Guêê\*, Cogi aCassonde\*, Mueto aguimbo\*, Gombe aOlo\*, Xingiri\*, Matamba\* and Caxinga\*; and this great Cassangi\*, all prevent their vassals, under penalty of death and of the sale [into slavery] of their matrilineage,<sup>27</sup> to show such a road [across the Cuango], so that the Portuguese would under no circumstance trade or do business with the many powerful potentates across the River. The reason of their obstinacy and command, apart from other details, is because otherwise the Portuguese would settle on the other bank of the River, and we would take the slave trade, from which they live, away from them, and we would leave them as slaves or vassals and subject to garrison town, and so

<sup>25</sup> Note the contrast—blacks/people or wild/civilized.

<sup>26</sup> *gentio*, literally "heathens," but used to designate all independent peoples. See note 3 above.

<sup>27</sup> In documents of the period *geração* can mean "generation," "descendants," or "lineage." In this case the second or third meaning is intended and the third is the most likely.

that we would not make ourselves overlords of these many peoples who live in such vast lands.

At the news of my coming, the Cassangi\* [was] suspicious, and did not want to let me enter his Lands. His reason for this stumbling block was the lack of discretion of the pilot, who had publicly made observations of the sun in Cambambe, and during the whole time that we were in Ambaca. As all our populace is partial to rumor, [the news] ran in these lands that my coming to trade was fictitious, because in reality I had a sorcerer with me to bewitch their lands, and to measure the River Cuango, and ford it.<sup>28</sup> Seeing this difficulty, I filled myself with caution and grief, considering that so much work was spent and lost, and seeing moreover that I was losing the chance to make haste, which was so important. In view of which I began to study how one could dupe the savages, and I sent him a message saying:

That I was not coming to trade because

/6/ I had never gone to these parts to trade, and that I was not bringing such a sorcerer with me, as had falsely been rumored in his Lands, but that I did bring a diplomatic message of the captain General of these states and Kingdoms by which I came to be Sent. In view of which and in view of the Right of nations he should not deny me entry, because such behavior might result in great injury to him.

As the savage coveted the gift which accompanied this diplomatic message and as he expected more [in the future] as I let him know, because these savages are very self-seeking, he ordered to let me in. First he had sought much advice and made magic to divine what my goal was, which they never knew with certainty as I was told later, and then he ordered to receive me at the place called Magile<sup>29</sup> by a troop of his people, whom I treated magnanimously according to their fashion.

The next day he sent these same and other major lords of his state to know the orders of the lord General, because these Cassangis\* never talk in person with a white person because of their relevant rules and omens.

I had prepared my camp decorously and prepared it for these grandees, and received them. After the first ceremonies according to their fashion, I gave them my diplomatic message<sup>30</sup> the gist of which was<sup>31</sup> that the Jaga\* Cassange\* should pay the dash or tribute as his predecessors had always done as vassals. That he should or-

<sup>28</sup> Rumor had obviously traveled faster than Leitão's caravan. In addition, according to governor Vasconcelos, Grizante had traveled ahead of it.

<sup>29</sup> See note 4 above.

<sup>30</sup> Sousa Dias, *Vingem*, 30n5, understood this as giving one's credentials as ambassador, but here a supposedly diplomatic message and not any credentials are meant.

<sup>31</sup> *continhão* is a plural rather than the expected singular.



der to kill the great number of refugees who clustered together in those vast

17/ forests of Bondo\* he should order to behead them, and take those that could be caught and send them to the city of St Paul, because they belonged to the dominions of Portugal from where they had absconded. In connection with this that the roads be freed of the cruel robbers, for the common good, [and ] for the good of the trade of those of Cassangy\*, and the Portuguese, and other potentates who are our trusted allies.

That he, the Jaga\*, should treat the Notaries of the fair well, because they were sent by his captain General in the name of his Most Faithful Majesty to those vast regions to be the heads of our people who congregate for the slave trade fair, in which he, the Jaga\*, had a lucrative interest.

That he should abandon his bad behavior concerning the ill treatment to which he subjected our traders by robbing them and their Notary, when it pleased him, with the menace that he would eat them cooked and having people carry pots, wood, and water in front of them to bully them even faster, so that they would give him [alcoholic] beverages and cloth:

That, with regard to the goods which his vassals had taken from our people on credit, he should order that [ the debt] be settled, and that he should shun the barbarism of forbidding the sale of food to our people and of water to drink from the rivers and wells which God, our Lord, had created for all manner of living creatures.

That in the last instance he should remember that

17v/ from the condition of being a savage, clad in skins he found himself today transformed<sup>32</sup> to such neatness, thanks to our goods; and that with our arms he had made himself overlord of such powerful potentates and lands, all of which stemmed from His Most Faithful Majesty, because his [the Jaga's\*] forefathers had set forth from Ambaca for these conquests by permission of the Portuguese. Had it not been for the heat of our name, weapons, and gunpowder, he would already have been destroyed by the Malundo\* nation, and let him not jest with the Representative of such a Sovereign Monarch, who at present rules these states. For surely he would sharpen his sword, which he had almost drawn from its sheath, into the throat of the Jaga\* and of all his vassals and he would end all at once as a soothsayer, sorcerer, and ingrate to his King. And that he [the Jaga\*] had to close the two houses of charms, called *emduas*, where, under the pretext of finding out the truth, [true] or false witnesses argued with each other, so many creatures died from the poison given to them, [and also] people not only of his own dominions,

<sup>32</sup> Literally "reduced to."



but of all the realms of Portugal in these kingdoms, and from the Libolo\* nation, from Quissama\*, from the Dembos\* and from the kingdoms of Congo\*, who assemble at such houses by the deceit which the Devil had attached to the judgment of these miserable blacks.<sup>33</sup>

That, lastly, he should declare himself<sup>34</sup>, so that the catholic Princes would not punish him, albeit only after a well justified cause, because of the accounts they [the princes] have to render to God.

These and other stories inspired fear in the savage, who remembered even today the valor of the

/8/ Portuguese of old alongside<sup>35</sup> whom his forefathers fought, which remains with them by tradition. And he sent word to me that he was a vassal of His Most Faithful Majesty, and that all the information which had been given to him was false; that the tribute was being made ready and that the fugitives would be captured, and that I should wait for them. In this way time had come to enter the lands of this savage<sup>36</sup>, and to investigate what follows, while they always treated me with great consideration.

On Saturday February the 28th having given the diplomatic message to the Cassangy\* people in the form set forth and investigating in the most accurate manner, because I understand the languages of these nations well, and in the necessary secrecy, I learned the following from many local people, and from natives of our great Ambaca who have lived among these people for a long time.<sup>37</sup>

The Cassange\* is thought to have more than one hundred and twenty thousand blacks of his native nation capable of bearing weapons, and by another name called Quimbangala\* which is the same as valorous [with?] women and children, and all the unfit [men], as can be estimated by the the rest of these people everywhere.

