

Nature, Culture, and Faith in Seventeenth-Century Kongo and Angola

Cécile Fromont

Introduction to the Corpus

- 1 An African ruler dressed in the finery of a cosmopolitan, fashionable man of the late-seventeenth century welcomes a Capuchin friar to his town.¹ ([PW092](#)) A man and two attendants worship a live goat standing on a pedestal. ([PW083](#)) Eight carefully depicted birds occupy a spare landscape. ([PW047](#)) Early modern central Africa comes to life in the images that Capuchin friars—veterans of the Kongo and Angola missions—composed between 1650 and 1750 for the guidance of future missionaries. Their vivid full-page paintings, glossed with a few lines of text, present the intricacies of the natural, social, and religious landscape of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century west-central Africa, a region in today's western Democratic Republic of Congo and northern Angola (Fig. 1). In vignettes emulating the format of scientific illustrations, costume books, and even map cartouches, the friars depicted animals and plants, described central African cultural and religious practices, and detailed the primarily visual catechization methods they created for the parishes and new missions of a region whose inhabitants, at the time of the paintings, had already engaged with the visual and material culture of Europe and Christianity for more than one hundred and fifty years.



Fig. 1 Jim de Grand, digital map of seventeenth-century west central Africa.

- 2 Since the late fifteenth century, west central Africans, first the inhabitants of the kingdoms of Kongo, then those of Matamba, Ndongo, and people living under the purview of the Portuguese Conquista of Angola, participated in the commercial and diplomatic networks of the Atlantic World.² Through trade, diplomatic gifts, and the travels of emissaries from and to the region, central Africans became familiar with, adopted, rejected, or adapted elements of the religious, political, visual, and material culture of Europe, the Americas, and Asia. Elite insignia and personal luxuries included imported fineries such as the showy beaver felt hat worn by the Ndembu ruler in [PW092](#), or the colorful printed cottons draped around men and women of the Kongo and Angola as seen in [PW007](#), [PW070](#), [PW098](#).
- 3 When Capuchin friars arrived in the region in 1645 as part of a newly formed mission, they did not find themselves in the distant, foreign land wholly opposite to theirs that they expected to find. They landed instead in a cosmopolitan environment that deeply challenged their preconceptions about Africa and Africans. It was, in fact, the kings of Kongo themselves who had asked the Pope to send the Franciscan clerics, with the aim to ensure their realm's independence in spiritual but also temporal affairs from the increasingly expansionist Portuguese colonial foothold of Angola, at its southern border. For historical reasons, Portugal claimed control over the Church of the Kongo through the rights of patronage.³ The African crown disagreed and turned directly to Rome to seek clerics outside of the Iberian realm's control. The Capuchin central African mission emerged from these negotiations. Once in central Africa, the Capuchins not only worked at the demand of the local powers, but they also remained firmly under their control and dependent on their support in all aspects of their mission, from food and shelter to free passage and liturgical practice.
- 4 This political context was unusual for an early modern European Catholic mission, which more often functioned within projects of colonial or imperial imposition than at the behest of local powers. This situation often created perplexing social interactions for the friars, in addition to the myriad, unexpected encounters, mediated or unmediated, that they faced with an endlessly surprising array of tropical flora and fauna. In response, they would turn to images to make sense of the wondrous novelties they encountered and the baffling situations they faced, as well as to document the responses they devised to them, in order to educate the friars who would follow them about the proper conduct of the mission in Kongo and Angola. The result of this decades-long reflection, operated collaboratively by a number of friars who often did not wish to be named, following the modesty of their vows, is a set of images that formed a coherent corpus from its first work created in the 1650s, to its last known manuscript penned around 1750.
- 5 Today, this Capuchin central African corpus consists of four extant manuscripts connected by form and content. Chronologically, the first is a panel now in the Museo Francescano in Rome ([MFOO](#)) dated to the 1650s. The second is a set of sixty-seven images that I call the [Parma Watercolors](#) likely created circa 1663-1690 (PW002 to

PW102). Neither of these two manuscripts have identified authors. Decades later, around 1750, friar Bernardino d'Asti composed two versions of an illustrated manual he titled *Missione in Prattica*, one of which is today in the Biblioteca Civica di Torino, the other in the Vatican Library.⁴ The Turin library offers an online version of the manuscript.⁵ I made available for the first time the integrality of the images from the Vatican Library and the Parma Watercolors in my book *Images on a Mission in Early Modern Kongo and Angola*, published in 2022 with Penn State University Press.⁶

- 6 The present Essay complements the book, in conjunction with a [Collection](#) also in this issue of the *MAVCOR Journal* placing the images in their broader visual context and laying out points of comparisons between the different works.⁷ It offers additional visual material from the corpus by featuring details of each individual vignette of the 1650s poster as well as the unpublished versos of the Parma Watercolors that feature text. My 2007 photographs of the Museo Francese drawing precede its latest conservation and retain parts of images and texts that have since been lost. My 2015 photographs of the Parma Watercolors also document the manuscript in a state of conservation that includes some edges and areas now eroded from the pages.
- 7 Readers should turn to *Images on a Mission* for a discussion of the conception and execution of the Capuchin central African corpus, as well as for an analysis of their projects and of the stakes of their study. In the present essay, they will find my transcription and translation of the images' text. I present this work not as a translator or a scholar of seventeenth-century Italian language, but as a specialist in the cross-cultural environment of early modern central Africa. Reading these documents in fact demands a particular set of skills that do not pertain wholly to language proficiency. Linguistically, they ebb and flow fluidly between Italian, Portuguese, Latin, Kikongo, and Kimbundu. Intellectually, they draw from and rely on ideas, practices, and political positions that are idiosyncratic to the Capuchin central African mission. Visually, they call upon genres, iconographies, and motifs rooted in early modern European visual culture, to depict objects, practices, and forms of knowledge with deep central African significance. Having researched, written about, and conceptualized the cross-cultural religious, visual, and political environment of central Africa in the early modern period for nearly two decades, with, what is more, special attention to the Capuchin presence and activities in the region, I am uniquely positioned to disentangle the difficulties presented by, and offer insight on, the texts and images. The number and complexity of both images and texts however greatly surpass anyone's single abilities to make sense of them and note all their multifaceted connections. I have thus collaborated with *MAVCOR Journal* to include in this essay a comment section for each vignette where insights from readers about the texts and images will, over time, increase understanding of the corpus and its multifaceted contributions to knowledge. I hope that this space will allow for corrections to the transcriptions and translations, paleographic suggestions, object identifications, and complementary citations of primary or secondary sources, in a collaborative, cumulative, publicly available study of this material.

Museo Franceseano

- 8 “Of the People, Victuals, Customs, Animals, and Fruits of the Kingdoms of Africa penetrated to preach the Gospel by order of the Sacred Congregation for Propaganda Fide by Capuchins in the year of 1644. Congo, Angola, Dongo or Njinga, and Embaca” labels the top of a large-format, ink on paper drawing measuring 73 by 40 cm, inventory number [MF 1370](#) in the Museo Franceseano of the Capuchin order’s Historical Institute at the Convent of San Lorenzo da Brindisi in Roma-Bravetta. Capuchin historian Édouard d’Alençon first reported the drawing’s purchase on the Roman antiquarian market around 1900 and its entrance into the collection of what was then the Missions Museum of the San Lorenzo da Brindisi Convent.⁸ No further mention of the piece exists to my knowledge, until 2011, when I first discussed it in print.⁹
- 9 The page, once folded, perhaps to travel from central Africa to Europe, presents on a single surface 35 individual vignettes of unequal size rendered in black ink to which short textual glosses were added subsequently. Stamped acanthus leaves frame the page with a border of a lighter hue than the drawings. The verso is blank. Images and texts work in concert to offer an ordered compendium of information about Kongo and Angola, from courtly life, to mores and customs, flora and fauna, and missionary prowess. Though not dated, it postdates the depicted violent death of Friar Joris van Gheel in 1652 and predates the death of Queen Njinga of Matamba in 1663, who it discusses as alive.¹⁰
- 10 A few notes on the following transcription and translation. To facilitate reading, I have labelled each vignette on the page individually with a number from 1 to 35. Each section includes my transcription of the Italian text with original orthography and punctuation, followed by my English translation which I kept purposely close to the source. Missing words or uncertain readings are indicated between brackets. Footnotes inserted in the Italian transcription give further information on particular terms.

The following pages provide a detailed look at the individual sections of the “Of the People, Victuals, Customs, Animals, and Fruits of the Kingdoms of Africa” poster, complete with translations of the individual sections’ textual information. The two images on each page provide both an isolated look at that section, as well as an image contextualising its placement on the larger poster. Please note that paragraph and footnote numbers restart with each section.



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1. Arma Del Congo



- 1 *Arma del Congo*
Coat of Arms of the Congo
- 2 *"misit de summo et liberavit me"*
He sent from on high, and delivered me
- 3 *De Genti, Viveri, Costumi, Animali, e Frutti de Regni dell'Africa penetrati a predicar l'Evang° per orde della Sac[ra] Congreg[azione] de Prodaganda da Cappuccini dall'Anno 1644. Congo, Angolla, Dongo ò Singa, & Enbâca.*
- 4 Of the People, Victuals, Customs, Animals, and Fruits of the Kingdoms of Africa penetrated to preach the Gospel by order of the Sacred Congregation for Propaganda Fide by Capuchins in the year of 1644. Congo, Angola, Ndongo or Njinga, and Ambaca.
- 5 *Arma d'Angolla*
Coat of Arms of Angola

2. Court of Garcia II of Kongo



1 Text at the bottom

- 2 *Il Gran Rè di Congo anticamente haveva 5 Rè feudarij ne confini dell’Africa verso l’occidente e dentro dell’Ethiopia disotto la Zona Torrida há da 14 Provinc^e cõ i suoi Ducati, Marchesati, contee et altri signorie. Un Ducato, il piu grande, anticamente[te] faceva [. . .] 400 mille persone. Hora, la metà in circa. Il Rè veste Camiscia senza ligarla al di fuori, dalli gambi un Panno fin’in terra porta calzetti e scarpe et un mantello all’Europea, e Berrettino bianco in testa, collare, anelli alle braccia.¹ Hà sei [. . .] Fidalghi² salariati che gli assistono à fargle vento con code di cavallo se ben là non si vede Cavallo, nè Asino. Sono tutti negri genti e si alco nasce bianco, dicono esser figlio di demonio cõ tal nome lo chiamano, muana macaliampampa.³*
- 3 The Great King of Kongo had in the past 5 vassal kings in the confines of Africa towards the West and within Ethiopia below the Torrid Zone. He has some 14 provinces between his Dukedoms, Marquessates, Earldoms, and other fiefs. A Dukedom, the biggest, formerly had [...] 400 thousand people, now it has about half. The King wears a shirt without tying it in front, on the legs a cloth down to the ground, he wears stockings and shoes and a coat in the European style, and a small white cap on the head, necklaces, rings around the arms. He has 6 [...] salaried Fidalghi who serve him in fanning him with horsetails even if there are no horses or donkeys there. They are all black people

and if one is born white, they say they are the son of the devil, they call them by the name of muana macaliampampa

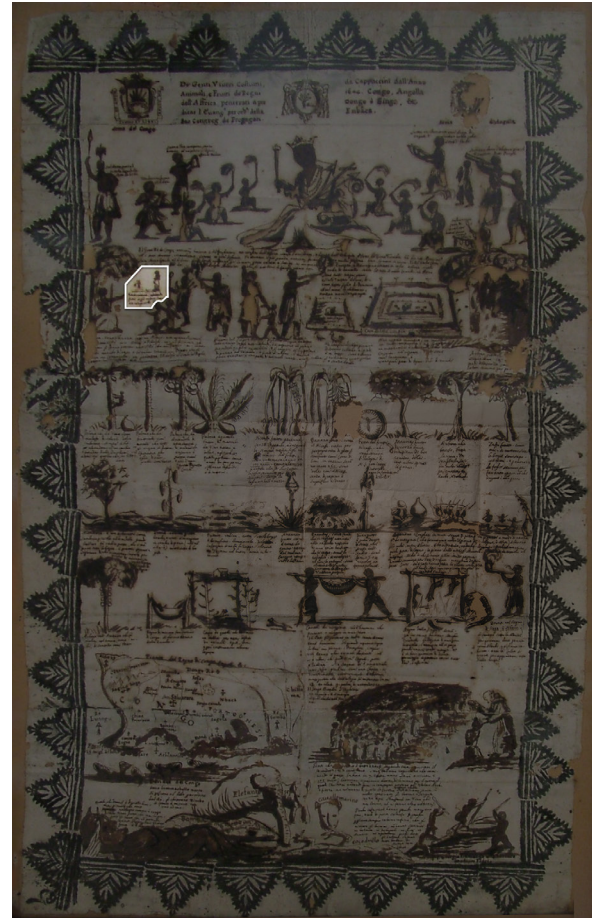
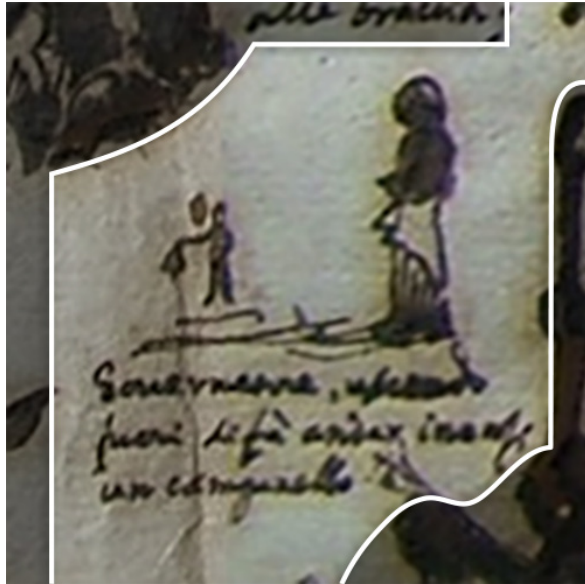
4 **Labels for attendants from left to right**

- 5 *Soldato, porta l [...] in testa legandola sotto la barba* / Soldier, wears the [...] on the head, tied under his beard
- 6 *Tamburrino suona cō le dita* / Drummer plays with the fingers
- 7 *Suona Una campana senza battocco, cō un pezzo di legno, officio di Balivo* / He rings a clipper-less bell with a piece of wood, office of the bailiff
- 8 *Suona un istromento com'Arpa di cinque ò meno corde, che sono d'herba* / he plays an instrument like a Harpe with five or less cords, which are made of grass
- 9 *Suonano denti d'elefanti piccioli à concerto, detti Punghi⁴* / They play in concert small elephant teeth called Punghi
- ¹⁰ *Instrumento fatto di zucchette battute fanno suono ad arte* / Instrument made of little gourd struck they make an artful sound

Notes:

1. About Kongo regalia and sartorial style see Fromont, *The Art of Conversion*, 41-43.
2. Italianized plural of the Portuguese fidalgo: nobleman.
3. The ca. 1650 Latin, Spanish, Kikongo dictionary translates natus or son as muana and diabolus or devil as Ncariampempa, another transliteration of the term seen here, later recorded in the late nineteenth century as Nkadi ampenba in W. Holman Bentley, *Dictionary and grammar of the Kongo language, as spoken at San Salvador, the ancient capital of the old Kongo empire, West Afrika [and Appendix]* (London: Baptist Missionary Society and Trübner & Co., 1887), 378. See also *Vocabularium Latinum, Hispanicum et Congense*, 1651, *Fondi minori* 1896, Mss. Varia 274, 60v, 30r, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio-Emmanuele II di Roma, Rome.
4. From Kikongo, mpungi: tusk of ivory.

3. Provincial Ruler of Kongo



- 1 *Governatore,¹ uscendo fuori si fa andar inanzi un campanello²*
- 2 Governor, when going out has a small bell walking in front of him

Notes:

1. About Kongo elite outfits see Fromont, *The Art of Conversion*, 138-43.
2. About bells see Cécile Fromont, "From Image to Grave, and Back: Multidisciplinary Inquiries into Kongo Christian Visual Culture," in *The Kongo Kingdom: The Origins and Dynamics of an African Polity*, ed. Koen Bostoen and Inge Brinkman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

4. Justice under the tree



- 1 *Giudice—tiene Udienza sotto un Albero. Non usano scritturí U[?] come il Rè - così i Duchi e Fidalghi- ma né la corona, né lo scetro si fanno portar come il Rè, da un Paggio et i Governatori uscendo di casa si fà andar innanzi un Pagetto che gli suona un Campanello per grandezza. I Fidalghi et il resto del Popolo vanno scalzi affatto, etc*
- 2 Judge—holds audience under a Tree. They do not use scribes [...] as the King, so the Dukes and Lords, but they do not have a Page carry their crown or scepter and the Governors when going out of the house have walking in front of them a small Page who rings a little bell as a sign of grandeur. The Lords and the rest of the people go completely barefoot, etc.

5. Men and Women from the Kongo

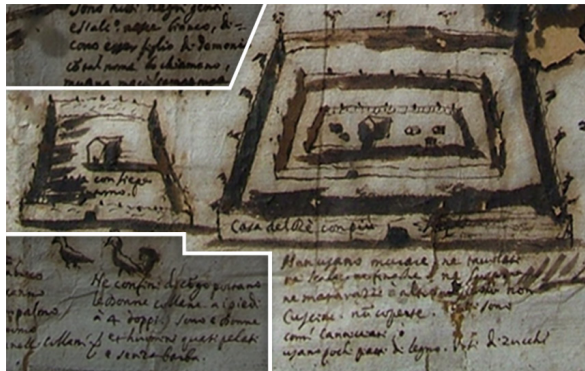


- 1 *Huomo del Congo e Donna. Pigliano sempre tabacco dalla cintura in giù tutti vestono, ò si coprono cõ panno secondo la qualità e possibilità. Gli ragazzi cõ un palmo di panno ad verenda¹ ò frondi d'alberi. L'huomo porta una Retí, e una pelle d'animale inanzi, anelli, collari.*
- 2 Man of the Congo and Woman. They always smoke tobacco. From the waist down they all wear, or cover themselves with cloth according to their quality and possibility. The youth with a palm of cloth ad verenda, or tree leaves. The man wears a Net, and an animal pelt in front, rings, necklaces.
- 3 *[second part of the text to the right]*
Ne confini di cõgo portano le Donne collare a i piedi à 4 doppi. Sono e Donne et huomini quasi pelati e senza barba
- 4 Within the Congo Women wear anklets in 4 pairs. Men and Women are almost bald and beardless.

Notes:

1. Latin euphemism for genitals, akin to “private parts.”

6. Architecture



- 1 *Casa con siepe interno*¹
House with internal fences
- 2 *Casa del Rè con più [siepe]*
House of the King with more fences
- 3 *Non usano murare ne tavolate ne scale ne finestre ne [. . .] ne materazzi o altro [. . .] non Cuscine nõ coperte. Letti sono [comé canniciati] ; ó [blank] usano pochi piatti di legno, vasi di zucchi*
- 4 They do not use stone and mortar, or planks, or stairs, or windows, or [. . .] or mattresses, or other [...] no cushions, no blankets. Beds are [like caned mats], or [blank] They use a small number of wooden plates. Pots made of gourds.

Notes:

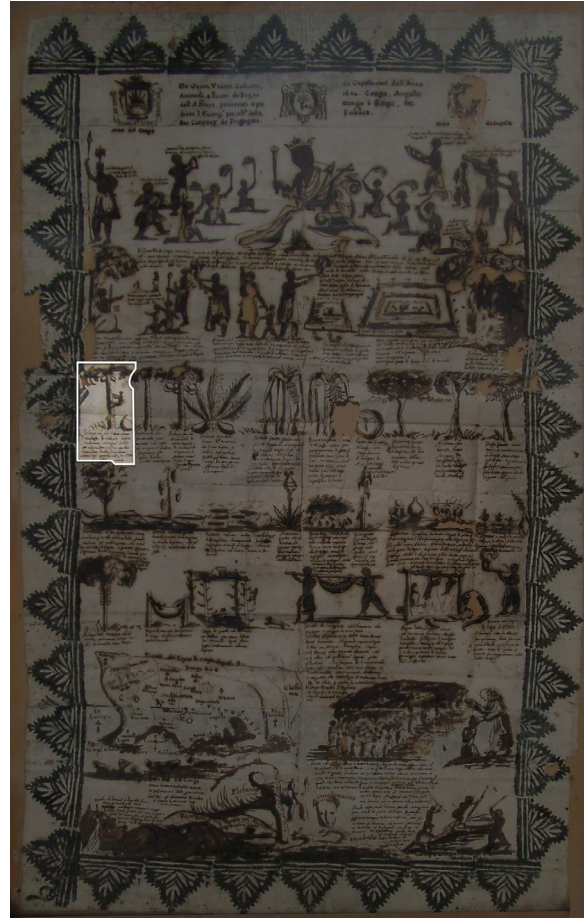
1. About fences in Kongo architecture see Fromont, *The Art of Conversion*, 185-87.

7. Tree [*Ficus*]



- 1 *Arbore grossiss[imo] / a zopra terra. ca[.] / pezzi della scorza vai[.] / baston. Servono per panno*
- 2 Very big tree / above ground / pieces of the bark go [.] / staff. They serve for cloth

8. Palm Tree [unidentified]



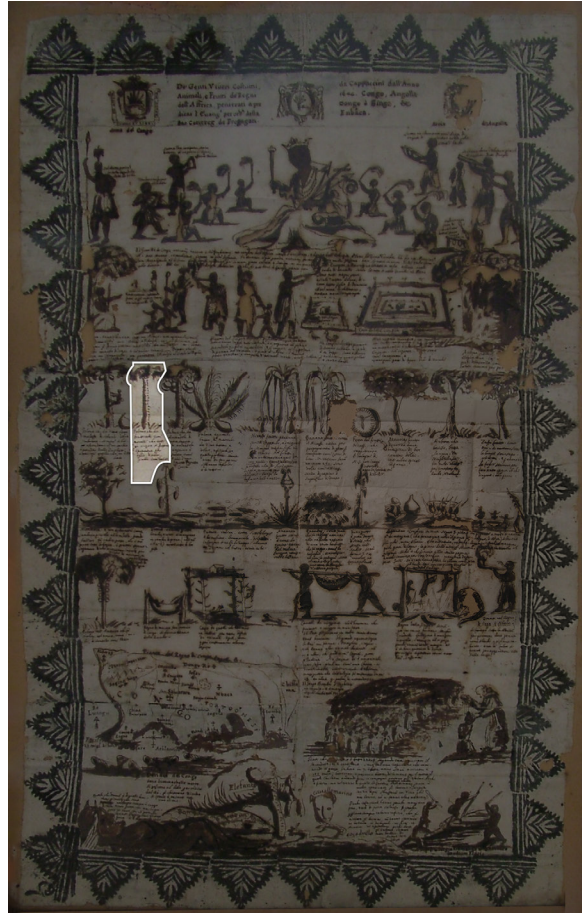
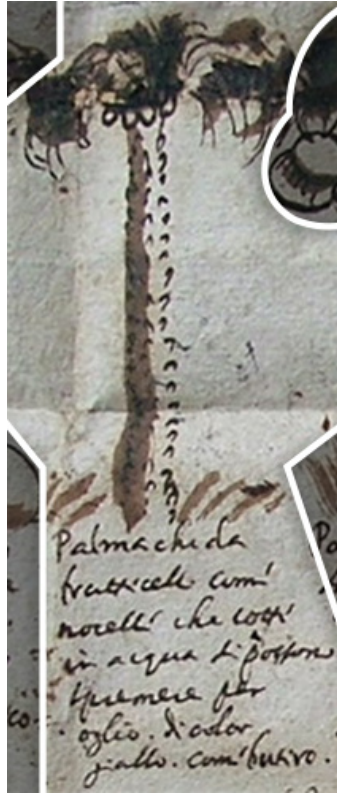
- 1 *Palma¹ che dà Vino detto malaffo.² di sostanza. Dolce imbria. sempre si hà. ascendono cõ un cerchio à prender dalle Zucchettí attaccatí quello che vi è sco=lato.*
- 2 Palm tree that gives wine called malaffo. Rich. Sweet. Makes one drunk. It is had all the time. They go up with a hoop to get what has dripped in the little gourds attached.

Notes:

1. About palm trees see Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi and Fortunato Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione de' tre regni Congo, Matamba et Angola situati nell' Etiopia inferiore occidentale e delle missioni apostoliche esercitateui da religiosi Capuccini* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1687), 30-33. Palm wine was harvested from a number of palm species including the raffia palm *Elaeis guinensis*

2. From Kikongo and Kimbundu, malafu: palm wine. Appears as malaúú: in *Vocabularium*.

9. Palm tree with fruit [*Elaeis guineensis*]



- 1 *Palma che da frutticelli comi nocelli che cotti in acqua si possono spremere per oglio di color giallo com' burro*
- 2 Palm tree that makes little fruits like nuts which, once cooked, can be pressed to make an oil of a yellow color like butter.

