F
2659
.J5
W83
Cop.2

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:14 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:14 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:15 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:15 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Jews in Colonial Brazil

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:15 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:15 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:16 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ISAAC ABOAB DA FONSECA *(1605–93)*

The first rabbi in the New World

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:16 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

JEWS
in Colonial Brazil

ARNOLD WIZNITZER

Columbia University Press 1960

MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS, NEW YORK

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:16 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

F
2659
.J5
W83
Cop.2

Published in Great Britain, Canada, India, and Pakistan
by the Oxford University Press
London, Toronto, Bombay, and Karachi

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 59-11182

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:16 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

45-423617

To the Memory of My Parents

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:16 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2020-07-20 13:17 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Preface

ON THEIR MIGRATIONS through the world during the millenia of their dispersion Jews came also to Brazil, very soon after the discovery of the country in 1500 by the Portuguese. Those who immigrated to the Portuguese colony in Brazil were called New Christians: Jews and their descendants who had been converted to Catholicism by force in Portugal. Most of them observed Jewish rites in secret, always afraid of being discovered by agents of the Inquisition. Those who immigrated to the Dutch colony, which embraced the northern provinces of Brazil between 1630 and 1654, were free to profess their faith.

Historiography has quite neglected the romantic and fascinating history of the underground and free-professing Jews in colonial Brazil, who formed the earliest Jewish community in America and became the "Jewish Pilgrim Fathers" of New York, as well as of Jamaica, Barbados, and other Jewish communities in the Caribbean area. The present work is an effort to fill this gap.

Extensive and intensive research work had to be done, especially in the Archives of the Inquisition in Portugal and in various repositories in Holland. I refer in notes and bibliography to all manuscript sources used. The bibliography does not mention all the books and articles I have studied on the subject, only those that seemed important enough to be referred to in the notes, sometimes only to be disproved and corrected.

I am indebted to many staff members who assisted me liberally in my research in archives and libraries. I am deeply grateful to Professor Salo W. Baron of Columbia University, New York, who read the first draft of this book and gave his generous encouragement. My warmest

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:17 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

thanks are offered also to Professor C. R. Boxer of London, Dr. José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, neto, of Recife, Rabbi Isidore S. Myer of New York, Dr. José Honorio Rodrigues of Rio de Janeiro, and the late Wilfred S. Samuel of London for their ample information, given untiringly. Miss Vergene F. Leverenz of Columbia University Press has edited the entire manuscript, and I am most grateful to her.

ARNOLD WIZNITZER

University of Judaism
Los Angeles, California
April 6, 1959

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:17 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Contents

I.	*EXILES IN A NEW WORLD*	*1*
	Compulsory Conversion of Jews in Portugal	*1*
	New Christians in Brazil	*2*
	Introduction of Sugar Cane into Brazil	*8*
II.	*INQUISITORIAL ACTIVITIES*	*12*
	Visitation of the Holy Office in Bahia, 1591–93	*12*
	Visitation of the Holy Office in Pernambuco, 1593–95	*23*
	Developments from 1596 to 1624	*32*
	Visitation of the Holy Office in Bahia, 1618	*36*
III.	*DUTCH CONQUESTS*	*43*
	The West India Company	*48*
	Capture and Loss of Bahia by the Dutch	*51*
	Dutch Conquest of Pernambuco	*57*
IV.	*THE GOVERNORSHIP OF JOHAN MAURITS VAN NASSAU*	*63*
	Establishing Security and Law	*64*
	The First American Responsum	*66*
	Jews in the Sugar Industry	*67*
	Jewish Tax Farmers	*71*
	Vicissitudes of the Jewish Community	*73*
V.	*BRAZILIAN-PORTUGUESE WAR OF LIBERATION*	*92*
	Rebellion and Relief	*93*

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:18 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

A New Government 103
Isaac de Castro, Brazilian Jewish Martyr 110
The Dutch Defeated 119

