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✕ THE HISTORY
AND
DESCRIPTION OF AFRICA

AND
OF THE NOTABLE THINGS THEREIN CONTAINED,

WRITTEN BY
AL-HASSAN IBN-MOHAMMED AL-WEZAZ AL-FASI,
A MOOR, BAPTISED AS GIOVANNI LEONE, BUT BETTER KNOWN AS
LEO AFRICANUS.

DONE INTO ENGLISH IN THE YEAR 1600,
BY
JOHN PORY,

And now Edited, with an Introduction and Notes,
BY
DR. ROBERT BROWN.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. III.

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M.DCCC.XCVI.

IOHN LEO HIS
SEUENTH BOOKE OF
the Historie of Africa, and
of the memorable things
contained therein.

*Wherein he intreateth of the land of Negros, and of
the confines of Egypt.*



Ur ancient Chroniclors of Africa, to wit,
Bichri and *Meshudi* knew nothing
of the land of Negros but onely the
regions of *Guechet* and *Cano*: for
in their time all other places of the
land of Negros were vndiscovered.
But in the yeere of the Hegeira
380, by the meanes of a certaine Mahumetan which came
into Barbarie, the residue of the said land was found out,¹
being as then inhabited by great numbers of people, which
liued a brutish and sauage life, without any king, gouer-
nour, common wealth, or knowledge of husbandrie. Clad
they were in skins of beasts, neither had they any peculiar
wiues: in the day time they kept their cattell; and when
night came they resorted ten or twelue both men and
women into one cottage together, using hairie skins instead
of beds, and each man choosing his leman which he had
most fancy vnto. Warre they wage against no other
nation, ne yet are desirous to trauell out of their owne
countrie. Some of them performe great adoration vnto

the sunne rising : others, namely the people of Gualata, worship the fire : and some others, to wit, the inhabitants of Gaoga, approach (after the Egyptians manner) neerervnto the Christian faith. These Negros were first subiect vnto king *Ioseph* the founder of Maroco, and afterward vnto the five nations of Libya ; of whom they learned the Mahumetan lawe, and diuers needfull handycrafts : a while after when the merchants of Barbarie began to resort vnto them with merchandize, they learned the Barbarian language also. But the foresaid five people or nations of Libya diuided this land so among themselues, that euery third part of each nation possessed one region.² Howbeit the king of Tombuto that now raigeth, called *Abuacre Ischia*, is a Negro by birth : this *Abuacre* after the decease of the former king, who was a Libyan borne, slue all his sonnes, and so vsurped the kingdome. And hauing by warres for the space of fiteene yeeres conquered many large dominions, he then concluded a league with all nations, and went on pilgrimage to Mecca, in which iournie he so consumed his treasure, that he was constrained to borrow great summes of money of other princes.³ Moreouer the fiteene kingdomes of Negros knowen to vs, are all situate vpon the riuier of Niger, and vpon other riuers which fall therinto. And all the land of Negros standeth betweene two vast deserts, for on the one side lieth the maine desert betweene Numidia and it, which extendeth it selfe vnto this very land : and the south side thereof adioineth vpon another desert, which stretcheth from thence to the maine Ocean : in which desert are infinite nations vnknownen to vs, both by reason of the huge distance of place, and also in regarde of the diuersitie of languages and religions. They haue no traffique at all with our people, but we haue heard oftentimes of their traffique with the inhabitants of the Ocean sea shore.

*The Negros
subiect vnto
Ioseph king of
Maroco.*

*Abuacre Is-
chia.*

A description of the kingdome of Gualata.

THIS region in regarde of others is very small: for it containeth onely three great villages, with certaine granges and fields of dates. From Nun it is distant southward about three hundred, from Tombuto northward five hundred, and from the Ocean sea about two hundred miles. In this region the people of Libya, while they were lords of the land of Negros, ordained their chiefe princely seate: and then great store of Barbarie-merchants frequented Gualata: but afterward in the raigne of the mighty and rich prince *Helzi*, the said merchants leauing Gualata, began to resort vnto Tombuto and Gago, which was the occasion that the region of Gualata grew extreme beggerly. The language of this region is called Sungai, and the inhabitants are blacke people, and most friendly vnto strangers. In my time this region was conquered by the king of Tombuto, and the prince thereof fled into the deserts, whereof the king of Tombuto hauing intelligence, and fearing least the prince would returne with all the people of the deserts, graunted him peace, conditionally that he should pay a great yeerely tribute vnto him, and so the said prince hath remained tributarie to the king of Tombuto vntill this present. The people agree in manners and fashions with the inhabitants of the next desert. Here groweth some quantitie of Mil-seed, and great store of a round & white kind of pulse, the like whereof I neuer saw in Europe; but flesh is extreme scarce among them. Both the men & the women do so couer their heads, that al their countenance is almost hidden. Here is no forme of a common wealth, nor yet any gouernours or iudges, but the people lead a most miserable life.⁴

*This round
and white pulse
is called Maiz
in the west
Indies.*

A description of the kingdome of Ghinea.

THIS kingdome called by the merchants of our nation Gheneoa, by the natural inhabitants thereof Genni, and by the Portugals and other people of Europe Ghinea, standeth in the midst betweene Gualata on the north, Tombuto on the east, and the kingdome of Melli on the south. In length it containeth almost fiue hundred miles, and extendeth two hundred and fiftie miles along the riuier of Niger, and bordereth vpon the Ocean sea in the same place, where Niger falleth into the saide sea. This place exceedingly aboundeth with barlie, rice, cattell, fishes, and cotton: and their cotton they sell vnto the merchants of Barbarie, for cloth of Europe, for brazen vessels, for armour, and other such commodities. Their coine is of gold without any stampe or inscription at all: they haue certaine iron-money also, which they vse about matters of small value, some peeces whereof weigh a pound, some halfe a pound, and some one quarter of a pound. In all this kingdome there is no fruite to be found but onely dates, which are brought hither either out of Gualata or Numidia. Heere is neither towne nor castle, but a certaine great village onely, wherein the prince of Ghinea, together with his priestes, doctors, merchants, and all the principall men of the region inhabite. The walles of their houses are built of chalke, and the roofes are couered with strawe: the inhabitants are clad in blacke or blew cotton, wherewith they couer their heads also: but the priests and doctors of their law go apparelled in white cotton. This region during the three moneths of Iulie, August, and September, is yeerely enuironed with the ouerflowings of Niger in manner of an Island; all which time the merchants of Tombuto conueigh their merchandize hither in certaine Canoas or narrow boats made of one tree, which they rowe all the day long, but at night they binde them to the

*The naturall
commodities of
Ghinea.*

shore, and lodge themselues vpon the lande. This kingdome was subiect in times past vnto a certaine people of Libya, and became afterward tributarie vnto king *Soni Heli*, after whom succeeded *Soni Heli Ischia*, who kept the prince of this region prisoner at Gago, where together with a certaine nobleman, he miserably died.

*The Prince of
Ghinea kept
prisoner by
Ischia.*

Of the kingdome of Melli.

THIS region extending it selfe almost three hundred miles along the side of a riuier which falleth into Niger, bordereth northward vpon the region last described, southward vpon certaine deserts and drie mountaines, westward vpon huge woods and Forrests stretching to the Ocean sea shore, and eastward vpon the territorie of Gago. In this kingdome there is a large and ample village containing to the number of sixe thousand or mo families, and called Melli, whereof the whole kingdome is so named. And here the king hath his place of residence. The region it selfe yeeldeth great abundance of corne, flesh, and cotton. Heere are many artificers and merchants in all places: and yet the king honourably entertaineth all strangers. The inhabitants are rich, and haue plentie of wares. Heere are great store of temples, priests, and professours, which professours read their lectures onely in the temples, bicause they haue no colleges at all. The people of this region excell all other Negros in witte, ciuilitie, and industry; and were the first that embraced the law of Mahumet, at the same time when the vncler of *Ioseph* the king of Maroco was their prince, and the gouernment remained for a while vnto his posterity: at length *Ischia* subdued the prince of this region, and made him his tributarie, and so oppressed him with greuous exactions, that he was scarce able to maintaine his family.⁶

*The prince of
Melli subdued
by Ischia.*

Of the kingdome of Tombuto.

*Tombuto was
conquered by
the king of
Maroco 1589.
from whence he
hath for yearly
tribute mightie
summes of gold.*

THIS name was in our times (as some thinke) imposed vpon this kingdome from the name of a certain towne so called, which (they say) king *Mense Suleiman* founded in the yeere of the Hegeira 610,⁷ and it is situate within twelue miles of a certaine branch of Niger, all the houses whereof are now changed into cottages built of chalke, and couered with thatch. Howbeit there is a most stately temple to be seene, the wals whereof are made of stone and lime; and a princely palace also built by a most excellent workeman of Granada.⁸ Here are many shops of artificers, and merchants, and especially of such as weaue linnen and cotton cloth. And hither do the Barbaric-merchants bring cloth of Europe. All the women of this region except maid-seruants go with their faces couered, and sell all necessarie victuals. The inhabitants, & especially strangers there residing, are exceeding rich, insomuch, that the king that *now is, married both his daughters vnto two rich merchants. Here are many wels, containing most sweete water; and so often as the riuier Niger ouerfloweth, they conueigh the water thereof by certaine sluces into the towne. Corne, cattle, milke, and butter this region yeeldeth in great abundance: but salt is verie scarce heere; for it is brought hither by land from Tegaza, which is fise hundred miles distant. When I my selfe was here, I saw one camels loade of salt sold for 80. ducates. The rich king of Tombuto hath many plates and scepters of gold, some whereof weigh 1300. poundes: and he keepes a magnificent and well furnished court. When he trauelleth any whither he rideth vpon a camell, which is lead by some of his noblemen; and so he doth likewise when hee goeth to warfar, and all his souldiers ride vpon horses. Whosoeuer will speake vnto this king must first fall downe before his feete, & then taking vp earth

* 1526.