10. Coconut tree [*Cocos nucifera*]



- 1 *Palma che da Amandole di vero sapore di amandola ciascuna è grossa com' e più d'una grossa Pagnotta. d. [ditto] Cocchi.*
- 2 Palm tree that makes Almonds with a true almond taste, each one is as big as a large loaf of bread. Called Coco.

11. Raffia [*Raphia*]



- 1 *Palma aquatila bassa, d. [detta] matombe¹ da vino assai [sic] e dolce, e freschiss^o questa palma serve anco da far panno sflinano le frondi e le tessono.²*
- 2 Short wet palm, called matombe makes rather [sic] and sweet, and very fresh wine. The palm also serves to make cloth. They make thread from the leaves and weave them.

Notes:

1. Matombe (also spelled matome in Cavazzi) is the raffia palm; see Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 7, 31. Also mentioned in Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der afrikaensche eylanden; als Madagaskar, of Sant Laurens, Sant Thomee, d'eilanden van Kanarien, Kaep de Verd, Malta en andere, verthoont in de benamingen, gelegentheit, steden, revieren, gewassen &c* (J. Van Meurs: Amsterdam, 1668), 523, 32, 64, 72.

2. About early modern Kongo textiles see Cécile Fromont, “Getting to Know Early Modern Western Central African Textiles: New Evidence, Old Shadows, and the Puzzle of Pineapple Fibers,” *The Textile Museum Journal* 48, no. 1 (2021); Gordon D. Gibson and Cecilia R. McGurk, “High-Status Caps of the Kongo and Mbundu Peoples,” *The Textile Museum Journal* 5, no. 4 (1977): 71-96; Jan Vansina, “Raffia Cloth in West

Central Africa, 1500–1800,” in *Textiles: Production, Trade and Demand*, ed. Maureen Fennell Mazzaoui (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 263-81. In Lopes, a depiction of the banana tree is mislabeled as “type of palms which makes silk” Duarte Lopes and Filippo Pigafetta, *Relatione del reame di Congo et delle circonvicine contrade, tratta dalli scritti & ragionamenti di Odoardo Lopez, Portoghese* (Rome: Appresso B. Grassi, 1591), plate 1.

12. Niceffo [*Musaceae*]

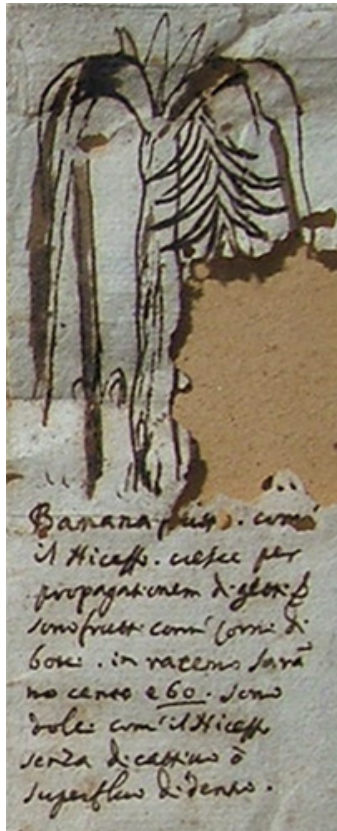
- 1 Niceffo¹ fructo perenne senza zapparlo, adacqua-
lo. sempre mena figli in [ogni] tempo.
Hà fructi in un racemo saranno da 100 e più.
come salciccioni è arbore alto, di scorza [. . .]
le foglie servono per scriverí. Lunge [sic] la foglia un huõ e mezzo.
- 2 Niceffo fruit, perennial without hoeing, watering. It always makes sprouts in [...] time. It has fruits like little sausages in bunches of maybe 100 or more. It is a tall tree, with [. . .] bark. The leaves are used to write. The leaf is one man and a half long.

Notes:

1. The friars make a distinction between Niceffo and Banana in their writings, referring to two local categories of fruits from the *Musaceae* family. See Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 35. Andrea de Pavia, *Viaggio Apostolico alle Missioni dell’Africa del P.re Andrea da Pavia Pred.re Capuccino*, 1685-1702, 1692-1702, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 3165: f 81r, Madrid. Matheus Cardoso talks about “micifos” in 1624 see António Brásio, José da Silva Costa, and Brás Correia, *História do Reino do Congo: ms. 8080 da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1969), 37. Joseph Pellicer de Tovar, *Mission evangelica al Reyno de Congo por la serafica religion de los Capuchinos* (Madrid: Domingo Garcia i Morras, 1649), 53. It appears as Mizefhos with mention of the size of the leaves “big

enough to shade any sized man,” the crucifix in its flesh, and its identity as the tree of the garden of Eden in a late-sixteenth-century anonymous manuscript, unknown, *Description of the kingdom of Kongo*, 1590s?, Codici Panciatichiani Panciatichiano 200, 163r-172v: 165r, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Florence. See also the unpaginated vocabulary of words from Matamba in Antonio da Gaeta and Francesco Maria Gioia, *La meravigliosa conversione alla santa fede di Cristo della regina Singa e del suo regno di Matamba nell’Africa meridionale, descritta con historico stile* (Naples: G. Passaro, 1669). Other mentions are found in António de Oliveira de Cadornega and José Matias Delgado, *História geral das guerras angolanas, 1680[-1681]* (Lisbon: Agência-Geral das Colónias Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, 1940), 3:372. “Niceffos” and their long leaves that could cover a man (in Brazil) and the crucifix inside appear in Dionigi de Carli da Piacenza and Michel Angelo de Guattini da Reggio, *Viaggio del P. Dionigi de’ Carli da Piacenza e del P. Michel Angelo De’Guattini da Reggio Capuccini, Predicatori e missionari Apostolici nel Regno del Congo* (Reggio: Prospero Vedrotti, 1671), 49; Dionigi de Carli da Piacenza and Michel Angelo de Guattini da Reggio, *Viaggio del P. M. Angelo de Guattini da Reggio et del p. D. de Carli da Piacienza cappuccini* (Bologna: Gioseffo Longhi, 1674), 64-65.

13. Banana [*Musaceae*]



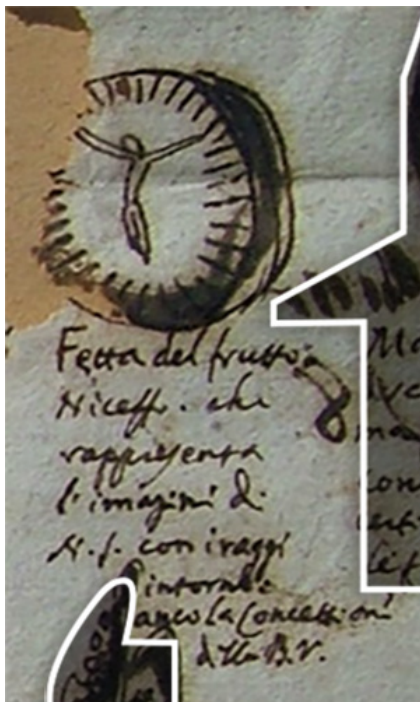
- 1 *Banana*¹ frutto com' il Niceffo. cresce per propagationem di getti & sono frutti comi corni di bove in racemo sarãno no cento e 60. Sono dolci com' il Niceffo senza di cattivo ò superflu di dentro.
- 2 Banana fruit like the Niceffo. It grows per propagationem of the sprouts & they are fruits like cow horns in bunches of about 160. They are sweet like the Niceffo without [anything] bad or superfluous inside.

Notes:

1. The friars make a distinction between Niceffo and Banana in their writings, referring to two local categories of fruits from the *Musaceae* family. See Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 35. Pavia, *Viaggio Apostolico alle Missioni dell'Africa*, f. 81r. Matheus Cardoso talks about “micifos” in 1624 see Brásio, Costa, and Correia, *História do Reino do Congo*, 37. Pellicer de Tovar, *Mission evangelica al Reyno de Congo*, 53. It appears as Mizefhos with mention of the size of the leaves “big enough to shade any sized man,” the crucifix in its flesh, and its identity as the tree of the garden of Eden in a late sixteenth century anonymous manuscript, unknown, *Description of the kingdom of Kongo*, f. 165r. See also the unpaginated vocabulary of words from Matamba in Antonio da Gaeta and Gioia, *La maravigliosa conversione*. Other mentions are found

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“Niceffos” and their long leaves that could cover a man (in Brazil) and the crucifix inside
appear in Dionigi da Piacenza and Michel Angelo da Reggio, *Viaggio*, 49; Dionigi da
Piacenza and Michel Angelo da Reggio, *Viaggio del P. M. Angelo de Guattini da Reggio
et del p. D. de Carli da Piacienza cappuccini*, 64-65.

14. Cross section of niceffo

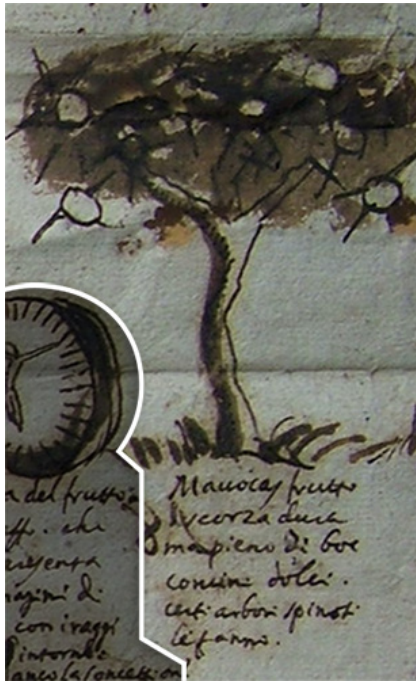


- 1 *Fetta del frutto Niceffo che rappresenta l'imagini di N.S. con i raggi internalli anco la Conceptioni della B.V.*¹
- 2 Slice of the Niceffo that shows the image of Our Lord [Jesus Christ] with the radius inside also the [Immaculate] Conception of the Holy Virgin.

Notes:

1. The appearance of a crucifix in bananas is a long-lived Franciscan trope, often repeated in the Capuchin central African corpus. See Fromont, *Images on a Mission*, 75, 83, 85-86. For other mentions of the crucifix see Cadornega and Delgado, *História geral das guerras angolanas, 1680[-1681]*, 3:372; Mattheus Cardoso in Brásio, Costa, and Correia, *História do Reino do Congo*, 37; Dionigi da Piacenza and Michel Angelo da Reggio, *Viaggio*, 48-49. Here, the author adds a reference to the Immaculate Conception, a devotion that Capuchins championed at the time.

15. Fruit [?]



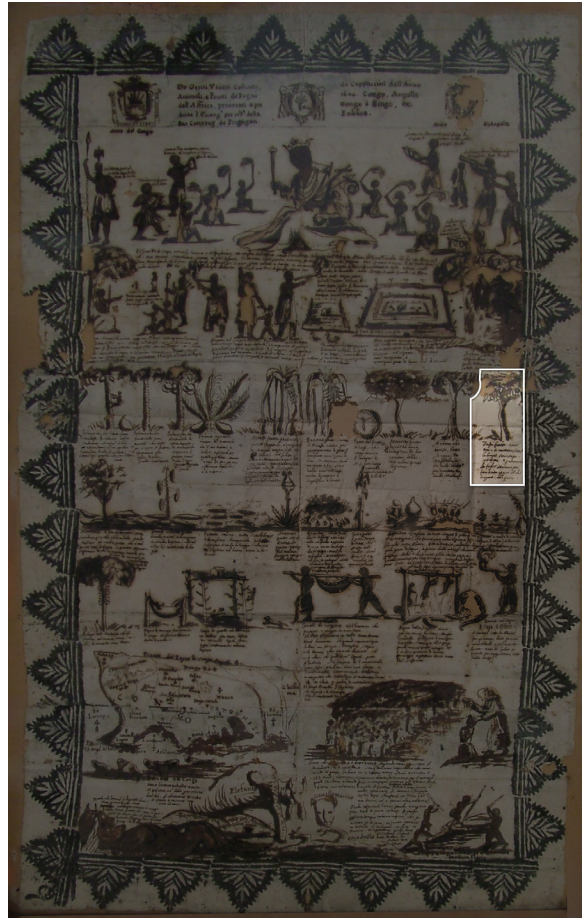
- 1 *[Mauocas?] fructo di scorza dura ma pieno di bocconcini dolci. certi arbori spinosi le fanno.*
- 2 *[Mauocas?] fruit with a hard skin but full of sweet bits. Some thorny trees make them.*

16. Tree [*Dracaena draco*?]



- ¹ *Arbore che inciso [...] sangue. Un simplicista [...] molti [...] per conoscere et herbe, et altri &.*
- ² Tree that when [...] blood. An herbalist [...] would many [...] to study herbs and other things, etc.

17. Safou [*Dacryodes edulis*]



- 1 Zaffo [. . .] come ovi li cuocono [sic] sotto le bragie sono sape-ritissime. e pavonazzi Le foglie servono per far tinta negra¹ cõ che tingono i loro panni
- 2 Safou they cook them like eggs under the embers. They are very tasty and purple. The leaves serve to make black dye with which they dye their cloth.

Notes:

1. About textiles in early modern central African see Fromont, “Getting to Know Early Modern Western Central African Textiles.”

18. Manioc [*Manihot esculenta*]



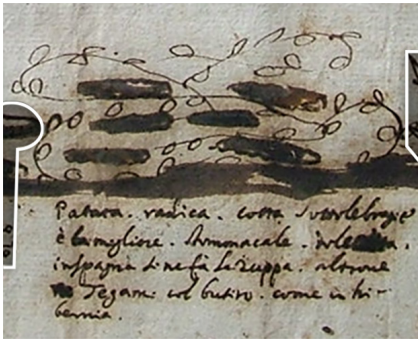
- 1 *Mandioca e un arboreto come picciolo sambuco cõ la midolla frondi stellate fà radici grosse, che si mãgiano sotto le bragie ò grattatí fanno segatura di che si caricano i navilij per viveri de marinari in cambio di pane hà sapore di castagna*
- 2 Manioc. It is a small tree like a small elder with the pith. Star shaped fronds. It makes large roots, which are eaten [cooked] under the embers or grated they make flour that ships load as provisions for the sailors instead of bread. It tastes like chestnut.

19. Yam [*Dioscorea*]



- 1 *Ename radiche grosse bianche, o rosse si mangiano in cambio di pane (ché nõ vi n'è) cotti sotto le bragie*
- 2 Yam large white or red roots. They are eaten instead of bread (which there isn't here) cooked under the embers.

20. Potato [*Solanum tuberosum*]

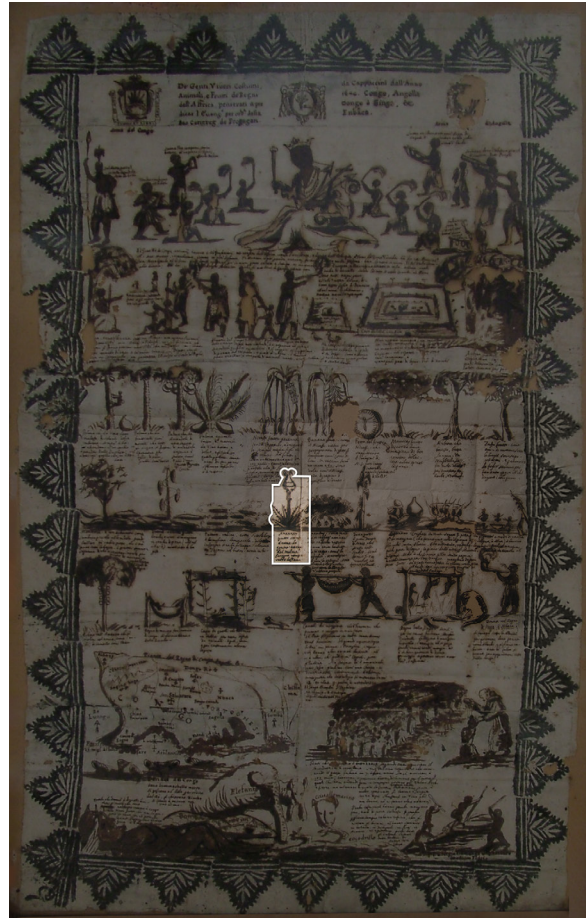


- 1 *Patata. Radica. cotta sotto le braggiè è la migliore. Stommacale dolcissime[?] in Spagna si ne fa la zuppa altrove ne Tegame col butiro come in hibernia!*
- 2 Potato. Root. Cooked under the embers. It is the best. Easy on the stomach. Very sweet [?] in Spain they make it in a soup. Elsewhere in the pot with butter as in Hibernia.

Notes:

1. Hibernia is the Latin name for Ireland.

21. Pineapple [*Ananas comosus*]



- 1 *Ananasso* frutto ottimo è come la quint'essenza del melone l'acqua rompe le Pietre
- 2 Pineapple very good fruit. It is like the quintessence of melon. Its juice is reported to break [kidney] stones.

Notes:

1. Cadornega and Delgado, *História geral das guerras angolanas*, 1680[-1681], 3:373. Dionigi da Piacenza and Michel Angelo da Reggio, *Viaggio*, 48-49. About Capuchins encountering pineapples in Brazil, see Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 36, plate 9.

22. Peanut [*Arachis hypogaea*]



- 1 *Encubas.*¹ sono fave che in teghetti' attaccate alle radiche nascono di una certa herbetta che fa cespo. com' la trifolia. si arrostitiscono com' le castagni. Sono [. . .] sono come le Baule d' albero proprio
- 2 Peanuts. They are beans grow from a little plant that makes tufts in little caldrons attached to the roots. Like the clover. They are roasted like chestnuts. They are [. . .] They are like trees' own [travel] chests

Notes:

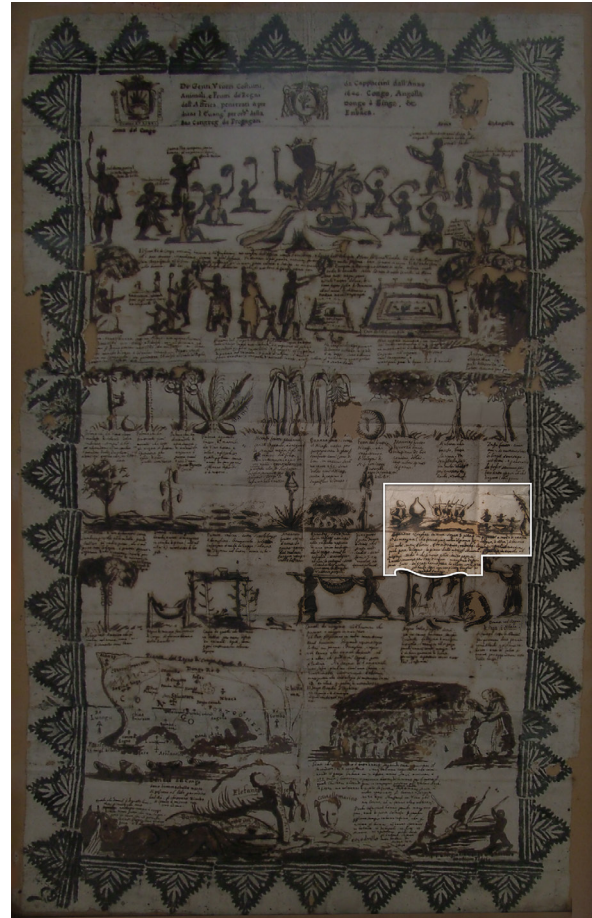
1. In Kikongo and Kimbundu, nguba. About peanuts in central Africa see Birgit Ricquier, "Kongo Cuisine and the Middle Passage in terms of Peanuts," in *Kongo across the Waters*, eds. Susan Cooksey, Robin Poyner, and Hein Vanhee (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013). Carlo Toso and Marcellino d'Atri, *L'Anarchia congolese nel sec. XVII: la relazione inedita di Marcellino d'Atri, Studi di storia delle esplorazioni* 15 (Genoa: Bozzi, 1984), 339; Cadornega and Delgado, *História geral das guerras angolanas*, 1680[-1681], 3:202.

23. Corn [*Zea mays*]



- 1 *Gran grosso è gran Turco è Mais che si usa nell'indie. Se ne fanno 3 e 4 raccolte ne fanno polenta*
- 2 Great grain or Turkish grain or Maize that is used in the Indies. It gives 3 or 4 harvests. It makes polenta.

24. Cooking



- 1 *Cuccinano i Conghesi in terra. sopra 3. pietre^e in pignatte a modo di catine p.^a di mangiare (che fanno una volta il giorno dopo vespera, ò sera) si lavano piú volti, mani e bracci. cibo ordinario radiche. Legumi. Pochissime carni pochi piati di legno. le piantí delle mani gli servono. [. . .]in circolo al māgiare. Li dà à chi si trova prñte. senza pagare. Zucchi servono per vazi d'acqua. mangiano de ser-penti. Sorici. se à caso hanno pesce lo alleste con le specie cõ herbe. é poi ogni cosa pistata ben ben' se condisce e mangia.*
- 2 The Kongolese cook on the ground. over 3. stones in cooking pots in the manner of a basin. When it is time to eat (which they do once a day after vespers, or evening) they wash their hands and arms many times. Ordinary meal: roots, legumes, very little meat, few wooden plates, they use the palm of their hands. [...] in circle to eat. It is given to whoever is present. Without paying. Gourds serve as cups for water. They eat snakes, mice. If they happen to have fish they prepare it with spices and with herbs, and after everything [is] crushed very well, it is seasoned and eaten.

Notes:

1. About the proverbial use of the reference to cooking on three stones see John Kelly Thornton, "Elite Women in the Kingdom of Kongo: Historical Perspectives on Women's Political Power," *Journal of African History* 47, no. 3 (2006): 446.

25. Papaya [*Carica papaya*]



- 1 *Arbore dell'America che fa meloni nel tronco, come i nostri, di semenza comi' veccia*¹
- 2 Tree from America that makes melons on the trunk, like ours, with seeds like vetch

Notes:

1. Vetch [*Vicia*] is a genus of leguminous plants with round dark seeds similar to the black seeds of the papaya.

26. Kingdom of Macoco

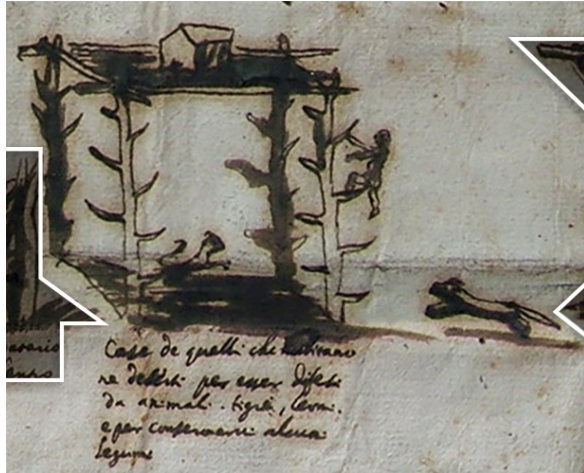


- 1 *Regno di macoco¹ feudatario di Congo. Si dorme dentro delle Zucche.*
- 2 Kingdom of macoco vassal of the Kongo. They sleep in gourds.

Notes:

1. The Makoko Kingdom also known as Anziko, Teke, or Tio, lays north of the Congo River, and controlled the area around Malebo Pool, i.e. today's Kinshasa. See Mwene Ndzale Obenga, "Le royaume de Makoko," *Présence Africaine* (1969); Jan Vansina, *The Tio Kingdom of the Middle Congo: 1880–1892* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973; London: Routledge, 2018). Citations refer to the Routledge edition.

27. Houses in the deserts



- 1 *Case de quelli che habitano ne deserti per esser difesi da animali. tigri. Leoni. E per conservare alcuni legume.*
- 2 Houses of those who live in the deserts to be safe from animals. tigers. lions. and to stock some legumes.

28. Hammock travel



- 1 *Cavalli da viaggiare cio é huonini che portano a viaggio in una rete. Gli Pezi gli portano in testa tanto donni comé huononi. Gli grandi coprono sopra la Reti un panno. I Portughesi, i tapeti. Non hanno altri animali da soma. Nõ vi é altro, ché pochissimi capré, porci, e galline. Ne deserti vi é un animale detto sebra. picchiato. Comé una chinea. si domesticarebbe. É bellº animale. Elefanti tanto grosse che un Vestigio fù misurato da mí 12. et altri 9. palmi di rotondezza. Il Serpe Bomba' s'inghiotti un caprio. e si mangia cõ quel che stá nel ventre.*
- 2 *Horses to travel, that is to say men who they carry to travel in a net. Men as well as women carry the nets on their heads. For the great [i.e. important people] they cover the net with a cloth, for the Portuguese, a carpet. They do not have other pack animals. There is nothing but very few goats, pigs and chickens. In the deserts there is an animal called zebra [black and white] like a woodpecker similar to a donkey. Perhaps it could be domesticated. It is a very beautiful animal. Elephants so big that I measured one footprint 12 and another 9 palms in circumference. The snake Bomba swallowed up a goat, and is eaten with what it has in the stomach.*

Notes:

1. Perhaps the mbumba snake, otherwise known for its spiritual significance in central

Africa see John Kelly Thornton, "I am a subject of the king of Kongo: African Political Ideology and the Haitian Revolution," *Journal of World History* 4 (1993): 192-93; Christina Frances Mobley, "The Kongolese Atlantic: Central African Slavery & Culture from Mayombe to Haiti" (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Duke University, 2015), chapter 5.

