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Ramon Pane And The  
Beginnings of  
AMERICAN  
Anthropology

by

Edward Gaylord Bourne

[1906]

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AMERICAN  
ANTHROPOLOGY

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COLUMBUS, RAMON PANE AND THE  
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BY EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.

ABOUT three weeks hence on May 20th will be celebrated the 400th anniversary of the death of Columbus. Apparently little notice will be taken of this anniversary in the United States. To the American people at large the event of supreme interest in the career of the Admiral is, of course, the discovery of the New World, and the quadricentenary of that was celebrated with an elaboration which naturally precludes any considerable expenditure of effort and enthusiasm within the same generation in commemoration of the death of the discoverer. Yet this anniversary should not pass unnoticed, least of all by a learned society devoted to the study of American antiquities, for Christopher Columbus not only revealed the field of our studies to the world but actually in person set on foot the first systematic study of American primitive custom, religion and folklore ever undertaken. He is in a sense therefore the founder of American Anthropology. This phase of the varied activities of the discoverer has received in our day little or no attention. To all appearances it is not even mentioned in Justin Winsor's six hundred page biography. Such neglect is owing in part to the discredit that has been cast upon the life of Columbus by his son Ferdinand in consequence of which its contents have not been studied with due critical appreciation.

In Ferdinand's biography of his father, commonly referred to under the first word of the Italian title as the *Historie*, are imbedded not a few fragments of Columbus' own letters

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and other documents not commonly reproduced in the selections from his writings. To two such documents as presenting the evidence of Columbus' interest and efforts in the field of American Anthropology I invite your attention this morning.

The first contains the discoverer's own brief summary of what he was able to learn of the beliefs of the natives of Española during the period of his second voyage, 1493—96, and the record of his commissioning the Friar Ramon Pane who had learned the language of the islanders, "to collect all their ceremonies and antiquities." The second is Ramon's report of his observations and inquiries and is not only the first treatise ever written in the field of American Antiquities, but to this day remains our most authentic record of the religion and folk-lore of the long since extinct Tainos, the aboriginal inhabitants of Hayti.

The original Spanish text of these documents is no longer extant and, like the *Historie* which contains them, they are known to us in full only in the Italian translation of that work published in Venice in 1571 by Alfonso Ulloa.

The observations of Columbus first referred to were recorded in his narrative of his second voyage which we possess only in the abridgments of Las Casas and Ferdinand Columbus. Both of these authors in condensing the original, incorporated passages in the exact words of the Admiral, and it is from such a passage in Ferdinand's abridgment that we derive the Admiral's account of the religion of primitive Hayti. Ferdinand writes: "Our people also learned many other things which seem to me worthy to be related in this our history. Beginning then with religion I will record here the very words of the Admiral who wrote as follows:"

"I was able to discover neither idolatry nor any other sect among them, although all their kings, who are many, not only in Española but also in all the other islands and on the main land\* each have a house apart from the village, in which there is nothing except some wooden

\*I. e. Cuba, which Columbus believed to be the main land.

images carved in relief which are called *cemis*,\* nor is there anything done in such a house for any other object or service except for these *cemis*, by means of a kind of ceremony and prayer which they go to make in it as we go to churches. In this house they have a finely wrought table, round like a wooden dish in which is some powder which is placed by them on the heads of these *cemis* in performing a certain ceremony; then with a cane that has two branches which they place in their nostrils they snuff up this dust. The words that they say none of our people understand. With this powder they lose consciousness and become like drunken men.

They give a name to this figure, and I believe it is that of a father, grandfather or of both, since they have more than one such, and some more than ten, all in memory, as I have said, of some one of their ancestors. I have heard them praise one more than another, and have seen them show it more devotion and do more reverence to one than another as we do in processions where there is need.

Both the Caciques and the peoples boast to each other of having the best *cemis*. When they go to these *cemis* of theirs and enter the house where he is they are on their guard with respect to the Christians and do not suffer them to enter it. On the contrary, if they suspect they are coming, they take the *ce mi* or the *cemis* away and hide them in the woods for fear they may be taken from them; and what is more laughable they have the custom of stealing each other's *cemis*. It happened once, when they suspected us, that the Christians entered the said house with them and of a sudden the *ce mi* gave a loud cry and spoke in their language from which it was discovered that it was artfully constructed because being hollow, they had fitted to the lower part a trumpet or tube which extended to a dark part of the house covered with leaves and branches where there was a person who spoke what the Cacique wanted him to say so far as it could be done with a tube. Whereupon our men having suspected what might be the case, kicked the *ce mi* over and found the facts as I have just described. When the Cacique saw that it was discovered by our men he besought them urgently not to say anything to the Indians, his subjects, nor to others because by this deceit he kept them in obedience.

This then we can say, there is some semblance of idolatry, at least among those who do not know the secret and the deception of their Caciques because they believe that the one who speaks is the *ce mi*. In general all the people are deceived and the Cacique alone is the one who is conscious of and promotes their false belief by means of which he draws from his people all those tributes as seems good to him. Likewise most of the Caciques have three stones to which they and their

\*Ulloa in his Italian gives this word in various forms e. g. *ce mi*, *ci mi*, *ci mini* and *ci miche*. The correct form is *ce mi* with the accent on the last syllable. Las Casas says, "Estas—llamaban *ce mi*, la ultima silaba luenga y aguda." Docs. Inéditos para la Historia de España, LXVI, 436. J. Walter Fewkes published an article with illustrations "On Zemes from Santo Domingo" in the American Anthropologist, IV, 167-175.

peoples pay great reverence. One they say helps the corn and the vegetables that are planted; another the child-bearing of women without pain; and the third helps by means of water (i. e. rain) and the sun when they have need of it. I sent three of these stones to your Highness by Antonio de Torres\* and another set of three I have to bring with me.

When these Indians die they have the funerals in different ways. The way the Caciques are buried, is as follows. They open the Cacique and dry him by the fire in order that he may be preserved whole, (or, entirely). Of others they take only the head. Others are buried in a cave and they place above their head a gourd of water and some bread. Others they burn in the house where they die and when they see them on the point of death they do not let them finish their life but strangle them. This is done to the Caciques. Others they drive out of the house; and others they put into a *hamaca*, which is their bed of netting, and put water and bread at their head and leave them alone without returning to see them any more. Some again that are seriously ill they take to the Cacique and he tells them whether they ought to be strangled or not and they do what he commands.

I have taken pains to learn what they believe and if they know where they go after death; especially from Caunabo, who is the chief king in Española, a man of years, of great knowledge and very keen mind; and he and others replied that they go to a certain valley which every principal Cacique believes is situated in his own country, affirming that there they find their father and all their ancestors; and that they eat and have women and give themselves to pleasures and recreation as is more fully contained in the following account in which I ordered one Friar Roman (Ramon) who knew their language to collect all their ceremonies and their antiquities although so much of it is fable that one cannot extract anything fruitful from it beyond the fact that each one of them has a certain natural regard for the future and believes in the immortality of our souls."†

Then follows in Ferdinand's biography a transcript of this "Account by Friar Roman (Ramon) of the Antiquities of the Indians which he as one who knows their language diligently collected by command of the Admiral." Before describing Friar Ramon's work I will present what little information in regard to him that I have been able to find.

The historian Las Casas knew Ramon Pane and tells us in his *Apologetica Historia* that he came to Española at the beginning with the Admiral‡ which must mean on the

\*Antonio de Torres set forth on the return voyage here referred to February 2, 1494.

†*Historie*. Ed. 1571, folios 125-126.

‡Las Casas. *Apologetica Historia*. Docs. Inéd. para la Hist. de España, LXVI 435-36.



second voyage in 1493 as there were no clergy on the first voyage. Later he says he came five years before he himself did which would be in 1497.\* This second statement is erroneous for Columbus, as has just been seen, reports the result of his labors in his own account of his second voyage which he drew up in 1496. Las Casas also says that Ramon was a Catalan by birth and did not speak Castilian perfectly and that he was a simple-minded man so that what he reported was sometimes confused and of little substance.† The Admiral sent him first into the province of lower Maçorix whose language he knew and then later, because this language was spoken only in a small territory, to the Vega and the region where King Guarionex bore sway where he could accomplish much more because the population was greater and the language diffused throughout the island. He remained there two years and did what he could according to his slender abilities.‡

To Peter Martyr who read and abstracted his treatise, he is merely "One Ramon a hermit whom Colon had left with certain kings of the island to instruct them in the Christian faith. And tarrying there a long time he composed a small book in the Spanish tongue on the rites of the islands."§

These few references are all the contemporary information to be derived about Ramon Pane outside of his own narrative. This little work which I have called the pioneer treatise in American Antiquities has come down to us as a whole, as I have said, only in the Italian translation of Ferdinand Columbus's life of the Admiral. By one of the mishaps of fate the translator transformed the author's name from Ramon Pane into Roman Pane, and under that disguise he appears in most modern works in which he appears at all. But the testimony of Las Casas who knew him and of Peter

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\*Las Casas *op. cit.* 473.

†Las Casas, *op. cit.* 475.

‡Ibid. 436.

§Peter Martyr. *De Rebus Oceanicis*. ed. 1574, p. 102.

Martyr who used his work in Spanish is conclusive that his name was Ramon. Ramon, too, is a common Catalan name. Such few writers on early American religion and folk-lore as use his work directly resort either to the Italian text or some of the translations or to Peter Martyr's epitome in the 9th book of the first of his decades of the Ocean. Few, if any, make a critical comparison of these two forms of his work and none so far as I know have supplemented such a comparison with such of the material in Las Casas's *Apologetica Historia* as was derived from Ramon's work in the original.