The Number of people capable of bearing weapons among his Potentates and other peoples which he has subjected, since the time that he came to these parts from our Ambaca with Portuguese permission, with only two guns as their oral tradition tells it, surpasses two hundred thirty-five thousand. I have individually noted the

<sup>33</sup> Many later sources mention parties from the colony going to the *indua* poison oracle of Cassange for the resolution of their conflicts.

<sup>34</sup> Probably to declare himself a vassal, given the answer given by the Jaga.

<sup>35</sup> *com*, "with" or "alongside." The latter meaning is preferred because the Imbangala were allies of the Portuguese.

<sup>36</sup> While this could mean that Magile was not in his land, it probably means that Leitão could now travel freely in the area.

<sup>37</sup> This is the earliest reference to a diaspora of people from Ambaca, later known as *Ambaquistas*.

names of their potentates, besides the potentates who were already named

/8/ earlier of those who forbid passage to the Portuguese to the other bank of the River because none of these is subject to him and I speak not of numerous other small chiefs such as some of our Ambaca, who staunchly obey him.<sup>38</sup> Under these circumstances this Cassange\* came to be a great potentate.

This whole population dresses like those in our hinterland, although the lords [wear] cloths of scarlet silks and litters lined with taffeta, and stately umbrellas because they are wealthy. All the peoples of this man reside from where Matamba\*, and Caxinga\*, and Mueto a guimbo\* dwell, of whom I already spoke [along] the bank of the river Cuango, [then] going upstream with the river towards the east,<sup>39</sup> until one reaches forests.<sup>40</sup> Turning again to the west [the boundary runs] through Bondo\* where I traveled, [the] River Lunhinhy, [the] River Cambo, [the] River Luando, [the] River Cuanza, until the borders of the lands of the potentate Muzumbo a Calunga\*, absolute lord and great owner of the Lands of the Sumbos thirty days to the south of Cassange\*. Formerly he was lord of this Cassange\*, whose yoke he [Cassange\*] shook off thanks to our guns [of which] Mozumbo\* has none.

This court of the Cassange\* lies on the latitude of nine degrees and twenty nine minutes south of the Line [equator], and according to the Pilot our garrison town of Ambaca [lies] at 9 and 3 minutes.<sup>41</sup> The lands of this savage are mountainous and open savannas. They grow all the sorts of food which were introduced because the whites have carried out experiments, even of rice. The rains are so frequent that they become boring. The language of Cassangy\*, is the best of these bushlands.<sup>42</sup>

/9/ All these people fight with arrows of iron and wood as hard as iron itself, and with our guns, of which they have many. They are such good shots that the Portuguese do not surpass them. With the [guns] which they have the Cassange\* has freed himself of the en-

<sup>38</sup> But he cites none of these names, which he claims to have jotted down.

<sup>39</sup> In reality the southeast.

<sup>40</sup> These forests are the *miombo* woodlands where the Kwango emerges into the grasslands of Cassange and the middle Kwango. See map in F. White, comp., *Vegetation Map of Africa* (Paris, 1983).

<sup>41</sup> This latitude is approximately correct as it is only a little too far north. On modern maps old Ambaca (*praça velha*) lies at about 9° 15'. If the calculated latitude for Cassange's capital was incorrect by the same value, the true latitude would be 9° 41', which fits well with the location of the Cassanga stream mentioned later. Livingstone found 9° 37' 30" for the fair in his day and 9° 16' 35" for new Ambaca (Pamba). Cf. Isaac Schapera, ed., *Livingstone's African Journal, 1853-1856* (2 vols.: London, 1963), 1:131, 134n4.

<sup>42</sup> This implies that it is a form of Kimbundu, as it indeed is.

emies on his borders, because they surpass him in numbers and valor. And because the Cassange\* sees himself today [as] strong and powerful thanks to our arms, he scorns them and he disparages our power when it suits him [to do so]. But when I threatened him, he showed fear, especially when I told him that if he relied on guns he would see that we could reduce them to worthless sticks, by totally withholding gunpowder from him. If in fact it were possible to bar this bad commodity from these people, we would see them more humble. Already, as a result of the shortage of its former abundance, after the most Illustrious and Excellent Lord Dom António Alvares da Cunha\* prohibited [trade in] it, we have seen that many nations in the bush are full of fear, as they take it that this prohibition insinuates some general punishment, which His Most Faithful Majesty, would intend to visit on the whole hinterland.

Bordering on the Cassange\*, and his ancient enemies because he prevents them to trade with the whites, and [because] they envy him the place in which he dwells to trade with us, the Potentates across the river Cuango, who live away from the river to its North six days of travel away, and four, and two more downstream, or upstream<sup>43</sup> are the following:

Malundo\* a great Potentate, with all his power over vassals, who are also divided in chiefs and potentates [is] bigger than the Cassange\*. From the interior of the bush there

/9/ he always received reinforcements to expel the Cassangi\* from his settlement. For this reason he [Malundo] is his [Cassangi's\*] main enemy, and when by chance they make peace, soon the Malumdo\* is the one who always breaks it without any reason.

Camdala\*, a potentate like the Cassangi\*

Caballo\*, the same as the one above

Cay\*, also very powerful like the ones above

Mueto aguimbo\* also very powerful, but of less power than those mentioned above, about whom I have a special and detailed information, which two of his vassals gave me. His realm extends on both banks of the river and he has a few muskets which the Olllo\* nation sold to him. These potentates all have their neighbors Northwards and Eastwards, and those have other neighbors with whom they are always Warring. A few years ago the Malundo\* fought a battle with two of them, in which it is said, more than 200,000 persons died from cutlass wounds, for it is by War that these brutes

<sup>43</sup> This is interpreted here as follows: north means "away from the river;" six days seems to refer to the distance between their main settlements and the river; while four and two seem to refer to distance down or upriver from a given point on the Cuango river, probably nearest to the fair of Cassange.

live. They wage [war] merely in order to take people for sale, and as many die, not even a tenth of those who die come up for sale.

The language of these nations is different, very confused.<sup>44</sup> They all fight with arrows of iron and wood and a cutlass five inches wide and three palms long<sup>45</sup>, a shield of wickerwork which covers them completely and which blocks the arrows, and in the grip of the shield they carry 5 or 6 short spears with iron points, with which they make very accurate swordthrusts. Ordinarily they wear very ample skirts of raffia cloth which cover them above the knee and nothing from the belt upward, [except] a knife on a baldric, a shield on the neck, and spears attached to this.

/10/ That is their ordinary attire. In battle some are armed in this way for the two first lines of the "good" guard<sup>46</sup> and [there are] many similarly armed troops on the right and left wings. In the center of their armies [they mass] the whole crowd of archers. Captains, guarded by detachments of cutlass [bearers], command. They do not carry any baggage, nor anything to eat because, either they have to go into battle to eat the dead, or they have to retreat. If they travel far, however, each of them brings a manioc root from his home, and their food is grasses from the bush and game which they kill, snakes, and bigger lizards, and monkeys. Marching day and night they cover great distances in a few days: They take women with them who also fight, and in battle the nobles of both armies recognize each other by their emblems. Nobleman fights nobleman. In the awe of the battle, at the sight of the deployed armies, they do not act in a concerted way so as to avoid fatalities. They give quarter to adult slaves,<sup>47</sup> and boys and girls, and older men who can still be sold. The old unsalable men and women they kill to eat. For this reason old people are always chosen as commanders so that they would do [all they can] to win by inspiring the men, so that he, the commander himself, would not be disgraced by being eaten after capture.