*The king of
Tombuto his
daughters mar-
ried vnto two
rich merchants.*

*Great scarcitie
of salt in Tom-
buto, which
commoditie
might be sup-
plied by our
English mer-
chants to their
unspeakable
gaine.*

*Reuerence used
before the king
of Tombuto.*

must sprinkle it vpon his owne head & shoulders : which custom is ordinarily obserued by them that neuer saluted the king before, or come as ambassadors from other princes. He hath alwaies three thousand horsemen, and a great number of footmen that shoot poysoned arrowes, attending vpon him. They haue often skirmishes with those that refuse to pay tribute, and so many as they take, they sell vnto the merchants of Tombuto. Here are verie few horses bred, and the merchants and courtiers keepe certaine little nags which they vse to trauell vpon : but their best horses are brought out of Barbarie. And the king so soone as he heareth that any merchants are come to towne with horses, he commandeth a certaine number to be brought before him, and chusing the best horse for himselfe, he payeth a most liberall price for him.⁹ He so deadly hateth all Iewes, that he will not admit any into his citie : and whatsoever Barbarie merchants he vnderstandeth haue any dealings with the Iewes, he presently causeth their goods to be confiscate. Here are great store of doctors, iudges, priests, and other learned men, that are bountifully maintained at the kings cost and charges. And hither are brought diuers manuscripts or written bookes out of Barbarie, which are sold for more money than any other merchandize.¹⁰ The coine of Tombuto is of gold without any stampe or superscription : but in matters of smal value they vse certaine shels brought hither out of the kingdome of Persia, fower hundred of which shels are worth a ducate : and sixe peeces of their golden coine with two third parts weigh an ounce. The inhabitants are people of a gentle and chereful disposition, and spend a great part of the night in singing and dancing through all the streets of the citie : they keep great store of men and women-slaues, and their towne is much in danger of fire : at my second being there halfe the town almost was burnt in fwe howers space. With-

Poysoned arrowes.

Shels used for coine like as in the kingdome of Congo.

out the suburbs there are no gardens nor orchards at all.

Of the towne of Cabra.

THIS large towne built without walles in manner of a village, standeth about twelue miles from Tombuto vpon the riuier Niger : and here such merchants as trauel vnto the kingdomes of Ghinea and Melli embarke themselves. Neither are the people or buildings of this towne any whit inferiour to the people and buildings of Tombuto ; and hither the Negros resort in great numbers by water. In this towne the king of Tombuto appointeth a iudge to decide all controuersies ; for it were tedious to goe thither so oft as need should require. I my selfe am acquainted with *Abu Bacr*, sirnamed *Pargama*, the kings brother, who is blacke in colour, but most beautifull in minde and conditions. Here breed many diseases which exceedingly diminish the people ; and that by reason of the fond and loathsome mixture of their meats ; for they mingle fish, milke, butter, and flesh altogether. And this is the ordinarie food also in Tombuto.¹¹

Of the towne and kingdome of Gago.

THE great towne of Gago¹² being vnwalld also, is distant southward of Tombuto almost fower hundred miles, and enclineth somewhat to the southeast. The houses thereof are but meane, except those wherein the king and his courtiers remaine. Here are exceeding rich merchants : and hither continually resort great store of Negros which buy cloth here brought out of Barbarie and Europe. This towne aboundeth with corne and flesh, but is much destitute of wine, trees, and fruits. Howbeit here is plentie of melons, citrons, and rice : here are many welles also containing most sweete and holesome water. Here is likewise a certaine place where slaues are to be sold, especially vpon such daies as the merchants vse to

assemble ; and a yoong slaue of fifteene yeeres age is sold for sixe ducates, and so are children sold also. The king of this region hath a certaine priuate palace wherein he maintaineth a great number of concubines and slaues, which are kept by eunuches : and for the guard of his owne person he keepeth a sufficient troupe of horsemen and footmen. Betweene the first gate of the palace and the inner part thereof, there is a place walled round about wherein the king himselfe decideth all his subiects controuersies : and albeit the king be in this function most diligent, and performeth all things thereto appertayning, yet hath he about him his counsellors & other officers, as namely his secretaries, treasurers, factors, and auditors. It is a woonder to see what plentie of Merchandize is dayly brought hither, and how costly and sumptuous all things be. Horses bought in Europe for ten ducates, are here sold againe for fortie and sometimes for fiftie ducates a piece. There is not any cloth of Europe so course, which will not here be sold for fower ducates an elle, and if it be anything fine they will giue fifteene ducates for an ell : and an ell of the scarlet of Venice or of Turkie-cloth is here worth thirtie ducates. A sword is here valued at three or fower crownes, and so likewise are spurs, bridles, with other like commodities, and spices also are sold at an high rate : but of al other commodities salt is most extremelie deere. The residue of this kingdome containeth nought but villages and hamlets inhabited by husbandmen and shepherds, who in winter couer their bodies with beasts skins ; but in sommer they goe all naked saue their priuie members : and sometimes they weare vpon their feet certaine shooes made of camels leather. They are ignorant and rude people, and you shall scarce finde one learned man in the space of an hundred miles. They are continually burthened with grieuous exactions, so that they haue scarce any thing remaining to liue vpon.

Rich sale for cloth.

Of the kingdome of Guber.

IT standeth eastward of the kingdome of Gago almost three hundred miles; betweene which two kingdomes lieth a vast desert being much destitute of water, for it is about fortie miles distant from Niger. The kingdome of Guber¹³ is enuironed with high mountaines, and containeth many villages inhabited by shepherds, and other herdsmen. Abundance of cattell here are both great and small: but of a lower stature then the cattell in other places. Heere are also great store of artificers and linnen weauers: and heere are such shooes¹⁴ made as the ancient Romans were wont to weare, the greatest part whereof be carried to Tombuto and Gago. Likewise heere is abundance of rice, and of certaine other graine and pulse, the like whereof I neuer saw in Italie. But I thinke it groweth in some places of Spaine. At the inundation of Niger all the fields of this region are ouerflowed, and then the inhabitants cast their seede into the water onely. In this region there is a certaine great village containing almost sixe thousand families, being inhabited with all kinde of merchants, and here was in times past the court of a certaine king, who in my time was slaine by *Ischia* the king of Tombuto, and his sonnes were gelt, and accounted among the number of the kings eunuches. Afterward he sent gouernours hither who mightily oppressed and impouerished the people that were before rich: and most part of the inhabitants were carried captiue and kept for slaues by the said *Ischia*.

*Their maner
of sowing corne
at the inundation
of Niger.*

*The king of
Guber slaine
by Ischia.*

Of the citie and kingdome of Agadez.

THe citie of Agadez¹⁵ standing neere vnto Lybia was not long since walled round about by a certaine king. The inhabitants are all whiter then other Negros: and their houses are stately built after the fashion of Barbarie. The greatest part of the citizens are forren

merchants, and the residue be either artificers, or stipendaries to the king. Euery merchant hath a great many of seruants and slaues, who attend vpon them as they trauell from Cano to Borno: for in that iourney they are exceedingly molested by certaine theeues called Zingani, *Zingani.* insomuch that they dare not trauell the same way vnlesse they be well appointed: in my time they vsed crosse-bowes for their defence: when the said merchants be arriued at any towne, they presently employ all their slaues about some busines, to the end they may not liue in idlenes: ten or twelue they keepe to attend vpon themselves and their wares. The king of this citie hath alwaies a notable garde about him, and continueth for the most part at a certaine palace in the midst of the citie. He hath greatest regarde vnto his subiects that inhabite in the deserts and fields: for they will sometime expell their king and choose another: so that he which pleaseth the inhabitants of the desert best is sure to be king of Agadez. The residue of this kingdome lying southward is inhabited by shepherds and herdsmen, who dwell in certaine cottages made of boughes, which cottages they carrie about vpon oxen from place to place. They erect their cottages alwaies in the same field where they determine to feede their cattell; like as the Arabians also doe. Such as bring merchandize out of other places pay large custome to the king: and the king of Tombuto receiueth for yeerely tribute out of this kingdome almost an hundred and fiftie thousand ducats.¹⁸ *Agadez tributarie to the king of Tombuto.*

Of the prouince of Cano.