VI. JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN DUTCH BRAZIL 128
The Number of Jews in Dutch Brazil, 1630–54 128
The Congregations Zur Israel and Magen Abraham 130
Leaders of the Community 136
Brazilian Marranos outside Dutch Brazil 138
Exodus from Brazil 139

VII. LATE BRAZILIAN MARRANOS, 1654–1822 143
PERSONALIA 169
NOTES 179
LIST OF WORKS CITED 199
APPENDIX 206
INDEX 215

Illustrations

Isaac Aboab da Fonseca *Frontispiece*
Letter by Piero Rondinelli from Seville, October 3, 1502 *after* 206
Petition of the Jews of Dutch Brazil to Johan Maurits van Nassau, May 1, 1642 207
Bernardo's speech from El Brasil Restituido 208–9
Letter by João IV, King of Portugal, December 7, 1646 210
Map of Colonial Brazil 210
Signatures of the Nine Elders of the Jewish Community in Dutch Brazil, 1648 210
Extract from the Minutes of the Trial of Isaac de Castro, Showing His Signature 210
Extract from the Minutes of the Trial of Isaac de Castro in the Handwriting of João de Moraes Homen 211
Lines from Zekher asiti leniflaot El 213

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:18 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Jews in Colonial Brazil

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:18 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:18 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

I. *Exiles in a New World*

WHILE WE MAY SPEAK of the expulsion of Jews from Spain, the term is inappropriate to describe the treatment of Jews in Portugal. Under the influence of Torquemada, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain used forceful measures to free Spain of Jews who refused to become converts to Catholicism. Their objective was accomplished by the Expulsion Edict of March 31, 1492.[1] The Portuguese kings, on the other hand, while they wished to expel the Jews from Portugal, were unwilling to relinquish the benefits accruing to them from the wealth of the Jews and their commercial and scientific skills. The Portuguese Expulsion Edict, promulgated by King Manoel I on December 5, 1496,[2] was in essence fraudulent, since its aim was not expulsion; it sought through trickery and brute force to drive to baptism all of the approximately 190,000 Jews then residing in Portugal, nearly 20 percent of the country's entire population.[3]

Compulsory Conversion of Jews in Portugal

In Spain, only a part of the Jewish population became voluntary converts in 1492 in order to avoid exile. As a result, Spain did not have a large number of secret Jews or Judaizers among its *conversos* (converted people). In Portugal, however, where the entire Jewish population was forcibly converted to Catholicism in 1497, almost the entire first generation of "New Christians" were Judaizers, or observers of Jewish rites in secret. For the next four hundred years Portugal was, because of this action, burdened with a problem difficult of solution. Indeed, as late as the twentieth century Portugal had "underground" Jews.[4] The New Christians in Portugal suffered the contempt of their Catholic

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:19 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

fellow citizens, who called themselves "Old Christians" and used as derogatory epithets the terms "New Christians," "Jews," and "persons of the Nation" when referring to Jews and descendants of Jews converted by force. The people of Portugal were encouraged to denounce Judaizers, and relations between Old Christians and New Christians were thus poisoned for centuries to come.

Judaizers among the Portuguese New Christians made use of every possible opportunity to emigrate to Italy, Africa, and Turkey. As a result, the Portuguese Crown prohibited the emigration of New Christians in 1499. In 1503 there were riots against the New Christians in Lisbon and Evora. In 1506 Lisbon witnessed a terrible massacre of New Christians in which thousands of men, women, and children were cruelly exterminated. In 1507, the right to emigrate was restored. When an earthquake destroyed the greater part of Lisbon in 1531, the people believed that the presence of Judaizers had brought the wrath of God upon their city, and the New Christians narrowly escaped another massacre. In 1532 the emigration of New Christians from Portugal was again prohibited.

In 1531 the Portuguese Crown had prevailed upon Rome to appoint an Inquisitor for the kingdom, and, on July 16, 1547, Pope Paul III confirmed this concession. The first Act of Faith had taken place in Lisbon on September 20, 1540.[5] Subsequently, Judaizers among the New Christians made every possible effort to leave Portugal. The discovery of Brazil in 1500 gave them new opportunity, and attention began to focus on that country.