But before they start a war, the aggressor orders a challenge to the one against whom he wants to wage it, that either he prepare for battle on such a day, or submit as his slaves, swearing allegiance to him in such a way that when he wants people to sell, he could order to choose whom he pleases in his domain. As these peoples are con-

<sup>44</sup> The language was obviously different from Kimbundu and it was the same for all the populations mentioned. It was probably Shinji, which seems to be related to Holo.

<sup>45</sup> The modern *polegada* is about an inch or 2.5 cm, while the old *palmo* in Angola varied between 20 and 25 cm. Hence the swords were about 12 cm wide and 60 to 75 cm long.

<sup>46</sup> Dias, *Viagem*, 21, interpreted *bemgoarda* as *vanguarda*, "vanguard."

<sup>47</sup> *Peça d'Índia*: healthy adult male slave used as a standard in the slave trade.

vinced that, once sold, they will be caught in the hands of the Portuguese who will eat them, they do not submit<sup>48</sup> before such a contest.<sup>49</sup> Once defeated, all who can put their Salvation in flight take refuge in fortresses<sup>50</sup> that are built of very strong wooden

/10/ stakes with its gates, in which they lock themselves, from within which they can do great damage to the victorious army if it follows them. For from within, through loopholes in the stakes, they shoot them with arrows secure and with accurate aim. I saw one of these forts in the stronghold of Ollo\* made of such strong and high stakes that only artillery could breach them, with its covered passages. I saw a skull staked on each pole of the fortress, and I never saw a bigger collection of skulls. [That is] the Grandeur of these savages, for the one who shows more skulls is reputed to be a great Lord.

Beyond these potentates whom I mentioned there are some peoples called Mucutibas\* by reputation so savage that the others do not wish either to sell or to take them for resale, because they infallibly commit suicide, were it even by biting themselves, for they regard it as nothing to kill or to be killed. They always eat human flesh and go completely naked, men and women without any shame. There is no justice of any sort among them, they eat spiders and raw bugs just as they catch them. With the ill they act with the greatest ruthlessness for at the time of death they throw them out on the roads, be they kin persons, siblings, parents or children so that others who are strangers, will find and immediately eat them, as these people by reason of kinship cannot eat them. They have neither King nor chief. The families live in great dens, and to defend themselves against each other, as they serve only themselves in life, they climb on trees by day to watch for others who walk by carelessly so as to kill and eat them. Sorcerers and necromancers [they are], and other things too, which I was told about them.

There is no doubt that the River Cuango

/11/ is small, and can be forded at the borders of Cassangi\* [even] at the time of the heaviest rains, so that, when the Malundu\* potentate comes to wage war on the aforesaid Cassangi\* he never crosses in canoes, and it has the width of a pistol<sup>51</sup> shot, although in some harbors one crosses it by canoe. Hence it is necessary to find out in which places these are, and in which it is deeper. One counts<sup>52</sup> one

<sup>48</sup> Literally "do not do so."

<sup>49</sup> *conserto*, here from *certar* "to contest." (cf. *certame*).

<sup>50</sup> From 1762 onwards these were known as *quipaca* in Kimbundu. For a description see Elias A. da Silva Corrêa, *Historia de Angola*, Lisbon 1937, vol.2: 58-59 in note on armies and war.

<sup>51</sup> *pistola de alcansse*: a type of long-range pistol comparable to a sawed-off shotgun.

<sup>52</sup> *Lista*, a noun, literally "roster."

day and a half, as blacks go, from the court of Cassangi\*, which they call Quillonbo.<sup>53</sup> Before one reaches it [the river] one fords four streams named Cassanza, Luale, Catendela, a swamp in which runs a little water,<sup>54</sup> and Lueto, the closest to the aforesaid Cuango.<sup>55</sup>

As I saw that the data just mentioned were so consonant with each other, [and as ] it is known that what these brutes of blacks claim about the great size of this River, which stems from their not having any bigger one in their lands, I secretly sent two of my slaves by night, to find out if I could go by night without risk to see it [the river], in spite of the many settlements there are everywhere in these lands. But as they did not know the road and fearful that they could be caught by the people of Casangi\*, they went hiding in the bush. They returned without reaching it [the river] after four journeys or days, exaggerating the risky toil which they had suffered. At this time I was reduced to [the assistance of] a native of Ollo\*, called Quisuheya\*, who lived in the said Cassangi\* country. He assured me that he could go in three nights, and two days' return trip with me without more danger than that of being scared and the bother of hiding ourselves by day in some thickets of these lands near the city [of Cassange].

/11/ As my judgment was encumbered by the certainty of the risk that the people of Casange\* would undoubtedly eat me if they caught me, and also that I would have to trust the savage in whom a default [of trust] would be nothing new, I ended up after a few days by telling him that in case we went, I would keep him, quysueya\*, in my house which he had pledged to do, and that I pledged to double the agreed-on<sup>56</sup> payment on our return. He replied categorically to me and added such horrible oaths by his gods that I believed him, mainly [so] when I told him that he would always go with me, and that if any treachery occurred, I would shoot him with a pistol. Having thus decided to go with him to the River on foot, because it was not possible to go in any other way,<sup>57</sup> I prepared myself.

I left orders in the house where I stayed that if anyone needed me, they should tell him that they could not talk to me because of illness, and entrusting me to God and to the Virgin Mary, I left with the savage and others of my blacks at seven at night<sup>58</sup> on March

<sup>53</sup> Standard spelling *quilombo*, which in this period usually meant a war camp. The term is applied to the capital of Cassange because he was a Jaga. In the previous century the people called Jaga had been roving warriors living in such war camps.

<sup>54</sup> This river or swamp could not be found on the maps available.

<sup>55</sup> This passage, discussed in the introduction, suggests that Leitão never went from Cassange to the Cuango river himself.

<sup>56</sup> *Tal*: literally "such."

<sup>57</sup> I.e., by litter.

<sup>58</sup> Just after nightfall.

14th. Along good roads and fording two streams we found ourselves at dawn in some woods where during the day I climbed a tree and saw various mountains with savannas adequate for fortresses.<sup>59</sup> The blacks told me that there were many [suitable sites] and with water, because in this whole country one finds very good water wherever one digs.<sup>60</sup>

At dusk on the same day we went by a bad road to bypass some houses in which the black said that there could be barking dogs, so that having crossed the last two streams we arrived at the River Cuango, which the Portuguese had not yet seen anywhere. With a

/12/ long rod which they call *libungo* here I sounded, and saw that its bottom was of six scanty palms.<sup>61</sup> The width seemed to me a little more than that of our river Lucala which is the same [distance] as a pistol shot. In the said place where I came out, there was no wood, but the black told me that in various places [the river] was wooded, and very good and thick as one sees on Land. About some fires I saw on the other bank they told me that these belonged to the subjects or vassals of Cassangi\* who slept there perpetually, so that when the enemy Malundu\* came those who escaped with their lives could go and give notice. The water is not of the best because it is somewhat salty, like that of the river Lumhinhy [Lui] which also is [salty] from passing through saltpans. Because delay was dangerous we returned and met with a horde of hyenas to whom we first gave the name of people and then of lions. It is unnecessary to narrate the trouble with which we passed through the high grasses, full of mosquitoes, in the path of our flight, until I ordered some blacks back the next day to look at the trail by which we had come. They recognized by the tracks that what had given us such a fright were hyenas.