THE great prouince of Cano¹⁷ stādeth eastward of the riuer Niger almost fīue hundred miles. The greatest part of the inhabitants dwelling in villages are some of them herdsmen and others husbandmen. Heere groweth abundance of corne, of rice, and of cotton. Also here are

many deserts and wilde woodie mountaines containing many springs of water. In these woods growe plentie of wilde citrons and limons, which differ not much in taste from the best of all. In the midst of this prouince standeth a towne called by the same name, the walles and houses whereof are built for the most part of a kinde of chalke. The inhabitants are rich merchants and most ciuill people. Their king was in times past of great puissance, and had mighty troupes of horsemen at his command; but he hath since beene constrained to pay tribute vnto the kings of Zegzeg and Casena. Afterwarde *Ischia* the king of Tombuto faining friendship vnto the two foresaid kings trecherously slew them both. And then he waged warre against the king of Cano, whom after a long siege he tooke, and compelled him to marie one of his daughters, restoring him againe to his kingdome, conditionally that he should pay vnto him the third part of all his tribute: and the said king of Tombuto hath some of his courtiers perpetually residing at Cano for the receipt thereof.

The kings of Zegzeg, of Casena, and of Cano subdued by Ischia the king of Tombuto.

Of the kingdome of Casena.

CAsena bordering eastward vpon the kingdome last described, is full of mountaines, and drie fields, which yeeld notwithstanding great store of barlie and mill-seed. The inhabitants are extremely black, hauing great noses and blabber lips. They dwell in most forlorne and base cottages: neither shall you finde any of their villages containing aboue three hundred families. And besides their base estate they are mightily oppressed with famine: a king they had in times past whom the foresaid *Ischia* slew, since whose death they haue all beene tributarie vnto *Ischia*.¹⁸

Ischia.

Of the kingdome of Zegzeg.

THE southeast part thereof bordereth vpon Cano, and it is distant from Casena almost an hundred and fiftie miles. The inhabitants are rich and haue great traffique vnto other nations. Some part of this kingdome is plaine, and the residue mountainous, but the mountaines are extremely cold, and the plains intolerably hot.¹⁹ And because they can hardly indure the sharpnes of winter, they kinde great fires in the midst of their houses, laying the coles thereof vnder their high bedsteads, and so be-taking themselues to sleepe.²⁰ Their fields abounding with water, are exceeding fruitful, & their houses are built like the houses of the kingdom of Casena. They had a king of their owne in times past, who being slaine by *Ischia* (as is *Ischia*. aforesaid) they haue euer since beene subiect vnto the said *Ischia*.

Of the region of Zanfara.

THE region of Zanfara bordering eastward vpon Zegzeg is inhabited by most base and rusticall people. Their fields abound with rice, mill, and cotton. The inhabitants are tall in stature and extremely blacke, their visages are broad, and their dispositions most sauage and brutish. Their king also was slaine by *Ischia*, and themselues made tributarie.²¹

The king of Zanfara slaine by Ischia, and the people made tributarie.

Of the towne and kingdome of Guangara.

THIS kingdome adioineth southeasterly vpon Zanfara, being very populous, and hauing a king raigning ouer it, which maintaineth a garison of seuen thousand archers, and fiae hundred horsemen, and receiueh yeerely great tributes. In all this kingdome there are none but base villages, one onely excepted, which exceedeth the rest both in largenes and faire building. The inhabitants are

*Gold.**Ischia.*

very rich, and haue continuall traffique with the nations adioining. Southward thereof lieth a region greatly abounding with gold. But now they can haue no traffique with forren nations, for they are molested on both sides with most cruell enemies. For westward they are oppressed by *Ischia*, and eastward by the king of Borno. When I my selfe was in Borno, king *Abraham* hauing leuied an huge armie, determined to expell the prince of Guangara out of his kingdome, had he not beene hindred by *Homar* the prince of Gaoga, which began to assaile the kingdome of Borno. Wherefore the king of Borno being drawne home into his owne countrie, was enforced to giue ouer the conquest of Guangara. So often as the merchants of Guangara trauell unto the foresaid region abounding with gold, because the waies are so rough and difficult that their camels cannot goe vpon them, they carrie their wares vpon slaues backes; who being laden with great burthens doe vsually trauell ten or twelue miles a day. Yea some I saw that made two of those iourneies in one day: a woonder it is to see what heauie burthens these poore slaues are charged withall; for besides the merchandize they carrie victuals also for their masters, and for the soldiers that goe to garde them.²²

Of the kingdome of Borno.

THE large prouince of Borno bordering westward vpon the prouince of Guangara, and from thence extending eastward fise hundred miles, is distant from the fountaine of Niger almost an hundred and fiftie miles, the south part thereof adioining vnto the desert of Set, and the north part vnto that desert which lieth towards Barca. The situation of this kingdome is very vneuen, some part thereof being mountainous, and the residue plaine. Vpon the plaines are sundry villages inhabited by rich merchants, and abounding with corne. The king of this region and

all his followers dwell in a certaine large village.²³ The mountaines being inhabited by herdesmen and shepherds doe bring foorth mill and other graine altogether vnknowne to vs. The inhabitants in summer goe all naked saue their priuie members which they couer with a peece of leather: but al winter they are clad in skins, and haue beds of skins also. They embrace no religion at all, being neither Christians, Mahumetans, nor Iewes, nor of any other profession, but liuing after a brutish manner, and hauing wiues and children in common: and (as I vnderstood of a certaine merchant that abode a long time among them) they haue no proper names at all, but euery one is nicknamed according to his length, his fatnes, or some other qualitie.²⁴ They haue a most puissant prince, being lineally descended from the Libyan people called Bardoa. Horsemen he hath in a continuall readines to the number of three thousand, & an huge number of footmen; for al his subiects are so seruiceable and obedient vnto him, that whensoever he commandeth them, they wil arme themselues and follow him whither he pleaseth to conduct them. They paye vnto him none other tribute but the tithes of all their corne: neither hath this king any reuenues to maintaine his estate, but ouely such spoiles as he getteth from his next enimes by often inuasions and assaults.²⁵ He is at perpetuall enmitie with a certaine people inhabiting beyond the desert of Seu,²⁶ who in times past marching with an huge armie of footemen ouer the said desert, wasted a great part of the kingdome of Borno. Whereupon the king of Borno sent for the merchants of Barbary, and willed them to bring him great store of horses: for in this countrey they vse to exchange horses for slaues, and to giue fifteene, and sometime twentie slaues for one horse. And by this meanes there were abundance of horses brought: howbeit the merchants were constrained to stay for their slaues till the king returned

*The desert of
Seu.*

*Fifteene or
twentie slaues
exchanged for
one horse.*

home conquerour with a great number of captiues, and satisfied his creditors for their horses. And oftentimes it falleth out that the merchants must stay three months together, before the king returneth from the warres, but they are all that while maintained at the kings charges. Sometimes he bringeth not home slaues enough to satisfie the merchants: and otherwhiles they are constrained to awaite there a whole yeere together; for the king maketh inuasions but every yeere once, & that at one set and appointed time of the yeere. Yea I my selfe met with sundrie merchants heere, who despairing of the kings payment, bicause they had trusted him an whole yeere, determined neuer to come thither with horses againe. And yet the king seemeth to be marueilous rich; for his spurres, his bridles, platters, dishes, pots, and other vessels wherein his meate and drinke are brought to the table, are all of pure golde: yea, and the chaines of his dogs and hounds are of golde also. Howbeit this king is extreameley couetous, for he had much rather pay his debts in slaues than in gold. In this kingdome are great multitudes of Negros and of other people, the names of whom (bicause I tarried heere but one moneth) I could not well note.

Of the kingdome of Gaoga.

GAoga bordering westward vpon the kingdome of Borno, and extending eastward to the confines of Nubia, adioineth southward vnto a certaine desert situate vpon a crooked and winding part of Nilus, and is enclosed northward with the frontiers of Egypt. It stretcheth from east to west in length fise hundred miles, and as much in bredth. They haue neither humanitie not learning among them, but are most rusticall and sauage people, and especially those that inhabite the mountaines, who go all naked saue their priuities: their houses are made of boughes & rafts, and are much subiect to burning, and

they haue great abundance of cattel, whereunto they giue diligent attendance. For many yeers they remained in libertie, of which libertie they were deprived by a certaine Negro slaue of the same region. This slaue lying vpon a certaine night with his master that was a wealthie merchant, & considering that he was not far from his natiue country, slue his saide master, possessed his goods, and returned home: where hauing bought a certaine number of horses, he began to inuade the people next adioning, and obtained for the most part the victorie: for he conducted a troupe of most valiant & warlike horsmen against his enimies that were but slēderly appointed. And by this means he tooke great numbers of captiues, whom he exchanged for horses that were brought out of Egypt: insomuch that at length (the number of his souldiers increasing) he was accounted of by all men as soueraigne K. of Gaoga. After him succeeded his son, being no whit inferiour in valour & high courage vnto his father; who reigned for the space of fortie yeeres. Next him succeeded his brother *Moses*, & after *Moses* his nephew *Homara*, who beareth rule at this present. This *Homara* hath greatly enlarged his dominions, and hath entred league with the Soldan of Cairo, by whom he is often presented with magnificent gifts, which he most bountifully requiteth: also diuers merchants of Egypt, and diuers inhabitants of Cairo present most pretious and rare things vnto him, and highly commend his surpassing liberalitie. This prince greatly honoureth all learned men, and especially such as are of the linage of Mahumet. I my selfe being in his court, a certaine noble man of Damiata brought him very rich and roiall gifts, as namely, a gallant horse, a Turkish sworde, and a kingly robe, with certaine other particulars that cost about an hundred and fiftie ducates at Cairo: in recompence whereof the king gaue him five slaues, five camels, five hundred ducates of that region, and an hundred elephants teeth of woonderfull bignes.²⁷

*A Negro-slaue
who hauing
slaine his Lord
grew to great
might and
authoritie.*

Of the kingdome of Nubia.