The interest and importance of the subject justify it seems to me a critical study of Friar Ramon's work as the earliest detailed account of the legends and religious beliefs and practices of the long since extinct natives of Hayti. The range of its contents is considerable. It contains a cosmogony, a creation legend, an Amazon legend, a legend which offers interesting evidence that syphilis was an indigenous and ancient disease in America at the time of its discovery, a flood and ocean legend, a tobacco legend, a sun and moon legend, a long account of the Haytian medicine men, an account of the making of their *cemis* or fetishes, of the ritualistic use of tobacco, a current native prophecy of the appearance in the island of a race of clothed people and lastly a brief report of the earliest conversions to Christianity in the island and of the first native martyrs.

To facilitate a study of this material in its earliest record I have translated Ramon's treatise from the Italian, excerpted and collated with it the epitomes of Peter Martyr and Las Casas and have prepared brief notes, the whole to form so far as may be a critical working text of this source for the folklorist and student of Comparative Religion in America. The proper names in each case are given as in the 1571 edition of the *Historie*. Later editions of the Italian and the English version to be found in Churchill's *Voyages* (vol. II.) and Pinkerton's *Voyages* (Vol. XII) give divergent

forms. At best the spelling of these names offers much perplexity. Ramon wrote down in Spanish the sounds he heard, Ferdinand, unfamiliar with the sounds, copied the names and then still later Ulloa equally unfamiliar with the originals copied them into his Italian. In such a process there was inevitably some confusion of u and n and of u and v, (Spanish b.) In the Italian text v is never used, it is always u. In not a few cases the Latin of Peter Martyr and the Spanish of Las Casas give us forms much nearer those used by Ramon than the Italian.

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LIST OF MODERN WORKS DEALING DIRECTLY  
WITH THE TREATISE OF RAMON PANE OR  
PARTICULARLY SERVICEABLE IN THE  
STUDY OF IT.

BACHILLER Y MORALES, ANTONIO. *Cuba Primitiva: Origen, Lenguas, Tradiciones e Historia de los Indios de las Antillas Mayores y las Lucayas*. 2nd. Ed. Habana, 1883. The fullest study of the subject with full vocabularies of extant aboriginal words and a dictionary of historical names and traditions. Contains also a translation of the part of Ramon Pane's treatise that relates to primitive religion and folklore.

BASTIAN, ADOLF. *Die Culturländer des Alten America*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1878. The second vol. with the sub-title, *Beiträge zu Geschichtlichen Vorarbeiten auf Westlicher Hemisphäre*, devotes a chapter, pp. 285-314 to the Antilles. It consists of rough notes assembled from Ramon Pane and Peter Martyr and other writers relating to the religion and folklore of the aborigines of the Antilles.

BLOCH, Dr. IWAN. *Der Ursprung der Syphilis. Eine medizinische und Kulturgeschichte Untersuchung. Erste Abteilung*, Jena, 1901. An elaborate critical and historical study which definitely establishes the American origin of Syphilis. The evidence from Ramon Pane is discussed on pp. 201-204.

DOUAY, LEON. *Affinités lexicologiques du Haitien et du Maya*. *Congrès International des Américanistes. Compte Rendu de la 10<sup>ème</sup> session*. Stockholm 1897, pp. 193-206. Reproduces in parallel columns with the corresponding Maya words the Haytian vocabulary compiled by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg.

DOUAY, LEON. *Études Étymologiques sur L'Antiquité Américaine*. Paris, 1891. Etymological interpretation of proper names in Hayti and the non-Carib Antilles, pp. 26-30.

EHRENREICH, PAUL. *Die Mythen und Legenden der Südamerikanischen Urvölker und ihre Beziehungen zu denen Nordamerikas und der alten Welt*. Berlin 1895. Supplement zu *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1905. The author of this very valuable introduction to the comparative study of American Mythology has used Ramon Pane only in Peter Martyr's abstract.

GILIJ, FILIPPO SALVADORE. *Saggio di Storia Americana o sia storia Natural, Civile, e sacra de regni e delle provincie Spagnuole di Terraferma nell' America Meridionale*. Roma MDCCLXXXII, 3 Vols. In vol. 3, pp. 220-228 is a vocabulary of the Haytian language compiled from Oviedo, Peter Martyr (Ramon Pane) Acosta and other writers. This vocabulary is sometimes reproduced by later writers with revisions.

LOLLIS, CESARE DE, ED. *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi*. Pub. dalla R. Commissione Colombiana, etc. Roma, 1892. Parte I, vol. 1, 213-223 contains text of Ulloa's Italian translation of Ramon Pane with an *apparatus criticus*.

MARTIUS, DR. CARL F. Ph. v. *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's zumal Brasiliens*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1867. Vol. II, pp. 314-18, contains a Latin-Taino vocabulary based chiefly on Rafinesque's collections.

MONTEJO Y ROBLEDO, DR. BONIFACIO. *Procedencia Americana de las Bupas*. *Actas del Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, 4<sup>a</sup> Reunion. Madrid, 1881, pp. 334-419. Evidence from Ramon Pane discussed pp. 358, 360.

MUELLER, J. G. *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen*, Basel, 1855. pp. 155-185 are devoted to the religion of the non-Carib aborigines of the West Indies.

PESCHEL, OSCAR. *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, 2<sup>\*</sup> Aufl. Stuttgart, 1877. On pp. 147-48 the cosmogony of the Haytians is briefly described.

RAFINESQUE, C. S. *The American Nations; or Outlines of their General History, Ancient and Modern, etc., etc.* Philadelphia, 1836, pp. 162-260. Interesting linguistic material with much highly fantastic conjecture.

TREATISE OF FRIAR RAMON\* ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE INDIANS WHICH HE AS ONE WHO KNOWS THEIR LANGUAGE DILIGENTLY COLLECTED BY COMMAND OF THE ADMIRAL.

I Friar Ramon a poor Hermit of the Order of St. Jerome by command of the illustrious lord, the Admiral and Viceroy and governor of the Islands and of the main land of the Indies, write this which I have been able to learn and to know of the belief and idolatry of the Indians and how they worship their gods. Of which matters I shall give an account in the present treatise.

Each one in praying to the idols which he has in his house, and which are called by them cemist† worships in his own fashion and superstition.

They hold that he is (as) in heaven immortal and that no one can see him, and that he has a mother and that he had no beginning, and this [god] they call Iocahuuague Maorocon,‡ and his mother they call Atabei, Iermaoguacar, Apito and Zuimaco which are five names.§ Those of whom

\*The correct form of the name has been substituted for the common form Roman.

†Cemini is the form used in the text and may have been invented by Ulloa as an Italian plural. Las Casas writes: "These they generally call *Cemi* the last syllable long with the acute accent" Docs. Inéd. de España. LXXVI, 436.

‡Las Casas, *op. cit.* 434, gives the name Yocahu Vagua Maorocoti. It differs only in the last syllable from the Italian text which may be rewritten as Jocahu vague Maorocon. Peter Martyr has Iocauna Guamaonocon. This has been accepted by modern writers as the correct form e. g. Bachiller of Morales. *Cuba Primitiva*, 167 and Léon, Douay, *Études Étymologiques*, 27. As Las Casas lived many years in Española, his authority should be carefully considered. Las Casas, *op. cit.* p. 475 mentions a Cemi whose name was Yocahuguama.

§Peter Martyr gives the five names as Attabeira, Mamona, Guacaripita, Iiella and Guimazoa. The Italian text of Ramon is here apparently corrupt as it gives only four names and calls them five, Iiella is omitted from the list and the first three of the names is given by Peter Martyr, Attabeira, Mamona, Guacaripita appear as Attabei, Iermaoguacar, Apito. Apparently in Ramon's MS. the second name was very illegible. By dividing the names differently we see that the trouble mainly lies there.

Attabeira, Mamóna, Gucaripita,

ra | mamóna |  
Attabei, Ier | mao | guacar, Apito,

Las Casas read it. "Atabex y un hermano Guaca" conjecturing that what Ulloa copied as *Iermao* was *hermano*, "brother." The whole passage is "The people of this island of Española had an assured faith and knowledge of one true and only God who was immortal and invisible, whom no one can see, who had no beginning,

I write this are of the island Española; because of the other islands I know nothing never having seen them. Likewise they know from what direction they came and whence the sun had his origin and the moon and how the sea was made and whither the dead go. And they believe that the dead appear on the roadways when one goes alone, wherefore when many go together they do not appear to them. All this those who have gone before have made them believe, because these people know not how to read or to count beyond ten.

## CHAPTER I.

From what direction the Indians have come and in what manner.

Española has a province called Caanau\* in which there is a mountain which is called Canta† where there are two caves, the one named Cacibagiagua and the other Amaiuua.‡ From Cacibagiagua came forth the larger part of the people who settled in the island. When people were in these caves watch was kept by night and the care of this was given to one whose name was Marocael;§ and him, because one day he delayed to come back to the door, the sun carried off. And when it was seen that the sun had carried him off they closed the door; and so he was changed into stone near the door. Next they say that others going off to fish were taken by the sun and they became trees, called by them Iobi,|| and otherwise they are called mirabolans. The reason why Marocael kept watch and stood guard was to watch in what direction he wished to send or to divide the people, and it seems that he delayed to his own greater hurt.

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whose dwelling place and habitation is heaven, and they named him Yocahu Vagua Maorocoti. . . . With this true and catholic knowledge of the true God they mingled these errors to wit, that God had a mother and her brother Guaca and others of this sort." *Docs. Ined.* LXVI. 434.

\*Caunana in Peter Martyr.

†Cauta in Peter Martyr, and the correct form.