29. Kingdom of Njinga

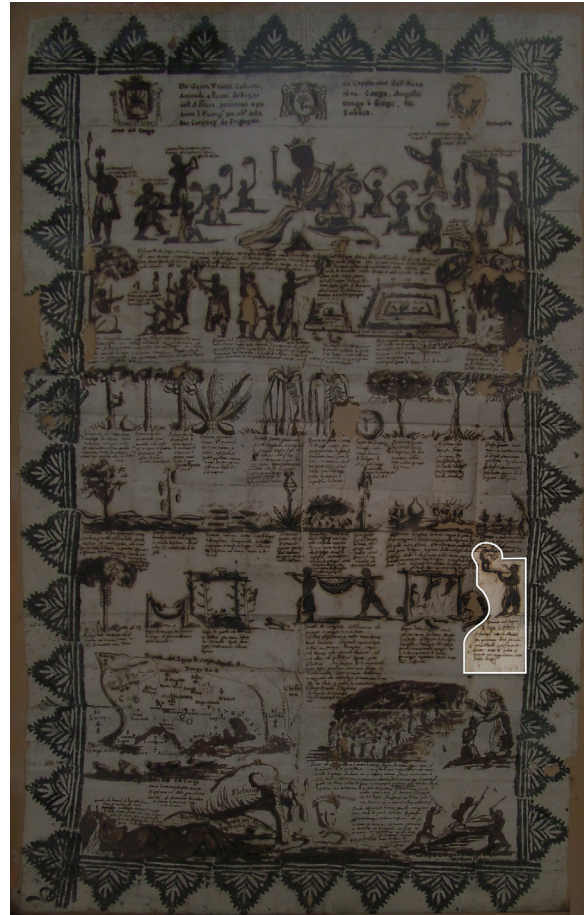


- 1 *Regno della Jinga. Si māgia ivi carne humana,¹ serpēti cocodrilli. La Regina è una gran guerriera, l'essercito nō si paga perché ammazzano mangia et. è in bona quantità di donne. per viaggio si portano carni assechite, ó affumate.*
- 2 Kingdom of Njinga. There they eat human flesh, snakes, and crocodiles. The Queen is a great warrior, the army is not paid because they kill eat etc. And it is in large part made of women. While travelling, they carry dried or smoked meat.

Notes:

1. About Njinga's cannibalism Cathy Skidmore-Hess, "Njinga of Matamba and the Politics of Catholicism," in *Women and Religion in the Atlantic Age, 1550-1900* (London: Routledge, 2016); Linda M. Heywood, *Njinga of Angola: Africa's warrior queen* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017).

30. Ambaca woman



- 1 *Donna nel Regno di Singa, ò Nbacca. Si furano sotto le narici per portarvi due penne come sbarbi,¹ e pigliano tabacco. anco la labra si furano per appendervi cosa bella, etcet.*
- 2 Woman from the Kingdom of Njinga, or Ambaca. They pierce under their nose to be able to wear there two feathers because they are beardless, and they smoke tobacco. They also pierce their lip to hang there something pretty, etc.

Notes:

1. This detail refers to the female soldiers who surrounded Queen Njinga and to the manipulations of gender on which the Queen buttressed her legitimacy. See Heywood, *Njinga of Angola*. Cathy Skidmore-Hess, "Queen Njinga, 1582-1663: Ritual, Power, and Gender in the Life of a Precolonial African Ruler" (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1995).

31. Map



- 1 *Pianta del Regno di Congo, Angolla, &c.*
- 2 Map of the kingdom of Kongo, Angola, etc.

32. Mass baptism



- 1 *Genti che [...] à battezzarsi sapendo essere arrivato il sacerdote, et à centinaia. Sarà tal uno capucino che caminando il paese fin hora in 7 à dieci anni sarà arrivato à 100 mila. battezzati si partono battendo le mani per li monti &. questi Christiani andando fuori in campagna portano all vso loro Archi e frezze. ma nel mezzo di queste la Croce ^e corona al collo La settimana santa à molte centinaia si bastono a Sanguie senza di poi sbuffarsi con vino chí non hanno, nè vi fanno altro medicament°. Poche infermità hanno perche mangiano poco, e cibi di poca sostanza & perche pigliano sempre tabacco infumo, che gli asciota gli humori. nè hanno speziare, ne hosterie. nè Tribunale. ne Arti. ne Armenti. nè agricoltura. poche horti gli bastano. La terra tutta herbato di Avena. et in libertà.*
- 2 People who [gather] to be baptized as they learn that the priest has arrived, and by the hundreds. Maybe a capuchin traveling through the country after 7 to ten years will have reached 100 thousand baptisms. They leave clapping their hands in the hills &. These Christians who go around in the countryside wear in their manner Bows and arrows. But in their midst [they have] the Cross ^and a rosary around the neck. During Holy Week they beat themselves to blood in the hundreds without spraying themselves with wine, which they do not have, nor do they apply other medicine. They have few diseases because they eat little, and food of little substance, & because they always take tobacco in smoke, which dries their humors. They do not have pharmacies, or restaurants, or

Tribunals, or Arts, or cattle, or agriculture, a few gardens suffices them. The entire land is green with fodder, and wild.

33. Money of the Kongo



- 1 *Denari del Congo*
Sono lummachelle morte.¹ Si pescano al lido per ordine del Ré. Si chiamano Zimbo. Si spende à misura non uno ad uno.
- 2 Money of the Kongo
They are little dead snails. They are fished on the beach by order of the King. They are called Zimbo. They are spent by quantities not one by one.

Notes:

1. They are nzimbu shells [*Olivancillaria nana*]. See Cadornega and Delgado, *História geral das guerras angolanas, 1680[-1681]*, 2:269; António Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*. Africa ocidental, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, 1958), 4: 537-39, 618. See also Toby Green, *A fistful of shells: West Africa from the rise of the slave trade to the age of revolution* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2021); Edouard Mambu Ma Khenzu, "A modern history of monetary and financial systems of Congo 1885-1995" (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Greenwich, 2003).

34. Corner cartouche bestiary



- 1 *Questo che dormí è di quelle huomini piccioli che sono [. . .] nel Regno vicino à Congo di testa tanto grossa che mai la pongono in terra per nõ poterla levare. L'appoggiano ad una forca. Vi é monocolo anco.*
- 2 This one who sleeps is one of these small men¹ who are [. . .] in the Kingdom near the Congo of such large head that they never put it on the ground for not being able to lift it. They rest it on a fork.² There are also cyclops.
- 3 *Bomba³ [. . .] un Animale grosso come trave [?]*
Bomba [. . .] big as a beam
- 4 *Elefante⁴*
Elephant
- 5 *Sepra⁵*
Zebra
- 6 *Cavallo marino⁶*
Hippopotamus

7 Cocodrillo⁷
Crocodile

Notes:

1. This is an early European representation of a man from one of the more than twenty distinct populations known for their short stature and hunter-gatherer lifestyle. See Paul Verdu and Giovanni Destro-Bisol, "African Pygmies, what's behind a name?" *Human Biology* 84, no. 1 (2012). Serge Bahuchet, "L'invention des Pygmées (Inventing Pygmies)," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 33 (1993).

2. Likely a headrest, a type of object found across the African continent. See Anitra Nettleton, *African dream machines: style, identity and meaning of African headrests* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2007).

3. Perhaps the mbumba snake, otherwise known for its spiritual significance in central Africa see Thornton, "I am a subject of the king of Kongo," 192-93; Mobley, "The Kongolese Atlantic," chapter 5.

4. *Loxodonta africana*.

5. *Equus quagga* or *Equus zebra*.

6. *Hippopotamus amphibius*.

7. Order *Crocodylia*.

35. Martyrdom of George de Gheel



- 1 *P.F. Giorgio Fiamengo amazzato in odium fidei*¹
- 2 Father Brother George Flemish [aka George de Gheel] killed in odium fidei

Notes:

1. Refers to the death, considered a martyrdom by his brothers in religion, of Flemish Capuchin friar Joris van Gheel in 1652 in the Kongo province of Mbata, see MAP. Hooglede, "Le père Georges de Gheel (+1652): Missionnaire, philologue et martyr." See also biographic information in Saccardo, *Congo e Angola*, 1:489-90.

Parma Watercolors

- 11 The [Parma Watercolors](#) are a set of 67 watercolors on paper measuring 24 by 34 cm, once bound together as a codex as indicated by the stitch marks on their left edge. The general template of the pages consists of a main landscape-oriented image covering most of its surface accompanied by a short text at the bottom occasionally continuing into the verso of the page. A black box frames the designs. The numbering at the top of the watercolors runs from 2 to 104 with several gaps. It orders the vignettes thematically: colonial Angola (2, 7), aquatic animals (12 to 22), architecture (23 to 27), fruits and vegetables (29 to 36), trees (37 to 46), birds (47 to 53), land animals (56 to 68), mores and customs (70 to 81), superstitions and idolatry (83 to 89), missionary work (90 to 101), funerary practices (102, 104). Though unsigned and undated, their format and contents firmly place them within the Capuchin central African corpus of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, alongside the better known *Missione in Prattica* manuscripts and the explicitly labelled Museo Francese drawing ([MFoo](#)).¹ Specific points of comparison include the juxtaposition of image and text, and the similarities in composition and subject matter. The depiction of a Mass performed in the outdoors in the Torino manuscript using a decorated portable altar echoes, for instance, that of a similar occasion in the Parma Watercolors ([MIPT01](#) and [PW098](#)).
- 12 In addition, as many as 21 of the Parma Watercolors images closely match the designs of the prints that appeared in the most widely circulated publication to emerge from the Capuchin early modern mission to Kongo and Angola, friar Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi's 1687 *Istorica descrizione*.² The Parma text, in turn, which postdates the images, also shares key formulations and observations with this publication. The two works are closely related, but the nature of their relationship remains difficult to define. In the current state of knowledge about the two projects, it is best not to think of them as copy and prototype *stricto sensu*. Rather their connections are most productively considered as the reflection of their makers' belonging in a common Capuchin visual and epistemic milieu within which images, writings, and information circulated fluidly both in central Africa and in Europe.³
- 13 The date of production of the vignettes' images and later text is not elucidated beyond several anchor points. One is a *terminus post quem* for the images in the depiction of the capture of friars Buenaventura de Corella and Francisco de Veas by queen Njinga of Matamba in 1648, depicted on PW101. A timeframe for the texts, in turn, derives from the description on the same page of the current state of Christianity in Matamba as lapsing since the death of the queen, which occurred in 1663. The role the vignettes played directly or indirectly in the production of the prints in the *Istorica descrizione* in the 1670s further suggests that either they, or the template from which they and the prints both derive, already existed, and was made available to the printmaker.⁴ The fashions the two Portuguese elite men wear in vignette number 2 ([PW002](#)) fit with this timeline.⁵ They wear wigs of high, loose curls with a part in the middle, white cravats and lace cuffs, metallic trim on large-cuffed colorful coats, low-crown, upturned-brim hats meant to be carried rather than worn, walking sticks, and high-heeled boots that are in keeping with European aristocratic male fashion from the 1670s and 1680s.

- 14 A few notes on the following translation. Each image, and its verso when including text, is followed by my transcription of the Italian text with original orthography and punctuation, and my English translation which I kept purposely close to the source. Missing words or uncertain readings are indicated between brackets. Footnotes inserted in the Italian transcription give information on particular terms.

The following pages provide a detailed look at the individual pages of the Parma Watercolors, complete with translations of the individual pages' textual information. Where applicable, both recto and verso images of each page are provided. Please note that paragraph and footnote numbers restart with each section.

PW002: Portuguese aristocrat[s] traveling in nets



1 1: Fidalgo Portuguese che vá in rete;¹ questi sono molti Sig:^e che qua stan[n]o uffiziali o di Arma o di Stato; altri sono qua confinati, etc 2: [. . .] della rete 3: ornamento della rete quale e di damasco o di altro rabesco secondo la posibilitá 4: sciapeo da Sol² 5: livrea de s[. . .]³ 6: collari di Argento a negri 7: questi sono due cavichi fatti di Avorio a tti due i capi delle stanga dove si lega la r[ete]⁴

2 1: Portuguese *Fidalgo* traveling in a net; these are many Nobles who are here officials of the Military or the State; others are here as prisoners, etc.⁵ 2: [...] of the net. 3: ornament of the net which is of damask or of other arabesque according to the means 4: parasol 5: livery of s[ervants]⁶ 6: silver collars for Blacks 7: these are two pegs made of ivory at each end of the pole to which the [net] is tied

Notes:

1. About the use of the hammock in Luanda see Dionigi da Piacenza and Michel Angelo da Reggio, *Viaggio*, 60–61. Antonio Zucchelli da Gradisca, *Relazioni del viaggio e Missione di Congo nell’Etiopia Inferiore Occidentale del P. Antonio Zucchelli da Gradisca, Predicatore Capuccino della Provincia di Stiria, e già Missionario Apostolico in detto Regno, ecc.* (Venice: Bartolomeo Giavarina, 1712), 74.

2. From the Portuguese, *chapeú-de-sol*: umbrella for the sun.

3. The missing word here could be *servitori* (servants) or *schiavi* (slaves).
4. For a similar description of hammocks in Luanda see “Letter from Michelangelo Guattini to his father of 1668,” in Michel Angelo Guattini da Reggio, Dionigi Carli da Piacenza, and Francesco Surdich, *Viaggio nel Regno del Congo, Il fascino dell’ignoto* 15, (San Paolo: Cinisello Balsamo, 1997), 185-86.
5. Angola was a carceral colony.
6. Or slaves, see above note 3.

PW005: Black man dressed in the Portuguese



Negro vestito alla Portoghese in stato e atto di sposarsi; a quale di queste due dà il fiore quella e la sua sposa; quale però lascia quando li pare e ne piglia un'altra, dividendo con essa i figli se ne han[n]o; et io ho veduto tal funzione. Levano tti i loro figli avanti il giudice quando sono risolti lasciarsi; l'homo ne piglia uno, la femina un altro e così successivamente, [se] ve ne sono da Caffi già e del homo; e se la donna e gravida già e suo

- 1 *Negro vestito alla Portoghese in stato e atto di sposarsi; a quale di queste due dà il fiore quella e la sua sposa; quale però lascia quando li pare e ne piglia un'altra, dividendo con essa i figli se ne han[n]o; et io ho veduto tal funzione. Levano tti i loro figli avanti il giudice quando sono risolti lasciarsi; l'homo ne piglia uno, la femina un altro e così successivamente, [se] ve ne sono da Caffi già e del homo; e se la donna e gravida già e suo*
- 2 Black man dressed in the Portuguese manner in the state and the act of getting married; the one of these two [women] to whom he gives the flower is his bride; whom however he leaves when he pleases and takes another, dividing with her the children they have; and I have seen myself this function. They take all of their children in front of a judge when they have decided to separate; the man chooses one, the woman another, and so on and so forth, [if] there is an odd number of them, of course it is the man's; and if the woman is pregnant, of course it is hers.

PW009: Carriers



- 1: Caricatori ; qua p[er] non essere cavalli ne bestie da soma t[u]tto portano i negri; et e mirabile che levano cariche pesantissime e caminano velocis.^{mo} 2: carta o lettera; in questa forma le portano; una canna o stecco aperto e posta la lettera nella fessura legata di sopra; t[u]tti i negri han[n]o sommo timore delle lettere e credano che vi sia un diavolo dentro che ridice le cose; ne p[er] anche san[n]o capire che p[er] via di caratteri si possono [sic] spiegare i Con[ce]tti alli absenti si che quando temano del loro Sig:^{re} p[er] haver fatto qualche delitto, o bruciano la lettera o la gettano nel fiume, accioche il diavolo che vi sta dentro non ridica il misfatto e siano gastigati 3:

Arco 4: frecchie 5 : galline, 6: Banane frutti,¹ 7 Zucca piena di vino di Palma 8: cesta fatta di foglie di palma chiamato motet,² 9: Emba³ o frutto di Palma che fá Olio, 10: piedi del motet: quando sono strachi le arizano ad un albore cosi ripiene

2 [verso, in Portuguese] negros [do?] bengo com cartas nos paus

3 1: carriers; here because there are neither horses nor beasts of burden, the blacks carry everything and it is remarkable that they transport very heavy loads and move very fast 2: paper or letter. They carry it in this manner, an open cane or stick and the letter placed in the split and tied above; all the blacks have greatest fear of letters and believe that there is inside a devil who repeats things, nor even can they understand that by way of characters it could be possible to explain [...] to those absent so that when they fear their Lord for having committed some crime they either burn the letter or throw it in the river so that the devil that is inside not repeat the misdeed and they not get punished 3: Bow 4: arrows 5: hen 6: Banana fruit 7: Gourd filled with Palm wine 8: basket made of palm leaves called motet 9: Emba or palm fruit that makes oil 10: feet of the motet when they are tired they set it up against a tree filled like this

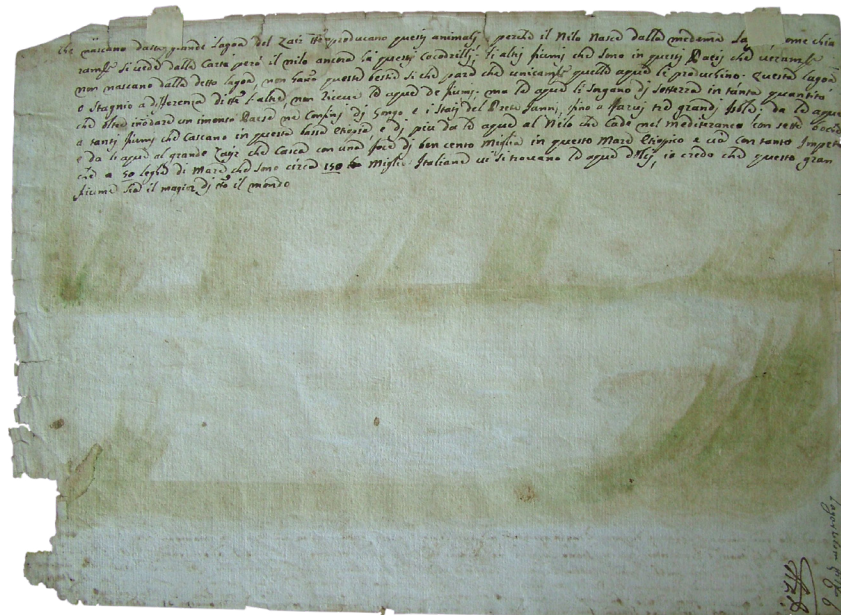
4 [verso, in Portuguese] blacks with letters in wooden sticks

Notes:

1. The friars make a distinction between Niceffo and Banana in their writings, referring to two local categories of fruits from the Musaceae family. See Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 35. Pavia, *Viaggio Apostolico alle Missioni dell’Africa*, f. 81r. Matheus Cardoso talks about “micifos” in 1624 see Brásio, Costa, and Correia, *História do Reino do Congo*, 37. Pellicer de Tovar, *Mission evangelica al Reyno de Congo*, 53. It appears as Mizefhos with mention of the size of the leaves “big enough to shade any sized man,” the crucifix in its flesh, and its identity as the tree of the garden of Eden in a late sixteenth century anonymous manuscript, unknown, *Description of the kingdom of Kongo*, f. 165r. See also the unpaginated vocabulary of words from Matamba in Antonio da Gaeta and Gioia, *La meravigliosa conversione*. Other mentions are found in Cadornega and Delgado, *História geral das guerras angolanas, 1680[-1681]*, 3:372. “Niceffos” and their long leaves that could cover a man (in Brazil) and the crucifix inside appear in Dionigi da Piacenza and Michel Angelo da Reggio, *Viaggio*, 49; Dionigi da Piacenza and Michel Angelo da Reggio, *Viaggio del P. M. Angelo de Guattini da Reggio et del p. D. de Carli da Piacienza cappuccini*, 64-65.

2. From Kikongo, motete or mutete: headloads or bundles carried on the head, often in woven palm leaves baskets that also served as units of measure. See Latin entry for fascis or bundle in *Vocabularium*, 37. See description in Luca da Caltanissetta, *Relatione del viaggio e missione di Congo fatta per me Fra Luca da Caltanissetta, missionario apostolico, olim lettore e predicatore cappuccino della provincia di Palermo nella Sicilia, nel 1689 sino al ... 1701*, Biblioteca Comunale di Caltanissetta, MS 35, f. 9v.

3. From Kikongo, Nba (pl. nba): palm tree, appears in *Vocabularium*. Likely *Elaeis guineensis*

PW012: Crocodile, here called *Lagarto*

- 1 Cocodrillo qua chiamato lagarto;¹ di questi draghi aquatici ne sono ripieni questi fiumi et io ne ho veduti navigando il Dante² senz[a] [. . .] Goanza³ delli grossi e spaventosi, questi stano sempre nel aqua ma alle volte escano al sole e si adormentano nel chena, [---] occasione se ne vedono molti ma apena sentano rumore che si precipitano nel aqua. Il pericolo e lo stare disaplicato vicino a[i] fiumi pigliando aqua lavandosi &: p[er]che con velocita grande si slanciano e afferano; si come quando si naviga se si stesse con qualche braccio fuori della barchetta si slanciano &: ne vedi uno tanto grosso nel Porto medemo di Mazangano che [---] un Porco di 300 libbre che stava

bevendo e se lo portó via come fossi stato un sorcio, se e ritrovato per esperienz^a che [. . .]

- 2 *[verso] che nascano dalla grande lagoa⁴ del Zair t[u]tte producano questi animali perche il Nilo nasce dalla medema lagoa come chiarante si vede dalla carta però il nilo ancora hà questi cocodrilli; li altri fiumi che sono in questi Paesi che veramte non nascano dalla detta lagoa, non han[n]o queste bestie si che pare che unicamente quelle aque li produchino; Questa lagoa o stagno a differenza di t[u]tte l'altre, non riceve le aque de fiumi; ma le aque li sorgano di sotterra in tanta quantità que oltre inōdare un imenso Paese ne confini di Gongo e i stati del Prete Janni,⁵ fino a farvi tre grandi Isole; da le aque e da le aque a tanti fiumi che cascano in questa bassa etiopia, e di piu da le aque al Nilo che cade nel mediteraneo con sette boche e da l'aque al grande Zair che casca con una foce di ben cento miglia in questo mare etiopico e v^a con tanto Impeto que a 50 leghe di mare che sono circa 150 miglia Italiane vi si trovano le aque dolci, io credo che questo gran fiume sia il maggior di tutto il mondo*
- 3 *[verso in Portuguese] lagarto com filho*
- 4 *Crocodile here called Lagarto; these rivers are full of those aquatic dragons, and I have seen some large and frightful while navigating the Dande [without] [. . .] Kwanza; these are always in the water, but sometimes they get out into the sun and fall asleep on the shore [. . .] occasion one can see many of them but as soon as they hear a noise, that they rush into the water. The danger is to be careless near rivers, drawing water, bathing, etc... because with great speed they launch themselves and grab. Also when navigating, if one would be with any arm outside of the little boat they launch themselves etc... I saw one so big in the very Port of Massangano that [. . .] a Pig of 300 pounds that was drinking and took it away as if it were a mouse, it was discovered from experience that*
- 5 *[verso] that they are all born from the great lake of the Zaire [they] produce these animals; because the Nile begins in the same lake as one sees clearly on the map for this reason the Nile also has crocodiles; the other rivers that are in these lands that in fact do not begin in the same lake, do not have these beasts so that it appears that only these waters produce them; This lake or pond unlike all others does not receive waters from rivers but its waters surge from underground in such quantity that in addition to inundating an immense Land at the borders of Congo and the states of Prester John so as to create three great island; it gives waters to many rivers that run in this lower Ethiopia, and in addition it gives waters to the Nile which runs into the Mediterranean with seven mouths and it gives waters to the great Zaire that runs in a mouth of at least 100 miles in this Ethiopic sea and flows with such impetus that 50 sea leagues which are about 150 Italian leagues away one finds fresh water; I believe this great river to be the largest of all in the world.*
- 6 *[verso in Portuguese] crocodile with youth*

Notes:

1. From Portuguese, lagarto: lizard used in this context as crocodile (Order Crocodilia). See also the unpaginated vocabulary of words from Matamba in Antonio da Gaeta and Gioia, *La meravigliosa conversione*.
2. I.e., the River Dande.
3. I.e., the River Kwanza.
4. From Portuguese, lagoa: lake.
5. I.e., Prester John, the mythical ally of Christendom beyond Islamic lands.