New Christians in Brazil

On April 22, 1500, forty days after his departure from Lisbon, the Portuguese Admiral Pedro Alvares Cabral, on an expedition to India, landed probably by sheer chance on the northern coast of Brazil near the mouth of the Cai River. On April 23 he took possession of the country in the name of the king of Portugal. A large cross was set up on the beach, Mass was celebrated, and the country was named "Island of the Holy Cross"; it also was called "Land of Parrots." In 1501 its name was changed to "Land of the Holy Cross," and from 1503 the names "Land of Brazil" and simply "Brazil" were used. The name

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:20 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Brazil was derived from the valuable dyewood found in abundance in these parts. It was similar to the dyewood imported to Europe as early as 1140 from Ceylon, Sumatra, and Indonesia, which had been known as Brazil-wood (*lignum brasile*) probably because its color resembled glowing coal (*braza*).

It is highly probable that the companions and the crew of Pedro Alvares Cabral included several New Christians, though available historical evidence actually reveals the presence of only one New Christian at the discovery of Brazil—a man named Gaspar da Gama.

GASPAR DA GAMA. In 1498 Gaspar da Gama served Sabáyo, the Arab ruler of Goa, India, as *capitão mór* (chief captain) of his fleet. In this capacity Gaspar went one day to extend greetings to Vasco da Gama, Portuguese discoverer of the sea route to India, whose fleet was anchored before the island of Angediva near Goa before setting sail for the return journey to Portugal. In his boat Gaspar, a tall old man with a long beard, drew alongside the Portuguese ship and hailed the crew, expressing his joy in seeing ships from his homeland, Spain. He asked permission to come aboard one of their craft and pay his compliments, a request which was soon granted.

At first, his reception by the Portuguese who questioned him was very friendly. But then Vasco da Gama ordered Nicolau Coelho and a detachment of troops to cross over from another vessel. When they arrived, the visitor's hands and feet were tied. Gaspar's protests against this breach of faith and hospitality on the part of the *señores nobres Christianos* were unavailing. The Portuguese declared that they suspected him of being a spy and charged him with evil intentions toward them. They had him disrobed, whipped, and tortured in order to extract confessions from him. Among other things, Gaspar informed them that he was a Jew from Granada, had traveled in many countries, and had gone to India via Turkey and Mecca.

Determined to benefit from his familiarity with conditions in India and his knowledge of many languages, Vasco da Gama refused to release his interesting prisoner. He took him to Portugal, where they arrived on September 18, 1499, having compelled him to undergo baptism, for which Vasco himself stood as the prisoner's godfather. It was by way of this baptism that the New Christian received the name Gaspar da Gama.

In Lisbon, Vasco da Gama introduced Gaspar to Manoel I, in whose

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:20 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

eyes he quickly found great favor. The king frequently ordered him to come to court, in order that he might converse with him and listen to his tales. He made Gaspar presents of clothing from his own wardrobe and gave him servants, as well as horses from his own stables. The former prisoner was called by many "Gaspar from India"—as he liked to be called—but the king and the chroniclers of his era continued to refer to him as the "Jew" even after he had undergone baptism. The king issued a decree freeing him and bestowed on him a monthly allowance of 10 cruzados (1 cruzado was approximately equal in value to 1 gold ducat).

Gaspar's stay in Lisbon lasted barely five months. Since he spoke many languages, the king dispatched him as an expert, adviser, and interpreter, "porque sabia falar muitas lingoas," to accompany Admiral Cabral on the expedition to India which was to lead to the discovery of Brazil.