Nubia bordering westward vpon the kingdome last described, and stretching from thence vnto Nilus, is enclosed on the southside with the desert of Goran,²⁸ and on the north side with the confines of Egypt. Howbeit they cannot passe by water from this kingdome into Egypt: for the riuer of Nilus is in some places no deeper then a man may wade ouer on foote. The principall towne of this kingdome called Dangala is exceeding populous,²⁹ and containeth to the number of ten thousand families. The wals of their houses consist of a kinde of chalc,³⁰ and the roofes are couered with strawe. The townesmen are exceeding rich and ciuill people, and haue great traffike with the merchants of Cairo & of Egypt: in other parts of this kingdome you shall finde none but villages and hamlets situate vpon the riuer of Nilus, all the inhabitants whereof are husbandmen. The kingdome of Nubia is most rich in corne and sugar, which notwithstanding they knowe not how to vse. Also in the citie of Dangala there is great plentie of ciuet and Sandall-wood.³¹ This region aboundeth with Iuory likewise, bicause heere are so many elephants taken. Heere is also a most strong and deadly poison, one graine whereof being diuided amongst ten persons, will kill them all within lesse then a quarter of an hower: but if one man taketh a graine, he dieth thereof out of hand. An ounce of this poison is solde for an hundred ducates; neither may it be solde to any but to forraine merchants, & whosoeuer buieth it is bound by an oath not to vse it in the kingdome of Nubia. All such as buy of this poison are constrained to pay as much vnto the king, as to the merchant: but if any man selleth poison without the princes knowledge, he is presently put to death.³² The king of Nubia maintaineth continuall warre, partly against the people of Goran (who being descended of the people

The riuer of Nilus not navigable betwene Nubia and Egypt.

The rich commodities of Nubia.

Most strong poyson.

called Zingani, inhabite the deserts, and speake a kinde of language that no other nation vnderstandeth) and partly against certaine other people also dwelling vpon the desert which lieth eastward of Nilus, and stretcheth towards the red sea, being not farre from the borders of Suachen. Their language (as I take it) is mixt, for it hath great affinity with the Chaldean toong, with the language of Suachen, and with the language of Ethiopia the higher, where *Prete Gianni* is said to beare rule: the people themselves are called Bugiha, and are most base and miserable, and liue onely vpon milke, camels-flesh and the flesh of such beasts as are taken in those deserts. Sometimes they receiue tribute of the gouernour of Suachen, and sometimes of the gouernours of Dangala. They had once a rich towne situate vpon the red sea called Zibid, whereunto belonged a commodious hauen, being opposite vnto the hauen of Zidem, which is fortie miles distant from Mecca. But an hundred yeeres since it was destroyed by the Soldan, bicause the inhabitants receiued certaine wares which should haue beene carried to Mecca, and at the same time the famous port of Zibid was destroyed, from whence notwithstanding was gathered a great yeerely tribute. The inhabitants being chased from thence fledde vnto Dangala and Suachin, and at length being ouercome in battaile by the gouernour of Suachin, there were in one day slaine of them aboute fower thousand, and a thousand were carried captiue vnto Suachin, who were massacred by the women and children of the citie.³³ And thus much (friendly reader) as concerning the lande of Negros: the fiteene kingdomes whereof agreeing much in rites and customes, are subiect vnto fower princes onely. Let vs now proceed vnto the description of Egypt.

Here endeth the seuenth booke.

NOTES TO BOOK VII.

(1) Leo takes this account avowedly from Mas'ûdi's *Murûj us-Zahab* ("Meadows of Gold"), A.D. 943-44, and El-Bekri's *Kitâb ul-mesâlek-wâl-memâlek* ("The Book of Roads and Realms"), A.D. 1067. But he is quite wrong in affirming that nothing was known of Negroland until the Barbary traders crossed the desert (A.D. 994); for Ibn Haukal, who began his travels in A.D. 943, gives the distances between Segelmessa and Audaghort, Ghama, Kuku, Kugha, and "Ulil", where there were salt mines (*MS.* in Leyden University Library, p. 34; Walckenaer, *Recherches Géog. sur l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, p. 13. It is not given in Ouseley's imperfect translation of Ibn Haukal—*Oriental Geography*, 1800—"A certaine Mahumetan which came into Barbarie," etc., is in the Italian version "e la causa fu questa, che allore Luntuna e tutto il popolo di Libia per causa d'un predicatore si fece maumettano, e venne ad alitare nella Barberia, e cominciò a praticare, e aver cognizione di detti paesi" (Reprint, 1837). That is, the Land of the Negroes was thus discovered. The family of Luntuna and all the people of Lybia were through a (Mohammedan) preacher converted to Mohammedanism. He then came to live in Barbary, and strove to inform himself and did acquire a knowledge of that country (Negroland).

(2) The five nations of Libya here referred to seem to be the Lemtuna, Lemta, Jedala, Tuâreg, and Zenega, collectively known from wearing the *litham* or face covering (still seen among the Tuâreg) as the "Moleththemîn", or Litham-bearers. The propaganda of Islam among the desert races was virtually begun by Yahia Ibn Ibrahim, a Tuâreg chief, and founder of the Almohade dynasty. He sought the help of Wahâj Ibn Zelu, a disciple of Abu Amran, a Marabout of Kairwan, though originally from Fez (A.D. 1035-47). Wahâj Ibn Zelu resided at Malkus, near Marakesh; but not caring to go on the mission himself, he sent his disciple, Abd Allah Ibn Yazin of Segelmessa, who established a "zuia" on an island near the mouth of the Senegal, where in time his followers became known as El-Marâbitin, familiar to us under the corrupt form of Almoravides. They soon became very powerful, and under the leadership of Yahia Ibn Omar subdued the neighbouring tribes. They next menaced Morocco; and in A.D. 1053 (A.H. 445), Segelmessa was captured and occupied. Abu Bekr, who succeeded his brother, Yahia Ibn Omar, after making

himself master of the Wad-Nun country, Sus, Tarudant, and Aghmat, penetrated in A.D. 1058 (A.H. 450) to Tedla, and destroyed the Ifrenide princes and the Berghuata who inhabited the littoral of Anfa and Temesna. Having been struck with paralysis in the desert, Abu Bekr handed over his authority to his cousin Yussuf Ibn Tashfin, who thereupon marched against the Sudan races, ninety days' journey south of the Almoravide countries.—Godard, *Le Maroc*, p. 310.

(3) Hajj Mohammed ben Abu Bakr Askia ("Abuacre Izchia) was actually King of Songhai ("Sungai"). His conquests were just beginning when Leo visited Negroland, so that our traveller must have obtained most of his information regarding Askia's subsequent proceedings from Arab merchants who disliked the usurper, owing to the heavy taxes he levied for the support of his great armed force—the duties on merchandise interfering seriously with trade. He founded the homonymous dynasty of the Askia by rising against Sonni Abu Bakr Dau, son of Sonni Ali ("Sonni Heli" of Leo), a powerful monarch, who (A.H. 894, A.D. 1488) wrested Timbuktu from the Tuâreg, who had captured it from Meli.

Askia—whom Barth justly characterises as perhaps the greatest sovereign that ever ruled over Negroland—was a native of the island of Neni, a little below Zinder on the Niger, and hence (unlike Sonni Ali, who was of Arab or, more probably, Berber origin) a good specimen of what the pure-blooded negro is capable of becoming. Popular with the rigid Mohammedans—instead of being odious in their eyes as Sonni Ali was—Askia, at the very period that Almeida and Albuquerque were doubling the Cape of Storms and founding the Portuguese Indian Empire, extended his conquests from Hausa to near the Atlantic, and from Mossi as far as Tuat, everywhere ruling with equity and vigour.

Askia, or Sikkia, was assumed by him as his royal title (A.D. 1492, A.H. 898). After a reign of thirty-six and a half years, he was compelled to abdicate by his rebellious son, Askia Musa, and died in dishonour A.D. 1537 (A.H. 944).—Barth, *Travels*, vol. iv, pp. 414, 596-605.

This chapter is not very fully translated. Thus the "former king", to whom Abu Bekr was "Capitano", is not given as "Soni Heli, King of Tumbutto and Gago of the family of the Libyan tribes"; nor is it correct for Leo to say that Abu Bekr "dopo la morte del detto si rebellò contra i figliuoli, i quelli fece morire e tornò il dominio nei Negri", since Sonni Abu Bekr Dau fled to Abar (Adar), where he died. Nor does he correctly translate how Askia by his munificence on the pilgrimage to Mecca "spese tutti i suoi tesori, e rimase debitore di centocinquanta milia ducati" (spent all his wealth and became in debt 150,000 ducats or mithkals). Nothing is said about getting in

debt to "other princes", which, all things considered, would have been in the highest degree improbable. But, according to the chronicle of Ahmed Baba of Timbuktu—of which Barth was allowed to take hurried extracts—Askia went to Mecca with 1,500 armed men, and 300,000 mithkals to defray his expenses. His official investiture as Khalifa in Songhai was performed in the Holy City by the Shereef El-Abbási. He also founded a charitable institution in Mecca for the people Tekrur; so that a sovereign of such lavish generosity might well have exceeded his estimated expenditure.