PW013: Strange case that occurs in these rivers

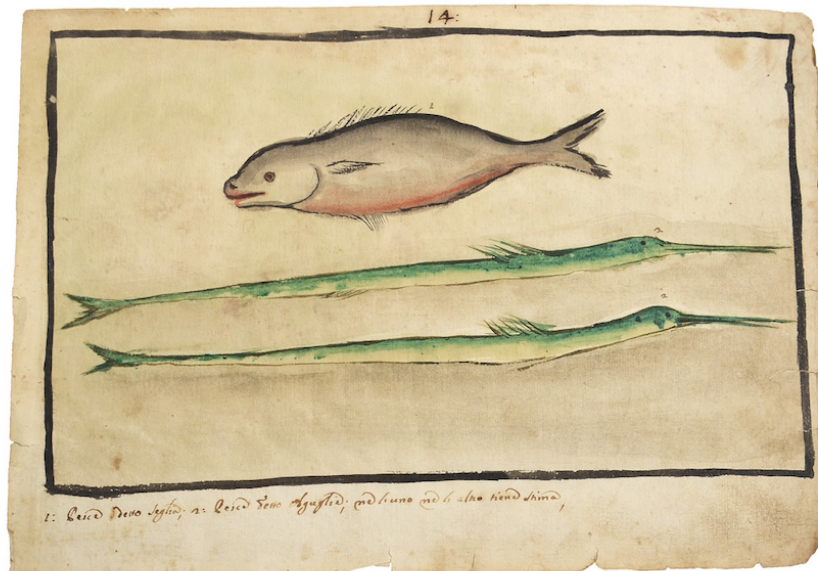


- 1 *Caso strano successo in questi fiumi, veniva un mercanti di schiavi e levava quindici o sedici schiavi incatenati uno con li altri come costumano e come si vede nella qui figura; havendo questi sete et acostandosi al fiume p[er] pigliare aqua con una zucca, sorse un cocodrillo e afferandosi uno p[er] la mano senza poterli aiutare li tirò t[u]tti nel aqua e tutti li devoro*
- 2 Strange case that happens in these rivers, a slave merchant was coming and taking away fifteen or sixteen slaves, chained to one another as they usually are and as can be seen in the image; as they were thirsty and approached the river to draw water with a gourd, a crocodile appeared and having grabbed one [of the men] by the hand without anything to be done to help them, drew them all into the water and devoured them all.¹

Notes:

1. A similar event happening in Massangano in 1654 on the shore of the Coanza appears in Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi, *Missione Evangelica al Regno del Congo: Araldi Manuscript*, 1665-1668, Biblioteca Estense, vol. B, 584, Modena.

PW014: Fish called *seglia*, fish called *Aguglia*



1 1: *Pesce detto Seglia*;¹ 2: *Pesce detto Aguglia*;² *ne li uno ne li altro tiene stima*

2 1: fish called Seglia 2: fish called Aguglia; neither are good

Notes:

1. Perhaps from Portuguese selho: sole [*Solea*].

2. Needlefish: *Belone belone*.

PW015: Flying Fish



- 1 *Pesce Volatore*¹ di questi Pesci ne sono pieni i mari sotto la linea. Si che volando e ricadendo in mare paiono tante cavalette o saltangreppole;² hano il becco come li ucceli lungo 4 palmi
- 2 Flying Fish the seas below the line are full of them so that flying and falling back in the water they look like so many little locust or grasshoppers; they have a beak like birds 4 palm long³

Notes:

1. One of several fish from the *Exocoetidae* family.
2. Saltangreppole is a regionalism from Arezzo. See Francesco Redi and Alberto Nocentini, *Il vocabolario aretino di Francesco Redi: con un profilo del dialetto aretino* (Florence: Elite, 1989), 75, 251.
3. See Serafino da Cortona's drawing in Filippo da Firenze, *Ragguagli del Congo*, 1711, Archivio Provinciale dei Cappuccini, 80-81, Florence.

PW016: *Caré*, or *Macova* [fish]

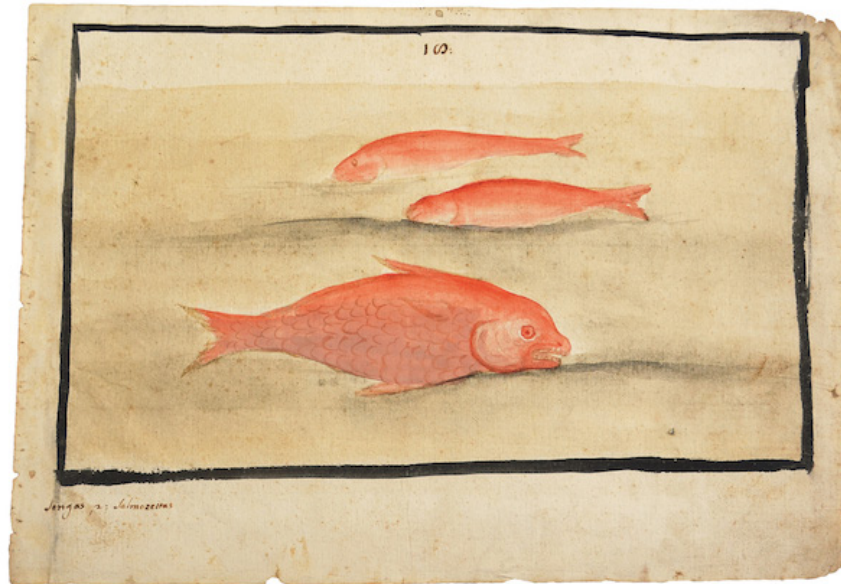


- 1 *Caré*¹ o *Macova*²
- 2 Caré or Macoa (crevalle jack)

Notes:

1. Perhaps from Portuguese cari: type of freshwater fish [*Rhinelepis aspera*].
2. From Portuguese macoa: crevalle jack [*Caranx hippos*] mentioned by the Jesuits in Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Las., 106: “História da Residência dos Padres da Companhia de Jesus em Angola, e cousas tocantes ao Reino, e Conquista, 1 de Maio de 1594,” in António Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana. África ocidental* (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, 1952), 4:549.

PW018: *Sengas*, [and] *salmoretas* [fish]



1 *Sengas*,¹ 2: *salmoretas*²

2 *Sengas*, 2: *salmoretas* (mullet)

Notes:

1. From the image perhaps *Dentex Angolensis*.

2. Salmonetes or mullet [*Mullus surmuletus*] or other fish from the Mullus family mentioned by the Jesuits in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, Las., 106: “História da Residência dos Padres da Companhia de Jesus em Angola, e cousas tocantes ao Reino, e Conquista, 1 de Maio de 1594,” in Antonio Brásio, *Monumenta*, 4:548.

PW019: Another *Pescemugler*

- 1 Questa è un'altra *Pescemugler*¹ o veram^{te} pesce don[n]a, ma con il manto ser[r]ato, dipinta così supina p[er] vedere come stà mà però quando nota stà voltata sottosopra ne si distingue dal'altri pesci.
- 2 This is another *Pescemugler* or really woman fish, but with its mantle closed and pictured in this manner supine to see how it is but when it swims it is turned upside down and cannot be

Notes:

1. Manatee [*Trichechus senegalensis*].

PW020: Another *Pescemugler*. . . sunbathing

1 *1 Pesce muglere¹ aperta che stá pigliando il sole 2: é un Manto fatto di pelle e squame di pesce; quale serra quando vole e parimente apre quando vole; quando é serrato non si distingue dal altri Pesci quando é aperto si vedano la simiglianza proprissima di una Do[onna] questo pesce e delicatissimo e preziosissimo a mangiare e se ne pigliano molti nel fiume Zair Ambriz e Coanza &: tra le costole di questo pesce ve na uno di singolar virtú per stagiare il sangue; et io medemo hò fatto l'esperienza che cavandomi sangue il cerusico havendo gia la vena aperta tocai la gamba con una delle dette costole e fermó il sangue [. . .] [verso] Talm^{te} che benche fossi aperta la vena non usciva ne pura una stilla, levavo dalla gamba la costa e subito correva sangue con mio stupore e stupore delli altri Padri che erano presenti; bene e vero che è molto difficile haverne una delle bone, prima perche fra t[u]tte una sola tiene questa virtú 2^o: perché questi negri, p[er] avidita di d[etto] Pesce lo buttano in pezi sopra le bragie per cuocerlo; e di poi tirano le coste, ma quando han[n]o sentito il foco non han[n]o piu virtú²*

2 [verso in Portuguese] *pexi molher*

3 *Open Pesce Muglere that is taking the sun 2: this is a mantle made of skin and fish scales; which it closes when it wants and similarly opens when it wants; when [the mantle] is closed [the Pesce Muglere] is undistinguishable from other Fishes; when it is open one can see the very exact resemblance with a woman. This fish is very delicate and very prized to eat and many are caught in the rivers Zaire, Ambriz, Kwanza etc. Among*

the ribs of this fish, there is one with the singular virtue to seal the blood; and I myself have made the experiment that as the surgeon was bleeding me, having already the vein open, I touched the leg with one of said ribs and the blood stopped [...]

[Verso] So much so that although the vein was open not even a drop came out, I lifted the rib from the leg and immediately the blood ran to my astonishment and the astonishment of the other Fathers who were present, it is really true that it is very difficult to have one of the good ones, first because among all [the ribs] only one has this property 2nd: because these blacks because of their greed to eat said Fish, put it in pieces over the ambers to cook it, and take out the ribs later, but when they have felt the fire, they do not have virtue anymore.

4 [verso in Portuguese] woman fish

Notes:

1. Manatee [*Trichechus senegalensis*].

2. The description of the pesce-donna and the blood stopping ability of its bones also appears in Filippo della Santissima Trinità, *Viaggi orientali del reuerendiss. p. Filippo della SS. Trinità Generale de' Carmelitani scalzi. Da lui composti nella lingua latina e nuouamente tradotti nell'italiana da vn padre del medesimo ordine. Ne' quali si descriuono varij successi, molti regni dell'Oriente, monti, mari, e fiumi, la successione de' prencipi dominanti, i popoli christiani & infedeli che stanno in quelle parti. ... Con alcune cose di nuouo aggiunte per consiglio dell'autore* (Rome: a spese di Filippo M. Mancini, 1666), 415-16.

PW022: Whale



- 1 *Balena; questo e il più gran Pesce che habbi il mare; ma non é tanto grande quanto lo descrivano in Italia. ne hó vedute moltissime gia che questa costa ne é ripiena; e ne hó vedute di quelle che mi han[n]o detto Essere delle più grosse onde a dire il verò; Sarano grosse e grandi quanto un nostro navicello del Arno e facci conto che giusto paiano un navicello voltato sottosopra; e verissimo che gettino l'aqua in alto dalle narici anzi con questa si defendano quando sono assalite dal Pesce Spada suo nemico voltandoli contro due fiumi o canoni di aqua; con t[u]tto con quella sua spada talm^e le ferisce che le ama[. . .]; io ho vedu[to] con mio gusto la Zuffa tra il pesce spada e la balena e [-----]*
- 2 *[verso] mantenimento e mangiare p[er] i schiavi; e ne cavano moltissimo Olio che qua serve p[er] ardere e p[er] fare Acatrame havendo il Sig: Id: proveduto che non essendovi olivi in Terra vi siano Olivi in mare, la caccia o Pesca delle Balene principia p[er] S: Ant: e dura t[u]tto Ottobre non si fà qui ma a Tapariga nel Brazile; il modo di piglarle é mirabile ma molto pericoloso &: quelli ossi di Balena che vengano costà delli quali ne fan[n]o l'Imbusti le Sig: e Don[n]e sono le gorgie della Balena; dicono che si alimenti di sardine; tenendone una quantita grande nelle d: gorgie e ingolandone una p[er] volta; il verò è e quello [sic] che si vede che ha la gola strettissima benché habbi la bocca tanto grande e sia una Bestia smisurata; onde bisogna dire che quella che inghiottì Giona fossi miracolosa*
- 3 *Whale; this is the largest fish the sea has; but it is not as big as they describe it in Italy;*

I have seen very many because this coast is full of them; and I have seen the ones that they told me were the largest hence to tell the truth; they are maybe as big and tall as one of our boats of the Arno and imagine that they look just as a boat turned upside down; it is very true that they throw water in the air from their nostrils in fact with this they defend themselves when they are attacked by their enemy the swordfish turning towards them two rivers or canons of water; in all with its sword it wounds it is so much that it [kills] it; I have seen with pleasure the battle between the swordfish and the whale; and [... missing line]

- 4 [verso] subsistence and food for the slaves; and they get from it a lot of oil that serves here for burning and to make tar having God Our Lord provided that not being olives in the land there would be olives at sea. The hunt or fishing of the whales starts on [the Feast of] Saint Anthony and lasts all of October. It is not done here but in Tapariga in Brazil; the way to catch them is remarkable but very perilous etc. these bones of Whale that go there where you are [costá] with which the Ladies make corsets are the throats of the whale; they say that they eat sardines; holding a great quantity of them in said throat and swallowing them one at a time, the truth is that what you can see that is that they have a very narrow throat in spite of having such as large mouth and being an immense beast; hence it must be said that the one that swallowed Jonas would be miraculous

Notes:

1. Costá is a locative adverb that refers to the location of the person whom the speaker or writer is addressing in Florentine dialect. In this case it indicates that the writer addressed someone in Italy from afar, in this case, central Africa.

PW023: Houses of the people of Ilamba



- 1 1: Forma delle case de Popoli d'Ilamba.¹ Sono t[u]tte fatte di Paglia; grosse e grandi come le nostre diacciere² e sono assai f[atte] perche non s'infiamano al Sole come le altre fatte di creta; 2: caricatore con motet³ 3: Arbore d: Mafuma⁴ questi sono molto alti e dritti; e legieri; del Tronco ne fan[n]o le Barche dette Canove⁵ votandole a modo di un Trogolo
- 2 1: Shape of the houses of the peoples of Ilamba. They are all made of Straw, as wide and tall as our icehouses and are made this way because they do not to catch fire in the sun as the others made of clay; 2: carrier with a *motet* 3: tree called *mafuma*, these are very tall and straight, as well as light; they make boats called *canova* from their trunks by emptying them as a trough

Notes:

1. About Ilamba see Linda Marinda Heywood and John Kelly Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 88. It is between the Kwanza and Bengo, inland of Luanda, north of the Kwanza. Cavazzi mentions Ilamba in the Alraldi Manuscript, see Cavazzi, *Missione Evangelica*: vol. B, 582.

2. Giasséra is a Tuscan idiom see Antonio Tiraboschi, *Vocabolario dei dialetti bergamaschi antichi e moderni compilato da Antonio Tiraboschi* (Bergamo: Tip. F. Ili

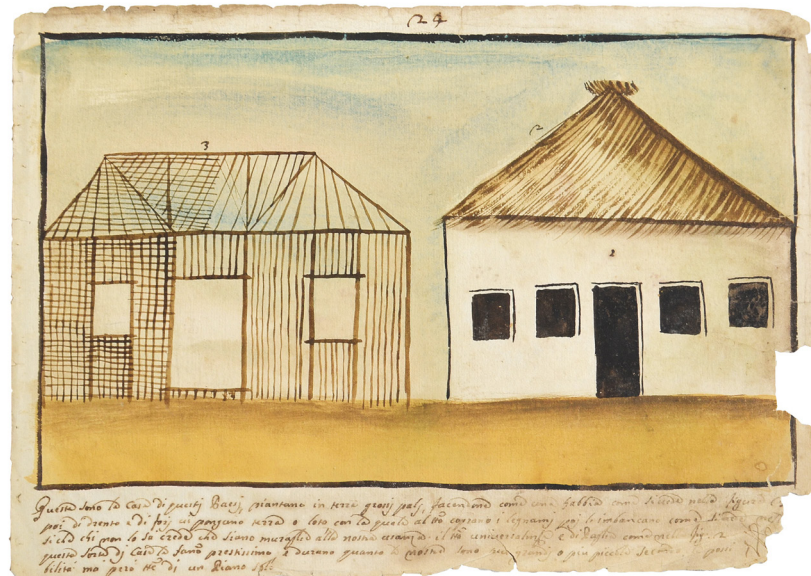
Bolis, 1873).

3. From Kikongo motete or mutete: headloads or bundles carried on the head, often in woven palm leaf baskets that also served as units of measure. See Latin entry for fascis: bundle in *Vocabularium*, 37. See also Bernardo da Canicatti, *Diccionario da lingua Bunda ou Angolense, explicada na Portugueza e Latina, composta por Fr. B. M. de Cannecattim, Capuchinho Italiano da Provincia di Palermo, Missionario Apostolico e Prefeito das Missoes de Angola, e Congo* (Lisbon: na Impressao Regia, 1804). See also description in Caltanissetta, *Relatione del viaggio e missione di Congo*, f. 9v.

4. From Kimbundu mfuma or lusitanized as mafumeira: kapok [*Ceiba pentadra*]. See Girolamo Merolla da Sorrento and Angelo Piccardo, *Breve, e succinta relatione del viaggio nel regno di Congo nell' Africa meridionale, fatto dal P. Girolamo Merolla da Sorrento . . . Continente variati clima, arie, animali, fiumi, frutti, vestimenti con proprie figure, diuersita di costumi, e di viueri per l'uso humano* (Naples: Per F. Mollo, 1692), 192. See also Lorenzo da Lucca in Jean Cuvelier and Lorenzo da Lucca, *Relations sur le Congo du père Laurent de Lucques (1700-1717)* (Brussels: Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 1953), 271. See also Giuseppe da Modena in Calogero Piazza, "Una relazione inedita sulle missioni dei minori cappuccini in Africa degli inizi del Settecento 3," *Italia Francescana* 48, no. 1 (1973): 23, 94-95.

5. From the Portuguese canoa: canoe.

PW024: Houses of these countries



- 1 *Queste sono le case di questi Paesi, piantano in terra grossi pali, facendone come una gabbia come si vede nella figura 3 [...] poi di dentro e di fuori vi pongano terra o loto con la quale al t[u]tto coprano i legnami poi l'imb[i]ancano come si vede nell[la] figura 2] Si che chi non lo sá crede che siano muraglie alle nostra usanza. Il t[e]tto universalmente è di Paglia come nella figura 2. questa sorte di case le fan[n]o prestissimo, e durano quanto le nostre sono piu grandi o piu piccole seconddo le possibilitá ma però t[u]tte di un piano solo*
- 2 These are the houses of these countries; they plant in the ground thick posts, forming with them a cage as can be seen in the figure 3 [...] then inside and outside they put earth or mud with which they cover all the timber then they whitewash it as can be seen in [figure 2] so that who doesn't know believes that they are walls in our manner. The roof is always of straw as can be seen in figure 2. They build this type of houses very rapidly and they last as long as ours, they are larger or smaller according to means but all have one level only

PW027: Black lord or prince in the countryside



- 1 *Signore o principe negro in campagna; 2: Mestre¹ o Interpreti 2: Servi chiamati Criati² 3: suddito che parla con il suo Sig^o*
- 2 1: Black Lord or prince in the countryside; 2: *Mestre* or interpreter 2: servants called *criati* 3: vassal who talks with his Lord

Notes:

1. From the Portuguese *mestre*: master.
2. From the Portuguese *criado*: servant.
3. The gesture of the vassal, arms crossed over the chest, has broad Afro-Atlantic echoes. Robert Farris Thompson and Joseph Cornet, *The four moments of the sun: Kongo art in two worlds* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1981), 168.

PW029: Turnip of the Congo, called *Batata*

- 1 *Rapa del Gongo d: batata,¹ questa e una pianta che serpe p[er] terra e butta alcune radiche che sono bone a mangiare del medemo sapore de Tartufi bianchi; di queste e simili radiche ne abbonda la Terra; et io ne hò vedute delle grosse come uno stajo, sono di vari colori rosse, gialle, e bianche &: il mirabile e che quando sono mature si tirano di sotto terra e si pongano in casa e quando si vogliono mangiare e cuocere se ne taglia un pezo p[er] volta; e quella che rimane resta p[er] le altre volte fino che e finita; e stando io in Amboella² me ne fù donata una chiamata Imgname³ di color rosso; e mi durò a me e a tutta la mia gente una intiera Quaresima; i negri la mangiano p[er] delizia*
- 2 Turnip of the Congo called Batata, this is a plant that crawls on the ground and grows some roots that are good to eat with the same taste as white Truffle; there is an abundance of this and similar roots in the Land; and I have seen some as large as a bushel, they are of various colors red, yellow, white etc. What is remarkable is that when they are ripe, one takes them out from underground and puts them in the house and when one wants to eat and cook them, one cuts a piece at a time; and what is left remains for another time until it is finished and being in Amboella I was given a red colored one called Emgname; and it lasted me and all my people for an entire Lent, the blacks eat it as a delicacy.

Notes:

1. From the Portuguese batata: potato but also other tubers. Here it refers to the sweet potato [*Ipomea batata*] introduced in Angola before 1594 when mentioned by the Jesuits ARSI, *Las.*, 106: “História da Residência dos Padres da Companhia de Jesus em Angola, e cousas tocantes ao Reino, e Conquista, 1 de Maio de 1594” in Brásio, *Monumenta*, 4:548.
2. There is Mbwela and Mbwila see Saccardo, *Congo e Angola*, 2:187.
3. Yam, edible tubers from the *Dioscoreaceae* family. Distinct from the sweet potato, which is often called yam in the United States.

PW030: White yam



- 1 Emgnamo¹ Bianco Quando e maturo
- 2 White yam when it is ripe.

Notes:

1. Yam, edible tubers from the *Dioscoreaceae* family. Distinct from the sweet potato, which is often called yam in the United States.

PW031: Red yam



1 *Emgnam*¹ *Vermiglio*² *quando è maturo*

2 Red yam when it is ripe.

Notes:

1. Yam, edible tubers from the *Dioscoreaceae* family. Distinct from the sweet potato, which is often called yam in the United States.

2. The white hue of the yam today is likely the result of fading organic pigments.

PW033: Fruit called cola



Masticano un spichio di Cola e poi bevano, e dà tal grazia al aqua che si beve, che pare agualezato qua se che uanno prauin, e quando erano di Card già leuano la sua Cola in Soccoia, e hno le mangiano di beued aqua nella Cited. non dico i Negri ma i Sij: Bianchi, Sauvany, che sua arriuato. li Europei non saueuano hmo messura et erano il Baccello di Lorei Cignay, ad hmo fatti delire di Stralgi e Cau. a puante siamo Bari ingannati

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- 1 Questo è un frutto chiamato cola;¹ Sono Alberi molto grandi e selvaggi fanno Baccelli come si vede, dentro ad un Baccello vi sono 4: o cinque frutti come susine; quali premendosi con le dita si rompano e partiscono in cinque o sei spichi; qua è frutto stimatissimo; e benchè sia ingrattissimo al gusto con t[utto] è ottimo allo s[to]maco e da un saporissimo bere; e già che qua p[er] i gran caldi bevano molta aqua, havanti di bere [verso] masticano un spichio di cola e poi bevano, e dà tal grazia al aqua che

si beve, che pare aquacedrata qua t[u]tti ne vanno provisti, e quando escano di casa già levano la sua cola in saccocia; e fino le mangiano p[er] bere aqua nella chiesa; non dico i negri ma t[u]tti i Sig: Bianchi; havanti che qua arrivassero li europei non havevano stima nessuna et erano il Pascolo de Porci cignali; ora sono fatti delizie de fidalghi e cav:º o quanto sianno Pazi e ingannati.

- 2 This is a fruit called cola; there are very tall and wild trees [that] make pods as can be seen, inside a pod there are 4 or five fruits like prunes; which when pressed with the fingers break apart into five or six cloves; here it is a very appreciated fruit; and even if it has a very insipid taste it is very good on the stomach and makes a very tasty drink; and as here because of the great heat [they] drink a lot of water, before drinking [verso] they chew a clove of cola and then they drink, and it gives such loveliness to the water that is drunk, that it seems like a lemonade [*aquacedrata*.] Here everyone has them, and when they leave the house they take along their cola in the pocket; and they even eat them to drink water in church; I don't mean the blacks but all the White Gentlemen; before the Europeans came here, [the cola fruits] were not appreciated at all and were the pasture of wild boars; now they have become the delicacies of the nobleman and aristocrats. How crazy and deluded are we.

Notes:

1. *Cola acuminata* or *Cola nitida*. Jesuit Matheus Cardoso in 1624 mentions being used before drinking water in Brásio, Costa, and Correia, *História do Reino do Congo*, 38. Dionigi da Piacenza and Michel Angelo da Reggio, *Viaggio*, 103. Cadornega and Delgado, *História geral das guerras angolanas, 1680[-1681]*, 3:201-02. See also Kalle Kananoja, *Healing Knowledge in Atlantic Africa: Medical Encounters, 1500–1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 53; Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, “Luanda in the 17th century: Diversity and cultural interaction in the process of forming an Afro-Atlantic city,” *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 22, no. 1&2 (2013): 93.