Up to this point we have followed the account of the chronicler Gaspar Correia (born in 1496), who, having departed from Portugal in 1512 and gone to India, left a manuscript in which he recounted the discovery of the sea route to India and fifty-three years of Portuguese history in India subsequent to the discovery, that is, the period from 1497 to 1550. This chronicle, titled *Lendas da India* (Legends from India), was published in Lisbon in 1858–66.[6] Another contemporary Portuguese historian, João de Barros (1496–1571), in his work entitled *Asia dos feitos, que os Portuguezes fizerao no descubrimento, e conquista dos mares, e terras do Oriente* (Asia, the exploits of the Portuguese during the discovery and conquest of lands and seas in the Orient; Lisbon, 1552), reports that Gaspar da Gama stated that his parents had come from "Bosna" in Poland, having been compelled to leave their home there by an edict expelling the Jews. They emigrated to Jerusalem in 1450 and from that city proceeded to Alexandria, where he, Gaspar, was born.[7]

A third Portuguese historian of the epoch, Damião de Goes (1502–74), says in his *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Manuel* (Lisbon, 1566–67) that Gaspar, when visiting the Portuguese expedition before Angediva, spoke not Spanish but Italian, and that he had stated that he was a Jew from the town of "Posna." This historian further reports that Gaspar was subsequently knighted (raised to the rank of *cavaleiro*) by Manoel I.[8]

On the whole, these three contemporary historians agree in their accounts of Gaspar da Gama. The only discrepancies we find in their

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:20 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

reports are statements concerning his descent (Spanish or Polish) and the language he spoke during his first encounter with the Portuguese (Spanish or Italian). Gaspar Correia was the only one of the three who had lived in India, and his account of Gaspar da Gama is the more detailed, possibly because he may have had an opportunity to talk to members of Gaspar's family in India (Gaspar's wife remained a Jewess, although his son Balthasar was baptized and in the service of Portugal). We are therefore inclined to assume that his version is closest to the truth. It is, of course, not impossible that Gaspar da Gama had reasons for concealing his real origin, and he may therefore have publicized various misleading accounts concerning his antecedents. We have been unable to ascertain Gaspar's Hebrew name or the name by which he was known before his baptism, nor do we know whether he was a good Catholic or a Judaizer (Marrano).

When, on April 22, 1500, Nicolau Coelho stepped ashore for the first time on Brazilian territory he was accompanied by Gaspar da Gama.[9] The efforts made by Gaspar and another interpreter, Gonzalo Madeira of Tangier, to converse with the Tupís, the Indians of Brazil, in African (*lingua de Guine*) or in Arabic (*Arauigo*) were fruitless.[10] Gaspar da Gama was probably the first Jew to set foot on Brazilian soil, but he did not prove to be of much use on that occasion.

Before departing for India, Cabral ordered that two of the twenty convicts (*degradados*) who had accompanied his expedition be left behind, so that they might study the language and mores of the Tupís and thus be of assistance to subsequent expeditions.[11] Gaspar da Gama departed with the fleet from Brazil on May 11, 1500, and it is said that he rendered many very valuable services to the Portuguese in India.

FERNÃO DE NORONHA. In May, 1501, a year after the discovery of Brazil, Portugal sent an expedition of three vessels to the new land for the purpose of determining the quality and value of the territory. The man who headed this expedition was the Florentine Amerigo Vespucci. On August 16, 1501, he landed near the area later called Cabo de São Roque. Where Cabral's men had been given a friendly reception by the Brazilian natives, the two young men who first disembarked from the second expedition became victims of cannibals. Nevertheless, the exploration continued to the south. Many settlements along the Brazilian coast were discovered and assigned names. Bahia was discovered on

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:20 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

November 1, 1501, Rio de Janeiro on January 1, 1502.[12] Vespucci reported that Brazil contained neither metals nor precious stones nor other valuable materials, except dyewood and parrots. This information was a blow to the hopes of Manoel I, whose primary interest was in obtaining spices, gold, silver, and precious stones. Since Portugal possessed neither a sufficiently large population nor enough money to colonize the vast new territory, and since the land did not contain much in the way of precious metals, he decided to lease Brazil to businessmen who would risk their own money for the colonization and exploitation of the new land. The first concession was obtained by a consortium, or association, of New Christians headed by Fernão de Noronha, also called Fernando de Loronha and referred to in Italian documents as "Firnando dalla Rogna."