(4) Walata. When Ibn Batuta visited it in A.D. 1352-53 (A.H. 753, 754) Walata was an important commercial centre; but soon after the conquests of Sonni Ali, as Leo mentions, its trade went over to Timbuktu and Gago.

Walata is the Arab and Tuâreg name, while Biru is the one applied to it by the Negro Azer, a section of the Aswanek, who are the original inhabitants of the place. It is at present a town of well-built clay houses, each with a rough coat of plaster. The region close to the district of El-Hodh at the foot of the Dahr Walata hills, and in a well-wooded valley, is considered very unhealthy. But there is little business, and in Barth's day it was described as a "seat of poverty and misery": an unflattering characterisation which does not agree with the statements of Ca da Mosto in 1513, or of Alioun Sal in 1860. It is inhabited by a mixed race of whites and blacks—Berbers, Arabs and Azer—who speak the Azeriyya idiom, and bear an indifferently different reputation.

"Mil seed", or millet, is perhaps *Pennisetum typhoideum*, not maize, as Pory adds, with superfluous erudition.

(5) Jinni or Jenni, founded in A.D. 1033-34 (A.H. 435), according to the documents from which Barth (vol. iv, p. 582) compiled his "Chronological Table of Songhay and the neighbouring Kingdoms". It soon became wealthy, owing to the trade in salt from Teghâza and in gold from Bitu (Leo's Bito, the Bede of Denham and Clapperton, according to Cooley, *Negroland of the Arabs*, p. 129). About A.D. 1203-4 (A.H. 600) most of the inhabitants, including the king, embraced Islam. Soon afterwards it became subject to Mari Jatah, King of Meli, on the Upper Niger; and as the principal market of the Fulahs, Joloff, Zenagha, Serracoliths, and the inhabitants of Western Tekrur and the Udaya, attained the zenith of its prosperity (De Barros, *Asia*, ed. Lisboa 1778, lib. i, chap. 8, p. 220). In A.H. 873 (A.D. 1468-9) it was conquered after great slaughter by Sonni Ali. At that time it enjoyed a prosperous trade in native cloth (De Barros, *lib. cit.*, p. 257; Kunstmann, *Abhandl. der K. Bayer. Akad. kl. iii*, vol. viii).

Leo is our only authority for the fact that Askia kept the King of

Jinni prisoner in his own capital. A more correct translation of the passage is, however, that Askia, having invaded the country and taken prisoner the last King of the Libyan (Berber) race who had become tributary to Sonni Ali, held him captive in Gogo till his death, and governed the kingdom by a deputy ("Con un suo luogotenante" There is nothing in the original about a "certaine nobleman").

Leo derived Guinea from Jinni, and most likely correctly. But there are rival etymologies—Ginahoa, the first negro country visited by the Portuguese, Ghana, Jenna, a coast town, once of note, etc.—among which it is idle to choose. Caillié was the first European—at least, in later times—to enter Jinni, though Mungo Park saw it on his last journey. "Tutte le case di costoro sono fatte a modo di capanne, ma investite di creta, e coperte di paglia"—is not quite correctly translated. It should be: The houses are built in the shape of hamlets, the walls of clay (which Leo usually renders "creta"), and thatched with straw. In reality, they are built of sun-dried bricks, and lime is unknown, though Temporal rather freely translates the passage—"blanches de craye". When Caillié visited it the houses were mostly of a better quality and the town surrounded by a low, badly-constructed wall. But the inhabitants had evidently improved by their intercourse with the Moors and other foreign merchants.

(6) Meli, Melli, Melle, Malli, or Mally was a prosperous kingdom when Ibn Batuta visited its capital. He describes it as the residence of the "king of the black men—Mansa Sleiman", "Mansa" signifying Sultan. Many merchants seem to have visited it, and cowries (*Cypræa moneta*) were, as is still the custom in that region, used in place of money (Ibn Batuta, ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, t. iv, pp. 397 *et seq.*, 435, 439). But before that date the kingdom had played a great part in the Sudan. In about A.D. 1235-60 Mari Jatah, King of Meli, conquered the Susu, who at that time were masters of Ghamata. Mansa Kunkur Musa, the greatest of the Meli monarchs, who, according to Ahmed Baba of Timbuktú (Rohlf's, *Zeitsch. Leipzig Oriental Soc.*, vol. ix, p. 530) possessed "an aggressive strength without measure or limit", extended his dominions by absorbing Baghena (the remnants of the disrupted kingdoms of Baghena, Zagma, Timbuktú and Songhai, with its capital Gogo. His wealth was so great that he made the Mekka pilgrimage with a following like an army—his route being by way of Walata and Tuat and Gogo (or Gagho). Mansa Sleiman, who was Sultan at the time of Ibn Batuta's visit (A.D. 1352-53), in A.D. 1336 again occupied Timbuktú, which had apparently been left to itself for some years. About A.D. 1433 the Meli empire began to decline, its power being divided among a number of semi-independent governors, with the result that

the Tuâreg spread desolation on every side. Yet in 1454 Alvise di Ca da Mosto (*Prima Navigazione*, c. 13) could still describe it as the most powerful of the Negroland kingdoms, and the most important for traffic in gold and slaves. In 1501, Askia made Meli part of his empire—a fact noted by Leo. Meli was perhaps the town called Zillen or Zalna by Ahmed Baba, the inhabitants of which were sold into slavery when Askia took and added this and other important towns to the Songhai empire, already extending 1,500 miles from east to west and 1,000 miles from north to south. It was Leo who first made the word Songhai (Sungai) familiar to Europe, De Barros also using it. After this Meli waned rapidly, its sovereign bearing the title of Ferengh instead of Mansa. But its final extinction as an empire was due to a civil war between the sons of Ferengh Mahmud, about the middle of the seventeenth century, in which all the most powerful tribes in that part of Africa engaged. The result was that the capital of Meli was destroyed, and the country divided up among the various participants in this suicidal struggle. The Baghena lordship was given by Mulai Ismail of Morocco, under a sort of feudal tenure, to the chief of the Mebarek tribe.

(7) Tin-Buktu, "the well of Buktu", as it has been fancifully translated: Timbuctoo, to use the familiar spelling: Timbuktu in more accurate form—once a city of mystery and fable, is now so familiar that it is no longer necessary to speculate regarding the exact meaning of Leo's statements, or what modicum of truth they possess. In the editor's *Africa* (vol. i, pp. 26-312; vol. iv, p. 298) notes may be found on the numerous vacillations of opinion regarding this country, and journeys in search of it; and in Barth's *Travels* (vol. iv, pp. 403, 480, etc.) and Lenz's *Timbuktu* (vol. ii, p. 114 *et seq.*), the fullest information is embodied on the history and condition of the city prior to the French occupying it on the 10th January, 1893. Its subsequent fate has been chronicled by MM. Hubert et Delafosse in *Tombouctou, son histoire, sa conquête* (1894) and by Zoudevan in *Tijdschrift Netherlandsch Aardrijck-Genootschap*, vol. ix (1892), pp. 375-400. In the *Comptes Rendus* of the Paris Geographical Society, 1894, Nos. 18, 19, and 1895, p. 62, the information collected by the French military officers is embodied. I may, however, supplement Leo's description by a few explanatory remarks. Timbuktu means in the Songhai language a hollow, and perhaps got the name from being built in the cavity of the sand hills. It was founded towards the end of the fifth century of the Hegeira (A.D. 1087-8) by the Tuâreg, who have since used its site as an occasional camping-place.—Barth, *Travels*, vol. iv, p. 584.

(8) Since Leo's day the influence of the Moors has been most marked; for, with the exception of some conical mat huts, the houses

are now well built of clay ("chalke"—creta) around courtyards, and with terraces, not thatched, as described by the viator of four centuries ago. Pory, copying Florianus, has not quite correctly translated this passage—"Le cui case sono capanne fatte di pali, coperte di creta [in the Latin *Cujus domus omnes in tuguriola cretaceæ*], coi cortivi di paglia." It should be: The houses here are built like cabins, the walls are hurdles plastered over with clay, and the houses covered with reeds (straw). Moore, by his ingenuity in mistranslating "capanne" (which he mistakes for "campane"), as "bells", still further confuses Leo's meaning; though, no doubt, bell-shaped or conical is very applicable to the usual Nigritic style of architecture.

The statement that almost half of the city was, during Leo's second visit, burnt down in the course of five hours, and that fires were one of the perils to which it was peculiarly subject, rather confirms the description of the inflammable character of the buildings in 1500.—See M. Jomard's remarks in Caillié's *Travels* (English ed.), vol. ii, p. 343.