PW035: Fruit of the Banana



- 1 *Frutto di banana;*¹ *questi sono i fichi della terra; aprendone uno con il coltello vi apparisce dentro un grucifisso*² *come si vede—2*
- 2 Fruit of banana; these are the figs of the land; opening it with a knife a crucifix appears inside as can be seen—2

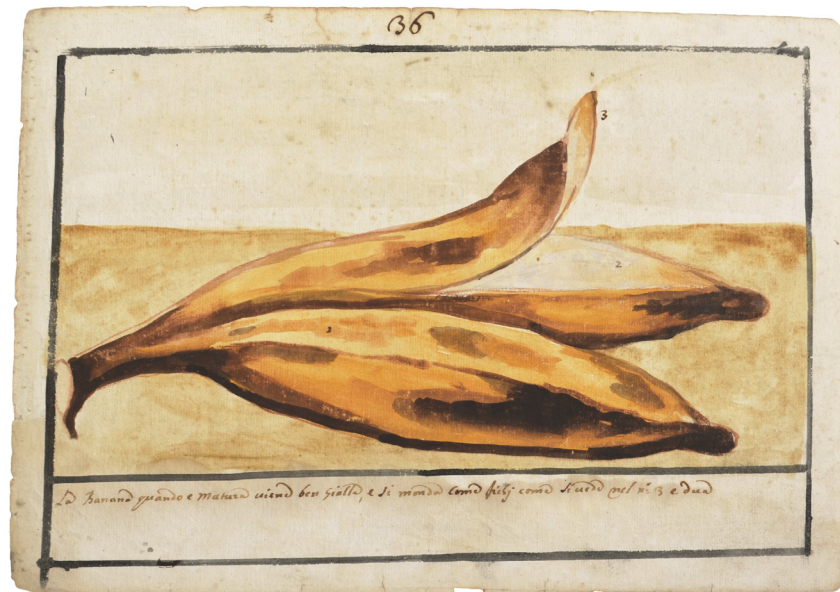
Notes:

1. The friars make a distinction between Niceffo and Banana in their writings, referring to two local categories of fruits from the *Musaceae* family. See Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 35. Pavia, *Viaggio Apostolico alle Missioni dell’Africa*, f. 81r. Matheus Cardoso talks about “micifos” in 1624 see Brásio, Costa, and Correia, *História do Reino do Congo*, 37. Pellicer de Tovar, *Mission evangelica al Reyno de Congo*, 53. It appears as Mizefhos with mention of the size of the leaves “big enough to shade any sized man,” the crucifix in its flesh, and its identity as the tree of the garden of Eden in a late sixteenth century anonymous manuscript, unknown, *Description of the kingdom of Kongo*, f. 165r. See also the unpaginated vocabulary of words from Matamba in Antonio da Gaeta and Gioia, *La maravigliosa conversione*. Other mentions are found in Cadornega and Delgado, *História geral das guerras angolanas, 1680[-1681]*, 3: 372. “Niceffos” and their long leaves that could cover a man (in Brazil) and the crucifix inside appear in Dionigi da Piacenza and Michelangelo da Reggio, *Viaggio*, 49; Dionigi da

Piacenza and Michel Angelo da Reggio, *Viaggio del P. M. Angelo de Guattini da Reggio et del p. D. de Carli da Piacienza cappuccini*, 64-65.

2. This is a long-established Franciscan trope, often repeated in the Capuchin central African corpus, see Fromont, *Images on a Mission*, 75, 83, 85-86. Others also mention the crucifix, see Cadornega and Delgado, *História geral das guerras angolanas, 1680[-1681]*, 3:372; Mattheus Cardoso in Brásio, Costa, and Correia, *História do Reino do Congo*, 37; Dionigi da Piacenza and Michel Angelo da Reggio, *Viaggio*, 48-49.

PW036: Banana when ripe

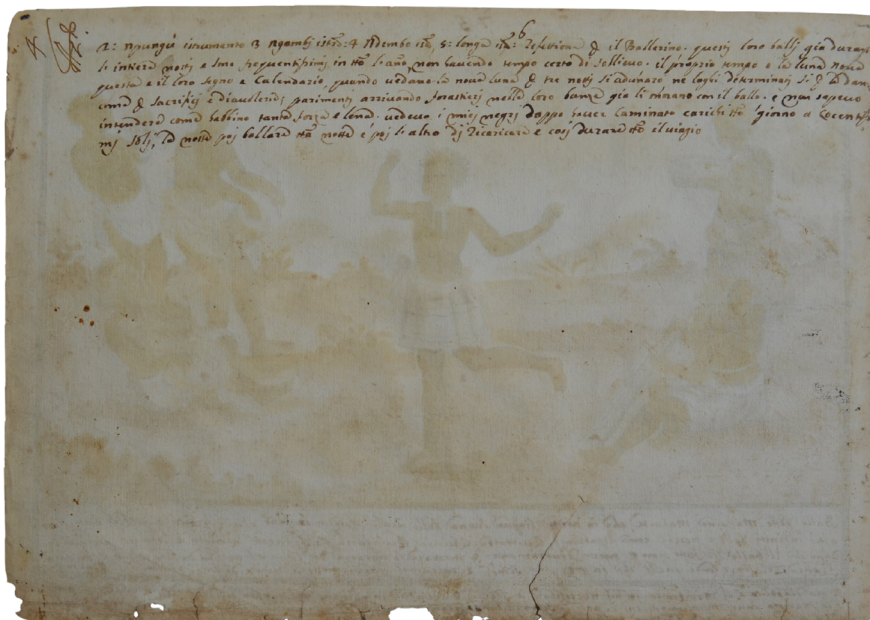


- 1 *La banana^t quando e matura viene ben gialla e si morde come fichi come si vede nel n:º 3 e due*
- 2 The banana when ripe becomes very yellow, and it is peeled like a fig as can be seen in n:º 3 and two

Notes:

1. The friars make a distinction between Niceffo and Banana in their writings, referring to two local categories of fruits from the *Musaceae* family.

PW037: Nicefo plant



- 1 Pianta di nicefo¹ questa e una sorte o specie di Banana, ma piu dolci e piu piccola e si seccano come i nostri fichi 1: pianta 2: foglie tante grandi che possano involuppare un homo anzi essi dicono che questa e la pianta del Paradiso Te[restre] e che [. . .] [verso] chiamata galletta; quando principia a diventar giallo si taglia e si attacca in casa e cosi di giorno in giorno si va maturando; e si vano tirando e mangiandosi si che un grapolo che qua chiamano Cachio² dura p[er] piu giorni, 4: fiore que[lla] non si mangia et e simila ad un giglio pavonazo³ quando anche e in boccia; questo Arbore e di poca durata p[er] non essere legname; ma un certo humore condensato con foglia;

*bene e vero che piantato una volta si hà sempre perche le radiche sempre pullulano
nove pianta*

- 2 Nicefo plant. This is a sort or species of Banana, but sweeter and smaller, and you dry them as our figs. 1: plant 2: leaves so large that they could wrap a man indeed they say that this is the plant of the [earthen] Paradise [. . . one or more lines cut] [verso] called *galletta*; when it begins to turn yellow you cut it and tie it up in the house and this way day after day it matures; and they pick and eat them so that a bunch which here they call *cachio*⁴ lasts several days, 4: flower that cannot be eaten and is similar to an iris when it is still a bud; this tree lasts very little because it is not made of wood; rather [of] a certain humor condensed with leaves; it is very true that planted once it is always there because the roots always pullulate new plants

Notes:

1. The friars make a distinction between Niceffo and Banana in their writings, referring to two local categories of fruits from the *Musaceae* family. See Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 35. Pavia, *Viaggio Apostolico alle Missioni dell’Africa*, f. 81r. Matheus Cardoso talks about “micifos” in 1624 see Brásio, Costa, and Correia, *História do Reino do Congo*, 37. Pellicer de Tovar, *Mission evangelica al Reyno de Congo*, 53. It appears as Mizefhos with mention of the size of the leaves “big enough to shade any sized man,” the crucifix in its flesh, and its identity as the tree of the garden of Eden in a late sixteenth century anonymous manuscript, unknown, *Description of the kingdom of Kongo*, f. 165r. See also the unpaginated vocabulary of words from Matamba in Antonio da Gaeta and Gioia, *La maravigliosa conversione*. Other mentions are found in Cadornega and Delgado, *História geral das guerras angolanas, 1680[-1681]*, 3: 372. “Niceffos” and their long leaves that could cover a man (in Brazil) and the crucifix inside appear in Dionigi da Piacenza and Michelangelo da Reggio, *Viaggio*, 49; Dionigi da Piacenza and Michel Angelo da Reggio, *Viaggio del P. M. Angelo de Guattini da Reggio et del p. D. de Carli da Piacienza cappuccini*, 64-65.

2. From the Portuguese cacho de banana: bunch of bananas.

3. Color: dark blue violet similar to the hue of a peacock, a color used in male public dress in Florence. See Carole Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence: families, fortunes, & fine clothing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 314.

4. From Portuguese cacho: bunch.

PW039: Plant called *cagiú*. Fruit called *chingero*

- 1: Pianta detta *cagiú*;¹ questa e mirabile che fà i suoi frutti come una pera 2: e in punta della pera ni nasce una castagna 3 che cotta e molto bona si che una pianta sola da due sorte di frutta 4: frutto detto *chingero*² fa i suoi pomi come le nostre susine, ma con un osso molto grosso 5:
- 2: 1: plant called *Cagiú*; it is remarkable that it produces fruits like a pear 2: and at the tip of the pear grows a nut 3 that when cooked is very good so that a single plant gives two types of fruits 4: fruit called *chingero*, it makes pomes like our prunes, but with a very large pit 5

Notes:

1. From Portuguese *caju*: cashew [*Anacardium occidentale*]. See “Besù” Dioginig da Piacenza and Michel Angelo da Reggio, *Viaggio*, 130.

2. Ciriguela or purple mombin [*Spondias purpurea* L.] see Julia Frances Morton, “Purple Mombin,” in *Fruits of warm climates*, ed. Julia Frances Morton (Miami: Echo Point Books & Media, 1987).

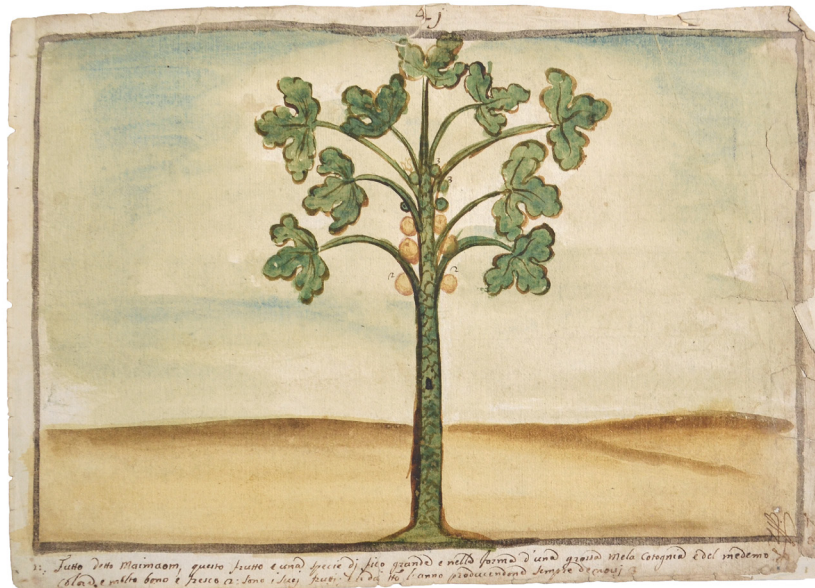
PW040: *Quoiaba* plant



- 1 *Pianta detta Quoiaba¹ di queste ne abbonda nel Paese da il suo frutto del mese di marzo è un forma di una mela mu[. . .] ma di poco bono sapore*
- 2 Guava plant there is an abundance of them in the Land it makes its fruit from the month of March it is in the shape of an apple [. . .] but does not taste very good

Notes:

1. *Psidium guajava*. Cadornega mentions guavas in Angola, see Cadornega and Delgado, *História geral das guerras angolanas*, 1680[-1681], 3:372.

PW041: Fruit called *maimaom*

- 1 1: Frutto detto maimaom¹; questo frutto e una specie di fico grande e nella forma d'una grossa mela cotognia e del medemo colore e molto bono e fresco 2: sono i suoi frutti; e li da t[u]tto l'anno producendone sempre de novi
- 2 1: Fruit called mamão [i.e. papaya], this fruit is a type of large fig in the shape of a large quince and of the same color and very good and fresh 2: these are its fruits; it grows them all year, always producing some new ones

Notes:

1. From Portuguese, mamão: papaya [*Carica papaya*].

PW042: Palm tree that makes oil



- 1: *Palma che fa olio* 2: sono i suoi frutti in forma di Pina che appena un homo ne parta uno; quando e vermegli[o] [. . .] e lo pestano e lo pongano al sole e poi al foco e si liquefa; mandando fuori un liquor denzo come o il nostro d[. . .]unto, ma di color giallo, questo è l'olio della Terra si p[er] condire come p[er] bruciare; e p[er] frigere il pesce e meglio de [. . .]
- 2: 1: Palm tree that makes oil 2: these are its fruits in the shape of a pine cone [so large] that a man can only carry one; when it is red [...] and they pound it and they put it in the sun and then in the fire and it liquefies; it oozes a dense liquid like our [...] oily, but of yellow color, this is the oil of the country, be it to season or to cook; and to fry fish it is better [...]

Notes:

1. *Elaeis guinensis*.

PW044: Palm tree that gives wine



- 1 1: Palma che da vino;¹ 2: p[er] cavarlo vi fanno un pertugio alto vicino a rami e vi ci accomodano sotto una foglia in forma di doccia; e sotto vi legano una zucca; la Palma va pingando e la mattina trovano gia la zucca piena; ad una pianta attaccano piu zuchette secondo la forza della Pianta; questo vino subito tirato e bono al gusto e pare di bere il nostro moscatello, in due o tre giorni pero inforza e doventa potentissimo aceto. Questa Pianta da il vino da Maggio a Ottobre; tempo que qua mai Piove; onde il Sig: Id:º ha proveduto che quando li mancano le aque ne rij l'habbino nelli alberi alla prima pioggia non da piu vino benche i negri lo tirino in altro modo come vedrassi appresso
- 2 1: Palm tree that gives wine; 2 to extract it they make a hole high near the branches and they arrange a leaf under in the shape of a drain; and under they attach a gourd; the Palm tree drips² and in the morning they find the gourd full already; they attach more or less gourds to a plant depending on its strength. This wine just harvested tastes good, it is like drinking our moscatello, in two or three days however it strengthens and becomes very powerful vinegar. This plant gives wine from May to October; a time when here it never rains; so that God the Lord has provided that when water is missing in the streams they have it in the trees; at the first rain it does not give wine anymore, although the Blacks get it in another way as we shall see right now

Notes:

1. Palm wine was harvested from several palm species including the raffia palm *Elaeis guineensis*.
2. Pingando in the text from Portuguese, pingare: to drip

PW045: Palm tree that gives wine from October to May



- 1: Palma che da il vino dal Ottobre al Maggio.¹ Tagliano una Palma come si vede, e poi vi fan[n]o come un piccolo Trogoletto lungo un Palmo e fondo un altro Palmo; questo lo fanno vicino a rami; poi lo coprano molto bene con foglie di Banane che sono molto grandi, ponendovi sopra una Pietra o legno, la mattina e sera van[n]o o con un chuchiaro fatto di cocco e con una zucca; scoprono la fossetta e la trovano piena di vino; qual chiamano malaf,² ma però p[er] noi bianchi è molto nocivo alla salute; e presto empie di rognà. La maraviglia che una pianta Tagliata che loro dicano dirubada habbi e stilli tanto umore anche quando non ha radici, mirabilis deus.³ Non voglio lasciare di dire una cosa ridicolossima et è che essendo piena questa selva di Machachi che e una specie di scimie [verso]
- 2 ma molto piu belli e Sagaci come ho mostrato &: questi sono chiottissimi di questo vino; si che vanno destram^{te} in tempo che credono sia piena la fossetta, scoprono la foglia e bevano t[u]tti, e talmen^{te} si imbroicano che poi fan[n]o mille Pазie di balli di salti et altri giochi, cosa vaghissima a vedersi, dura la festa fino che dura il vino; bevendo e saltando; quando vedano che non c'è più vino nella Palma o fossetta, tutti malinconici, fanno i suoi bisogni, uno p[er] uno dentro la fossetta donde bebbero il vino e poi ricoprono diligentemen^{te} la fossetta, e se ne vanno saltando p[er] le rami della medema Palma; fino che arriva il Padrone, che viene p[er] tirare il vino; essi stano quieti e nascosti su l'Albori; se nello scoprire l'ingano il negro ha Pazienza e non Parla; nessuno parla; ma se il negro si inquieta e sbuffa, t[u]tti i machachi nascosti

saltano fuori e corendo p[er] i rami delle Palme, fano [sic] come fischiare e strepito di grida che paiano vere risata; io veddi uno di questi fatti in Icolungo et hebbi che ammirarmi della malizia di detti Animalì; essendo p[er] altro essi molto famigliari co negri, e una volta che ne havevo io medemo, uno domestico (già che come sono presi facilmente si adomesticano piu che cagnoli,) e un giorno sdegnandosi meco mi fugi in un Albore molto grande; e p[er] quanto lo chiamassi mai volga scendere, io havevo prescia di Partire, si che un negro mi disse che facessi vista di partirmi; mi allontanai alquanto; e veddi che il negro si pose disteso sotto del Albero fingindo dormire non stiede il macacho due Misereri⁴ che scese et andò a dormire col negro et egli agevolmente mi lo prese; quando verament^e sono domestici, voglio dire quando soni stati p[er] qualche tempo con qualche Sig:^e si tengano sciolti, come cani ne fugano; e se qualche volta si attristano si partano ma come gli viene fame tornano; il modo di Pigliarli quando sono salvatici e facile pongano un grosso Palo a Traverso d'un rio alto talment^e che non Tochi l'aqua, a piedi del Palo vi accomodano una Gabbiola con una caditoia; i machi p[er] non bagnarsi, vogliono passare p[er] quel Palo e cosi restano presi; questi animali sono di varie sorti grandi, piccoli di vari colori, ne hò veduto di quelli con la faccia t[u]tta nera e il naso bianco, ne hò veduto di quelli con i Baffi come Turchi, in soma soma [sic] la piu ridicola cosa che hà il Paese; e nel esprimere li attegiam^{ti} humani sono mirabili, l'abbracciarsi l'uno l'altro, il caminare in piedi, il ballare, il mangiare con le mani, t[u]tto e mirabile e ridicole e se non fossero tanto insolenti sarebbano lo spasso di una casa; ma se non si tengono legati gia vogliono porre le mani in t[u]tte le cose della casa.

- 3 1: Palm tree that gives wine from October to May. They cut a Palm tree as can be seen, and then they make a little trough one palm long and another palm deep; they make it near the branches; then they cover it very well with Banana leaves which are very large, putting on top a stone or wood, morning and evening they go with a ladle made with a coconut and with a gourd, they uncover the little trench and they find it full of wine which they call malaf⁵ but it is very bad for the health of us white people; and soon gives scabies; the marvel that a cut plant which they call *dirubada*⁶ would have and ooze so much humor even when it does not have roots anymore *mirabilis deus*.⁷ I do not want to omit to mention a ridiculous thing and it is that because this forest is full of Macaques which is a type of monkey [verso]
- 4 but a lot handsomer and intelligent as I have shown etc. these are very avid of this wine so that they go dexterously at the time that they think the little trough is full, they lift the leaves and drink it all, and they become so inebriated that afterwards they do all sorts of crazy things, dancing, jumping, and other games, which is a very beautiful thing to see, and the party lasts as long as the wine lasts, drinking and leaping; when they see that there is no more wine in the palm tree or the trough, all melancholy, they relieve themselves one by one in the trough from which they drank the wine and then cover the trench again diligently, and they go away jumping through the branches of the same Palm tree; until the owner arrives to collect the wine, they are quiet and hidden in the tree, if in discovering the subterfuge the black has patience and does not speak, no one speaks, but if the black gets upset and grumbles, all the hidden macaques jump out and running over the Palm branches they make kinds of whistles and roars of screams that

seem like real laughs; I have seen one of these events, in Icolungo and I had to marvel at the malice of these animals; being these what is more very close to the blacks, and once when I myself had a domesticated one⁸ (since because they are captured easily they are domesticated more than puppies) and one day scorning me it escaped from me into a very tall tree, and as much as I called it, it never came down, I was in a rush to leave, so that a black told me that I should pretend to go; I went a little ways away; and saw that the black placed himself lying under the tree pretending to sleep the macaque did not stand two *miserere* that he came down and went to sleep with the black, and he agilely caught it for me; when they are truly domesticated, I mean when they have been for some time with a master they may be kept loose, like dogs they do not run away; and if sometime they are sad they leave but as hunger comes to them they come back; the way to catch them when they are wild is easy. They put a large Pole Across a high stream so that it does not touch the water, and at the foot of the pole they arrange a cage with a trap; the macaques not to get wet want to cross through this stick and thus get captured, these animals are of various sorts, large and small, of various colors, I have seen some with the face all black and the nose white, I have seen some with mustaches like Turks, in sum, [they are] the funniest thing that the Land has, and they are remarkable in in the expression of humans attitudes, the embracing of one another, the walking upright, the dancing, the eating with the hands, it is all remarkable and funny and if they were not so insolent they would be the joy of a house; but if they are not tied up they want to put their hands on everything in the house

Notes:

1. Palm wine was harvested from several palm species including the raffia palm *Elaeis guineensis*.
2. From Kikongo and Kimbundu, malafu: palm wine. It appears as malaúú in *Vocabularium*: 95.
3. Mirabilis deus [in sanctis suis] Psalm 67:36 Latin Vulgate, “God is Wonderful.”
4. *Miserere*, or Psalm 51 is the Latin Catholic prayer of repentance, used here as a measure of time.
5. Sic. From Kikongo and Kimbundu, malafu: palm wine. It appears as malaúú in *Vocabularium*: 95.
6. From the Portuguese derrubada: in this case, referring to a tree, felled.
7. In Latin in the text.
8. See pet monkey in Dionigi da Piacenza and Michel Angelo da Reggio, *Viaggio*, 116.

PW046: Aliconde tree



- 1 1: Aliconde¹ questo è un albero che ingrossa tanto che io ne hò veduto delle grosse come Baluardi; il suo frutto è lungo 2 come si vede et ha la cartecia durissima si che votandoli se ne servano p[er] sechie da tirare aqua; il suo frutto o il midolo del suo frutto è ingrato ne si mangia
- 2 1: Aliconde this is a tree that grows so much that I have seen some as large as Fortresses. Its fruit is long 2 as can be seen and has a very hard shell so that once emptied they used them as buckets to draw water; its fruit or the flesh of its fruit does not taste good nor is eaten

Notes:

1. Cavazzi tells us that the Aliconde is “what the blacks call Bondo” i.e. mbondo, pl. kimbondio in Kimbundu, also known by its lusitanized name of imbondeiro [*Adansonia digitata*] or baobab, today the National Tree of Angola. In Kikongo, it is called nkondo, pl. nkondo. Bentley, *Dictionary and grammar of the Kongo language, as spoken at San Salvador, the ancient capital of the old Kongo empire, West Afrika [and Appendix]*, 384. See Merolla’s description in Angelo Piccardo, *Breve, e succinta relatione del viaggio nel regno di Congo nell’ Africa meridionale, fatto dal P. Girolamo Merolla da Sorrento* (Napoli., 1692), 188. See description of aliconde “che I Neri chiamano Bondo” in Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 28.

PW047: Parakeets. Bush hens. Flamingo. Martinet



- 1: *Papagallo* questi di questa Etiopia; a differenza di quelli del Brasile; sono cinerizi pintati² o puntati di Bianco con la Coda accesa vermiglia parlano e apprendano a parlare come gli altri 2: *galline del matto*³, che in sostanza sono i nostri fugiani e di queste ne abbonda la Terra; 3: *flamingo*⁴ 4 *Martinet*⁵ 5: *Caragiù*⁶
- 2 [verso in Portuguese] *diverssos pacaros*
- 3 1: Parakeet those from this Ethiopia; unlike those of Brazil; they are grey painted or dotted of White with the tail bright red; they speak and they learn to speak as the others 2: bush hen that in substance are our pheasants and there are many in the Land 3: flamingo 4: Martinet 5 Caragiù
- 4 [verso in Portuguese] various birds

Notes:

1. *Psittacus erithacus*.