‡Cazibaxagua and Amaiauna in Peter Martyr who says in Decade vii, chap 8, that in the ancestral lore of the Haytians the island was viewed as a great monster of the female sex and that the great cave of Guaccaiarima was her organs of generation—Cf. Peschel, *Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, 147 and Ehrenreich, *Die Mythen und Legenden der Südamerikanischen Urvölker*, 33.

§Machoael in Peter Martyr. This is apparently the correct form. Cf. Bachiller y Morales, 315.

||Iobo (Jobo, or hobo). The name of this tree and fruit is still in use in Santo Domingo, Bachiller y Morales, 300.

## CHAPTER II.

How the men were divided from the women.

It came to pass that one man whose name was Guagugiona\* said to another whose name was Giadruuaua,† that he should go to gather an herb called *digo* with which they cleanse the body when they go to wash themselves. He went before day, (but) the sun seized him on the way and he became a bird which sings in the morning like the nightingale and is called Giahuba Bagiael. Guagugiona seeing that he whom he had sent to gather the *digo* did not return resolved to go out of the cave Cacibagiagua.

## CHAPTER III.

That Guagugiona resolved to go away in anger, seeing that those whom he had sent to gather the *digo* for washing themselves did not return; and he said to the women "Leave your husbands and let us go into other lands and we will carry off enough jewels. Leave your sons and we will carry only the plants with us and then we will return for them."

## CHAPTER IV.

Guagugiona set forth with all the women and went off in search of other lands, and came to Martinino‡ where he left the women; and he went away into another region called Guanin and they had left the little children near a brook. Then when hunger began to trouble them, it is related, that they wailed and called upon their mothers who had gone off; and the fathers were not able to give help to the children calling in hunger for their mothers, saying "mama" as if to speak, but really asking for the breast.§ And wailing in this fashion and asking for the breast, saying "too, too,"|| as one who asks for something with great longing, and very urgently, they were changed into little animals,

\*Vaguoniona in Peter Martyr. Bachiller y Morales, thinks the proper form is Guagoniona. See his discussion of this and the two following names, *Cuba Primitiva*, 275.

†This name is omitted in Peter Martyr.

‡Usually identified with Martinique. This passage is convincing evidence that the Amazon legends in America were indigenous and not transmitted there or developed by the misapprehensions of the first discoverers. Ehrenreich is convinced that these legends are indigenous although he does not refer to this evidence. See his *Mythen und Legenden*, 65. Columbus early and frequently heard of the island of Martinino which was inhabited only by women.

§*La tetta*, Apparently the Italian text used by the translator of the English version of the *Historie* read "*la terra*" in this passage for it is there rendered "to beg of the earth"!'

||Toa, toa, in Peter Martyr.

after the fashion of dwarfs\* (frogs) which are called Tona† because of their asking for the breast, and that in this way all the men were left without women.

## CHAPTER V.

And later on another occasion women went there from the said Island Española, which formerly was called Aiti, and is so called by its inhabitants; and these and other islands they called Bouhi.‡ And because they have no writing nor letters they cannot give a good account of what they have learned from their forbears; and therefore they do not agree in what they say, nor can what they relate be recorded in an orderly fashion.

When Guahagiona went away, he that carried away all the women, he likewise took with him the women of his Cacique whose name was Anacacugia, deceiving him as he deceived the others; and, moreover, a brother-in-law of Guahagiona Anacacua, § who went off with him went on the sea; and Guahagiona said to his brother-in-law, being in the canoe, see what a fine *cobo* is there in the water and this *cobo* is the sea snail, and him peering into the water to see the *cobo* Guahagiona his brother-in-law seized by the feet and cast into the sea; and so he took all the women for himself, and he left those of Matinino (i. e. at Matinino) where it is reported there are no people but women to-day. And he went off to another island which is called Guanin|| and it received this name on account of what he took away from it when he went away.

## CHAPTER VI.

That Guahagiona returned to Canta, (Cauta) mentioned above, whence he had taken the women. They say that being in the land whence he had gone Guahagiona saw that he had left in the sea one woman, and that he was greatly pleased with her and straightway sought out many washes (or washing places) to wash himself being full of those sores which we call the French disease.¶ She then put him in a *Guanara*

\**Nane*. The correct reading is *rane*, "frogs," as appears in Peter Martyr and from the context.

†Ulloa's misreading *rane* as *nane* may have misled him in the latter part of the sentence. The version in Peter Martyr makes much better sense. Bachiller y Morales, questions the existence of such a word as *Tona*, p. 343. Brasseur de Bourbourg conjectured that *Toa* may have meant "frog" as well as "breast."

‡Apparently in the sense of homes or dwelling places. Buhi or Bohio ordinarily means cabin.

§The punctuation follows the text of the original. Perhaps it should be Guahagiona, Anacacua, making the second name that of the brother-in-law.

||*Guanin* means an inferior kind of gold.

¶That Ramon Pane, before 1496, should have recorded this legend of the culture hero Guahagiona (Guagugiona, Vaguoniona) is conclusive evidence that Syphilis had existed in the West Indies long before the arrival of the Spaniards—Cf. Iwan Bloch *Der Ursprung der Syphilis*, 202-205. The name *mal Francese* is no doubt Ulloa's translation of *las bubas*, the Spanish name of the disease.



which means a place apart; and so he was healed of these sores. Then she asked permission of him to go on her way and he gave it to her. This woman was named Guabonito; and Guahagiona changed his name and thenceforward he was called Biberoci Guahagiona. And the woman Guabonito gave Biberoci Guahagiona many *guanins*\* and many *cibe†* to wear tied on his arms. Because in those countries *colecibi‡* are of stones like marble and they wear them tied on the arms and on the neck and the *guanins* they wear in the ears making holes when they are children; and they are of metal as it were of a florin. And the beginnings (the originators) of these *guanins* they say were Guabonito, Albeborael, Guahagiona, and the father of Albeborael. Guahagiona remained in the land with his father whose name was Hiauna, his grandson (*figliuolo*) on his father's side (i. e. Guahagiona's son) was named Hia Guaili Guanin which means grandson of Hiauna; and thence thereafter he was called Guanin and is so called to-day. And since they have no letters nor writings they cannot relate well such fables nor can I write them well. Wherefore I believe I shall put down first what should be last and last what should be first. But all that I write is related by them as I write it and so I set it forth as I have understood it from the people of the country.

## CHAPTER VII.

How there were women again in the island of Aiti which is now called Española.

They say that one day the men went off to bathe and being in the water, it rained heavily, and that they were very desirous of having women, and that oftentimes when it rained, they had gone to search for the traces of their women nor had been able to find any news of them, but that on that day while bathing, they say, they saw fall down from some trees and hiding in the branches a certain kind of persons that were not men nor women nor had the natural parts of the male or female. They went to take them but they fled away as if they had been eagles, § (eels) wherefore they called two or three men by the order of their cacique, since they were not able to take them for him in order that they might watch to see how many there were and that they might seek out for each one a man who was *Caracaracol* because they have their hands rough, and that so they held (could hold) them tightly. They told the Cacique that there were four, and so they brought four men who were Caracaracoli. This *Caracaracol* is a disease like scab which makes the body very rough. After they had caught them they took counsel

\*Jewels of guanin.

†Beads.

‡Strings of beads. Bachiller y Morales, 251.

§*Aquile*. Read *anguille*, "eels." A mistake of the translator Ulloa. Peter Martyr has *anguillae* which is undoubtedly the right word.

together over them what they could do to make them women since they did not have the natural parts of male or female.

## CHAPTER VIII.

How they found a device to make them women.

They sought a bird which is called Inriri, in ancient times Inrire Cahuaial, which bores trees and in our language is called woodpecker (pico). And likewise they took these women without male or female organs and bound their feet and hands and took this bird just mentioned and bound him to the body and he thinking that they were logs began to do his accustomed task pecking and boring in the place where the natural parts of women are wont to be. In this fashion, then, the Indians say that they had women according to what the oldest men relate.\* Since I wrote in haste and did not have paper enough I could not put down in its place that which by mistake I transferred to another place, but notwithstanding that I have in reality made no mistake since they believe it all as has been written.

Let us turn now to that which we should have recorded first, i. e. their belief as to the origin and beginning of the sea.

## CHAPTER IX.

How they say the sea was made.

There was a man called Giaia† whose name they do not know and his son called Giaiael which means son of Giaia. This Giaiael wishing to slay his father, he sent him into exile where he remained banished four months, and then his father slew him and put his bones in a gourd and fastened it on the roof of his cabin where it remained fastened some time. And it came to pass that one day Giaia, longing to see his son, said to his wife, "I want to see our son Giaiel; and she was pleased at that; and he took down the gourd and turned it over to see the bones of his son, and from it came forth many fishes large and small. Wherefore, seeing that the bones were changed into fishes they resolved to eat them. One day, therefore, they say that Giaia having gone to his *Conichi‡*, which means his lands that were his inheritance there came four sons of a woman whose name was Itiba Tahuuaua, all from one womb and twins; and this woman having died in travail they opened her and drew out these for sons, and the first that they drew out was Caracaracol which means scabby. This Caracaracol had the name . . . . §. The others had no name.

\*Cf. Ehrenreich, *Mythen und Legenden*, 56 for some analogous legends.

†Iaia in Peter Martyr.

‡Used by Ulloa as an Italian plural of the Haytian *canuco*, garden plot or farm.

§Dimiuan is apparently the name omitted; see next chapter.