The Great Mosque and the palace were built by Mansa Musa, King of Meli, as a half-legible inscription over the principal gate attests. The architect—"un eccellente maestro di Granata"—was Ishak, commonly called Es-Saheli, as if he were a native of Morocco, not of Granada. But the Sankoré mosque is generally regarded as the oldest in the city.

(9) This description of the magnificence of Askia is no doubt quite accurate. For his plunder must have been accumulating fast, while his military forces and the merchants whom they attracted to Timbuktu must have given employment to a great many people during the moderately enlightened rule of Askia's brother, Omar, as "Tumbutukoy" (Viceroy of Timbuktu), in spite of Sonni Ali having sacked it thirty years previously (A.D. 1468-9, A.H. 873). Timbuktu has decayed very greatly during the last four centuries: for at the date of Lenz's visit—1880—the entire population did not exceed 20,000, with a few traders and their followers during the caravan season; and until the French occupation the place still further approached insignificance by reason of the anarchy and pillage of the Tuâreg, and their rivals, the Fulahs, added to the competition of the European trading ports on the Niger. Askia did not, as Leo seemed to have imagined, reside habitually in Timbuktu, Gogo being his capital. But unless he derived his information regarding Askia's regal state from second-hand information, the king must at the period of one of Leo's two visits (probably within an interval of a few months) have been in the city or its vicinity, as indeed was his custom at that period of his life. Kabara was also one of his favourite residences, but Gogo was most frequently Askia's home.

(10) "Books and firearms" were the articles which Barth found most in demand, and to this day the Mogador traders in fitting out caravans for Timbuktu always include MSS. of the *Koran* and other religious works among their regular merchandise. There are several good libraries in the place, containing many valuable MSS., with the contents of which Europe is now likely to become better acquainted. The exclusion of Jews from Timbuktu continued until the year 1858, when the late Rabbi Mordokhai Abi Serour, of Akka, succeeded in gaining permission to reside and trade in the city; and since that date several of his relatives and co-religionists have established themselves there, and it is understood that many more—now that anarchy is at an end—are likely to become permanent citizens.—Beaumier, *Bull. de la Soc. Géog. Paris*, April-May, 1870.

The Cowrie currency mentioned by Leo is still in use over a wide extent of the Niger country. To show the approximate value of the shells—Barth bought in Timbuktu, forty years ago, a piece of good bleached calico—"shigge", or "sehem hindi" as it is still called, as it was in Silla more than eight centuries ago (El-Bekri, ed. Slane, 1857, p. 173)—for 13,500 shells, and three pieces of unbleached calico for 8,000 each. Three thousand shells were accounted equal to one Spanish dollar—a much higher rate of exchange than prevailed in Leo's time.

(11) Kabara, the port of Timbuktu, situated on a *cul de sac* of the Niger, five miles from thé city—not "twelve", as in the rather obscure statement of Leo, not improved by his translators—the desert space between the two being known as Ur-immandes ("He—God—does not hear") from the fact that people are murdered here without their cries reaching anyone able to succour them. Ibn Batuta, on his visit to "Tomboktu" in 1352-53, sailed on the river from Kabara to Gogo. At one time Kabara was even more important than Timbuktu, but it is nowadays a somnolent village of some 2,000 people, living in dome-shaped houses, and in no way distinguished either by wealth or intelligence. The sanitary condition of the place has not improved since Leo's visit.—See Caron, *De Saint Louis au port de Tombouktou* (1891), pp. 281, *et seq.*; Deportes, *Extrême Sud de l'Algérie, Le Gourara, Le Touat, In-Sulah, Le Tidikelt, Le Pays de Touaregs, l'Adrar, Tin Bouctou, Agades* (1890), pp. 380-413. Askia had many brothers, whom he entrusted with great power, and who requited him better than did his mutinous and almost patricidal sons. Except for Leo's reference to Abu Bakr, surnamed Pergama, they are not known in history.—See, also, for some now obsolete criticisms on certain passages in Leo, Cock, in Adams's apocryphal *Narrative*, p. 188.

(12) Gogo, Gago, Gagho, Gawo, or Gao, the capital of the Songhai empire, and during Askia's reign a very important place. Makhled Ibn Kaidád (better known as Abu Yezid, the Nekarite), who figured in the revolutions of Northern Africa, was born here. His father, however, came from Tozer for trading purposes, which shows the antiquity of commercial relations between Barbary and the Sudan (Ibn Khaldoun, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. Slane, t. iii, p. 201). Wargla, by which he travelled, and where his son took refuge in A.H. 325 (A.D. 957), Barth regards as the Bakalitis of Ptolemy (lib. iv, c. vii, p. 305, ed. Wilberg), and therefore even more ancient than is supposed. In El-Bekri's time "Gogo" consisted of two towns, one the residence of the King and the Mohammedans, the other the Pagan quarter, though already Islam had made such progress that no one but a Mohammedan could rule. Gogo was at that time the chief market for salt, which was brought from the Berber town of Tautek, distant fifteen days' travel. About a century later (A.D. 1153) Edrisi tells us that the people of Gogo dominated over the surrounding country, and were rich in horses and camels. The great men were clothed handsomely, and wore the "litham", or face covering; while humbler folk dressed in leathern shirts or upper garments. So well advanced were commercial relations between Negroland and North Africa (which Leo affirms began about the close of the tenth century after Christ), that already Gogo did a brisk trade with Augila. About A.D. 1770, the town and principality hitherto ruled by the "Ruma" or descendants of the soldiers left as garrison by Mulaï Ahmed Abu-l-Abbás el-Mansur of Morocco in 1590, was taken by the Awleimmeden Tuâreg. This spot, from whence the powerful princes whose capital it was, extended their conquests far and near (and at a time when Timbuktu was—what indeed it always has been—a mere trading provincial town), is nowadays a poor place, with few signs of having seen better days. The great mosque in which the victorious Askia is buried has been allowed to fall into ruins, and the private dwellings are little better than hovels. The town seems (as Leo states) never to have been surrounded by a wall, and to have had in its most flourishing days a circumference of something like six miles. But nothing now remains of the palace, which so little impressed Jaudar, the Moorish general, that he wrote to Mulaï Ahmed that the house of the Sheikh el-Haram in Morocco was much finer than the palace of the Askia. Indeed, the architecture of Gogo seems to have been on a par with that of the rest of the Niger cities, until they aped that of Barbary, introduced perhaps after Jaudar's conquests in A.D. 1588-9 (see *Introduction*). As the valiant eunuch of Mulaï Ahmed wished to accept Ishak Askia's ransom of 1,000 slaves and 100,000 mithkal of gold—a piece of complaisance which cost Jaudar his command—it is just possible that he minimised the modest splendour of Gogo. Leo reached it by sailing

from Kabara, so that it is absurd to argue that he had never been on the Niger, and was ignorant of its course, simply because he gave its *general* direction to the Atlantic as westerly (Cock, in Adams's *Narrative*, p. 191). Rennell's criticism on Leo placing Ghana to the westward of Timbuktu is based on the supposition that Ghana and Kano were identical.—Thomson, *Mungo Park*, p. 193.

(13) Gober, the most northern of the Haussa states, the home of the Imâm Othman ben-Fodio (Fodiye), by whom the great Fulah revolution, in progress about the time of Mungo Park's explorations, was brought about. The Goberawa were at one time masters of Air, or Arben. Barth doubts Leo's statements about Askia's later proceedings, being inclined to think that the Moorish traveller had confounded Askia with Kanta, the ruler of Leka, in the province of Kebbi.

(14) For shoes read sandals (calzolaj)? Gober was at one time celebrated, as are still some of the Niger towns, for its leather wares.

(15) Agades, on the right bank of the Wad Tilua, is still a prosperous town, the citizens of which possess, as in Leo's day, numbers of male slaves employed on their trading expeditions in the Sudan. Amid many ruins there are still plenty of substantial houses betokening wealth and even culture of the African order. But the palace of the Sultan—"un bel palazzo in mezzo della città"—where he housed his court and a large garrison, seems to have disappeared, since the huge ruin in the southern quarter can scarcely be identified with this building. Of the seventy mosques which are said to have formerly existed, only ten are still in use. Leather working, mat-plaiting, and blacksmithing are carried on here. The iron-work, though barbarous in design, is especially interesting; and in most parts of Africa, as in mediæval Europe, the smith is an important personage.