This is what I really saw<sup>62</sup>, and it could not be more, because even if one gave a million to the Cassangi\* he, being so covetous, would not let a Portuguese reach this River, because of his laws as I have said. The omens of his magicians asserted that when the Portuguese would hear<sup>63</sup> about this region, they would overcome the nations on the other bank [of the river] and they [on this bank] would be lost. May God accomplish their prophecy. I gave a bonus to the savage quisuheya\*, who had been so faithful, in the shape in which I had promised it to him, even though it was in his own

<sup>59</sup> Literally "good savannas for the purpose of fortresses."

<sup>60</sup> Actions as required by his instructions. Cf. folio 3<sup>v</sup> last paragraph. Who were these blacks, when Leitão was actually in hiding from the local population?

<sup>61</sup> Between 120 and 150 cm.

<sup>62</sup> A significant statement given the doubts expressed in da Cunha's letter of 11 March 1757 in "Ligação," 49–50.

<sup>63</sup> Sousa Dias, *Viagem*, 23, corrected *ouvirem* in the manuscript to *vierem* "were to come," which makes good sense, but is not how the text reads.



/12/ interest. He told me that he was shortly to return to his own Land so as not be caught during the general oath taking<sup>64</sup> which the Casangi\* is wont to organize. True, I could attempt to cross [the Cuango] and succeed in it, but I would stay there ineluctably with the savages to the end of my life, because, certainly, the populace on this bank would immediately know about it, and would watch me so that if I wanted to return from there they would, without a doubt, capture me and sacrifice me to their gods, and then they would eat me.

It is also certain that the said River Cuango rises in the lands of the potentate Mozunbo a Calunga\*, near the spring of the River Cuanza, as the Capitão mor Domingos Ferreira da Asunção\* told me in the city of St Paul before I left, [an assertion] which I investigated with the same discretion as for all the rest. They told me that in the said Land of Mozunbo\* it [the Cuango] was a tiny brook. One told me that when he went to the Sumbex\* to buy hoes, he passed next to it without seeing it, because there is nothing more [left] to know about this river, because there it finishes to almost nothing from its beginning.

The black informants and in general all people<sup>65</sup> said that to the North of this River Cuango there are many others, the major and the closest one to the said Cuango is the greatest river called Cassai, between which and the Cuango run many [rivers] inhabited by immense populations.<sup>66</sup> All these and even the Cuango itself enter into the Cassai through a mouth which they know in all these lands and see when they go on their business to the regions of the Quilubas\* nations, and that on this great River Cassai

/13/ one navigates in great canoes, for it is very wide at least as far as they can, for in places it throws itself down waterfalls. It is absolutely certain that this Cassai is the true Zaire and the Cuango is not, as the ancients, lacking information, believed, whose River Cassai runs further downstream in quyaca\* land, which it irrigates and where they call it Zary, and in those lands of the center<sup>67</sup> they also call it Zayy, and when it enters in the sea the natives call it Zayre. I talked to blacks who have drunk water in all these lands, where they have so many different names [for the river], that of Cassai itself being [the one in use] here upstream.

<sup>64</sup> Probably accompanied by an ordeal.

<sup>65</sup> People who are not black informants were foreign slaves, as stated on folio 13, but also Angolan traders at the fair.

<sup>66</sup> Note the confusion in this paragraph (Cassai is closest to Cuango but many rivers run in between), and also in the following paragraphs (Cassai confused with Cuango, mythical lake Fuam Gila). This confusion is due to Leitão's attempts to construct a single account out of the various accounts given him.

<sup>67</sup> *Fosso*, literally "ditch," perhaps an error for *foca*, "center"?



The black informants and in general all of them together, mainly natives from Malundo\* and slaves whom we bought,<sup>68</sup> assert that this great river called Cassai, after 20 days of journey, [an estimated distance] in which they vary, springs from another greater one called Fuam Gilla which is so wide that one cannot discover its other banks by sight and that one can only see fires [there] at night, if they are big. The name Fuaõ Gilla means in our language that each bird which tries to cross this great Fuam Gilla will die from hunger on the way.<sup>69</sup> According to the best explanation which I obtained from the blacks by reference to the sun and stars, this river or lake seems to me to run from South to North, over there far to the East of these lands which are inhabited by the great Lord of the Moluas\*, who has many titles, the main one being Matayamvoa\*, which means Lord of Lords.

This Mulua\* is very powerful, and from his realms and domains captains come forth who are sent forth by him to the West, the North, and the South, and other parts with troops of very many people to capture slaves which they sell, according to the place closest to where they take them, such as towards Benguela

/13/ and to the regions from where they travel to Cassange\*, to the Ollos\*, as far as the Kingdoms of Congo, Só Sós\*, Quiyacac\*, quilubas\*, unguis\*, whom they have all put below his strong sword. They are so brave and feared by the destruction they wrought in all the domains, as many as there are of them, that the mention of his name suffices to overcome. In such fashion they already succeed today in selling people to the neighbors of Dembos\* Ambuela\* and Mutemos\*. [They are] surely great men and so famous among the nations of these so vast bush lands, that one does not talk about anything else. And it is certain that were it not for them, we would not have so many slaves, because, through their ambition and their reputation as conquerers, having become terrestrial Eagles, they raid countries so remote from their Fatherland only to lord it over other peoples:

They are very adept<sup>70</sup> at war, very obedient to their commanders and faithful to them. They give quarter to all sorts of people, that they make tributaries, insofar as they can be settled as such. They fight with a sword like the others about whom I spoke, a leather shield which covers them completely and small spears. They don't make use of arrows, and when they capture guns in battle, they turn them into swords.<sup>71</sup> They say that guns are rotten because they are a handicap to valor. So many of them go together that it is claimed

<sup>68</sup> A direct admission that he was trading in slaves on this expedition.

<sup>69</sup> See note 11 above.

<sup>70</sup> Literally "of great council."

<sup>71</sup> Note the metallurgical skills implied.

that in one night they make fortifications of thick and long stakes of one and two leagues around. Knowing this, I hold it for certain that no one in these regions is as knowledgeable as they are. Yet they make them right away in the style they practice, with much toil, only to abandon them the next day. Nearly all of them are tall and handsome, [with] small noses like the Chinese. They run as fast as horses, and many whites who have heard about them, as well as blacks, declare that they do not eat human meat. Their formal walk is said to be very dignified, they dance

/14/ in a distinguished manner, they make the most interesting<sup>72</sup> works, and they pay the tithe to their sovereign of everything they obtain during their conquests.