## CHAPTER X.

When the four sons, all born together, of Itiba Tahuuaua who died in travail with them, went to lay hold of the gourd of Giaia where his son Agiael\* was who was changed into a fish; and none of them ventured to lay hands on it except Dimiuan Caracaracol who took it from its place and all satisfied themselves with fish; and while they were eating they perceived that Giaia was coming from his farms, and wishing, in this haste to fasten the gourd to its place again they did not fasten it well and so it fell to the ground and broke. They say that so great was the mass of water that came out of the gourd that it filled the whole earth, and with it issued many fish, and from this according to their account the sea had its beginning. These then departed from thence and found a man whose name was Conel and he was dumb.

## CHAPTER XI.

Of the things which befel the four brothers when they fled from Giaia.

Now these (brothers) as soon as they came to the door of Bassamanaco and perceived that he carried Cazzabi,† said, "Ahiacauo Guarocoel" which means "let us know this our grandfather." In like manner, Demiuán Caracaracol seeing his brothers before him went within to see if he could have some Cazzabi. And this Cazzabi is the bread that is eaten in the country. Caracaracol having entered the house of Aiamauaco‡ asked him for Cazzabi which is the bread above mentioned; and he put his hand on his own nose and threw at him a *guanguaio*§ hitting him in the back. This *guanguaio* was full of cogioba|| which he had had made that day; the cogioba is a certain powder which they take sometimes to purge themselves, and for other effects which you will hear of later. They take it with a cane about a foot long and put one end in the nose and the other in the powder, and in this manner they draw it into themselves through the nose and this purges them thoroughly. And thus he gave him that *guanguaio* for bread, . . . ¶ and went off much enraged because they asked him for it.

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\*Giaiæal.

†Cassava.

‡This name seems to be compounded of part of Bassamanaco and Ahiacauo. Bachiller y Morales in his version substitutes the latter for it in the form Ayacauo.

§Defined by Brasseur de Bourbourg, as a bag for holding tobacco.

||Tobacco. Las Casas uses the form *Cohoba*. On the various native words for tobacco see a valuable art, by Dr. A Ernst. *On the Etymology of the word Tobacco*. The American Anthropologist, II, 133-141 (1889).

¶"E Cirtose pan." These words I have not been able to explain.

Caracaracol after this returned to his brothers and told them what had happened to him with Baiamanicoel\* and of the blow that he hit him with the *guanguaio* on one shoulder and that it pained him very much. Then his brothers looked at his shoulder and saw that it was much swollen. And this swelling increased so much that he was like to die of it. Wherefore they tried to cut it and could not; and taking a stone axe they opened it and there came out a live turtle, a female; and so they built their cabin and cared for the turtle. Of this I have not heard (or understood) anything else, and what we have written was of little profit. And further they say that the sun and the moon came out of a cave which is situated in the country of a cacique named Maucia Tiueuf† and the name of the cave is Giououaua‡ and they hold it in high regard, and it is all painted in their fashion without any figure, with many leaves and other things of that sort, and in this cave there are two *cemis*, of stone, small about a foot high with their hands tied, and they looked as if they sweated. These *cemis* they hold in great regard, and when it did not rain they say they went there to visit them and suddenly it rained. And one of these *cemis* is called by them Boinaiel§ and the other Maroio.||

## CHAPTER XII.

What they think as to how the dead go wandering about and as to what manner of folk they are and what they do.

They believe that there is a place whither the dead go which is called Coaibai and lies in a part of the island called Soraia.¶ The first man that was in Coaibai was, they relate, one whose name was Machetaurie-Guaiaua, who was the lord of this Coaibai, the home and dwelling place of the dead.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Of the shape which they say the dead are.

They say that during the day they are shut in, and by night they go out to walk; and they eat of a certain fruit which is called *guabazza*\*\* which has the flavor of (the Quince)†† That by day they are . . . .

\*Still another variant of the name Bassa-Manaco.

†Machinnech in Peter Martyr. Bachiller y Morales thinks the form in the text should be Manaia Tiunel.

‡Iouanaboina in Peter Martyr.

§Binthaitel in Peter Martyr.

||Marohu in Peter Martyr.

¶Soraia means "west", Bachiller y Morales.

\*\**Guannaba* in Peter Martyr and apparently the correct form. Bachiller y Morales identifies it with the fruit called Guanabana.

††The gap in the Italian text has been supplied from Peter Martyr.

and at night they are changed into fruit,\* and they have feasts and go with the living, and to know them they follow this practice, they touch their belly and if they do not find the navel they say that he is *operito* which means dead. Because they say the dead have no navel. And so sometimes they are deceived when they do not give heed to this; and they lie with some woman from Comboi, (Coaibai)† and when they think they have them in their arms, they have nothing because they disappear in a trice. This belief they hold in this matter to the present day. If the person is alive they call the spirit Goeiz, and after death they call (it) Opia. The Goeiz they say appears often both in the form of a man and in the form of a woman. And they say that there was a man that wished to contend with it, and that clinching it, it disappeared, and that the man thrust out his arms in another direction over some trees to which he hung. And this they all believe both small and great and that it appears to them in the form of father or mother, or brothers or parents and in other forms. The fruit which they say the dead eat is of the size of a quince.

These dead do not appear to them in the day time, but always by night, and therefore with much fear do they venture to go forth alone at night.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

Whence they derive this and who keeps it in such credit.

There are some men who practise among them and are called Bohuti,‡ and these go through many deceits as we shall relate further, to make them believe that they talk with those (spirits) and that they know everything that is done and their secrets; and that when they are ill they take away the evil; and thus they deceive them, because I have seen part of it with my own eyes, although of the other things I will relate only what I have heard from many especially from the principal men with whom I have had to do more than with others; because these believe such fables more firmly than the others; because like the Moors they have their laws reduced to ancient songs;§ by which they are ruled as the Moors are by their scripture. And when they wish to sing these songs of theirs, they play upon a certain instrument which is called *maiohauau*,|| which is of wood and hollow, strongly made and very thin, an ell long and a half an ell in breadth, and the part where it is played is made in the shape of the pincers of a farrier, and the other

\*The repetition here of the first sentence with a variation altogether irreconcilable with the context shows that the text is corrupt.

†Bachiller y Morales thus corrects the text.

‡Boitius in Peter Martyr and *bohique* and *behique* in Las Casas, see Docs. Inéd. LXVI. 436, 438.

§Oviedo gives an account of these *areytos* as they were called.

||Brasseur de Bourbourg gives this word as *Maïouauan* and defines it as a sort of drum.

part is like a club. It looks like a gourd with a long neck; and they play this instrument, which has so loud a sound that it is heard a league and a half. To this sound they sing the songs which they learn by heart; and the principal men play it who have learned from childhood to sound it and to sing by it according to their custom. Let us now pass on to treat of many things relating to other ceremonies and customs of these heathen.

## CHAPTER XV.

The observances of these Indian Buhuitihu, (Bohuti) and how they practice medicine and teach the people and in their cures they are oftentimes themselves taken in.

All or the majority of the people of the island of Española have many *cemis* of different kinds. One has the bones of his father and his mother, and kindred and ancestors; (and there are others) which are made of stone or of wood. And many have them of both kinds; some (those) which speak; and others (those) which make the things grow which they eat; and others which bring rain; and others which make the winds blow. These simple-minded ignorant people believe these idols, or to speak more fittingly these devils, do these things not having knowledge of our holy faith. When one is ill they bring the *Buhuitihu* (Bohuti) to him as a physician. The physician is obliged to abstain from food like the sick man himself and to play the part of sick man which is done in this way which you will now hear. He must needs purge himself like the sick man and to purge himself he takes a certain powder called *cohoba*\* snuffing it up his nose which intoxicates them so that they do not know what they do and in this condition they speak many things incoherently in which they say they are talking with the *cemis* and that by them they are informed how the sickness came upon him.

## CHAPTER XVI.

What these Buhuitihu, (Bohuti) do.

When they go to visit a sick man before they set out from their cabins they take some soot from pots or pounded charcoal and blacken the face to make the sick man believe what seems good to them as to his ailment; and then they take some small bones and a little flesh and wrapping it all together in something so that it won't drop, put it in the mouth, the sick man having been already purged with the powder as we have said. The physician then goes into the cabin of the sick man and sits down and all are silent; and if there are children there, they put them out in order that they may not hinder the Buhuitihu (Bohuti) in his duties; nor does any one remain in the cabin except one or two of the principal men.

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\*Tobacco.

And thus being alone they take some herbs of the Gioia\* . . . broad and another herb wrapped in a leaf of an onion half a quarter long; and one of the above-mentioned Gioia is what they all usually take. And crumbling it with their hands they make a paste of it and then put it in their mouths by night to make them vomit what they have eaten, in order that it may not hurt them; and then they begin to sing the above-mentioned song. And lighting a torch they take that juice. This done at the beginning, and waiting somewhat the Buhuitihu (Bohuti) rises and goes toward the sick man who is seated in the middle of his cabin as has been said and turns him around twice as he pleases. Then he stands before him and takes him by the legs feeling his thighs and running his hands down to his feet, then he draws him hard as if he wished to pull something off; then he goes to the entrance of the cabin and closes the door, and speaks saying "Begone to the mountains, or to the sea or whither thou wilt," and blowing like one who blows in winnowing he turns around again and puts his hands together and closes his mouth and his hand shake as if he were very cold, and he blows on his hands and then draws in his breath again like one who is sucking the marrow from a bone and he sucks the sick man on the neck, on the stomach, shoulders, jaws, breasts, belly and many other parts of the body. This done they begin to cough and to make faces as if they had eaten something bitter, and he spits into his hand and draws out that which we mentioned which he had put in his mouth either at his own cabin or on the way, either a stone or meat or a bone, as has been said. And if it is anything eatable, he says to the sick man, "Take notice! You have eaten something which has brought on this illness which you suffer from. See how I have taken out of your body what your *cemi* had put in your body because you did not say your prayers to him or did not build him some temple or give him something from your possessions." And if it is a stone he says, "keep it safe." And sometimes they are convinced that these stones are good, and that they help women in labor, and they keep it very carefully wrapped in cotton in little baskets and give them to eat what they eat themselves, and they do the same to the *cemis* which they have in their cabins. Upon solemn days when they bring out much to eat either fish, meat, or bread or anything else, they put everything in the cabin of the *cemis* that the idol may eat of it.