2. Perhaps from Portuguese, pintado: painted. Pintada is also a synonym for galhina do mato.

3. From Portuguese galinha do mato, also known as galinha d'Angola, bush hen [*Numida meleagris*] an African species introduced in the Americas by the Portuguese.
4. Portuguese, flamengo: flamingo. Unclear what animal the image depicts, not from the flamingo family [*Phoenicopteridae*].
5. From the Portuguese martinete: name used for several different birds. Pictured is perhaps the red-neck spurfowl [*Pternistis afer*].
6. Perhaps from caragià, a people and region of Amazonian Brazil. In either case unclear what bird is depicted.

PW051: *Genga. Pescatore*



1 *Genga*¹ *Pescatore*²

2 *Sandgrouse Fishing bird*³

Notes:

1. From Portuguese *ganga*, sandgrouse [*Pterocles*].

2. Perhaps the Osprey [*Pandion haliaetus*].

3. Note that the depictions do not match the written names.

PW052: Bird called *martinetto*

- 1 *Ucello d:º martinetto; ne abbondano le parti di Ambuella e China; le penne della coda sono le preziose sono bianche e finissime; l'han[n]o introdotte in Lisbona e le donne piu alte ne portano un penachio in testa p[er] brio o Vanità servano anche*
- 2 [verso] *Fare penachiera a capelli e celate e sono qua salite in tal prezzo che sono caris[s]ime; il mirabile e questo, che questo Ucello quando si vede persequitato da cacciatori come che fossi consapevole della causa della sua morte; si volta e con il becco si strappa e guasta t[u]tta la coda; si che se non l'am[m]azano d'Improvviso, non serve a nulla; io ne hò veduti molti &:*
- 3 Bird called martinetto;¹ there are many in the surroundings of Ambuila and China; the tail feathers are the precious ones they are white and very fine; they have introduced them in Lisbon and the highest ladies wear a panache of them in the hair for style or Vanity; they also serve
- 4 [verso] to make panaches for hats and armet and they have risen to such a price that they are very expensive; what is remarkable is this, that this bird when it finds itself pursued by hunters as if it were aware of the cause of its death; turns around and with its beak plucks itself and spoils all of its tail; so that if they are not killed suddenly, it is for null; I have seen many etc.

Notes:

1. Bird depicted and described is an ostrich [*Struthio camelus*].

PW053: Birds called flamingoes



- 1 *Uccelli detti Flamenghi¹ sono uccelli da aqua Grandi quanto le Oche vaghissimi a vedersi, boni a mangiarsi e le loro penne servono a fare molti lavori*
- 2 Birds called Flamingos. They are water birds as big as Geese, very beautiful to look at, good to eat and their feathers serve to make many works

Notes:

1. From Portuguese, flamingo: flamingo [Phoenicopteridae]. It is unclear what birds are depicted, perhaps parakeet. The image here corresponds better to the parakeet description in [PW47](#).

PW054: The blacks fight and kill lions in this



- 1 *I Negri combattano e amazano i Leoni in questa forma; si involtano al braccio sinistro molte spine tenendo nella destra un acuta zagaglia; e così armati van[n]o in cerca del leone; trovatolo; van[n]o arditamente a Investirlo; il Leone che si vergogna fuggire si leva in piedi p[er] combattere; ma pungendosi nelle spine t[u]tto la bocca; e non potendo stringere nel medemo tempo il Negro lo ferisce e finalmen^{te} lo amaza; Questo non é ben dipinto ne ha saputo farlo bene&: 1: Negro che combatte 2: zagaglia 3: spine 4 cacciaporra²; questa sono le armi ordinarie de negri cio é un pezo di palo con una palla fatta del medemo palo con queste dan[n]o in testa e amazano e homini e fiere*
- 2 [verso in Portuguese] *Leam com negro*
- 3 *The Blacks fight and kill Lions in this manner; they wrap a lot of thorns around their left arm and hold in the right a sharp assegai; and thus armed they go look for a lion. Once they have found it, they boldly attack it; the lion who is too embarrassed to run away rises on its [hind] feet to fight; but piercing all of its mouth; and without being able to grab. at the same time the Black wounds it and finally kills it. This is not well depicted he³ has not been able to make it well etc. 1: Black men who fights 2: Assegai 3: thorns 4: cudgel; these are the ordinary weapons of the black that is to say a piece of stick with a ball made of the same stick with this they hit the head and kill men and beasts*

4 [verso in Portuguese] Lion with black man

Notes:

1. Panthera leo.

2. From the Portuguese, cachaporra: cudgel.

3. This sentence refers in the third person to the artist making the image.

PW056: Alicorno [unicorn] here called *Bada*

- 1 *Alicorno, e qua chiamato Bada;¹ questa terra ne abbonda e particolarment^e nel regno di Benghella; e veloce al corso e investa con il corno abbassato in forma di lancia; il detto corno tiene miravil virtù p[er] contraveleno; la verita si e che in questi fuimi o Paludi dove stanno vari e molti coccodrilli et Animali velenosi; vi si addunano moltitudine di fiere; ma nissunò beve fino che non arriva questa Bada qual ponendo il corno nel aqua t[u]tti bevano²*
- 2 [verso in Portuguese] *Abada*
- 3 Unicorn, and here called Bada. There are many in the region and in particular in the kingdom of Benguella; it runs fast and charges with the horn lowered as a lance; the said horn has marvelous virtue as antidote; the truth is that in these rivers and swamps where there are many and various crocodiles and poisonous Animals, there a multitude of animals gather; but no one drinks until that Bada arrives which when it puts its horn in the water, all drink.
- 4 [verso in Portuguese] *Abada*

Notes:

1. Bada or Abada was the name of the rhinoceros present first at the Portuguese and then at the Spanish court in the late-sixteenth century, see Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, “The Emperor’s Exotic and New World Animals: Hans Khevenhüller and Habsburg Menageries in Vienna and Prague,” in *Naturalists in the Field: Collecting, Recording and Preserving the Natural World from the Fifteenth to the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 90-92.

2. Cavazzi talks about them the same way but with two horns, one on the head, one on the nose. Cavazzi, *Missione Evangelica*, vol. B cap. 22, 618. Alicorno or bada also appear in Filippo della Santissima Trinità, *Viaggi orientali*, 404-05.

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PW057: Cavallo Marino



- 1: Cavallo Marino¹ questa e una Bestia molto grande e feroce; il giorno stà nel aqua e la notte vā a mangiare in Terra. La sua creazione la fà ne fiumi sta t[u]tto sotto aqua e solo tiene fuori il capo, nota come pesce, e nitrisce come cavallo 2: la bocca e cosi grande che apre due braccia e tre; hà due denti in forma di cigniale; e di sopra ha ne Ordini di denti 3: ha i piedi grossi come colonne senza diti ma con un zoccolo d'unghia ripartita; questa bestia quando passano le navi p[er] il fiume l'investe e pigliandole con la bocca le sciaccia e rompe come fossi un guscio di noce com pericolo evidente de chi vi e dentro; in terra poi e velocissimo a correre se si trova vicino al fiume subito si butta nel fiume; ma se si trova lontano corre e [. . .]
- 2 [front bottom right corner in Portuguese] *cavallo marinho*
- 3 1: Hippopotamus this is a very large and ferocious beast; during the day it stays in the water and at night it goes to eat on land. It reproduces in the rivers it stays entirely under water and it only has its head above, it swims like a fish, and neighs like a horse 2: the mouth is so large that it opens two arms² and three [palms]; it has two teeth like a boar; and on the top [of the mouth] it has three rows of teeth 3: it has feet large as columns without toes but with a hoof of divided nails; when boats pass this beast in the river it attacks them and grabbing them with the mouth it crushes and breaks them as if they were a nutshell, to the evident peril of who is inside; then on land it runs very fast; if it finds itself close to a river, immediately it jumps in the river; but if it finds itself far, it runs [. . .]

4 [front bottom right corner in Portuguese] hippopotamus

Notes:

1. *Hippopotamus amphibius*.

2. Braccio, pl. braccia is a unit of length about 26 or 27 inches (66 or 68 cm).

PW059: Tiger, here called *Onza*



- 1 *Tigre qua chiamata Onza,¹ sono molto Fiere e il mirabile è che non temano il foco*
- 2 Tiger here called Onza, they are very Wild and it is remarkable that they are not afraid of fire

Notes:

1. Onza from the Portuguese onça for jaguar [*Panthera onca*] or leopard [*Panthera pardus*].

PW60: Zebra



- 1 *A sebra,¹ che io credo sia Cavallo Salvatico vaghissimo alla vista velocissimo al Corse vergato t[u]tto di nero e il monto bianco t[u]tto fino la Coda*
- 2 Zebra, which I believe to be a Wild Horse very beautiful to see and very fast in running, all striped in black and the coat all white including the tail

Notes:

1. *Equus quagga* or *Equus zebra*

PW061: Civet, or musk cat



- 1 *Gatto de Algagle¹ o vero di Mustio di questi ve ne sono quantità; ma alla campagna sono molto Fieri; se poi presi da piccoli si adomesticano sono la delizia di una casa e basta haverne uno p[er] porre l'udore a t[u]tta la casa; sera e mattina se li tira il muschio con in chuchiaro; havendo p[er] la parte di dreto una borsetta quali essi medemi l'aprano accio li sia purgata; e non purgandoglene essi medemi se la purgano ad un sasso o troncho; e questo humore che se li tira e il mustio; questi negri però niente fan[n]o stima di simile delizia e se li possano avere se li mangiano.*
- 2 Civet or in fact musk cat there are many of them; but they are very Wild as a pet; but if caught young they are domesticated they are the delight of a house and it is enough to have one to scent the entire house; evening and morning one draws the musk from them with a spoon; they have in the rear end a little pouch which they open by themselves so that it may be emptied; and if it is not emptied for them they empty it themselves on a stone or a trunk; and this humour that you draw is the musk these blacks however do not appreciate such a delicacy and if they can get it, they eat it

Notes:

- 1.From the Portuguese, algália, civet [*Civettictis civetta*].

PW064: Remarkable way taught by nature [to] macaques . . . to cross rivers



- 1 *Mirabil modo insegnato della natura a queste astutissime bestie chiamati maccachi de quali ne abbonda il Paese; p[er] passare i fiumi; fanno una longa fila pigliandosi la coda uno con l'altro; il primo si attacca ad un albero; e t[utti] gli altri si di[s]dena cosi incatenati p[er] la riva del fiume contro però la corrente; poi t[utti] unitam^{te} si slanciano nel fiume; tenendo però il primo l'albero bem forte; cosi saltati nel fiume la corrente li porta fino che uno di essi puo attaccare qualche pianta del altra riva; attaccato che sta il primo lascia l'Albero e l'ultimo che gia attaco li tira tutti a terra; quando p[er]*

ventura l'ultimo della fila non potessi attaccare; già quello che tiene l'Albero le tira t[u]tti a terra; e altravolta tornano p[er] la riva contro la corre[n]te e se rilanciano nel fiume &: 1: Albero 2: fiume 3 maccachi

- 2 [verso in Portuguese] *Maqacos pasao rio*
- 3 Remarkable way taught by nature to these very clever beasts called macaques of which there are many in the Land; to cross rivers; they make a long line grabbing one another's tail; the first one attaches itself to a tree; and all the other ones place themselves thus chained on the shore of the river, but against the currents, then all together they jump in the river; but the first one holding the tree very strongly; thus having jumped in the river the current carries them until one of them can grab some plant on the other shore, once attached the first one let go of the tree and the last one that already grabbed brings them all on land; when by chance the last one of the line could not grab on; then the one who holds the tree brings them all on land and they again return to the shore against the current and launch themselves again in the river etc. 1: Tree 2: river 3: macaques
- 4 [verso in Portuguese] *Macaques cross a river*

PW065: Remarkable . . . hunt of the tiger by macaques

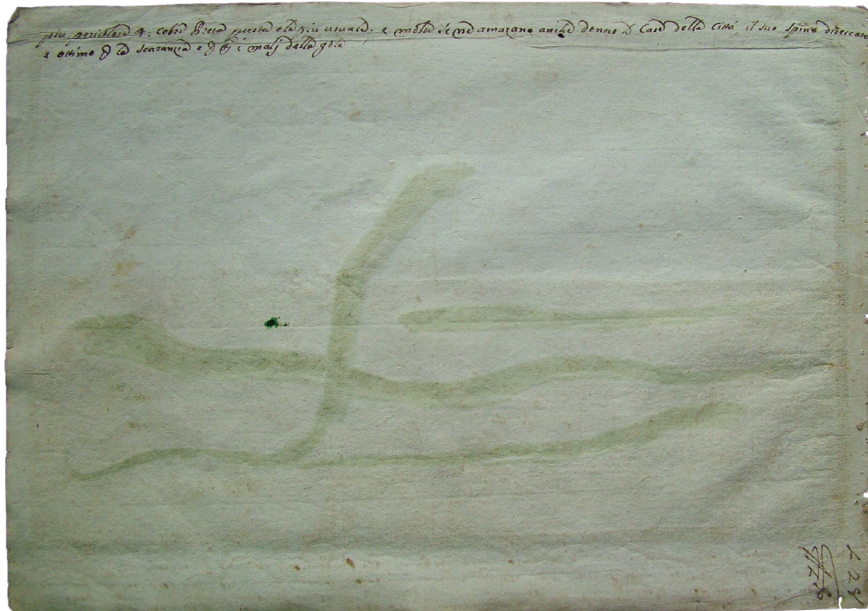


- 1 *Mirabile, e vaga a vedersi la caccia della Tigre co macachi¹; questi han[n]o fra di loro una naturale inimicizia, e vedendosi o incontrandosi [---] subito velocem^{te} salgono nel Albori; ma la Tigre sequendoli sale pur ella nel Albore; essi come astuti vano [. . .] non può andare e giungere la Tigre; e cosi stalo molto tempo in Assedio; finalmente la Tigre di rep[. . .] [. . .] per morta; scendano allora I macachi t[u]tti allegri e dandosi la mano uno con l'[Altro?] [verso] morta; essa pigliando il tempo, se gli avventa e ne amaze molti e se li mangia*

- 2 [verso in Portuguese] *maqacos com leam*
- 3 Remarkable, and beautiful to see the hunt of the Tiger by the macaques; these have between them a natural inimity, and seeing or meeting each other [. . .] immediately and rapidly they jump in the tree, but the tiger following them goes up herself in the tree; these because they are astute go [. . .] the tiger cannot go or reach; and thus they remain a long time in Siege; finally the Tiger to [. . .] as dead; the macaque then come down all happy and holding hands the one with the other [. . .] [verso] dead; this one seizing the time, it charges upon them and kill many of them and eat them
- 4 [verso in Portuguese] macaques with lion

Notes:

1. Perhaps mangabeys, who like other primates are known to harass predators. See Guy Cowlshaw, "Vulnerability to Predation in Baboon Populations," *Behaviour* 131, no. 3/4 (1994): 293-304; Margaret C. Crofoot, "Why mob? Reassessing the costs and benefits of primate predator harassment," *Folia Primatologica* 83, no. 3-6 (2012). My thanks to Meg Crofoot for her insights on this vignette.

PW067: Snakes called *muamba . . . emdamba . . . nbambi*

- 1 1: Serpe d:^o Muamba¹ grossa quanto la coscia di un homo lunga 25: Palmi 2: Emdamba questa e si velenosa che percotendola con qualche bastone; se subito non si getta via il bastone si more av[v]elenato;² ne deve parere cio gran cosa perche nelle parti di Sonzo³ vi ha una sorte di serpe chiamata Po. quale sta nelli alberi e p[er] restare morto basta passare sotto l'albore stesso; 3: Nbambi altra sorte di serpe; questa e del colore della corteccia dei Albori et avinchiandosi ad essi non si distingue e però [verso] piu pericolosa⁴ 4: cobra Preta questa e la piu usuale; e molte

se ne amazano anche dentro le case della Città, il suo spino disseccato e ottimo p[er] la scazanzia e per t[u]tti i mali della gola

- 2 1: Snake called Muamba as big as the thigh of a man 25: Palms long 2: Emdamba this one is so venemous that if having hit it with a [walking] stick; if the one does not get rid of the stick one dies poisoned; this must not seem a great thing because in the region of Sonzo there is a type of snake called Po which stays in the trees and to end up dead it suffices to walk under the tree itself; 3: nbambi other type of snake; this one is the color of tree bark and approaching it one does not distinguish it it is however [verso] very dangerous 4: Black snake that is the most common; and many are killed even inside the houses of the City; its dried spine is very good for sore throat and for all the ailments of the throat

Notes:

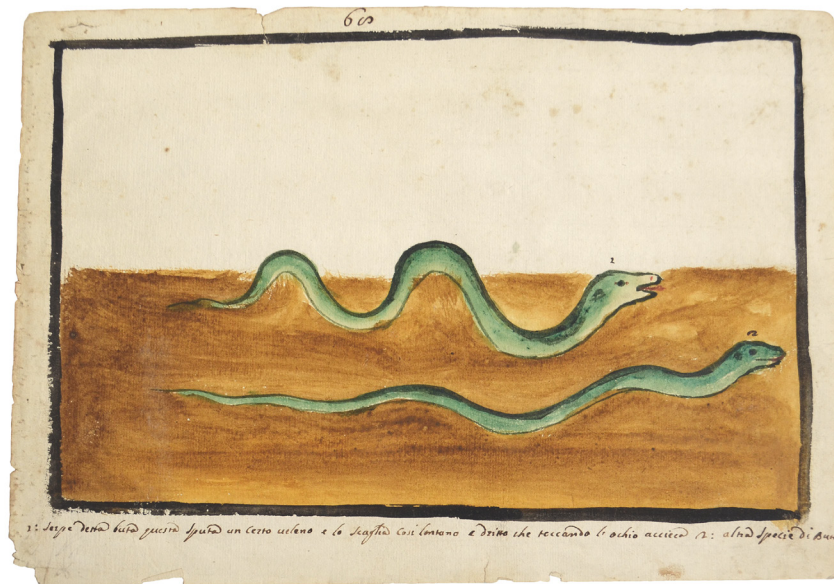
1. Cavazzi writes “MVAMBA, grossa quanto la coscia di un’uomo, lunga 30. Palmi, inghiottisce la Ndamba.” Here the exact same wording is used in both works, with a further exaggeration in the size in the *Istorica Descrizione*. Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 47.

2. Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 47. Ndamba in Cavazzi, with the same cane anecdote.

3. An alternative orthography for Nzongo according to François Bontinck. See Luca da Caltanisetta and François Bontinck, *Diaire congolais. 1690-1701*, vol. 27, Publications de l’Université Lovanium de Kinshasa, (Louvain, Paris: Éditions Nauwelaerts; Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1970), li. It was at the time of Luca da Caltanisetta (1690-1701) “a settlement situated east of the Inkisi River at a distance of eight walking days from Mbanza Nsundi” according to Bernard Clist et al., “The Elusive Archaeology of Kongo Urbanism: the Case of Kindoki, Mbanza Nsundi (Lower Congo, DRC),” *African Archaeological Review* 32, no. 3 (2015): 369-412.

4. Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 47. Same anecdote about being difficult to notice because of its bark color.

PW068: Snake called *buta*



- 1: *serpe detta buta*¹ questa sputa un certo veleno e lo scaglia così lontano e dritto che toccando l'occhio accieca 2: *altra specie di Buta*
- 2 Snake called buta, it throws a certain venom and it launches it so far and straight that it can blind by touching the eye 2: other type of Buta

Notes:

1. Mbuta also called in Angola by the brazilianism Surúcucu [*Bitis arietans*].

PW070: Black male and female aristocrats



- 1 *Questi sono fidalghi e fidalghe¹ negre così chiamano i gentilomini; questi sono vestiti in gala e da festa la figura due e una pelle di gatto salvatico; e questa non la possono portare altro che i nobili, e questo e il loro segno. La fig: 3 sono alcuna pennechiere mal fatte di penne di gallina &: quale si pongono come si vede 4: sono cortecchia di Arbori variam^{te} tinte, 5: sono donne o Dame negre; e si come il diavolo tenta le nostre Sig:^e bianche a porsi nella faccia segni negri, così tenta queste a [. . .] di bianco con certe rische² o linee come si vedde nella figura 5*
- 2 These are the black fidalghi and fidalghe as they call the nobles; they are dressed in gala and for a feast figure 2 is a pelt of a wild cat; and this only nobles can wear, and it is their insignia; figure 3 are some poorly made panaches of chicken feathers etc. which they wear as can be seen 4: these are tree bark dyed in different ways, 5: they are black ladies or Dames, and just as the devil tempts our white Ladies to put on their face black marks, thus it tempts these to [. . .] white with some stripes or lines as can be seen in figure 5

Notes:

1. From the Portuguese, fidalgo: noble.
2. From the Portuguese, risca: line.

PW071: People of Xandama



Quali intreciano nella testa alzati come corna, onde paiano verissimi diavoli; suo Wian; i fattizieri; e particolarmente belligeri e crudeli Tutto questo im[m]enso sono Idolatri e fattizieri; e particolarmente belligeri e crudeli

Popoli della Xandama questi sono i popoli che stanno di la del fiume Coanza fino al Capo di Bona Speranza confinando co Cal[.] . .] benché siano più prossimi a questa Città (come possono vedere nella carta geografica) [. . .] da Portughesi han[n]o una diabolica politica che non [. . .]

[verso] Quali intreciano nella testa alzati come corna, onde paiano verissimi diavoli; sono Idolatri e fattizieri; e particolarmente belligeri e crudeli Tutto questo im[m]enso

- 1 *People of Xandama* Popoli della Xandama¹ questi sono i popoli che stan[n]o di la del Fiume Coanza fino al Capo di Bona Speranza confinando co Cal[. . .] benché siano più prossimi a questa Città (come possono vedere nella carta geografica) [. . .] da Portughesi han[n]o una diabolica politica che non [. . .]
- 2 [verso] Quali intreciano nella testa alzati come corna, onde paiano verissimi diavoli; sono Idolatri e fattizieri; e particolarmente belligeri e crudeli Tutto questo im[m]enso

Paese, è diviso in Principati, ciascheduno Principe hà il suo stato diviso in 24 Provincie o Paesi, in ciascheduno di questi Paesi vi è una Banza capitale della Provincia; in ciascheduna banza il Principe vi tiene una moglie p[er] governatrice, ma il Principe non ha Capitale ne banza; ma solo va circuiendo di Banza in Banza. stando 15 giorni p[er] Banza; nel tempo che quelle banza hà il sovrano va t[u]tta in alerezza e festa; e buttano e guastano t[u]tto quello che han[n]o addunato nel corso del anno parim^{te} la moglie che sta governatrice in quella Banza eè in quei giorni adorata come la piu felice del mondo; e p[er] t[u]tto l'anno va suspiando la venuta del marito, preparando quanto puo p[er] farli festa; finiti i 15: giorni; gia si parte il Sig:^e accompagnato dalle ebrie multitudini, arrivato a Confini, viene ad incontrarlo l'altra popolazione; e com pari festa e trionfi lo levano alla Citta, dove lo riceve l'altra moglie e cosi v`a girando di citta in citta, sempre in crapole, feste, e bagordi; si che si verifica di uno di questi Principi che habbi passato 70 e 8: anni di vita in continui disonesti tripudi, con milioni e milioni di peccati; e d'av[v]ertire di più, che se una delle mogli dessa qualche segna di legerenza in materia di fedeltà; o veram^{te} p[er] dir meglio, fossi venuta a fastidio al Sig:^e la pena che li da, e di non visitarla p[er] quel anno ma quando è a confini, salta quella banza e v`a a altra; questo serve p[er] fare disperare la femina; et in vendetta la sepelliscano viva i medemi cittadini; e fino che non consumano questa Barbaria e che dal Sig:^e non ne sia mandata altra; gia quella Provincia si hà p[er] scomunicata, stan[n]o in continui panti e mesti sospiri non coltivano le terre, e v`a t[u]tto in desolazione; cosi questi miseri stanno senza rimedio ingannati sotto il Pessantissimo giago del Inferno; o quanto queste esperienze fano conoscere sante e santissime le Leggi amorose del Vangelo piene di mansuetudine e vera carità, rationali e divina; e pure cosi male ci accomodiano alle medema quai a noi, quai a voi²

- 3 [verso in Portuguese] Quissama³ com cab[. . .] refras idos [?]
- 4 People of the Xandama these are the people who are beyond the Kwanza River up to the Cape of Good Hope, bordering with C . . . [. . .] although they may be closer to that city (as they can see on the geographic map) [. . .] by the Portuguese; they have a diabolical policy that [. . .]
- 5 [verso] Which they braid on the head raised as a horn so that they look like true devils; they are idolaters and fetishers;⁴ and particularly belligerent and cruel. All of this immense Country is divided in Principalities; each Prince has his own state divided in 24 Provinces or Lands, in each of these Lands there is a Banza⁵ or Capital of the Province; in each banza the Prince has a wife as governess, but the Prince does not have either capital or banza; but he only goes moving from Banza to Banza, staying 15 days in each banza; during the time that the banza hosts the sovereign, it is all rejoicing and feasting; and they throw away and waste all of that they have accumulated in the course of the year likewise the woman who is the governess in this Banza is during these days adored as the happiest [woman] in the world; and during the entire year she sighs after the visit of her husband, preparing as much as she can to celebrate him; once the 15 days are over; the Lord leaves accompanied by the drunk multitudes, once arrived at the border, the other population come to meet him; and with similar feast and triumphs take him to the City, where the other wife receives him and thus he goes around from city to

city, always in binge, feasts, and revelry; so that it happened that one of these Princes who had spent 70 and 8 years of life in continuous dishonest festing, with millions and millions of sins; it should be reported in addition, that if one of the wives gave any sign of laxity in matters of fidelity; or frankly better said if she came to be a bother to the Lord, the punishment that he gives her, [would be] not to visit her that year but when he is at the border, skip this banza and go to another; this makes the woman despair and in vengeance her own citizens bury her alive; and until they do not complete this Barbarity; and that another [wife] is not sent by the Lord; this province is considered as excommunicated; they remain in permanent weeping, and sorrowful sighs, they do not cultivate the lands, and everything goes desolate; thus these poor people are without remedy, deceived under the very heavy yoke of Hell; these experiences show how Holy and very Holy the loving laws of the Gospels full of mansuetude and true charity, rational and divine are; and yet we do not make the most of them, woe to us, woe to us.