Matayamvoa\*, Lord of these so famous and brave men, borders on many other peoples, called Malagis\*, who are the ones who truly extend as far as the banks of this lake Fuam Gilla, from which, it is said, the river Cassai springs. Although this Matayamvoa\* is so brave in the various wars he has fought with the Malagis\*, he could not overcome them. Rather I was told that in the beginning of the year 1755, when Matayamvoa\* went to fight these Malagis\* peoples of the lake, he beat a retreat with the loss of over one hundred and fifty thousand of his [troops] and was wounded himself:

I believe that there is no doubt that this lake Fuão Gila is the lake Zachf which the cosmographers place in the latitude of 15 degrees and 50 minutes, in the interior of this land of blacks.<sup>73</sup> This could well be as Cassangi\* is so far to the North of this latitude, because the blacks who have heard talk about this lake from others, and others from others, as far away as these Malagis, say that those who go there say that they always travel to the south, leaving the Sun to the left. As these vagrant negroes cover [a distance] in twenty days' journey which whites would not be able to cover in sixty, and according to the publication of the travels which the Jesuit Father Manoel Godinho\* made from India overland, he says that this lake is over 15 leagues wide and its length is unknown, which could well be much to the North<sup>74</sup>. And towards the South it expels the river aruvy<sup>75</sup> which joins the river Zambeze, above our fort [of] Tete. The River Shire also, cutting through many lands and ultimately through those of rondo\*, joins the Rio de Cuanza<sup>76</sup> downstream

/14/ of Senna. He also declares in this publication that there is no

<sup>72</sup> *curiozissimo* can also mean "the strangest," but that would not fit well with the laudatory context of the whole passage.

<sup>73</sup> literally Kaffraria, from *kafir*, "heathen," a derogatory term in Arabic for Africans.

<sup>74</sup> Godinho, *Relação*. Leitão probably saw this work in the Jesuit library in Luanda.

<sup>75</sup> Cannot be found on modern maps.

<sup>76</sup> error for Cuama, the Zambezi.

doubt about this lake, because not only do the blacks<sup>77</sup> of these lands say this but Portuguese who have already been that far, navigating upstream along the rivers as well. As this publication corroborates what the negroes of these lands say about it I believe that this Fuam Gilla is lake Zachf.

Given that these savages vary as to the number of days needed [to reach] this lake, I judge, as a result of various considerations I made, that this would be a very difficult voyage for whites. Even if the army was large, [only] a few whites would reach the lake alive. They would be so few that those who had escaped [death], would fall in the hands of the savages, as I believe, having better considered the issue since [then], because I crossed these bushlands alone.<sup>78</sup> However, if there was an endeavor to attempt [the journey], it should not be by way of Cassange\*, because it lies far to the North. One should only get to the Presidjo of Pedras [Pungo a Ndongo] and from there to the wild Lands of the potentate Mozunbo a Calunga\* who is located much to the South and East of this Cassangi\*, and, in my opinion, by whatever way [one travels] the most irksome thing about it [is] the useless loss of many people.

The expert informants, and all the peoples of these faraway regions, do not have permission from those on the other bank [of the Cuango] to reach at least as far as Matayamvoa\*, let alone to reach as far as these Malagis\*. That is the reason why they have never seen with their own eyes any white from the East coast. They have only heard that is always said, that, in those regions beyond the Matayamvoa\*, whites have supposedly been seen who appeared in boats, which the populace calls uatos.<sup>79</sup> and who have their places over there from where they sally forth. They supposedly trade giving nankeen cloth and other suitable textiles, like those which go there from here, [and] white and blue

/15/ beads and cowry shells, [in exchange] for slaves. The potentates who deal with such whites, who I suppose are the Malagis\* or others, prevent this Matayamvoa\* from being able to reach them and to trade with them, as is common among these people, just as the Cassangi\* and the others mentioned do not like us to trade with those across the River Cuango. Because this Matayamvoa\* also is informed about the whites of this side, he wants their friendship for this reason also, and makes his commanders provide them [with slaves] so that they would sell goods to him.

<sup>77</sup> literally Kaffirs.

<sup>78</sup> literally "being only one person."

<sup>79</sup> *Wato*, "a canoe," a common term in many Bantu languages, albeit not in standard Kimbundu. The prefix *u* rather than the usual *bu* indicates that the word belongs to a language of this general area, and it occurs in Imbangala. The term is certainly not East African.

I also know for certain that all these peoples who live on the East coast or at the lake where whites come, always ask our African traders and some whites if our Monarch dwells on that side from where our look-alikes travel and one answers them that we have strongholds there. Some of the bought slaves, coming from this Matayamvoa\*, bought or taken there in his borderlands, have told this, as I have heard from many. They also tell that these neighbors of Matayamvoa\* had held a white boy in their power a few years ago, and that he was restored to his Parents, and that during the last war he fought with the Malagis\* the Matyamvoa\* had taken velvet cloth, and some painted papers, a thing which our African traders do not carry from this side [of the continent].<sup>80</sup> This is, as I have written, what I found out in the lands of the Cassange\* as told by the nations further eastwards.

There is much iron in this hinterland, copper and brass<sup>81</sup>, and the animal called rhinoceros<sup>82</sup> which has never been encountered in our dominions and all the other animals which exist in our lands and other different [animals]. Their cattle<sup>83</sup> are tame, although [there are] wild cattle<sup>84</sup> in the lands of the Nhungos\* and Luxicos\* and tame ones elsewhere.

/15v/ The air and the climates from Ambaca to Cassange\* are good and they say that they are better in the interior. [There are] very severe cold spells in the winter, many and good bodies of water. From Embaca to Cassangi I crossed more than one hundred everflowing streams, not counting the great rivers which I already mentioned. I traveled more or less 200 leagues from Embaca to Cassangi\*, over a hundred from Cassangi\* to Ollo\*, and over one hundred and twenty from Ollo\* to Embaca, including various turns and loops which the people make in these bushlands.

These barbarians have no knowledge of the Catholic religion. They are all sorcerers and soothsayers, and it seems that, if the missionaries were good, and with the grace of God, mainly the Muluê\* nation, because they are partial to the rational, would accept it better than our Heathens downstream from Ambaca.<sup>85</sup>

Seeing things completed in the manner described, I wanted to

<sup>80</sup> These velvets and painted papers were probably sold by English or French traders on the Loango or Congo coasts and probably reached the upper middle Cassai from there.

<sup>81</sup> Brass was an import.

<sup>82</sup> *Diceros bicornis*, the black rhinoceros of easternmost Angola and Shaba.

<sup>83</sup> *Boy*, "head of cattle" in the singular, but the grammatical agreements are in the plural.

<sup>84</sup> Perhaps elands (*Taurotragus oryx* (PALLAS) rather than buffaloes.