The next day they take all this food to their own cabins after the *cemi* has eaten. And so may God help them if the *cemi* eats of that; or of anything else, the said *cemi* being a dead thing made of stone or wood.

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\*Bachiller y Morales thinks the word a textual error for the form *cogioba* used above, ch. xi, yet see below ch. xvii where it is described and another name *Zachon* is mentioned.

## CHAPTER XVII.

How sometimes these physicians are deceived.

When they have done what has been described and still the sick man dies, if the dead man has many relatives or was lord of a village (*castella*) and can resist the said *Buhuitihu* (*Bohuti*) which means physician, (because those who have little power do not venture to contend with these physicians) he who wishes to do harm to him does this. Wanting to know if the sick man died through the fault of the physician or whether he did not do what was prescribed, they take an herb called *gueio* which has leaves like basil, thick and broad (and it is called also another name *Zachon*.) They take the juice of this leaf and cut the nails of the dead man and cut off the hair on his forehead, and they make powder (of them) between two stones, which they mix with the juice of the aforesaid herb, and they pour it into the dead man's mouth or his nose and so doing they ask the dead man if the physician was the cause of his death, and if he had followed the regimen (or diet). And they ask him this several times until he speaks as plainly as if he were alive, so that he answers all that they ask of him, saying that the *Buhuitihu* (*Bohuti*) did not follow the regimen, or was the cause of his death that time. And they say the physician asks him if he is alive or how it is that he speaks so plainly; and he answers that he is dead. And when they have learned what they want, they return him to his grave from which they took him to learn from him what we have described. They also proceed in another way to learn what they want. They take the dead man and build a big fire, like that with which a charcoal-burner makes charcoal, and when the wood is become live coals they place the body into this great fiery mass and then cover it with earth as the charcoal-burner covers charcoal and here they let it lie as long as they please. And as it lies there they ask him questions as has already been said of the other method. And he replies that he knows nothing and they ask him this ten times and then he speaks no more. They ask him if he is dead; but he does not speak more than these ten times.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

How the relatives of the dead man take vengeance when they have received an answer by means of the drench.

The relatives of the dead man get together some day and wait for the *Buhuitihu* (*Bohuti*) and beat him with clubs till they break his legs, his arms and his head so that they fairly bray him as in a mortar, and they leave him in that condition believing that they have killed him. And they say that by night there come many snakes of different kinds which lick the face and the whole body of this physician who has been



left for dead as we said and who remains so for two or three days. And while he stays there in that condition they say that the bones of his legs and arms unite and knit together and he gets up and walks leisurely in the direction of his cabin. And those that see him ask him saying: "Were you not dead?" and he answers that the *cemis* came to his assistance in the form of snakes. And the relatives of the dead man, greatly enraged, because they thought they had avenged the death of their relative, seeing him alive grow desperate and try to lay hands on him to put him to death; and if they get hold of him again they gouge out his eyes and crush his testicles, because they say that none of these can die no matter how much he is beaten if they do not take away his testicles.

How they learn what they want from him they burn and how they take vengeance.

When they uncover the fire the smoke that comes from it rises till they lose sight of it, and it gives forth a shrill cry as it comes from the furnace, then turns down and enters the cabin of the *Buhuitihu*, (Bohuti) or physician, and that very moment he falls sick if he did not follow the diet (or regimen) and he is covered with sores and his whole body peels, and thus they have a sign that such a one did not observe the diet and that therefore the sick man died. Wherefore they try to kill him as has been described in the case of the other.

These then are the spells which they are wont to use.

## CHAPTER XIX.

How they make and keep *cemis* of wood and stone.

Those of stone (wood?) are made in this fashion. When someone is going along on a journey he says he sees a tree which is moving its roots; and the man in a great fright stops and asks: "Who is it?" And he replies "My name is *Buhuitihu*,\* and he will tell you who I am." And the man goes to the physician and tells him what he has seen; and the enchanter or wizard runs immediately to see the tree which the man has told him of and sits down by it, and he makes *cogioba* as we have described above in the story of the four.† And when the *cogioba* is made he stands up on his feet and gives it all its titles as if it were some great lord, and he asks it: "Tell me who you are and what you are doing here and what you want of me and why you have had me called. Tell me if you want me to cut you or if you want to come with me, and how you want me to carry you, and I will build you a cabin and add a property to it." Then

\*The text is erroneous. It should be "Call the Bohuti" as appears from Las Casas's quotation of the same passage Docs. Inéd. LXVI, 436.

†See above ch. xi. Las Casas describes in detail the process of "making cohoba" which he says he had seen many times. Docs. Inéd. LXVI, 469-71.

that tree or *cemi* becomes an idol or devil, replies to him telling him the shape in which it wants to be made. And he cuts and makes it in the shape it has directed; builds its house for it, and gives the property and many times in the year makes *cogioba* for it. This *cogioba* is to pray to it and to please it and to ask and to learn some things from the *cemi*, either evil or good, and in addition to ask it for wealth. And when they want to know if they will be victorious over their enemies they go into a cabin into which no one else goes except the principal men; and their chief is the first who begins to make *cogioba*, and to make a noise; and while he is making *cogioba*, no one of them who is in the company says anything till the chief has finished; but when he has finished his prayer, he stands a while with his head turned (down) and his arms on his knees; then he lifts his head up and looks toward the sky and speaks. Then they all answer him with a loud voice, and when they have all spoken giving thanks, he tells the vision that he has seen intoxicated with the *cogioba* which he has inhaled through his nose, which goes up into his head. And he says that he has talked with the *cemi* and that they are to have a victory; or that his enemies will fly; or that there shall be a great loss of life, or wars or famine or some other such things which occur to him who is intoxicated to say. Consider what a state their brains are in, because they say the cabins seem to them to be turned upside down and that men are walking with their feet in the air.

And this *cogioba* they make for *cemis* of stone and of wood as well as for the dead as we have described above.

The stone *cemis* are of several kinds. There are some which they say the physicians draw from the body and the sick believe these are the best to help women with child to be delivered. There are others that speak which are shaped like a large turnip with the leaves spread on and as long as caper bushes. These leaves generally are shaped like an elm leaf; others have three points, and they believe that they make the *Giuca* (*Yucca*?) to grow. Their roots are like a radish. The leaf of the *giutola* for the most part has six or seven points. I do not know with what to compare it because I have never seen anything like it in Spain or in other countries. The stalk of the *giuca* is as tall as a man. Let us now speak of their belief relating to the idols and *cemis* and of their great delusions derived from them.

## CHAPTER XX.

Of the *Cemi*, *Bugia* and *Aiba*,\* of which they relate that when there were wars he was burnt by them and then washing him with the juice of the *giuca* his arms grew again and his eyes were made anew and his body grew again.

The *giuca* was small and with water and with juice as mentioned above they washed it in order that it should become big. And they say that

\*Alternate names of *Baidrama* mentioned just below.

it made those ill who had made this *cemi* because they did not bring it *giuca* to eat. This *cemi* was named Baidrama;\* and when some one was sick they called the *Buhuitihu* (Bohuti) and asked him whence came this illness; and he replied that Baidrama had sent it because they had not sent him (something) to eat by those who had charge of his cabin. This the *Buhuitihu* (Bohuti) said the *cemi* Baidrama had told him.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### Of the *cemi* of Guamorete.

They say that when they built the house of Guamorete who was a principal man, they put there a *cemi* that he had on top of his house. This *cemi* was called Corocote; and once when they had wars, the enemies of Guamorete burned the house where this *cemi* Corocote was. At that time they relate that he rose up and went away a cross-bowshot from that place to near a water. And they say that when he was above the house by night he came down and lay with the women, and that then Guamorete died, and that this *cemi* came into the hands of another cacique and that he continued to lie with the women. And they say, besides, that two crowns grew on his head. Wherefore they said: (of some one) "Since he has two crowns, certainly he is the son of Corocote." This they believed very positively. This *cemi* came into the possession later of another cacique named Guatabanex and his place was named Giacaba.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Of another *cemi* whose name was Opigielguoiran,† and a principal man had him whose name was Cauauanioua, and he had many subjects.

This *cemi* Opigielguoiran, they say, had four feet like a dog's, and he was of wood, and that oftentimes by night he went out of the house into the woods whither they went to seek him, and when he was brought back to the house they bound him with cords; but he went away again to the woods.

And when the Christians came to this island of Española they say that he broke away and went into a swamp and that they followed his tracks but never saw him nor do they know anything about him. I deliver this just as I received it.

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\*Las Casas, LXVI, 471, gives this name as Vaybrama. His version of the story is clearer than the Italian text of Ramon Pane.

†Epileguanita in Peter Martyr. Accepted by Bachiller y Morales as undoubtedly the proper form, the name in the text being obviously corrupted.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Of another *cemi* called Guabancex.

This *cemi* Guabancex was in the country of a great cacique, one of the chief ones, named Aumatex. This *cemi* is a woman and they say there are two others in her company. One is a crier, the other the gatherer or governor of the waters. And when Guabancex is angry, they say, that she raises the wind and brings rain, and throws down houses and shakes the trees. This *cemi* they say is a woman and was made of stone of that country. The other two *cemis* that are with her are named, the one Guatauaa, and is a crier or proclaimer and by order of Guabancex makes proclamation that all the other *cemis* of that province shall help raise a high wind and bring a heavy rain. The other is named Coatrishie who, they relate, gathers the water into the valleys between the mountains and then lets them loose to destroy the country. This they are positive about.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Of what they believe about another *cemi* named Faraguaol.\* This *cemi* belongs to a principal cacique in the island of Española, and is an idol, and they ascribe to him several names and he was found as you will now hear.