⁶ [verso in Portuguese] Quissama with [. . .]

Notes:

1. Perhaps related to the Kandama Imbangala lineage. See Joseph C. Miller, “The Imbangala and the chronology of early central African history,” *The Journal of African History* 13, no. 4 (1972): 554.
2. Biblical formulae, with particular resonance in Luke 11, 42-46 or Matthew 23:13-33 “Guai a voi, farisei,” “Woe to you, Pharisees,” or Lamentations 5:16 “Guai a noi, perché abbiamo peccato!” “Woe to us, for we have sinned!”
3. About Kisama see Aurora da Fonseca Ferreira, *A Kisama em Angola do século XVI ao início do século XX*, vol. 7, 8, Ciências humanas e sociais (Luanda: Kilombelombe, 2012): 554.
4. Here *fattuzieri*, which I translate as fetishers is still closer to the sense of witch than to the sense of users of fetishes, a notion that was in the process of emerging at the time see Fromont, *Images on a Mission*, 123-26.
5. From Kikongo and Kimbundu *mbanza*: city, town. See also the unpaginated vocabulary of words from Matamba in Antonio da Gaeta and Gioia, *La meravigliosa conversione*.

PW071: People of Xandama



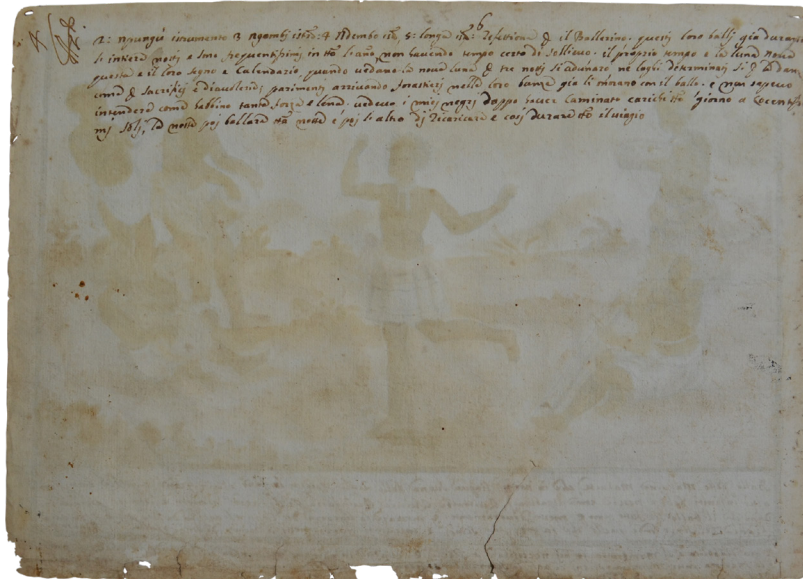
- 1 2: sonatori negri, 3: sono cigne fatte di pelle di Tigre 4: Marimba; questo é una sorte d'Istrumento fatto di varie zuchette lunghe ordinatam^{te} grandi e piccole p[er] la varieta delle voci; stano le d:^e zuchette ben vote con la bocca attaccata e unita ad una tavoletta di legno duro disposta come si vede 4 e con due bachette toccano ora una ora l'altra delle d:^e tavole; e fan[n]o un grato suono benche vogli essere di alquanto lontano p[er] non sentire la percossa delle bachette ma solo la tuba della zucha; e questo e l'instrumento universale e piu comune a questa terra. 5: sono le dette zuchette 6:

questo e come un Basso fatto di due grande zuche unite bene

2 [verso in Portuguese] *Marimbas*

3 2: black musicians 3: these are straps made of Tiger pelt 4: marimba; this is a type of instrument made of various long gourds methodically large and small for the variety of the sounds; said gourds are well emptied with the mouth attached and united to a small board of hard wood arranged as can be seen in 4 and with two sticks they tap now one and now another of the said boards of wood; and they make a nice sound even if you may want to be somewhat far not to hear the sticks hitting but only the piping of the gourd; and this is the universal instrument and most prevalent in this land 5: these are the said gourds 6: this is like a Bass made of two large gourds well joined

4 [verso in Portuguese] *Marimbas*

PW073: Dance called *maquina mafuete*

- 1 Ballo detto Maquina Mafuete,¹ che in nostra lingua suona ballo reale questo lo fan[n]o solo i grandi o nelle corti, han[n]o altri infiniti balli e tresche² come Npabutari, Quitombe, Quiscia, Quingaria &:³ t[u]tti pero disonesti e licensiozi, essi non credano che il ballo sia fatto non p[er] onesto divertimento; per mostrare la ligereza del corpo e l'agilita de Piedi; ma p[er] licenza franca del senzo onde quello che fa gesti piu sconci e toccamti piu disonesti a tempo di sono quello a il Plauso &: il piu diabolico e il mam-bambo io fui necessitato a vederlo p[er] restarme informato; poi pentito desiderai di

*non haverlo mai veduto e la mattina inter missarum soleni ci posi la scomunica [. . .]
insegnata dal diavolo p[er] scherzo e stupio del [. . .]*

- 2 [verso] 2: npungù istromento 3: ngambi istr^o 4: ndembo istr^o 5: longa istr^o 6 refettione per il Ballerino questi loro balli già duranno l'intieri notti e sono frequentissimi in t[u]tto l'an[n]o, non havendo tempo certo di sollievo; il propio tempo e la luna nova questa e il loro segno e calendario; quando vedono la nova luna p[er] tre notti si adunano; ne loghi determinati si p[er] la danza come p[er] sacrifici e diavolerie; parimenti arrivando forastieri nelle loro banze⁴ già li onorano con il ballo; e non sapevo intendere come habbino tanta forza e lena; vedevo i miei negri doppo haver caminato carichi t[u]tto giorno a cocentissimi soli, la notte poi ballare t[u]tta notte e poi l'altro di ricaricare e così durare t[u]tto il viaggio.
- 3 Dance called Maquina Mafuete which in our language means royal dance this only the great do or at courts; they have an infinite number of other dances and *tresche* such as Npabutari, Quitombe, Quiscia, Quingaria etc. but all dishonest and licentious, they do not believe that dance was not made for honest entertainment; to show the litheless of the body and the agility of the feet; but for frank license of the sense so that the one who makes the most obscene gestures and the most indecent touchings⁵ *a tempo* of the music this one has the applause etc. the most diabolical is the Mambombo I had to see it to be informed; but then repentent, wished I have not ever seen it and in the morning *inter missarum soleni*⁶ I excommunicated [. . .] taught by the devil as a mockery and [. . .]
- 4 [verso] 2: npungú instrument 3: ngombi instrument 4: ndembo instrument 5: longa⁷ instrument 6: refreshment⁸ for the dancer; these balls of theirs last for the entire night and are very frequent during the entire year, as there is no given time off; the designated time is the new moon this is their sign and calendar, when they see the new moon they gather for three nights in given places for dancing as well as for sacrifices and devilish things; similarly when foreigners arrive in their towns they honor them with the ball; and I did not understand how they could have so much strength and stamina; I saw my blacks after having walked loads all day under a hard burning sun, then at night dance all night and then the next [day] load up again and thus lasting the entire journey

Notes:

1. From Kikongo ekinu (pl. makinu): dance, maquinu in Vocabularium.
2. Tresca or trescone is Tuscan dance, famously featured in Dante's *Inferno*: *Sanza riposo mai era la tresca de le misere mani, or quindi or quinci escotendo da sé l'arsura fresca* (Inf., xiv. 40-42).
3. For a similar list of dances see Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 168.
4. From Kikongo and Kimbundu, mbanza: town or city.

5. Here touching has a clear sexual connotation.
6. During solemn Mass.
7. About the *longa* bell see discussion in Fromont, *The Art of Conversion*, 41-44.
8. The image actually shows a bowl of palm wine.

PW075: Other black women who . . . cultivate the land



- 1 *Altre donne negre che arrimano¹ o coltivano la terra, queste sone [sic] le sue zappe, ne hanno altro istrumento da lavorare la Terra, ne mai hano voluto lasciare le antiche goffagini benche l'Europei gli habbino insegnato; come qui si vede l'homo con un Palo fa I buchi in terra; e le donne vi pongano dentre le seme di massa² o Gran Turco e ricoprano e niente più, e cosi t[u]tto questa Terra li rende due volte l'anno, a 50: per uno*
- 2 Other black women who take care and cultivate the land, these are their hoes, they [do not] have other instruments to work the land and they have never wanted to leave behind the ancient ineptitudes even though Europeans have taught them; as can be seen here the man makes holes in the ground with a stick; and the women put in it the seed of maize or corn and cover it up and nothing more; and overall this land gives them a crop twice a year, at 50 to one.

Notes:

1. From the Portuguese, arrimare: to take care of.
2. From the Kikongo and Kimbundu, massa: corn. A word itself derived from Portuguese.

PW076: In these parts only women work the land



- 1 Qua in queste Parti solo le donne lavorano la terra e la travagliano nella maniera che qui se vede, havendo una picciola zappa que chiamano emchiada¹; il mirabile è che se han[n]o figli da latte; se lo legano alle spalle come fossi un fascio di legna; e in quella manier travagliano t[u]tto giorno, che da gran calori del sole; e dal moto continuo e violento della madre; la sera il figlio e quasi morto, con tutto p[erò] non sano emendarsi, dicendo che si lo posano in terra, il leone o la Tigre puo toglerne

- 2 [verso in Portuguese] *negra q arima*
- 3 Here in these Parts only women work the land; and they work it in the manner that is seen here, they have a small hoe that they call emchiada; it is remarkable that if they have nursing children; they tie it on the back as if it were a bundle of wood; and in this way they work all day, and because of the great heat of the sun and the constant and violent movement of the mother; in the evening the child is almost dead, with all this however they do not know how to amend themselves, saying that if they put it on the ground the lion or the Tiger can take it away
- 4 [verso in Portuguese] Black woman who cultivates

Notes:

1. From the Portuguese, arrimare: to take care of.

PW077: Mortar called *Pilaom*

- 1 2: mortare d.º Pilaom¹ fatto di legno dove pestano la massa o sia granturco; p[er] farne farina; con la quale fanno il loro pane fatto in forma della nostra Polenta
 2: stampa con cui pestano 3: donna negra che pesta 4: caldaro fatto di terra dove intridano il d.º pane 5: donna que cucina e fa il d.º pane 6: vezzi fatti di vetri o margaritine di vari colori che in vece di portarli nel collo gli portano a piedi. qua non vi sono mulini, ma ciascheduno si pesta a sua massa facendo così la fuba² o sia farina

[verso in Portuguese] *A negra pizando a filhos Cambresy[?]*

1: mortar called pilaom made of wood in which they pound the maize or corn to make flour; with which they make their bread made in the manner of our Polenta 2: pestle with which they pound 3: black woman who pounds 5: caldron made of earth where they knead said bread 4: lady who cooks and makes the said bread 5: bread 6: ornaments made of glass or beads of various colors which instead of wearing around the neck they wear at the feet. there are not mills here, but each one pounds their own maize to make the *fuba* i.e. flour

[verso in Portuguese] The black woman pounding children Cambresy[?]

Notes:

1. Antiquated spelling of the Portuguese word pilão: mortar.
2. From Kikongo and Kimbundu, mfuba: flour or meal of cassava or other grains.

PW079: Weaver of cloth



- 1 *Tessitora di tela; quelli sono t[u]tte o di Algodom¹ che noi chiamiamo bambaga o di Palma. 1: Telaio 2: Tela 3: Ordito 4: Spola 5: Conochia gia che qua non usano roche 6: fuso che e un pezo de legno o sfecco; le loro tele non sono mai piu lunche di 3: o quatro bracia [. . .] arriva l'Ordito dal Palo 8 al Palo 9: il mirabile di questi goffi é che benche vedino le cose e istrumenti delli Europei con t[u]tto niente se li attacca e restano nella loro antica groseza 7: casa o cappana*
- 2 Weaver of cloth; these are all either of Algodom which we call cotton or of Palm. 1: Loom 2: Cloth 3: Warp 4: Shuttle 5: bundle of fiber since here they do not use distaffs 6: spindle which is a piece of wood or stick; their cloth are not longer than 3 or four *bracia*² [. . .] the warp stretches from stick 8 to stick 9: what is remarkable with these uncouth [people] is that although they see the things and instruments of the Europeans overall nothing sticks with them and they remain in their old roughness 7: house or cabin

Notes:

1. From the Portuguese, algodão: cotton [*Gossypium*]. Cotton textile making in central Africa is mentioned in Antonio da Gaeta and Gioia, *La maravigliosa conversione*, 181. See also Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge*, 523; 72. For cotton in Loango see Samuel Braun, *Samuel Brun, des Wundartzet und Burgers zu Basel, Schiffarten: welche er in etliche neue Länder und Insulen, zu fünf unterschiedlichen Malen, mit Gottes Hülff, gethan: an jetzo aber, auff Begeren vieler ehrlicher Leuthen, selbs beschrieben: und menniglichen, mit Kurtzweil und Nutz zu läsen,*

in Truck kommen lassen (Getruckt zu Basel: in Verlegung Johan Jacob Genaths, 1624), 29. 2.
From the Portuguese, *risca*: line.

2. Braccio, pl. braccia is a unit of length about 26 or 27 inches (66 or 68 cm).

PW081: War band



- 1 *Bando di guerra 1: Istrumento fatto di ferro come due campani di Vacche 2: istrumento fatto di legno voto dentro [3] Baionette che portano al collo 4: 5: arco e freca [sic] 6: altra specie d'armi. Così vano girando senza parlare, e quelli sentano sono obligati armarsi voglio dire pi[gliare Archi] e frecce; con una dozzina di Spiche di granturco che è t[u]tto la loro provisione da guerra e da bocca; [----] havrano il Sovrano p[er] ricevere l'ordini &:*
- 2 War band 1: Instrument made of iron as two Cow bells 2: instrument made of hollowed out wood [3] Bayonet that they wear at the neck 4: 5: bow and arrow 6: another type of weapon. Thus they go around in this manner without speaking, and those who hear them are obligated to take up arms I mean take up Bow and arrows; along with a dozen ears of corn which is all of their outfittings for war and for food. [. . .] in front of the sovereign to receive orders etc.

PW083: Many and infinite are the Idols of these deserts



così come si è detto di molti altri nomi che sono in questi deserti e stravaganti sono i loro nomi; pongo solo questo perché a me pare il più ridicolo, questo è un caprina [added: vivo] ben grande, con corna molto lunghe nere e lanute invasiate dal demonio. questo parla e risponde; e da tutti i Gioghi¹ adorato per^{er} dio con nome di zumbi²; i tre primi giorni della luna salta egli medesimo in un altare fatto di pietra e li sta facendosi addorare da tutti

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[verso] *cosa mirabile che sta immobile come fossi pietra, fino finita la funzione; poi va a pascolare dove vuole, e felice quel campo e molto piu quel Padrone del campo do^{ve} pascola; la casa va t[u]tta in festa p[er] l'Onore che riceva di avere il suo Id:° ne propri pascoli; dove ha pascolato una volta; si tiene p[er] reliquia quello che rimane nel campo; p[er] suo ricovero tine una Bona casa o chiesa quando l'Incontrano subito si buttano in ginocchi e pigliano p[er] ottimo augurio l'Incontrarlo; se a sorte coza qualcheduno quella subito resta ordinato suo sacerdote, e piglia il nome del Idolo chiamandosi Canga-n-zumbi³; verò e che il Dem:° p[er] tenerlo in rispetto stima e venerazione; lo lascia veder di rado, tenendolo ascoso nel deserto, e solo le lune nove comparisce nel Abbitato p[er] le solite addorazioni cosi il diavolo inganna questi poveri ciechi; e Volle Id:° che Gesù sacramentato; havessi tanti ossequi e rispetti; quando va p[er] le vie o quando viene ne campi del anime nostre, quante ne ha questo caprone Indivolato; a che non si possano vedere tali stravaganze senza lagrima e confussioni*

1: Caprone Zumbi 2: Altare 3: servo del Idolo 4: Zucha piena di latte umano p[er] dar bere al Idolo, e lavarli la bocca subito che ha parlato 6: guardia del Idolo; 4: armi 7: Adoratore &:

Many and infinite⁴ are the Idols of these deserts and extravagant are their names; I include only this one because to me it seems the most ridiculous, it is a live goat, very large with very long horns, black and wooly, possessed by the devil. it talks and answers; and it is adored by all the Jagas as a god with the name of zumbi⁵ the first three days of the moon it jumps by itself on an altar made of stone and stays there to have itself adored by all [verso]

[verso] remarkable thing that it stands immobile as if it were of stone, until the ceremony is over; then it goes grazing where it wants, and happy the field and even more so the Owner of the field where it grazes; the whole house celebrates the honor that it receives to have its god in its own pasture, where it has grazed once; what is left in the field is considered as a relic. for its repose it has a good house or church when they Meet it they drop immediately on their knees and they find it a very good omen to run into it; if by chance he rams into someone this person immediately becomes ordained as its minister, and takes the name of the Idol being called ganga-n-zumbi;⁶ it is true that the devil to keep it respected esteemed and venerated; only let it be seen rarely, keeping it hidden in the desert, and only in the new moons it appears in Inhabitated areas for the customary adorations. Thus the devil deceives these poor blind people; and may God will that Jesus sacramented; receive as much obsequies and respect; when he goes about the paths or when he comes in the fields of the souls, as does this devilish goat; so that it is not possible to see such extravagances without tears and confusions

1: Zumbi Goat 2: Altar 3: servant of the Idol 4: Gourd full of human milk to give to drink to the Idol and wash its mouth as soon as it has spoken 6: guard of the Idol 5: weapons 7: Worshipper etc.

Notes:

1. Giaghi known in the historical sources as Jagas. See Beatrix Heintze and Katja Rieck, “The Extraordinary Journey of the Jaga Through the Centuries: Critical Approaches to Precolonial Angolan Historical Sources,” *History in Africa* 34 (2007): 67-101; Thornton, *A History of West Central Africa to 1850*, 14, 74-76.
2. About Zumbi see Daniel Precioso, *Catarina Juliana: Uma sacerdotisa africana e sua sociedade de culto no interior de Angola (Século XVIII)* (S.L.: Paco e Littera, 2022); Kalle Kananoja, “Healers, Idolaters, and Good Christians: A Case Study of Creolization and Popular Religion in Mid-Eighteenth Century Angola,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 3 (2010): 443-65.
3. Canga, from Kikongo and Kimbundu, nganga: priest, ritual practitioner; in this phrase, literally, priest of Zumbi.
4. “many and infinite,” see Plato’s *Timaeus* dialogue.
5. Zumbi see Kananoja, *Healing Knowledge in Atlantic Africa*, 41-42.
6. See also the unpaginated vocabulary of words from Matamba in Antonio da Gaeta and Gioia, *La meravigliosa conversione*.

PW085: Another trial, called *bolungo*

- 1 *Altro giuramento detto Bolungo¹ questo e un carbon di foco; quello que giura la piglia in bocca se si scotta e reo e se non si scotta in[n]ocento 1: sacerdote 2: cornetti 3: pastorale 4: ferro 5: fuoco 6: negro che piglia il giuramento [. . .]*
- 2 Another trial called Bolungo it is a piece of charcoal from the fire. The one who makes the trial puts it in the mouth. If one burns oneself one is guilty and if one does not burn oneself one is innocent 1: priest 2: small horns 4: iron 5: fire 6: black [man] who takes the oath

Notes:

1. Cavazzi describes the Bulungo oath in the kingdoms of Matamba and Angola, but it is a different process, involving poison, than the one described here. See Cavazzi and Al-
amandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 93. See also the unpaginated vocabulary of words from
Matamba in Antonio da Gaeta and Gioia, *La meravigliosa conversione*.

PW087: Experiment to expose thieves



- 1 *Esperienza p[er] conoscere i ladri, o veram^{te} altra sorte di giuramento. accusato uno di ladro un tal ministro del Diavolo chiamato Nbaù' arroventa un ferro e gli ne pone sopra una gamba, se arde e convinto e condannato Se non arde resta libero onde il Dem:º p[er] tenerli inganati fa che alcune volte non arde 1: ladro 2: foco 3: ferro Infoc: 4: Incantatore*
- 2 Experiment to expose the thieves, or really another type of oath. someone being accused of theft a certain minister of the Devil called Nbaù makes an iron red-hot and put its on one of the legs, if it burns [the person] is convicted and condemned If it does not burn he remains free so that the Devil to deceive them makes it so that at times it does not burn 1: thief 2: fire 3: iron Made red-hot 4: Enchanter

Notes:

1. See Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*, 92.

PW088: Conjurers to divert tempests and rains



- 1 *Incantatori p[er] divertire le tempeste o piogge impetuose; questi empiano la bocca di una tale aqua la sbruffano contro le nuvole e in questa maniera dilequano le tempeste*
- 2 Enchanters to divert violent storms or rains; these fill their mouth with a type of water [which] they spurt against the clouds and in this manner they dissolve the storms

PW089: Another conjurer against storms



- 1 *Altro incantatore contra le tempeste queste le dileque con minaccie tenendo in mano un fascetto di Penne p[er] frustare con esse il vento. e parimenti nel altra mano una certa loro arma chiamata cacciaporra' parimente con penne, p[er] rompere le nuvole cosi concorrendoci il diavolo [?] fanno riserenare l'aria*
- 2 *1: Incantatore 2: frusta di Penne 3: cacciaporra con penne*
- 3 Another enchanter against the storms this one dissolves it with threats holding in his hand a bundle of Feathers with which to whip the wind. and similarly in the other hand a certain weapon of theirs called cacciaporra also with feathers to break the clouds thus with the contribution of the devil [?] they make the air calm down
- 4 1: Enchanter 2: whip of Feathers 3: cachaporra with feathers

Notes:

1. From Portuguese, cachaporra: cudgel.

PW090: In this manner the Missionary Fathers go missionizing



1: In questa forma vanno i Padri Missi missionando p[er] questi deserti conducendo seco moltitudine di negri carichi di varie cose necessarie p[er] la missione e i questa maniera stan[n]o cinque o sei mesi del an[n]o furi del proprio Ospizio Sempre errando p[er] queste grandi solitudini in cerca delle libate¹ de negri e gentili; escano al primo di Giug:^o tempo que qua e Inverno; vol dire men caldo che nelli altri tempi benche sia un vero Agosto; e poi tornano al Osp:^o gia [. . .] a Ottobre o al piu a Noub: che principiano le piogge # volta

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- 2 [verso] 1: *Interprete o Maestro*² 2: *serpentina o rete in questa si dorme la notte quando non si trovano Popolazioni; si pone la stanga della rete ben alta in due albori et ivi ben serrata dorme il Pad: ; I negri fanno quatro o cinque fuochi sotto o vicino alla rete e accerchiando e detti fuochi tenendoli però con vigilanza sempre accesi p[er] causa delle fiere; ivi dormano al sereno con t[u]ta pace* 3: *Pad: Miss:°* 4: *Piedi del Altare* 5: *scabello fatto di pelle per sedervi, giache quando si predica o catechiza o si va al udienza di questi Principi chi non porta la sedia non la tiene* 6: *Altar portatile* 7: *fiasheta p[er] il vino p[er] le messe* 8: *strapunto*, 9: *Chinda*³ *che é un Piccolo cofano fatto di paglia dentro del quale si portano alcuni viveri come farina riso fagioli &: 10, altra carica dove van[n]o dentro l'utensili p[er] fare la cucina*
- 3 In this manner the Missionary Fathers go missionizing across these deserts bringing along a multitude of blacks loaded with various things necessary to the mission and in this manner they spend five or six months of the year away from their own Convent always wandering around these great wildernesses in search of the villages of the blacks and the heathens; they leave on the first of June, time that is here winter; I mean less hot than the other seasons even if it is a true August; and then they return to the Convent [. . .] in October or at the most in November because the rains start # times
- 4 [verso] 1: *Interpreter or Maestro* 2: *serpentina or net in this one sleeps at night when no Village is found; the bar of the net is hung very high in two trees and the Father sleeps in there nice and tight; the blacks make four or five fires under or around the net and make a circle around the said fires, keeping them however with watchfulness always lit because of the wild animals; there they sleep serene and in all peace* 3: *Missionary Father* 4: *legs of the Altar* 5: *Stool made of leather to sit yourself since when one preaches or catechizes or goes to an audience with one of these Princes who does not bring a seat, does not have one* 6: *portable Altar* 7: *flask for the wine for Mass* 8: *mattress* 9: *chinda which is a small box made of straw inside of which one carries some food such as flour rice beans &: 10, another load in which are the cooking utensils.*

Notes:

1. From Kimdundu, libata: village.
2. From the Portuguese mestre, for mestre da igreja, an important function in the organization of the Kongo Catholic Church, see Inge Brinkman, "Kongo interpreters, travelling priests and political leaders in the Kongo Kingdom (15th-19th century)," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 49, no. 2 (2016): 255-76; Fromont, *Images on a Mission*, 170-76.
3. From Kimbundu, kindia: basket.