<sup>85</sup> This could mean from Ambaca to the sea or from Ambaca to the lowlands (*baixa*) of Cassange.

leave Cassangi\* to go to the Ollos\*, [so as] to control all these data with information from the Ollo\* nations. Because the potentate Cassangi\* had sent his troops to punish the refugees, and had reformed himself with my help of the bad behavior for which I had blamed him, as seen in the diplomatic message I gave him, I sent a message to tell him that I was leaving as the Lord General called me<sup>86</sup>, and as the capture of the refugees was delayed. The reason [for this], which they gave me, was that the grasses were very high and that it would be necessary to wait for them to be burned.<sup>87</sup> I left an order with him that once he had captured them [the refugees], he should remit them to the city of St Paul which, I was told, he has in fact done. In this way I took my leave with all the courtesies which are usual among them.

I left the aforesaid Cassangi\* on the 14th of May of the same /16/ year and always traveled in long journeys on the road to the North, without any day of rest, because the bush was quite wild and full of wild beasts so that one day in the afternoon we saw seven lions. I came to enter in Ollo\* Somba\* on the 23d of May. Their potentate received me with over fifty thousand black men and women of his nation and the notables of his house, to whom I gave slaves out of courtesy and they reciprocated with what they wished and could give me. Because I saw that the diplomatic message to Cassangi\* had been useful for our African traders, I also gave it here four days after my arrival, during which [time] many of these people gathered. The threat of chastisement which I gave them if they did not treat our African traders well resulted in a good answer which they gave me in humble words. Whereupon the Prince conducted himself [well], for he spoke to me personally and publicly, and in the end he ordered his notables to dance in my presence to the sound of their thunderous instruments and then he himself did the same, as is the custom among them, all of which is a demonstration of great joy and esteem they had received.

I stayed there a few days investigating the same [questions] which I had pursued at Cassangi\*. They confirmed everything about the East, mainly about the lake Fuam Gilla, and the river Cassai, which issues from this same lake, and of the rumor about the whites, in the same manner as they had declared it to me at Cassangi\*. And because these Ollos\* men are wont to dwell more to the North, they gave me information, all of which I jotted down, about so many Potentates and rivers, that I was astonished by the size of what seemed to be a new World.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> On this recall, sent on 13 Februray 1756, see *Ligação*, 49.

<sup>87</sup> This was in the beginning of May, at the end of the rainy season, when the grasses were at their highest, and shortly before the annual burning of the bush.

<sup>88</sup> But he gives none of this information. Is it because it did not deal with the issue of

I left from this Ollo\* on the 2nd of June by more recent roads,<sup>89</sup> and for this reason also wilder, and I arrived in the garrison town of Ambaca on the 18th of the same [month of] June. Because of the excess

/16<sup>v</sup>/ of the long marches. and because the negroes were already very tired,<sup>90</sup> I fell immediately ill in this garrison town of Ambaca where I stayed to the 19th of July.<sup>91</sup> From there traveling through the Lands of our dominions I passed through the districts of Ilamba and Ilumbo. I entered into Golungo, turned through the districts of Icollo and, entering in the district of Bengo, I arrived at the city of St Paul of the Assumption on the fifteenth of August. I thus closed with the end of my journey an almost round arc because I had set forth by the River Cuanza for Massangano, Cambambe, and Ambaca, which is to the South, and I returned by the North, by the river Bengo. I spent one year, less fifteen days, on this endeavor and [spent] many of my goods for gifts which I gave to the pötentates and their notables, for the upkeep of more than 150 blacks who accompanied me at this time. As to my person it was the excessive and great toil I underwent:<sup>92</sup> all of which I hold to be well spent because it is in the service of our great Monarch, whom God may preserve, as we all, his faithful vassals, wish.

Sergeant major of the settlers of the district of Dande

[signature] Manuel Correya Leitão.

a link with the East African coast or is it because he had been urged to observe the greatest discretion in the governor's message?

<sup>89</sup> That is, an itinerary which had only been in use since a short while.

<sup>90</sup> According to governor Vasconcelos, he waited there for Grizante who had returned via Pungo aNdongo. Cf. *Ligaçãõ*, 51 (letter of 7 January 1759).

<sup>91</sup> According to the letter of governor da Cunha of 11 March 1757, Leitão arrived in Luanda on this 19 July 1756. Cf. *Ligaçãõ*.; 50. The contradiction is not easily explained.

<sup>92</sup> This whole statement is disingenuous, as he also received gifts from local rulers and presumably made a profit on his slave trade.

### Onomasticon

Entries comprise names of people: personal, titles related to chiefdoms, and ethnonyms. Place names, e.g., the names for the garrison towns of the colony and Magile in Cassange or hydronyms are not included, but places named after chiefs are. Each name entered is followed by variant spellings found in this text, followed by the spelling in Kimbundu or Kikongo when known. Most Kimbundu names are spelled after Chatelain. Then follows identification. Each rubric ends with "cf" and some essential references listed in abbreviated form, first as to substance and then, when necessary, as to location. Locations have been entered on the maps. Most localizations are approximate, but names followed by a question mark on the map indicate that the localization is particularly uncertain.

In evaluating these data one must keep in mind that there are no earlier detailed descriptions of the middle Kwango area covered by Leitão and that the next sources are at least fifty years younger. Useful maps date only from 1854/55 (Livingstone), 1863 (Sá da Bandeira), 1878 (Kiepert, especially based on notes by Schütt), 1879 (Capello and Ivens), and 1885 (Carvalho, *Descrição*).

**Assunção, Domingos Ferreira d', Capitão-mor.** Appointed to this position at Pungo aNdongo on 28 July 1749 for a three-year term. Later, some time after 1756, appointed *capitão-mor* of Ambaca and recalled in 1757 because of the misuse of his powers. Cf. Coimbra, 56#33; Couto, 95n62.

**Ambuela (Mbwela),** Kongo chiefdom, marketplace, and parish on the northern bend of the Loge river, subjected to Portuguese rule from Encoge after 1759. Not to be confused with **Ambwila**. Cf. Saccardo 3, index *s.v.* "Mbuela;" Silva Corrêa 2:16-18; Furtado; Sá da Bandeira.

**Barros, Francisco de, Capitão-mor.** So far unreported elsewhere.

**Bondo (Mbondo),** a large principality and region. Mentioned from the seventeenth century onwards. Cf. Cadornega 3:217; Miller, *Way*, 38; Miller, *Kings*, 95-111; Salazar cited by Miller.

**Caballo (Kambala?),** title and chiefdom east of the Kwango. This could be one of three **Camballa** chiefdoms along the river or their ancestor. Cf. Kiepert.

**Calunga Guéé (Kalunga Ngehe? Nkehe?),** title and chiefdom west of the Kwango. Unreported elsewhere; localization very uncertain.

**Camdala (Kandala),** title and **Minungo** chiefdom east of the Kwango. Not to be confused with a Cokwe chiefdom of the same name further away. Cf. Kiepert.

**Capenbe (Kapembe),** title and chief subject to Ambaca. Unreported elsewhere.

**Carvalho, António Gonçalves, Capitão-mor.** So far unreported elsewhere in print. Perhaps a relative of Apolínario and of Rodrigo de Carvalho, a member of the junta of 1748. Cf. Couto, 288, 290.