They say that one day in the past before the island was discovered they know not how long ago, when going hunting they found a certain animal and they ran after it and it broke away into a ditch. And looking for it they saw a beam which seems alive. Thereupon the hunter, seeing it, ran to his lord who was a cacique and the father of Guaraionel and told him what he had seen. They went there and found the thing as the hunter had said. And they took the log and built a house for it. And they say that it went out of the house several times and went to the place whence they had brought it, not exactly to the same place but near there; because the lord just mentioned or his son Guaraionel sent out to seek it they found it hidden; and that another time they bound it and put it in a sack, and notwithstanding it was bound in this way it went off as before. And this (story) this ignorant people accept as a positive certainty.

## CHAPTER XXV.

Of the things which they say were uttered by two of the leading caciques of the island of Española; the one named Cazzuaquel, father of the above-mentioned Guarionel; the other Gamanacoel.

\*Bachiller y Morales thinks this name should be written Taragabaol.

And (to) that great lord who they say is in heaven, as in the beginning of the book is written, (they say of) this Caizzihu,\* that he there made a fast which all of them keep together, for they are shut up six or seven days without eating anything except the juice of herbs with which they also wash themselves. After this time is finished, they begin to eat something which gives them nourishment. And in the time that they have been without food through the weakness which they feel in the body and in the head they say they have seen something perhaps desired by them, for they all keep this fast in honor of the *cemi* that they have in order to know if they will obtain a victory over their enemies or to acquire wealth or for anything else they desire. And they say that this cacique affirmed that he had spoken with Giocauuaghama† who had told him that whoever remained alive after his death should enjoy the rule over them only a short time, because they would see in their country a people clothed which was to rule them and to slay them and that they would die of hunger. At first they thought these would be the Canibales;‡ but reflecting that they only plundered and fled they believed that it must be another people that the *cemi* spoke of. Wherefore they now believe that it was the Admiral and the people he brought with him.§ Now I want to tell what I have seen and what took place, when I and the other friars went to Castile and I, Friar Ramon a poor hermit stayed behind|| and went off to the Magdalena to a fort which Don Christopher Columbus, Admiral, viceroy and governor of the islands and of the main land of the Indies by command of King Don Ferdinand and of the Queen Donna Isabella. I being in that fort with Artiaga (Arriaga) appointed captain of it by order of the aforesaid viceroy Don Christopher Columbus it pleased God to enlighten with the light of the Holy Catholic Faith a whole household of the principal people of that province of Magdalena. This province was called Maroris¶ and the lord of it was called Guauauoconel, which means son of Guauaenechin. In the aforesaid house were his servants and favorites who had for a surname Giahuuuariù. They were in all sixteen persons all relatives, and among them five brothers. Of these one died, and the other four received the water of holy baptism. And I believe that they died martyrs, for so it appeared in their death and in their constancy. The first who received the death or the water of holy baptism was an Indian called Guaticaua\*\* who then received the name of John. This

\*This sentence is apparently corrupt. The conjectural insertions are based on Las Casas's epitome of the same story. Docs. Inéd. LXVI, 473. I take Caizziuauquel and Caizzihu to be the same.

†Yocahuguama in Las Casas, *op. cit.* 475.

‡"That people whom we now call Caribes but whom they then and we called Canibales" Las Casas *op. cit.* 475. The words are etymologically the same.

§A very interesting legend of a prophecy of a clothed conquering race. Possibly the attribute of clothing may have been based on rumors of the Mayas or the Aztecs.

||The text is confused. Probably it means simply at the time when the other friars went to Castile.

¶Maçorix. Las Casas, Docs. Inéd. LXVI, 436.

\*\*Guaicauanu is the form given a page below.

was the first Christian who suffered a cruel death; and surely it seems to me that he died the death of a martyr. For I have heard from some who were present at his death that he said Dio Aboriadacha, Dio Aboriadacha,\* which is to say: "I am a servant of God." And in like manner died his brother Antony and with him another saying the same thing. All those of this household and people attended me to do whatever I pleased. Those that were left alive and are living to-day are Christians through the means of Don Christopher Columbus, viceroy and governor of the Indies; and now the Christians are many more in number through the grace of God.

Let us now relate what befel us in the island (province) of Magdalena. When I was there in Magdalena the said Lord Admiral came to the assistance of Arriaga and some Christians who were besieged by enemies, the subjects of a principal cacique named Caouabo (Caonabo). The Lord Admiral told me that the language of the province Magdalena Maroris (Maçorix) was different from the other, and that the speech there was not understood throughout the land, and that therefore I should go and reside with another principal Cacique named Guarionex, lord of a numerous people whose language was understood everywhere in the land. So by his command I went to reside with the said Guarionex. It is true, that I said to the lord governor Don Christopher Columbus: "My lord, why does your lordship wish me to go and live with Guarionex when I know no language besides that of Maroris? (Maçorix) Let your lordship permit that some one of these people of Nuhirci, who then were Christians and knew both languages, go with me." This he granted me and told me to take whomever I pleased. And God in his goodness gave me for a companion the best of the Indians and the one most experienced in the Christian faith. Later he took him from me. God be praised who gave him and took him away, whom I truly regarded as a good son and a brother. And he was that Guaicauanú who afterwards was a Christian and was called John.

Of what befell us there I, the poor hermit, shall not relate anything, nor how we set forth Guaicauanú and I and went to Isabella and waited for the Admiral till he returned from the relief of Magdalena. As soon as he arrived we went where the lord governor had ordered us in company with one Juan de Agiada (Aguada) who had charge of a fort which the said governor Don Christopher Columbus had built, half a league from the place where we were to live. And the aforesaid lord Admiral commanded the said Juan di Agiada (Aguada) that he should give us to eat from the store that was in the fort. This fort was called Conception. We then were with that cacique Guarionex almost two years giving him instruction all the time in our holy faith and the customs of Christians. In the beginning he showed a good will and gave us hopes that he would do everything we wished and of desiring to be a Christian, asking us to teach him the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave Maria* and the Creed,

\*This phrase one the very few extant belonging to the Taino or Haytian language is given by Las Casas as "*Dios naboria daca.*" *op. cit.* 475.

and all the other prayers which pertain to the Christian. And thus he learned the Lord's Prayer and the *Ave Maria*, and the Creed. And many of his household learned the same. And every morning he said his prayers and he made his household say them twice a day. But later he became offended and gave up that good plan through the fault of some other principal men of that country, who blamed him because he was willing to give heed to the Christian law, since the Christians were bad men and got possession of their lands by force. Therefore they advised him to care no more for anything belonging to the Christians, but that they should agree and conspire together to slay them, because they could not satisfy them and were resolved not to try in any fashion to follow their ways. For this reason he broke off from his good intention, and we, seeing that he had broken away and left what we had taught him, resolved to depart thence and go where we might be more successful in teaching the Indians and instructing them in the matters of our faith. And so we went to another principal cacique who showed us good will saying that he wished to be a Christian. This cacique was called Mauiatuè. Accordingly, we set out to go to the said Mauiatuè's country: I Friar Ramon Pane, a poor hermit, and Friar Juan Borgognone of the order of St. Francis and John Matthew the first that received the water of Holy Baptism in the island of Española.

On the second day after we departed from the village and habitation of Guarionex to go to the other cacique named Mauiatuè the people of Guarionex built a house near the house of prayer in which we left some images before which the catechumens were to kneel and pray and to console themselves. And they were the mother, and brothers and the relatives of the aforesaid John Matthew, the first Christian. Later seven others joined them and then all of that family became Christians and persevered in their good intentions, according to our faith; so that all that family remained as the guardians of that house of prayer and some lands that I had had tilled.

Now these being left to guard this house the second day after we had gone to the aforesaid Mauiatuè, six men went into the house of prayer which the aforesaid catechumens who were seven in number had charge of, and by order of Guarionex told them that they should take those images which Friar Ramon had left in the custody of the catechumens, and rend them and break them in pieces, since Friar Ramon and his companions had gone and they would not know who did it. Therefore these six servants of Guarionex went there and found six boys watching over this house of prayer fearing what happened later; and the boys thus instructed said they were unwilling they should come in, but they forced their way in and took the images and carried them off.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

What became of the images and the miracle God wrought to show his power.

When they came out of the house of prayer, they threw the images down on the ground and covered them with dirt and then made water upon them saying: "Now your fruits will be good and great." And this because they buried them in a tilled field saying that the fruit would be good which was planted there, and this all in mockery. And when the boys saw this that had charge of the house of prayer by command of the catechumens they ran to their elders who were on their lands and told them, that the men of Guarionex had torn the images to tatters and mocked them. And when they understood the matter from them they left their work and ran crying out to give an account of it to Don Bartholomew Columbus who was then governor in place of the Admiral his brother, who had gone to Castile. He as lieutenant of the viceroy and governor of the islands had the offenders tried and the truth being made known he had them publicly burnt. All this did not deter Guarionex and his subjects from the evil design they had of slaying the Christians on the day appointed for bringing in the tribute which they paid.\* But their conspiracy was discovered, and thus they were taken on the same day on which they were going to carry it into effect. Still they persisted in their plan and putting it into operation, they killed four men and John Matthew chief clerk and Anthony his brother who had received Holy Baptism. And they ran to where they had hidden the images and tore them in pieces. Some days later the owner of that field went to dig *agis* which are roots like turnips and some like radishes. And in the place where the images had been buried two or three *agis* had grown one through the middle of the other in the form of a cross. Nor was it possible for any man to find this cross, but the mother of Guarionex found it who was the worst woman I knew in those parts. She thought this a great miracle and said to the commander of the fort Conception, "This miracle has been shown by God where the images were found. God knows why."