(16) Agades was at one time regarded as identical with Audaghost, or Aoudarast of Edrisi and of El-Bekri, merely owing to the similarity of the names. But Mr. Cooley (*Negroland of the Arabs*, p. 6 *et seq.*) showed this to be erroneous, with which judgment most late commentators agree (De Slane, *Rev. Africaine*, t. i, p. 289), though whether Auderas (Wateran of Rennell), between Air and Agades, is a safer guess, is not worth discussing (Renou, *Expl. Scientifique de l'Algérie*, t. ii, p. 327). But Agades, or Egedesh, is a pure Berber word, of frequent occurrence, particularly among the Awleimmeden, and in no way connected with Audaghost. According to Barth (*Travels*, vol. i, p. 458), the name means "family," and

is well chosen for a town consisting of mixed elements. Audaghost was, moreover, in existence at the time that El-Bekri wrote—namely, in the eleventh century. When Agades was built is not certain; for Marmol's statement that it was founded 160 years before the time when he wrote (that is to say, 1460) must be received with some doubt. Otherwise, Leo would have been certain to have noted the fact of a place which he describes with some minuteness being not older than fifty or sixty years when he visited it. But all that he says is—"Agadez è una città murata, edificata dai moderni rè"—"by a certain King" being simply a translation of "a quodam Rege", one of the many liberties with the text which Florianus took. Yet in A.D. 1515 the great Askia captured this town, and drove out of it the few Berber tribes who had settled here, establishing in their place most likely a colony of his own people; which explains why, so far from its original centre, a dialect of Songhai language, mixed with Berber elements, is spoken in Agades. In Leo's day the place had not yet undergone the change. But even then he seemed to regard it as a negro town:—"The inhabitants are all whiter than other Negroes" (E questa città è quasi vicina alla città dei Bianchi più che alcun'altra de' Negri). Yet though he does not mention Askia's expedition against Agades, he takes note of those against Katsena and Kano, which took place two years earlier, and states that the King of Agades paid a tribute of 150,000 ducats to "the King of Tombuto" (Gogo). Indeed, considering that Leo accompanied his uncle on an official visit to Askia, he seems to have come very little in contact with the great conqueror, if at all, and to have received his information about him largely at second hand; and though the details regarding Askia's proceedings are generally correct, he is at times strangely confused. Thus he mentions that Askia having reigned fifteen (quindici) years, and made peace with his neighbours, went on the Mecca pilgrimage. Yet this event is not correctly stated; for Askia ascended the throne on the 14th Jumad, 898 (A.D. 1493), and went on the Mecca pilgrimage in Safer, 902 (A.D. 1495), returning to Gogo in A.H. 903 (August, 1497-8)—consequently in the fifth (Mohammedan) year of his reign. Yet Leo obtained information, perhaps from later writers, after his return to Barbary, of Askia's expedition against Katsena and the adjoining provinces, which was made in A.H. 919 (A.D. 1513). Consequently, Barth was induced to believe that Leo, in describing Agades, speaks of its condition prior to Askia's expedition of A.D. 1515, a date at which Leo must have completed his Niger-land travels (see *Introduction*). But as Leo gives us no exact dates it is often impossible to say how far he is speaking as an eye-witness, or how far from more or less trustworthy information picked up among the trader caravans. Leo also describes the king as a Berber; and certainly the unruly, restless character of the Berber population so unlike the easily-governed Negro, is markedly characteristic of the

Tuâreg population of Agades to this day. The tradition of the people is that the city was originally peopled from a small town in the Irnallen Valley, of which some vestiges, with two or three date trees, remnants of a large plantation, remain to the present day (Barth, *Travels*, vol. iv, pp. 462-68). Founded evidently as a trading centre more convenient than Tegidda (famous in Ibn Batuta, and Ibn Khaldoun's days for copper, and now for reddish-coloured salt), it speedily attained great prosperity. It had its own standard weight of gold—the mithkal—which even yet regulates the circulating medium. Thus while the Timbuktu mithkal is in regard to the Spanish dollar as $1\frac{1}{3}$ to 1, the Agades one is only as $\frac{2}{3}$ to 1. For wholesale business a greater weight was used. This was the "karruive", of which the smaller contained 33 mithkals and a third, equal to 2 rottls and a 117th, while the larger karruive contained 100 mithkals, equal to 6 rottls and a half. The Sultan is chosen by a compact among the tribes from among a Sherifian family, and lives, not in Agades, but in a Gobes town: this ruler being really the chief of the Tuâreg tribes, who are almost constantly at war with each other. Now, as in Leo's time, the Sultan's chief source of revenue is the tax of ten mithkals (four Spanish dollars) on all merchandise—food excepted—entering the town. ("Riceve il re gran rendita delle gabelle che pagano le robe de' forestieri, e anco di quello che nasce nel regno.") At present the population numbers seven or eight thousand, many of whom are always absent on trading expeditions, though the commerce is now inconsiderable compared with what it was in former times. Money, or its representative, either in cowries or cloth, is rarely in the market, the standard being millet (*Pennisetum typhoideum*) durra, or sorghum (*Holcus sorghum*), (List of prices in Barth, *lib. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 479). Grain is the main object of speculation by the Tuates, who still form the most numerous section of the foreign traders, though not indulging in large transactions; and then in the greater number of cases they are merely the commission agents or middlemen of the Ghadames capitalist. Hence, while well-dressed epicures from Tuat are frequent, wealthy ones are rare. The word "Zingané" is translated by Temporal as Gypsies (*Bomiens ou Egyptiens*), and no doubt correctly. The shepherds' huts are built to-day in the very manner described by Leo.—Walckenaer, *Recherches Géographiques*, etc., pp. 316-320, 449; Richardson, *Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa*, vol. ii, p. 57 (mainly a summary of Barth's account).

(17) Kano, not Ghana or Ghanata of El-Bekri, as at one time generally supposed, the question having been decided by Cooley (*Negroland of the Arabs*, p. 5, *et seq.*). Kano is still a large busy town, much frequented by traders, especially since the occupation of Katsena

by the Fulahs in 1807. Barth gives a view of the place in 1850 (*Travels*, vol. ii, p. 110); but considers that in his account of its history Leo confounds Kano with Katsena. In the second half of the sixteenth century the fortress of Dala, which withstood the Bornuese attack, must have been the only part of Kano in existence. According to Clapperton and Banks's estimate, the modern town may contain from 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants of a very mixed character; though during the influx of caravans between January and April the number sometimes rises to 60,000. Cotton cloth of native weaving is the chief article of sale, though artificers of various fabrics flourish, and in the bazaar Manchester and Sheffield wares are quite common.

The province itself (in the original Leo calls it "una gran provincia") comprises a fertile, well-populated district, the inhabitants being now alternately subject to Bornu and Sokoto, though the governor is practically independent.

The conquest of Zzeg, Katsena (Casena) and Kano by Askia is mentioned in such set terms by Leo that it is difficult to accept Barth's doubt whether the Moorish historian did not confound Askia with Kanta, the ruler of Kebbi. Leo's information must have been second-hand—obtained in an exaggerated form from traders; for Ahmed Baba makes no allusion to any expedition of Askia's three years after his first. Indeed, "such an expedition is", Barth affirms, "wholly impossible, on account of the hostility of Kanta, who made himself independent of Songhay, the second year after the expedition to Katsena (A.D. 1514), and there was no road from Songhay to Kano except through Kebbi". "Chalk" (creta) should here, as elsewhere, be translated "clay". These Nigritic kings seem to have had at an early date communication with the Portuguese, who about A.D. 1471 sent an embassy to Sonni Ali, asking permission to establish a factory at Wadan (Hoden), which, however, being in too barren a spot and too far from the coast, was soon abandoned. Again, when the Moors took Gogo, they found in that town "a piece of artillery bearing the Portuguese arms, a small image of Our Lady, and a metal crucifix".—Jorge de Mendoza Da Franca, among *Papeles Curiosas*, in the Egerton Collection, Brit. Mus. Additional MSS., No. 10,262, p. 235.

(18) Katsena, or Kashna, Kachene, and Cachenah of the older writers, one of the Hansa regions, or, as Leo—who evidently did not know that name—says a kingdom, like Zaria and Kano, speaking the Gober language. But, in affirming that Wangara (Guangara) used the same tongue, he falls into an error; as he does in crediting Meli with the Songhai: he, as a foreigner, was addressed in it by traders and "educated" people. In Leo's day there does not seem to have been any capital in the province of Katsena: nothing but "piccoli casali fatti a guisa di capanne, e tutti tristi". Yet there are

lists of Katsena kings dating back to A.H. 600, though perhaps Katsena did not receive the name of the province till it became important about the middle of the sixteenth century of the Christian era, when a number of poor villages coalesced into one town. Katsena—capital and province—is now much decayed. The town fell on evil times with the rest of Kano, while the province—one of the richest portions of Negroland—is now much curtailed since the bulk of it passed into the Fulahs' hands.

(19) The province of Zegzeg under the Governor of Kano.

(20) This custom, which seemed to have tried the faith of some of Leo's readers, is, on the contrary, quite accurately related. In Senegal (just as in Western America and other regions), in order to keep off the mosquitoes, the traveller is compelled to sleep under the lee of a "green smoke" in order to obtain some respite from these plagues, or to fill the house with pungent fumes. The late Mr. Joseph Thomson remarks on this passage as an instance of Leo's accuracy. "Even when he seems to draw most upon credulity, he is generally quite accurate: as, for instance, when he describes the people of one district kindling fires at night under their bedsteads to keep themselves warm. To the truth of this statement the writer of these lines can testify from personal observation; the precaution being adopted, however, not to ward off external cold, but that of ague—a disease to which many places on the Niger are subject at certain times of the year."—Thomson, *Mungo Park and the Niger*, p. 17.

(21) Zanfara, with its capital Zyrmi, is of more importance now than in Leo's day. It forms part of the Fulah empire, and is better governed than when Clapperton visited it, and found the place a mere asylum for vagabonds from neighbouring states. The province is very ancient, being mentioned by Edrisi when it was much more extensive than at present, half of it being under the Fulah yoke, while the rest was struggled for by the Goberawa and other turbulent neighbours.