**Carvalho, Apolinário Francisco de, Capitão-mor.** A relative of António and of Rodrigo?

**Cassange, Cassangi, Cassangy, Casangi (Kasanji),** designates a kingdom along the Kwango and its inhabitants, as well as its ruler, also known as the **Jaga of Cassange**, and his capital, and the fair near it as well. The kingdom of Cassange was established after 1630, survived many attacks and defeats, and was still a major independent power in 1880. In the 1750s it was under threat from **Malundo** and *ca.* 1767 it was nearly overrun by **Quizua** (Lunda) invaders from the east but survived and recovered its dominant position. The fair was already a crucial emporium for the slave trade before 1680 and was said in 1754 to be the greatest slave market known. Cf. Miller, *Kings, passim*; Carvalho; Vellut, 92-95.

**Cassangi camocunza (Kasanji ka Mukunza?),** title and chiefdom, unreported elsewhere; localization uncertain.

**Caxinga (Katshinga),** title and chiefdom. Already mentioned in 1681. Not to be confused with **Cajinga**, a sub-ethnic name in **Mbondo**, cited by Miller, and listed by Capello/Ivens, nor with the ethnonym **Shinje**. The chiefdom had supposedly been conquered by Cassange, before 1681, but it was independent by 1755 and remained so later on. It appears on maps after 1878. Cf. Cadornega 3:218; Mossamedes, 569; Kiepert; Carvalho, endmap; Thissen, 68; Miller, *Kings*, 108-09; Capello/Ivens map 1 (near upper Lui).

**Cay (Kaya),** title and chiefdom east of the Kwango. Not found elsewhere; localization very uncertain.

**Cogi a Cassonde (Nkonji?, Nkoshi),** Title and chiefdom unreported elsewhere. Nkonji, Koshi, Coxi, Coje occur on maps as an ethnic name. Cf. Carvalho, *Descrição*, endmap; Chatelain, endmap; Thissen, 68; Redinha. Localization very uncertain.

**Congo (Kongo),** the ancient kingdom of Kongo. By the 1750s perceived in Angola as a set of kingdoms. Cf. Hilton; Thornton.

**Cunha, António Alvares da.** Governor of Angola (31 July 1753-14 October 1758). A collaborator of Pombal and scion of an illustrious family, he pursued a brilliant career as administrator and politician. Later Viceroy of Brazil. Cf. Silva Correa 2:9-12; Saccardo 2:352-53.

**Dembo (Ndembu),** "lord". Title given to the major Ambundu lords between Bengo and Loje. Cf. Hilton, 147 (map) and index;

**Ginga (Njinga),** title, kingdom, and its inhabitants, east of the colony. The title derives from the name of Queen D. Anna de Sousa Njinga Mbandi, who founded this realm *ca.* 1630. Its heyday lasted until 1744, when a part of the realm between Angola and **Cassange** was annexed by the Portuguese, which made travel to that fair less risky. Another part was annexed in 1838. The rest of the country remained independent until late in the nineteenth century. In 1755 the country was ruled by queen D. Ana Guterres. Cf. Campos; Miller, *Way*, 144; Saccardo 3: Index *s.v.* "Matamba."

**Godinho, Manuel,** Jesuit missionary famous for his voyage in 1662-63 from



India to Portugal over Persia, Arabia, and Marseille. Cf. Albuquerque, 463–64.

**Gombe a Olo (Ngombe a Holo)**, title and name of a **Holo** chiefdom. Not to be confused with **Marimba Ngombe**, a Songo title. Mentioned in 1807 and the **Muene Ngombe** on the Kiepert map is probably this title. In 1850 a **Ngombe a Hollo** is mentioned much further south as a neighbor of **Marimba Ngombe** and is probably derived from the main titleholder further north. Cf. Vellut, 90; Saldanha, 44–45; Neves, 23; Kiepert.

**Jaga**, In this period the title of the king of **Cassange**. At the time of Leitão's visit the ruler is said to have been **Ngunza a Kambamba**. Cf. Miller, "Kings," 56–65, 72.

**Libolo**, region and its inhabitants south of the river Cuanza, upstream of Cambambe. Cf. Furtado.

**Luxicos, Luxico**, a river, affluent of the Loange in northeastern Angola.

**Luxicos** is an ethnic name for a population along this river, probably along its most upstream parts. See also **Nhungo**.

**Malaji**, a subdivision of the ethnic group known as **Kongo-Dinga** along the Kasai river, west of the Rund realm. The defeat and death of **Mwaant Yaav Mukanza** is remembered in Rund oral tradition. Cf. Vellut "Moyen-Kwango," 105, corrected in Vellut, "Lunda," 75–76, 163–64; Hoover 2:617; Ceysens, frontispiece map.

**Malundo, Malundu, Malumdo (Malundu)**, title and chiefdom across the Kwango from **Cassange's** capital. First mentioned here. Still important in 1807 but unimportant by 1850, although still mentioned then. The ethnic group to which his chiefdom belongs was recorded *ca.* 1836 as **Sindsh** and in 1850 as **Chinge (Shinje)**, which may correspond to the earlier ethnonym, **Massingas**. Cf. Vellut, "Moyen-Kwango," 100–02; Vellut, "Lunda," 113; Neves, 55; Koelle 14 (3/*Kásands*); Bandeira; Capello/Ivens, 1:maps 1 and 2.

**Marimba a Cogi (Madimba a Nkoshi/Nkonji)**, title and chiefdom of the Holo. By 1765 he was a major potentate when the Marimba Goge Quimena Binga became a vassal of Portugal on 8 July, during or after a war with **Njinga**. The place **Marimba** is still found on modern maps. Cf. "Acto," 523–24; Vellut, "Moyen-Kwango," 90, 118; Saccardo 2:355; Thissen, 68. For Cogi see **Cogi a Cassonde**.

**Matamba**, title and chiefdom near the confluence of the Lui and Kwango. Mentioned *ca.* 1841 as a place where hard black salt is gathered. Not to be confused with the kingdom of **Matamba** referred to by Leitão as **Ginga**. Found on maps from the 1870s onwards. Cf. Koelle, 15 (4/*Ruunda*); Kiepert; Carvalho, *Descrição*; Thissen, 68.

**Matayamvoa, Matyamvoa (Mwaant a Yaav)**, title of the king of the Lunda commonwealth. In 1755 the ruling Mwaant Yaav probably was Mulaj. Hoover has shown that the form of the title cited in this text originated in a language to the west of the kingdom. Cf. Vellut, "Lunda," 163; Hoover, I:193–94, 238; 2:541–42, 617.

**Mucutiba (mu Kutiba? Mukutiba?)**, ethnic name for a non-centralized and

probably mythical population, only mentioned in this document. The linguistic form of the name is unusual and unclear.

**Muene Bondo (Mwene Bondo)**, "Lord of Bondo." His title was **Andala Quisua (Ndala Kisuwa)**. The title is known from the 1600s onwards. Until the 1740s this lord seems to have been a vassal of **Matamba/Ginga**, later of **Cassange**. The principality remained outside Portuguese control until 1850. Cf. Heintze, *Fontes*, 1:index, s.v. "Andala Quesuba;" Miller, "Kings," 96-111; Salazar, cited by Miller; Neves, 45-47, 122.