Let us now relate how the first Christians were converted who received Holy Baptism and how much it is necessary to do to make all Christians. And truly the island has great need of people to punish the chiefs when they will not suffer their people to hear the things of the Holy Catholic Faith, and to be taught in it, because they are not able and do not know how to speak against it. I can affirm this with truth because it has cost me much labor to know it and I am certain that it will be clear from what we have said of this to point. A word to the wise is enough.

The first Christians then in the island of Española were those of whom we have spoken above, i. e. Gianauuariu in whose family there were

\*Cf. Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias* II, 144-5.



seventeen persons who all became Christians, as soon as they understood that there is one God who has made all things and created heaven and earth, without any further arguments or controversy because they easily believe. But with others both force and intelligence must be used, because they are not all alike. Because if these had a good beginning and a better end there will be others who will begin well and then will laugh at what has been taught them. For such force and punishment are necessary.

The first that received Holy Baptism in the island of Española was John Matthew who was baptized on the day of St. Matthew the Evangelist (September 21) in the year 1496, and later all his family; where there have been many Christians and there would be more if there had been someone to teach them and to instruct them in the Holy Catholic Faith and people to hold them in check.

And if any one should ask why I make this so easy a matter I say it is because I have seen the experiment tried especially in the case of a principal cacique Mahuatiuire who has continued now for three years in his good purpose saying that he will be a Christian and have but one wife because they used to have two or three and the principal ones ten, fifteen or twenty.

This is what I have been able to understand and to learn as to the customs and ceremonies of the Indians of Española, with all the pains I have taken wherein I expect no spiritual or temporal advantage.

May it please our Lord if this is useful to his government and service to give me his grace to persevere; and if it must fall out otherwise, may he take away my understanding.

The end of the work of the poor hermit Ramon Pane.\*

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AN EPITOME OF THE TREATISE OF FRIAR RAMON  
INSERTED BY PETER MARTYR IN HIS  
*DE REBUS OCEANICIS ET NOVO ORBE.*

DECADE I. LIB. IX.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The translation is that of Richard Eden, as revised by Michael Lok, and published in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, London ed. 1812. Vol. v. 209ff. I have compared the translation with the original, restoring some slight omissions and correcting some errors. E. G. B.

Our men therefore were long in the Iland of Hispaniola, before they knew that the people thereof honoured any other thing then the lightes of heauen, or hadde any other

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\**Historie.* Ed. 1571, folios 126-145.

religion: but when they hadde beene longe conuersaunt with them, and by vnderstanding their language, drew to a further familiaritie, they had knowledge that they vsed diuers rites and superstitions: I haue therefore gathered these fewe thinges following, omitting the more trifling matter, out of a booke written by one Ramonus [Ramon] an Heremite, whome Colonus [Columbus] hadde left with certayne kinges of the Ilande to instruct them in the Christian faith. And tarrying there a long time he composed a small book in the Spanish tongue on the rites of the island. And because in manner their whole religion is none other thing then idolatrie, I will beegin at their idolles. It is therefore apparant by the images which they honour openly and commonly, that there appeare vnto them in the night seasons, certayne phantasies and illusions of euil spirites, seducing them into many fonde and foolish errorrs for they make certaine images of Gossampine cotton, folded or wreathed after their manner, and hard stopped within. These images they make sitting, muche like vnto the pictures of spirits and deuilles which our paynters are accustomed to paynt vpon walles: but forasmuch as I my selfe sent you foure of these Images, you may better presently signifie vnto the king your vncke, what manner of things they are, and howe like vnto paynted deuilles, than I can expresse the same by writing. These images, the inhabitauntes call Zemes, whereof the leaste, made to the likenesse of young deuilles, they binde to their foreheades when they goe to the warres against their enemies, and for that purpose haue they those strings hanging at them which you see. Of these, they beleue to obteyne rayne, if raine bee lacking, likewise fayre weather if they are in need of sunshine: for they think that these Zemes are the mediatours and messengers of the great God, whom they acknowledge to be onely one, eternall, without end, omnipotent, and inuisible. Thus euery king hath his particular Zeme, which he honoureth. They call the eternall God by these two names, Iocauna,

Guamaonocon, as their predecessoures taught them, affirming that hee hath a mother called by these five names: that is, Attabeira, Mamona, Guacarapita, Iiella, Guimazoa. Nowe shall you heare what they fable on the earth as touching the originall of man. There is in the lande, a region called Caunana, where they fayne that mankinde came first out of two caues of a mountaine: and that the biggest sorte of men came forth of the mouth of the biggest caue, and the least sort out of the least caue. The rocke in the which these caues are, they call Cauta. The greatest denne, they name Cazibaxagua, and the lesse Amaiauna. They say, that before it was lawful for men to come foorth of the caue, the mouth of the caue was kept and watched nightly by a man whose name was Machochael: this Machochael, departing somewhat farre from the caue, to the intent to see what things were abroad, was sodenly taken of the sunne, (whose sight he was forbidden) and was turned into a stone. They fayne the like of diuers others, that whereas they went forth in the night season a fishing so farre from the caue, that they could not returne before the rising of the sunne (the which it was not lawfull for them to behold) they were transformed into Myrobalane trees, which of themselves grow plentifully in the Iland. They said furthermore, that a certayne ruler called Vaguoniona, sent one foorth of the caue to goe a fishing, who by like chance was turned into a Nightingale, because the sunne was risen beefore hee came agayne to the caue: and that yeerely about the same time that he was turned into a bird,\* he doth in the night with a mourning song bewayle his misfortune, and call for the helpe of his maister Vaguoniona: And this they thinke to bee the cause why that bird singeth in the night season. But Vaguoniona, being sore troubled in his mind for the losse of his familiar friend whom he loued so entirely, leauing the men in the caue, brought forth only the women with their suck-

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\*By a curious error Lok has "bridge" instead of "bird".

ing children; and leauing the women in one of the Ilandes of that tract, called Mathininô, he caryed the children away with him; which poor wretches oppressed with famine, faynted and remayned on the banke of a certayne ryuer, where they were turned into frogges and cryed toa, toa, that is mamma, mamma, as children are woont to cry, for the mothers pape. And heereof they say it commeth that frogges vse to cry so pitifully in the springtime of the yeare: And that men were scattered abroad in the caues of Hispaniola without the companie of women. They say also, that Vaguoniona himself being accustomed to wander in diuers places, and yet by a speciall grace neuer transformed once, descended to a certayne faire woman, whom he sawe in the bottome of the sea, and receiued of her certayne pibble stones of marble (which they called *Cibas*) and also certayne yellowe and bright plates of lattin which they call *Guaninos*. These necklaces to this day are had in great estimation among the kinges, as goodly jewelles and most holy reliques.

These\* men which we said before were left in the caves without women, went forth in the night (as they say) to wash themselves in a pond of rain water and saw a far off by the way a great multitude of certain beasts in shape somewhat like unto women, creeping as thick as ants about the myrobalane trees; And that as they attempted to take these beasts, they slipped out of their hands as they had been eels. Whereupon they consulted, and determined by the advice of the elders, that all such should be sought forth among them, as were scabbed and leprous, to the intent that with their rough and hard hands, they might the easier take hold of them. These men, they call *Caracaracoles*: And sent them forth a hunting to take their beasts. But of many which they took, they could keep but only four: and when they would have used them for women, they found

\*The two legends that follow of the making of women and of the making of the sea were omitted by Lok although translated by Eden. Eden's version modernized has been inserted here.

that they lacked woman's priivities. Wherefore calling the elders again to counsel to consult what were best to be done in this case, their advice was that the bird which we call the Pye, should be admitted with his bill to open a place for that purpose, while in the meantime these men called *Caracaracoles*, should hold fast the women's thighs abroad with their rough hands. Full wisely therefore was the pye put to this office, and opened the women's priivities, and hereof the women of the Island have their origin and offspring. But now do I cease to marvel that the old Greeks did fable and write so many books of the people called *Myrmidones*, which they said to be engendered of ants or pismires. These and such like, the sagest and wisest of the people, preach continually to the simple sort, and rehearse the same as most holy oracles. But it is yet more childish [rather, more sober] that they fable as touching the original of the sea. For they say that there was once in the Island, a man of great power, whose name was *Iaia*; whose only son being dead, he buried him within a great gourd. This *Iaia*, grievously taking the death of his son, after a few months, came again to the gourd: The which when he had opened, there issued forth many great whales and other monsters of the sea: whereupon he declared to such as dwelt about him, that the sea was enclosed in that gourd. By which report, four brethren (borne of one woman who died in her travail) being moved, came to the gourd in hope to have many fishes. The which when they had taken in their hands, and espied *Iaia* coming, (who oftentimes resorted to the gourd to visit the bones of his son) fearing lest he should suspect them of theft and sacrilege, suddenly let the gourd fall out of their hands: which being broken in the fall the sea forthwith broke out at the rifts thereof, and so filled the vales, and overflowed the plains, that only the mountains were uncovered, which now contain the islands which are seen in those coasts. And this is the opinion of these wise men as concerning the origin of the sea.