(22) Wangara, or Ungara. The Wangarawa or Wakore are a numerous and scattered people, to whom belong the Susa and Eastern Mandingoes, so called. These Wangarawa are found busily engaged in trade all over the Niger country and in Katsena. Barth notes that all the more considerable merchants belong to this nationality.

When Leo states that Abraham, King of Bornu, meditated driving the Wangarawa out of his kingdom, his memory perhaps deceived him. Most probably he refers to Ali ben-Dunama, surnamed for his conquests El-Ghâzi, but better known as Mai Ali Ghazideni (A.H. 877-909, A.D. 1472-1504). It may have been in this King's reign that Leo

visited Bornu, though his son and successor Idris reigned from A.H. 910-932 (A.D. 1504-1526). Barth also learnt from various sources that it was Ali Ghazideni who had to abandon the conquest of Wangara to repulse an invasion of the Bulala (Gaoga—quite different from Gogo). But Omar is probably another lapse of memory for Selma or 'Abd el-Jelil, the father of the prince whom Idris (*ut supra*) conquered. The name Omar does not occur in the Bulala dynasty.

(23) Until the reign of Mai Ali Ghazideni the Bornu people, as Leo describes them, lived in temporary encampments in the conquered country. These famous warriors, however, built Birni, or Ghasr-eggomo, the first capital, though Nanigham ("a certaine large village") had for some time previously served the purpose, being the usual royal residence. Birni, on the river Wau, three days west of Kukawa, the present capital, is now a ruin six miles in circumference, thickly overgrown with rank grass.

(24) This refers mainly to the Pagan mountaineers, for even in Leo's day most of the more civilised Kanuri and other races of Bornu must have been as strict Mohammedans as they are at present.

(25) This "puissant prince" must have been Mai Ali Ghazideni. The Kanuri language does not now contain any Libyan (Berber) elements, but the tongue of the conqueror may have been effaced by that of the conquered, just as the Bulala (Gaogo), who in Leo's time spake Kanuri, have now entirely forgotten it, adopting the language of the Kuka tribe, among whom they founded a dynasty. The Bardoa, a tribe mentioned by Makrizi as Berdoa (between which names and Bernu or Bornu, Borgu, Berdama, Berauni, and Berber, Barth thinks there is an "ethnological connection") are, however, more nearly allied to the Teda or Tibu than to the Berber or Mazigh. The Sultan Bello expressly traces the Bornu dynasty to a Berber origin: hence the Hausa people call every Bornu man "ba-Berbersh" and the Bornu nation "Berbere"; and Makrizi says that it was a common tradition of the kingdom that they were descended from the Berbers.—Barth, *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 269.

(26) Seu, Shawi. See also Cooley, *Negroland*, p. 129, and *Claudius Ptolemy and the Nile*, p. 9.

The "fontaine of Niger" ("capo donde nasce il Niger") is evidently "the Lake of the Desert of Gaoga", in which he places the sources of that river—Lake Tshad of more modern explorers. The "Desert of Set" is the easterly portion of the Sahara. Beside millet (*Pennisetum*) and durra (*Sorghum*) in various varieties, Sesamum is cultivated, and the seeds of a grass (*Poa abyssinica?*) referred to by Denham, are extensively eaten.

(27) Gaoga or Gaogao is the powerful empire of the Bulala dynasty, founded by the successors of Jil Shikomeni among the Kuka. The similarity of the name to Gogo, capital of the Songhai empire, has caused much confusion and given origin to many superfluous theories. Leo's statements, though vague in places, leave no doubt about its being what the Bornu people know as Bulala. It derived the name Gaogo (Kaoka) from the Kuka tribe, in whose territory the Bulala of the princely family of Kanem, guided by Jil (surnamed Shikomeni) ("a certaine Negro slaue"), founded an empire which at one time stretched from Eastern Bagirmi to the interior of Darfur. Islam is generally believed not to have been introduced into Gaoga until the seventeenth century. But Leo speaks of the rulers of the country, who, like the Kanem princes, were Mohammedans even in Makrizi's time—that is, a century before Leo wrote.

(28) Goran, Gorham (Marmol), corrupted by Pory, Blome, and other compilers into Gorham, is Kordofan.

(29) Dongola Aguse, or Old Dongola, the capital of the ancient kingdom of that name, then independent, now in ruins, has never recovered from the ravages of the Mamlukes in 1820 and the rise of New Dongola; the barracks of which are said to have been built after a plan by Ehrenberg, the famous German Naturalist, who just then happened to be visiting the Nile Valley.

(30) "Ma le case sono tutte triste, fabricate con creta e pali"—that is, the houses are all wretched, built of clay and poles—in short, "wattle and daub".

(31) "Molto zibetto e legno di sandalo." But the true sandal wood is not found in Africa. Sanderswood is sometimes called sandalwood. One of the civets (*Viverra civetta*) inhabits North Africa.

(32) This story is apparently one of the legends told by the traders: for there is no poison known in Africa, much less in Nubia, which at all conforms to this description.

(33) Leo's account of Nubia is very perfunctory, and to a large extent suspiciously second-hand. He gives the term a very wide significance; for he makes Nubia to march with Bornu on the westward, with Kordofan on the south, and on the north with the Nubian Desert, which four centuries ago seems to have been recognised as about the southern boundary of Egypt. Nubia is thus only a geographical expression, since even at that date it comprised several independent kingdoms, including Kordofan, Darfur, and Dongola. Nor, unless Leo considered the Blue or Abyssinian Nile the main river, is the Nile in any place, even in the driest season, capable of

being waded. The Zingani of whom he has already spoken cannot be classed with any known people of the region described. From the Italian "Zingani" (gypsies, vagabonds) being used, they are doubtless intended to be described as wanderers, they "speake a kinde of language that no one understandeth". The ethnology of Nubia is, however, very complicated. But though the origin and relationship to the three great stocks inhabiting it are doubtful, their distinctness is clear enough. There are the Arabs, now very mixed, intruders of a comparatively recent date, the Hamitic Ababdeh, and Beja or Bisharin, the "Bugia" of Leo (the Begas of Makrîzi, the Bugas of Greek and Axumite inscriptions, perhaps the Buka of the Egyptian hieroglyphs), and the Negro or Negroid Barabira, the nearest relatives of the original Nubos, from whom Nubia derived its name. (Lepsius, *Nubische Grammatik*, 1880; Reinisch, *Die Nuba-Sprache*, 1879.) The tongue is therefore correctly described as "mixt", but it is, of course, absurd to regard the Chaldean as akin to it; though as the Bejas occupy most of the upland country between Upper Egypt and Abyssinia, their language may have some Himyaritic elements in it. The "tribute" they received from the rulers of Dongola and Suakin must have been blackmail.—Keane, *Ethnology of the Egyptian Sudan* (1884); Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia* (1822).

Ziden is Jiddah, Juddah, Jeddah, Djiddah, or Djeddah, as it is variously spelt. But in the translation Leo is made to say that both Jeddah and "Zibid" were destroyed. In reality it was only the latter, owing to the Soldan of Egypt (in 1426) being provoked at the Bejas of the town pillaging caravans bound for Mecca, while the ruler (signor) and people of Suakin, helped by the Turks armed with bows and fire-arms, took terrible vengeance on the fugitives who sought refuge in that town:—"Ma da cêto anni in qua, per cagione, che costoro rubarono vna carouana che portaua robba & vettouaglia alla Mecca il Soldano si sdnegno, & maâdo un' armata pel mar rosso la quale assedio & disfece la detta città, & il porto di Zibid, che daua loro d' entrata du gento mila saraffi; allhora quelli che fuggirono, incominciarono a girsene a Dangala & Suachin, qualche piccola cosa quadagnando. Ma dipoi il Signor di Suachin, col favor di certi turchi armati di scheoppi & d'archi, gli dettò vna rotta, perciocchi in vna giornata ammazzarono di questa canaglia che andaua nuda, più che quattro mila persone, e mille ne menarono via a Suachin; i quali furono vccissi dalle femmine & da fanciulli" (Ramusio, ed. 1630, p. 80 *b*). At the time Suakin wreaked this characteristic vengeance on the Beja—with whom the inhabitants had many old scores to settle, though the majority of the people belonged then, as still, to that stock—it was probably under an independent ruler. Like all places on the coast, Suakin was almost invariably under foreigners. Thus, when Ibn

Batuta visited the place, he found a son of the Amir of Mecca reigning over the Beja, by reason of his mother having belonged to that race, kinship and succession going among these people in the female line. (Makrizi, *Khitât*, vol. i, p. 194 *et seq.*; trans. in Burckhardt's *Travels in Nubia*, App. III). Makrizi says that the chief inhabitants were nominal Moslems, and were called Hadarib. In 1814 the "Emir of Hadarib" was still sovereign of the mainland, though Suakin had an *aga* appointed by the Turkish pasha of Jiddah. The place was settled by the Turks on its conquest by Selim I, about A.D. 1517, some years subsequent to Leo's visit. The Circassian Mamluk, El-Ashraf Bursabey, the same who captured Jeddah and laid John III of Cyprus under tribute, was the Sultan who destroyed Zibid, or Zaibeth, as it appears on Sanson's maps.