PW092: In this manner the Dembi, which means Princes, receive the Missionaries



- 1 *Così ricevano i Dembi¹ che vol dire Principi i Missi l'escano in contra fuori della sua Banza² con t[u]tta la sua gente e molte volte essi medesimi vogliono p[er] devozione porre le Spalle sotto la rete o serpentina del Pad^e; si rivestano come possono e p[er] lo più si pongono nelle spalle un mantello fatto alla nostra usanza e ben guarnito d'Oro, ma però senza camicia; la Tanga³ per lo più e di seta e molte volte si pongano le Calzette ma senza legare si come mai gli hò veduto le scarpe tirate su e legate si che anche a volersi porre ar*
- 2 Thus the Ndembo which means Princes receive the Missionaries they come out to meet them outside of their Banza with all of their people. and often they themselves want for devotion to put the net or serpentina of the Father on their shoulders; they dress as they can and at most they put on their shoulders a coat made in our fashion and well decorated with Gold but without a shirt; their Tanga what is more is made of silk and often they put on stockings but without tying them and never as well have I seen them with shoes pulled up and tied but only for posturing

Notes:

1. Referring to the Dembos or Ndembo. See Catarina Madeira Santos, “Écrire le pouvoir en Angola,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 64, no. 4 (2009): 267-95.
2. From Kikongo and Kimbundu, mbanza: city or town.
3. From Kimbundu, tanga: leg wrapper.

PW096: Missionary Father who catechizes



- 1 *Padre missionario che fa il catechismo; 1: Altar portatile ma serrato 2: Padre: che catechizza 3: catecumeni 4: gente già catechizzata 5: gentili corsi p[er] curiosità a sentire*
- 2 Missionary Father who does the catechism; 1: portable Altar but closed 2: Father who catechizes 3: catechumens 4: people already catechized 5: heathens who came over out of curiosity to hear

PW097: Missionary Father who baptizes



- 1 *Pad^e Miss^o che batteza 1: altar portatile aperto e armato 2: Pad^e: che Batteza 3: cocho con cui batteza; questo e un frutto de un arbore chiamato cocho se li pone un poco di manico e con esso si batezza; 4: emcade;¹ questa sono le Zappe del Paese; che le portano p[er] offerta al Pad^e 5: fusi di bambaga filato che pare portano p[er] offerta 6: galline parim^{te} portate per offerta; molte volte portano manduin² stoe fagio[. . .] zuche e altre cose delle quali vive il Pad^e e la sua gente*
- 2 Father Missionary who baptizes 1: portable altar opened and outfitted 2: Father who baptizes 3: coconut with which he baptizes; this is a fruit from a tree called coco one puts a little handle to it and with it baptizes 4: emcade; these are the hoes of the Land; which they bring as offering to the Father 5: threaded cotton spindles which they also bring as offering 6: hens similarly brought as offering; they often bring peanuts cloth beans gourds and other things of which the Father and his people live

Notes:

1. From the Portuguese, enxada: hoe.
2. From the Portuguese, amendoim: peanuts.

PW098: Mass that is said in these deserts is always in the open air



- 1 *La Messa che se dice p[er] questi deserti e sempre alla Campagna non havendo Chiesa si pone l'altare portatile sotto un Arbore; e la gente sta t[u]tta alla campagna 1: altar Portatile 2: Sacerd^e che celebra 3: Dembo¹ che stà alla messa 4:paggi, 5: altri paggi piu grandi 6: macotti² 7: cortigiani 8: pagio che p[er] lo piu tiene la Pipa da fumare de suo Sig:^e*
- 2 The Mass that is said in these deserts is always in open air since there are no churches the portable altar is placed under a Tree and people are all outdoors 1: Portable altar 2: Priest who celebrates 3: Dembo who is at mass 4: pages 5: other older pages 6: macotti 7 courtiers 8: page who what is more holds the smoking pipe of his Lord

Notes:

1. Referring to the Dembos or Ndembo. See Madeira Santos, “Écrire le pouvoir en Angola.”

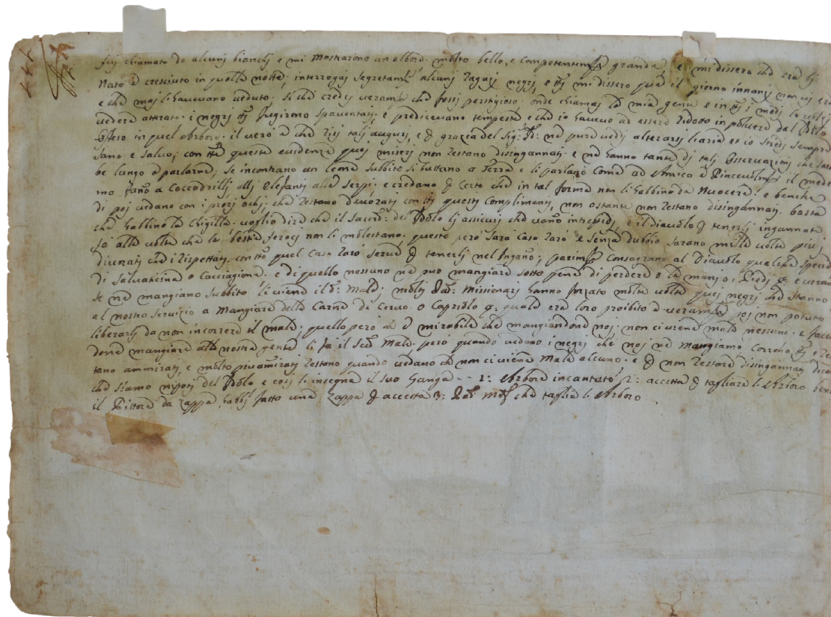
2. From Kimbundu, makota: important person. See “os maiores” in Bernardo Maria de Cannecattim, *Collecção de observações grammaticaes sobre a lingua bunda, ou angolense* (Lisbon: Impressão regia, 1805), 145-46.

PW099: Missionary Father who burns the temple of the Idols



- 1 *Padre Missionario che brucia il tempio dell'Idoli; questi Tempi o case dell'Idoli sono fatti di Paglia ma con mirabil fattur*
- 2 Missionary Father who burns the temple of the Idols; these temples or houses of the Idols are made of Straw but of remarkable craftsmanship

PW100: Missionary Father who cuts a tree consecrated to the Idols



1 Pad^e missionario che taglia un albero consagrato alli Idoli; di questi tali Arbori e Pianti ve ne sono infinite e quello che e mirabile le piantano e crescano in una notte; credo pero che il diavolo li porti e trapianti da unoal altro luogo; non capacitandomi come naturalmen^e il diavolo possi farlo crescere in una notte a perfezione. Navigando il fiume Coanza passando p[er] un Orto di Zuche fagioli et cetera

2 [verso] fui chiamato da alcuni bianchi e mi mostrarono un albero molto bello e

compotentem^e grande e mi dissero che era li nato e cresciuto in quella notte; interrogai segretamente alcuni ragazzi negri, e tutti me dissero que il giorno innani no vi era e che mai l'havevano veduto; si che credi veram^e che fossi perstigioso; onde chiamai la mia gente e in t[u]tti i modi lo volzi vedere atterato; i negri t[u]tti fugirono spaventati; e predicevano tempeste e che io havevo ad essere ridoto in polvere dal Idolo Offeso in quel Arbore. il vero e che risi tal auguri, e per grazia del Sig:^e Id:^o ne pure veddi alterarsi l'aria et io stiedi sempre sano e salvo; con t[u]tte queste evidenze quei miseri non restano disingannati e ne hanno tante di tali Osservazioni che sarebbe lungo a parlarne; se incontrano un leone subito si buttano a Terra e li parlano come ad Amico e Piacevolem^e il medemo fan[n]o a coccodrilli, alli elefanti alle serpi; e credano p[er] certo che in tal forma non l'habbino da nuocere; e benche di poi vedano con i pro[p]ri ochi; che restano divorati con t[u]tti questi complimenti, non ostante non restano disinganati. basta che habbino la chigilla¹; voglio dire che il sacerdot^e del Idolo li assicuri che van[n]o intrepidi, e il diavolo p[er] tenerli ingannati fa alle volte che le bestie feroci non li molestano; questo però sara rarò e senza dubbio saranno mille volte piu i divorati che i rispettati, con t[u]tto quel caso rarò serve p[er] tenerli nel Ingan[n]o; parim^e consagrano al Diavolo qualche specie di salvaticina o cacciagiona; e quello nessuno ne puo mangiare sotto pene di perdere o le mani o i Piedi &: e veram^{te} se ne mangiano subito li viene il d:^o male; molti Padⁱ Missionari hanno forzato molte volte quei negri che stanno al nostro servizio a mangiare della carne di cervo o Capriolo &: quale era loro proibito e veram^{te} poi non potuto liberarli da non incorrere il male; quello pero che e mirabile che mangiandone noi non ci viene male nessuno; e facendone mangiare alla nostra gente li fa il sudetto male; però quando vedono i negri che noi ne mangiano corrono t[u]tti e restano ammirati, e molto piu am[m]irati restano quando vedano che non ci viene male alcuno; e p[er] non restare disingannati dicono che siamo nipoti del Idolo e cosi l'insegna il suo Ganga² — 1:Arbore incantato 2: accetta p[er] tagliare l'Arbore benche il Pittore da zappa habbi fatto una zappa p[er] accetta 3: Pa^e Mis^o che taglia l'Arbore

- 3 Missionary Father who cuts a tree consecrated to the Idols; of these trees and plants there is an infinite number and what is remarkable is that they plant them and they grow in one night; I believe however that the devil brings them and transplant them from one place to the other; I do not understand how the devil could naturally make it grow in one night perfectly. Navigating on the Kwanza river, passing by a garden of gourds, beans, et cetera
- 4 [verso] I was called by some white people and they showed me a very beautiful, and competently large tree, and they told me that it was born and had grown there that night; I interrogated secretly some black youth, and they all told me that the day before it was not there and that they had never seen it; so that I truly believed that it was prodigious; thus I called my people and wanted to see it felled by all means; the blacks all ran away terrorized; and they predicted storms and that I would be for certain reduced to powder by the offended idol in that tree. the truth is that I laughed [at] such predictions, and by the grace of God Our Lord I did not see the air change and I still remained safe

and sound; with all this evidence these poor people are not undeceived and there are so many of these Obediences that it would take long to recount; if they meet a lion, immediately they throw themselves on the ground and they talk to it as to a Friend and Nicely they do the same with crocodiles, with elephants with snakes; and they believe that for sure in this manner they will not harm them; and although they then see with their own eyes; that they are devoured with all their compliments, nevertheless they are not disabused. It is enough that they have the chigilla; I mean that the Priest of the Idol have assured them that they go fearless, and the devil to maintain them deceived makes that sometimes the ferocious beasts do not bother them; this however would be a rare case and without a doubt there would be a thousand more devoured than respected, in all this rare case serves to keep them Deceived; likewise they consecrate to the Devil some type of game or wild meat; and no one can eat it at the risk of losing the hands or the feet, etc. and truly if they eat it immediately this ailment comes to them; many Missionary Fathers have forced many times these blacks who are at our service to eat the meat of a deer or a roe &: which was forbidden to them and truly afterwards could not prevent them from incurring the ailment; but what is remarkable is that eating it ourselves; no ailment comes to us; and making our people eat it it gives them the above mentioned ailment; but then the blacks see that we eat of it, they all come running and remain impressed, and become all the more impressed when they see that no ailment come to us; and not to be disabused they say that we are the grandsons [or nephews] of the Idols and this their ganga teaches them—1: enchanted Tree 2: axe to cut the Tree although the painter [rendered it] as a hoe, having made a hoe for an axe 3: Missionary Father who cuts the Tree

Notes:

1. See xingila in Cavazzi, *Missione Evangelica*, vol A bk 2, 85, 86-9. See also the unpaginated vocabulary of words from Matamba in Antonio da Gaeta and Gioia, *La meravigliosa conversione.*”
2. From Kikongo and Kimbundu, nganga: priest, ritual practitioner.

PW101: Missionaries taken as prisoners into the presence of Queen Njinga



- 1 *Missionari condotti prigionieri alla presenza della Regina Zinga; con animo che ella li facessi morire; ma p[er] divina ispirazione in un subito mutata li ricevi benignam^{te} e si battezzò, e morì con sentimento da vera Cristiana; tiro mirabile della d: provvidenza; già che morta d: Regina; mancò la fede in quel regno et hora si travaglia a rimettere; ma p[er] anche il Sig:^e Id:^o non apre le congiunture 1: Reina Anna Zinga 2: schiavo che serve di sgabello alla Reina; essendo questa l'uso o superbia di questi regnanti 3: Dama di corte o confidente 4 : Padⁱ Misⁱ 5 : ministri di giustizia*
- 2 Missionaries taken as prisoners to the presence of the Queen Njinga; with the intention she would have them killed; but by divine inspiration in a sudden change she received them kindly and got baptized, and died in the conviction of a true Christian; remarkable strike of said providence; since that said queen is dead; faith in that kingdom failed and now we are working at restoring it; but for now the Lord God does not provide the opportunity 1: Queen Anna Zinga¹ 2: slave that serves as stool to the Queen, this being the custom or conceit of these rulers 3: Lady in waiting or confident 4: Missionary Fathers 5: minister of justice

Notes:

1. Anna: baptismal name of Njinga. About Queen Njinga see Heywood, *Njinga of Angola*.

PW102: Manner of conducting the funeral rites of the blacks



di tutti e dand' abbondantissimamente a usano di fare le poi loro Miseraf Cantano che di farfornare. che el onore del
 fado in suo stato: quello sto e usano un altro dedito a bishad onerato di serano che di farfornare di singli delo
 e annes denuo si sero partimeni la gran e di otto giorni stano in al loro d'usaj e terra e abitaraj cono l'amenaj consono
 silenzio, stameno quel Calato e l'alto del alto; si serano in un d'istatissimo d'ano ino usaj e Canogio e d'uno
 un caso in esse per esse come prima di sero come d'uno d'uno di ginoi el misabito e che e i di ginoi in quello caso
 con si accend' loco e non si puona a mangiaro; e di dallo ginoi di sero con fettee l'ocaj si onerellano d'uno fano
 mi suo rouato quello alto in d'uno oneraj, che fatto a d'uno in f'ogajon; con to si puo d'istatissimo quanto uno
 sono casj tenaci di quaj non d'istatissimo che e impossibili a leuogleno ultimaj seuecebbano in f'astidie mandari
 un caso compagno con una d'istatissimo di sero gualo nascepando onerando nello caso ginoi in no d'uno d'istatissimo
 il d'istatissimo e f'ed f'ed si u'f'ed suo p'ecorand; allo cieco, uerando si f'ogajon e f'ogajon che, con no; d'istatissimo
 si d'istatissimo e f'ed il suo d'istatissimo

- 1 Modo di fare l'osequie de negri. morto che il Sig: e l'espongano come si vede; t[u]tti corrano a Piangere o almeno a fare vista di Piangere Gridano urlano balano; die notte finche stà sepolto; li eredi sono obligati dare loro [. . .] o farina o altre cose comestibili quanto mai ne vogliano; si che alle Volti la Morte di uno e la ruina della casa; p[er] lo piu sono t[u]tti ubriachi, e fano sconcessissimi atteggiamenti in suono di mestizia, cantano lodi del morto se però l'eredi—

- 2 [verso] *Liberali e dan[n]o abbondantem^{te} e votano la casa se poi sono misurati cantano t[u]tte le furfantezie che il morto hà fatte in sua vita; sepolto che e usano un altre ridicola e bestiale mestizia si serrano t[u]tte le finestre e spiragli della casa e entrati dentro si serra parimenti le porte e p[er] otto giorni stano t[u]tti al buio disteis p[er] terra e abbarcati come li Armenti con som[m]o silenzio; solamente nel calare e salire del sole; si sentan[n]o t[u]tti rompere in un dirottissimo Pianto strida urla e cantighi e dura un hora in circa, poi zitti come prima, la scena come dico dura 8: giorni il mirabile è che p[er] i d: 8 giorni, in quella casa non si accende foco e non si pensa a mangiare; e se dalla gente di fora non fossero soccorsi si morirebbero dalla fame mi sono trovato molte volte in simili annogi^t e hò havuto a dare in Impazienze, con t[u]tto si può Predicare quanto uno vole sono così tenaci di questi loro diabolici riti che e impossibile a levarglene, ultimam^{te} soverchiam^{te} infastidito mandai un mio compagno con una disciplina di ferro quale nascostam^{te} entrando nella casa giusto in ora che solevano levare il Pianto e fece bene l'uffizio suo, percotendoli alla cieca, veram^{te} si scompigliarono e fugarono t[u]tti; ma poi seppi che si riunirono p[er] finire il loro Annogio²*
- 3 Manner of conducting the obsequies of the blacks when their Lord is dead they expose him as is seen; everyone runs over to Cry or at least pretend to cry they scream they howl they dance; day and night until he is buried; the heirs are obligated to give them as much [. . .] or flour or other comestibles as they want; so that at Times the death of someone is the ruin of the house; what is more they are all inebriated, and they have very obscene behaviors in [manner?] of mourning, they sing praises of the dead if however the heirs—
- 4 [verso] [are] Liberal and give in abundance and empty the house if however they are measured they sing all the knavery that the dead has done in his life; when buried they use another ridiculous and beastly mourning, they close all the windows and openings of the house and once they enter inside, they also close the doors and for eight days they all remain in the dark lying on the floor and squeezed like cattle in the utmost silence; only at sunset and sunrise; they are all heard breaking into a pouring Wail shreak scream and hymns and it lasts for about an hour, then they quiet up as before, the scene as I said before lasts 8 days it is remarkable that for the said 8 days, in that house a fire is not lit and no one thinks about eating; and if they weren't rescued by people from the outside they would starve to death I have found myself many times in similar mournings and had to get impatient, overall one can Preach all that one wants they are so tenacious about their diabolical rites that it is imposible to have them do away with them, in the end excessively annoyed, I sent one of my companions with an iron scourge who entering surreptiously in the house just at the time when they usually rose their Wail, did his job well, hitting them blindly, truly they got confused and all ran away; but then I heard that they reunited to finish their Mourning

Notes:

1. From the Portuguese, anojarse: to mourn.*la*.
2. From the Portuguese, anojarse: to mourn.

PW104: Sepulchers of these barbarians



- 1 *[Q]uesti sono i sepolcri di questi Barbari e massima delle Personne grandi e regie sono fatte di pure pietre senza calcina 2: testi di morti nella punta de Pali p[er] significare che sono sepolchri 3: fiasco di Polvo 4: tavole di Pietra fatte rozamente; dove cavando la cassa o ossa del sepulcro lo posano; p[er] farli ogni luna nova i soliti suffragi o sacrifici che consistano in amazzare ivi alcuni schiav; i 5 – e 6: schiavi da sagrificarsi*
- 2 These are the tombs of these Barbarians and especially of the Great or Royal Individuals they are made of only stones without mortar¹ 2: skulls at the tip of Poles to show that they are tombs. 3: Powder flask; 4: stone tables roughly made; where they put the box² or bone[s] [after] taking them out of the tomb; to give them every new moon the usual offerings or sacrifices which consists in killing there some slaves; 5 – 6: slaves to be sacrificed

Notes:

1. See the similar excavated site near Pungo a Ndongo in Manuel Gutierrez and Frédérique Valenti, “Archéologie et anthropologie des tumulus de Kapanda (Angola),” *Journal des africanistes* (1995): 145-69.

2. About the royal funerary boxes or misseto see Cavazzi, *Missione Evangelica*, vol. A, book 1, chap. 5, 52; vol. A, book 2, chap. 10, 118.

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Notes

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2. About the term “Conquista” to refer to Portuguese overseas colonial endeavors see Charles Ralph Boxer, *Race relations in the Portuguese colonial empire, 1415-1825* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 2; Josiah Blackmore, *Moorings: Portuguese expansion and the writing of Africa* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), xxii. For an overview of the history of the region see John K Thornton, *A History of West Central Africa to 1850*, vol. 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

3. About the patronage rights see António da Silva Rego, *Le patronage portugais de l’orient: aperçu historique* (Lisbon: Agencia Geral do Ultramar, 1957); Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, “Ecclesiastical structures and religious action,” in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

4. Bernardino Ignazio da Vezza d’Asti, *Missione in pratica. Padri Cappuccini ne’ regni*

di Congo, Angola, et adiacenti., ca 1750, Biblioteca Civica Centrale di Torino, MS 457: 29, Turin; Bernardino Ignazio da Vezza d'Asti, Missione in pratica de RP cappuccini italiani ne regni di Congo, Angola, et adiacenti, ca. 1750, Biblioteca Vaticana, MS Borg. Lat. 316: Vatican Another, non illustrated version of is in Lisbon. Bernardino Ignazio da Vezza d'Asti and Guiseppe Rabagliati, Missione in Pratica de PP. Cappuccini Italiani ne Regni di Congo, Angola, e adiacenti brevemente esposta p: lume, e guida de Missionari a quelle Sante Missioni destinati, ca. 1750, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, MS 1432 FG: Lisboa. About the story of these manuscripts see Cécile Fromont, *Images on a Mission in Early Modern Kongo and Angola* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2022), 41-62.

5. "Missione in Pratica," Biblioteche Civiche Torinesi, accessed January 9, 2023, available [here](#).

6. Fromont, *Images on a Mission*.

7. Cécile Fromont, "Depicting Kongo and Angola in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *MAVCOR Journal* 6, no. 1 (2022), available [here](#).

8. Edouard d'Alençon, "Essai de Bibliographie Capucino-Congolaise," *Neerlandia Franciscana* 1, no. 1 (1914): 261-62.

9. Cécile Fromont, "Collecting and Translating Knowledge Across Cultures: Capuchin Missionary Images of Early modern Central Africa," in *Collecting Across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World*, ed. Daniela Bleichmar and Peter Mancall (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

10. Hildebrandus ab Hooglede, "Le père Georges de Gheel (+1652): Missionnaire, philologue et martyr," *Études Franciscaines* 42, no. 238 (1930). See also biographical information in Graziano M. da Leguzzano Saccardo, *Congo e Angola con la storia dell'Antica missione dei Cappuccini*, 3 vols. (Venice-Mestre: Curia Poviciale dei Cappuccini, 1982-1983), 1:489-90.

11. See the Vatican and the Turin versions of the manuscripts, Bernardino da Vezza d'Asti, *Missione in pratica* (Turin); Bernardino da Vezza d'Asti, *Missione in pratica* (Vatican).

12. Cavazzi and Alamandini, *Istorica descrizione*. For a full table of correspondence see Fromont, "Depicting Kongo and Angola," available [here](#).

13. For a longer discussion of the corpus see Fromont, *Images on a Mission*, chapter 1 and 2.

14. About the production history of the *Istorica Descrizione* prints see Fromont, *Images on a Mission*, chapter 1; Graciano Maria de Leguzzano and Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi, *Descrição histórica dos três reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola*, *Estudos de Cartografia*

Antiga. Série Memórias. Publicações 2-3, (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1965), Introduction.

15. Justine De Young, “1680-1689, 17th century, decade overview,” Fashion History Timeline, June 20, 2020, available [here](#). Justine De Young, “1670-1679, 17th century, decade overview,” Fashion History Timeline, June 14, 2020, available [here](#).



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