But nowe (most noble prince) you shall heare a more pleasaunt fable. There is a certayne caue called Iouana-boina, in the territorie of a certayne king whose name is Machinnéch: This caue they honour more religiously then did the Greekes in time paste, Corinth, Cyrrha, or Nysa, and haue adourned it with pictures of a thousand fashions. In the intrance of this caue they haue two grauen Zemes, whereof the one is called Binthaitel, and the other Maróhu. Being demanded why they had this caue in so great reuerence they answered earnestly, because the sunne and the moone came first out of the same to giue light to the world: they haue religious concourse to these caues, as we are accustomed to goe on Pylgrimage to Rome, or Vaticane, Compostella, or the Lords Sepulchre, Hierusalem, as most holy & head places of our religion. They are also subject to another kind of superstition: for they thinke that dead folks walke in the night, and eate the fruite called *Guannaba*, vnknowne vnto vs, & somewhat like vnto a Quinse: affirming also that they are cōuersant with liuing people: euen in their beddes, and to deceiue women in taking vpon them the shape of men, shewing themselves as though they would haue to doe with them: but when the matter commeth to actuall deed, sodainly they vanishe away. If any do suspect that a dead body lyeth by him, when he feeleth any strange thing in the bed, they say he shall bee out of doubt by feeling of the bellie thereof; affirming that the spirites of dead men may take vpon them all the members of mans body, sauing onely the nauel. If therefore by the lacke of the nauel he doe perceiue that a dead body lyeth by him, the feeling (contact) is immediately resolved. (relaxed) They beleeeue verily, that in the night, and oftentimes in ther iourneies, and especially in common and high wayes, dead men doe meete with the liuing: Against whom, if any man bee stout and out of feare, the fantasie vanisheth incontinently: but if anie feare, the fantasie or vision dooth so assaulte him and strike him with further feare, that many are thereby

astonyshed, and haue the lymmes of their bodies taken. (Rather, are completely unnerved). The inhabitauntes beeing demanded of whom they had those vaine superstitions they answered, that they were left them of their forefathers, as by descent of inheritance, and that they haue had the same before the memorie of man, composed in certaine rimes and songes, which it was lawfull for none to learne, but onely the kinges sonnes, who committed the same to memorye because they had neuer any knowledge of letters. These they sing before the people on certaine solemne and festiuall dayes as most religious ceremonies: while in the meane time they play on a certaine instrument made of one whole peece of wood somewhat holowe like a timbrel. Their priestes and diuines (whom they call Boitii) instructe them in these superstitions: These priestes are also phisitions, deuising a thousand craftes and subtilties howe to deceiue the simple people which haue them in great reuerence for they perswade them that the Zemes vse to speak with them familiarly, and tel them of things to come. And if any haue ben sicke, and are recouered they make and beleue that they obtained their health of the Zemes. These Boitii bind themselves to much fasting, and outward cleanlinesse, and purginges, especially when they take vpon them the cure of any prince, for then they drinke the powder of a certaine herbe by whose qualitie they are driuen into a fury, at which time (as they say) they learne many thinges by reuelation of the Zemes. Then putting secretly in their mouthes, eyther a stone, or a bone, or a peece of flesh, they come to the sick person commaunding al to depart out of that place except one or two whom it shall please the sicke man to appoynt: this done, they goe about him three or foure times, greatly deforming their faces, lipps, and nostrils with sundry filthy gestures, blowing, breathing, and sucking the forehead, temples, and necke of the patient, whereby (they say) they drawe the euil ayre from him, and sucke the disease out of the vaynes; then rubbing him,

about the shoulders, thighes and legges, and drawing downe their handes close by his feete, holding them yet faste together, they runne to the doore being open, where they vnclose and shake their hands, affirming that they haue driuen away the disease, and that the patient shall shortly be perfectly restored to health. After this comming behinde him, hee conueigheth a peece of fleshe out of his owne mouth like a iuggeler, and sheweth it to the sicke man, saying, "Behold, you haue eaten to much, you shall nowe bee whole, because I haue taken this from you." But if he entend yet further to deceiue the patient, hee perswadeth him that his Zeme is angry, eyther because he hath not builded him a chappell, or not honoured him religiously, or not dedicated vnto him a groue or garden. And if it so chaunce that the sicke person die, his kinsfolks, by witch-crafte, enforce the dead to confesse whether he died by naturall destiny, or by the negligence of the Boitius, in that he had not fasted as he should haue done, or not ministred a cōuenient medicine for the disease: so that if this phisition be found faultie, they take reuenge of him. Of these stones or bones which these Boitii cary in their mouthes, if the women can come by them, they keepe them religiously, beleeuing them to be greatly effectuall to helpe women traueling with childe, and therefore honour them as they do their Zemes. For diuers of the inhabitantes honour Zemes of diuers fashions: some make them of wood, as they were admonished by certaine visions appearing vnto them in the woods: Other, which haue receiued aunswer of them among the rockes, make them of stone and marble. Some they make of rootes, to the similitude of such as appeare to them when they are gathering the rootes called Ages, whereof they make their bread, as we haue said before. These Zemes they beleue to send plentie & fruitfulness of those rootes, as the antiquitie beleued such fayries or spirits as they called Dryades, Hamadryades, Satyros, Panes, and Nereides, to haue the cure & prouidence of



the sea, woods, springes, and fountaines, assigning to euery thing their peculiar goddes; Euen so doe the inhabitants of this Iland attribute a Zeme to euery thing, supposing the same to giue eare to their inuocations. Wherefore, as often as the kings aske counsell of their Zemes as concerning their warres, increase of fruites or scarcenes, or health & sickness, they enter into the house dedicate to their Zemes, where, snuffing vp into their nosthryles the pouder of the herbe called *Cohobba*\* (wherewith the Boitii are dryuen into a furie) they say that immediately they see the houses turned topsie turuie, and men to walke with their heeles vpward, of such force is this pouder, vtterly to take away al sence. As soone as this madnesse ceaseth, he embraceth his knees with his armes, holding downe his head. And when he hath remayned thus awhile astonysed, hee lifteth vp his head, as one that came newe out of sleepe: and thus lookin vp toward heauen, first he fumbleth certaine confounded wordes with himselfe, then certayne of the nobilitie or chiefe gentlemen that are about him (for none of the common people are admitted to these mysteries) with loude voyces giue tokens of reioicing that hee is returned to them from the speech of the Zemes, demanding of him what he hath seene. Then hee opening his mouth, doateth that the Zemes spake to him during the time of his trance, declaring that he had reuelations either concerning victorie or destruction, famine or plentie, health or sicknesse or whatsoever happeneth first on his tongue. Now (most noble France) what neede you hereafter to marueyle of the spirite of Apollo so shaking his Sibylles with extreame furie: you hadde thought that the superstitious antiquitie hadde perished. But nowe whereas I haue declared thus much of the Zemes in general, I thought it not good to let passe what is sayde of them in particular. They say therefore that a certaine king called Guamaretus, had a Zeme whose name was Coróchutus, who (they say) was oftentimes

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\*Tobacco.

wont to descend from the highest place of the house where Guamarétus kept him close bound. They affirme that the cause of this his breaking of his bandes and departure, was eyther to hide himselfe, or to goe seeke for meate, or else for the acte of generation: and that sometimes being offended that the King Guamarétus had bin negligent and slacke in honouring him, he was wont to lie hid for certaine dayes. They say also, that in the kinges village there are sometime children borne hauing two crownes, which they suppose to be the children of Corochótus the Zeme. They faine likewise, that Guamarétus being ouercome of his enemies in battayle, and his village with the palace consumed with fire, Corochótus brake his bandes, and was afterwarde founde a furlong of, safe and without hurte. He hath also another Zemes called Epileguanita, made of woode, in shape like a foure footed beast: who also is sayde oftentimes to haue gone from the palace where hee is honoured, into the woodes. As soone as they perceiue him to bee gone, a great multitude of them gather together to seeke him with deuout prayers: and when they haue founde him, bring him home religiously on their shoulders to the chappell dedicated vnto him. But they complaine, that since the comming of the Christian men into the Ilande, he fled for altogether, and coulde neuer since be founde, whereby they diuined the destruction of their country. They honoured another Zeme in the likenesse of a woman, on whom waited two other like men, as they were ministers to her. One of these, executed the office of a mediatour to the other Zeme, which are vnder the power and commaundement of this woman, to raise wyndes, cloudes, and rayne. The other is also at her commaundement a messenger to the other Zemes, which are ioyned with her in gouernance, to gather together the waters which fall from the high hills to the valleies, that beeing loosed, they may with force burst out into great floudes, and ouer flowe the countrey, if the people do not giue due honour to her Image. The remaineth yet one thing

worthy to be noted, wherewith we will make an end of this booke. It is a thing well knowne, and yet freshe in memorie among the inhabitants of the Iland, that there was sometime two kings (of the which one was the father of Guarionex, of whom wee made mention before) whiche were woont to absteine fūe daies together continually from meate & drinke, to know somewhat of their Zemes of thinges to come, and that for this fasting being acceptable to their Zemes, they receiued answeere of them, that within few yeeres there shoulde come to the Iland a nation of men couered with apparell, which shoulde destroy all the customes and ceremonies of the Iland, and either slay all their children, or bring them into seruitude. The common sort of the people vnderstoode this oracle to be ment of the *Canibales*, & therefore when they had any knowledge of their comming, they euer fled, and were fully determined neuer more to aduenture the battayle with them. But when they sawe that the Spanyardes hadde entred into the Ilande, consulting among themselues of the matter, they concluded that this was the nation whiche was ment by the oracle. Wherein their opinion deceiued them not, for they are nowe all subject to the Christians, all such being slayne as stubernely resisted: Nor yet remayneth there anie memorie of their Zemes, for they are all brought into Spayne, that wee might bee certified of their illusions of euill spirits and Idolles, the which you your selfe (most noble Prince) haue seene and felt when I was present with you.

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