**Mueto aguimbo (Muhetu aNgimbo)**, title and chiefdom. Mentioned in 1754 and 1789 as a significant power. An ally to invaders from the east in the later 1760s. By the 1870s the chiefdom had become quite small. Its inhabitants were then a special ethnic group, the **Cari, Mucari, Hari (Kadi, Hadi)**. Today the title still exists and is found on maps. Cf. Vellut, "Moyen-Kwango," 90-91; Mossamedes, 569; Redinha; Kiepert; Carvalho *Descrição*, endmap; Thissen, 68.

**Mulua, Muluê, Molua, (Muluwa)**, ethnonym applied to the western **Lunda** as already attested by Nkongal, a **Rund** who left his country ca.1841 and was interviewed by Koelle. First mention of the term here, but after 1756 it frequently appears in documents and on all maps. It is unclear how this ethnonym relates to **Muzua** (1680) or **Quizúa** (1767) which seems to be an alternative ethnonym for the same people. The **Lunda** or **Rund** were called **Kambunda** by the people from **Ginga**, hence **Kabonda** in da Cunha's 1754 letter. Cf. Vellut, "Moyen-Kwango," 102-04; Koelle, 15 (4/Ruund); "Ligação," 42; Cadornega, 3:219; Birmingham, 152; Furtado; and all later maps.

**Mutemo (Mutemu)**, title of a **Ndembu** chief, chiefdom, marketplace, and a parish mentioned from 1619 onwards. Cf. Heintze, *Fontes*, 1: index, s.v. "Motemo;" Hilton, index s.v. "mutemu"; Saccardo, 3: index s.v. "Mutemu;" Bandeira.

**Mozumbo a Calunga, Mozunbo, Muzunbo (Muzumbu/Munjumbu a Kalunga)**, title and realm far south of **Cassange**. In **Imbangala** titles **Muzumbo** means "interpreter," hence "Interpreter of Calunga?" First mentioned before 1630 as the major potentate ruling the lands east of the upper **Cunene** and last mentioned by Honorato da Costa in 1804, as the major chief of the **Songo** people south of **Cassange** in 1797. But by 1806 a chief **Bomba** occupied the general area where **Muzumbo a Calunga** was supposed to rule. Not mentioned in **Songo** oral traditions although these mention a **Muzumbo** as the son of a certain **Gamba**, who was a **Lunda**. Cf. Cadornega, 3:218; Vellut "Moyen-Kwango," 98-99; Miller, *Kings*, 167-75 (but **Muzumbo** was definitely not an **Imbangala**). Magalhães, 33, 35; Neves, 41.

**Nhungos**. No ethnic group so named is reported anywhere else. One suspects that **Leitão** refers to the **Nungo** or **Minungo**, an ethnic group straddling the upper **Kwango** at about 10° S., precisely where the *miombo* woodlands begin. Around 1836 it is mentioned as **Nongu** country on the upper **Kwango**. The **Minungu** are mentioned there in travel accounts and on maps of the 1870s and later. "The lands of the **Nhungos** and **Luxicos**"

are all in *miombo* woodland and stretch from the Kwango to the upper Luxico, northwest of present Saurimo. Cf. Koelle, 14 (3/Kásands); Kiepert; Redinha.

**Quibequeta (Kibeketa)**, title of chief subject to the *presidio* of Ambaca.

Unreported elsewhere.

**Quiluba (Kiluba)**, ethnonym. This small **Luba** ethnic group lay west of the Kwango across from the major capitals of the **Yaka** kingdom of the **Kiamvu** ruler and was there before the arrival of the first **Kiamvu**. Their territory was a major node of trade. Modern **Holo** recall having traded with them. Cf. Van Roy, 46–48, 204; Maesen, 4a; Vellut, 1:197.

**Quimbangala (Imbangala)**, ethnonym for the inhabitants of the kingdom of Cassange. First mentioned *ca.*1600. Cf. Miller, *Kings*, index.

**Quissama (Kisama)**, region, and its inhabitants south of the river Cuanza from the coast upstream to near Cambambe. Cf. Furtado.

**Quisueya, Quisueya (Kisueya)**, personal name of a **Holo** trader. Unreported elsewhere. **Quissueia** as a place name occurs twice not far from the Kwango. Cf. Carvalho, *Descrição*, endmap, bottom right.

**Quiyaca, Quyaca (Yaka)**, ethnonym for a large population east of the lower middle Kwango river. First mentioned as a kingdom in 1656. During the 1700s the name was applied to the very large kingdom founded by Lunda emigrants. Cf. Van Roy; Vellut, "Moyen-Kwango," 97; Redinha; Cavazzi, 2:183 (**Aiaca**).

**Ollo (Holo)**, ethnonym. First mentioned in 1736 and still current. Cf. 1739; Vellut, "Moyen-Kwango," 88, 118; Redinha.

**Rondo (Lundu)**, **Cewa** kingdom northeast of Tete. Cf. Langworthy, 105, index.

**Somba**, chiefdom. Only known from this text. Kiepert has a **Hollo a Samba** ethnonym and certain modern **Holo** claim to be related to a **Samba** ethnic group. Did Leitão mishear **Somba** for **Samba**, a famous ancestress of the **Holo**? Cf. Maesen, 4–5; Kiepert.

**Sumbe, Sumby (Sumbe/Nsumbe)**, ethnonym, not mentioned elsewhere. Not to be confused with the **Sumbi** from Novo Redondo. Later inhabitants of the area indicated in this document were **Songo** or **Lwimbe**. Cf. Redinha.

**So.so (Soso, Tsotso)**, ethnonym. The most southeasterly group of Kongo speakers. Cf. Vellut, "Moyen-Kwango," 96–97; Thornton, index *s.v.* "Nsonso;" Hilton, index *s.v.* "Nsonso" and "Sosso;" Saccardo, 3, index *s.v.* "Sonso o Sosso;" Redinha; Atkins.

**Ungu (Hungu)**, ethnonym. Located north of Ambaca and of the **Ginga** realm as far as the Cuango river. First certain mention in this document. The **Hungu** ethnicity may have been formed by refugees, especially slaves, from Ambaca during the earlier 1700s. By 1761 they had become a military power and later they became raiders and traders. Cf. Vellut, "Moyen-Kwango," 96; Saccardo 2:354–55, 356; Heintze, 248–49; Miller, *Way*, 38; Atkins; Kiepert; Redinha.

**Xingiri (Shingiri)**, title and chiefdom. Unreported elsewhere. Not to be

confused with **Quinguri (Kinguri)** on the Cuango downstream from **Cassange**, nor with **Quixingo** in the same area. Localization very approximate.

**Zumdo aquembi (Zundu a Kembí)**, chief subject to **Ginga** in 1838. Cf. "Auto de undamento." Probably not subject to **Ambaca** in 1756, despite **Leitão's** claims.

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