The oldest document dealing with this concession is dated October 3, 1502. It is a report which Piero Rondinelli, a Florentine textile manufacturer, dispatched to his firm from Seville. The sensational new discoveries of land by Portugal and Spain had induced him to visit those countries to keep abreast of expanding opportunities for trade which the discovery of new sea routes had made possible. In his report to his firm, written in Italian, he stated that the king of Portugal had leased the newly discovered country to certain New Christians on the condition that the lessees undertake to send six ships to Brazil and to discover three hundred leagues of new land every year, as well as to build and maintain fortifications in the newly discovered territories. In exchange the lessees were granted a monopoly on the economic exploitation of the country, i.e. for the cutting and exporting of dyewood and for the trade in slaves and all other commodities expected to yield a profit. The initial agreement was concluded for a period of three years. During the first year, the exported goods were to be tax exempt; the second and third years the consortium was to pay, respectively, one-sixth and one-fourth of the value of the goods to the Portuguese Crown. Rondinelli's report mentions only New Christians, and it does not refer to Noronha personally.[13]

The contract evidently covered the years from 1503 to 1505. In 1503 the consortium dispatched the first six ships with troops and commodities to Brazil. Fernão de Noronha himself took part in this expedition, discovering in that year an island close to the northern coast of Brazil

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:21 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

which he named São João, but which has been generally called to the present day the Island of Fernão de Noronha. He also colonized fifty leagues of land on the coast of Brazil.[14]

The first mention of Noronha's name in connection with Brazil is found in an agreement of October 6, 1503, which Manoel I concluded with German merchants. This agreement refers to ships owned by "Fernam de Loronha" which made voyages to the newly discovered areas during the term of a contract that ran until 1505.[15] In recognition of past services and those expected of him in the future, and in consideration of his discovery of the island of "Sam Joam" (São João) and the fifty leagues of land along the coast of Brazil, Manoel I, in a decree dated January 16, 1504, appointed him Knight of the Crown and *donatário* of the island for life, the title to the captaincy to be inherited by his eldest son.[16]

Fernão de Noronha was thus the first *donatário* in Brazil. Under obligation to colonize certain areas at his own expense, he was in exchange granted the right to retain the profits yielded by his exploitation of those territories. He further enjoyed important political rights within his captaincy, including jurisdiction over the area, The *donatário* (gift) system employed by Portugal in the colonization of Brazil was, in its economic aspects, a feudal system. A century later Holland and France used trading companies in their own colonies, that is, stockholding companies employed in a similar manner and for similar purposes. In return for the colonization of new areas, these companies were granted economic and political concessions.

An Italian document of 1505, a report by Lunardo Chá Masser of Venice, yields additional information concerning Noronha. Lunardo acted as an agent for the ruler of Venice in Lisbon, and he was instructed to gather information on the new sea route to India. Among other things he reported that for the past three years Brazil had exported an annual total of 20,000 quintals (2,000 tons) of dyewood, the cost of which, including all expenses, was half a ducat in Lisbon and which was sold there at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 ducats per quintal. According to the report, the New Christian "Firnando dalla Rogna" had leased the concession for the exploitation of this dyewood from the king for a lump sum of 4,000 ducats paid annually. The Crown undertook to bar the competition of Indian dyewood, and Noronha dispatched ships and personnel to Brazil every year.[17]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:21 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Lunardo's report thus reveals that Noronha's group pioneered in the Brazilian timber industry and export, and that they derived an annual net profit of about 50,000 ducats from this activity. Timber became the first big industry in Brazil. The log of the vessel *Bretôa*, which Noronha sent to Brazil in 1511, has been preserved in manuscript. It reveals that the ship carried 50,005 lengths of dyewood and 30 Indian slaves from Brazil to Portugal.[18] It has been impossible thus far to determine whether Noronha's contract was changed from three to ten years, or whether it was extended for an additional ten years after the expiration of the three-year term; i.e., whether it covered the years 1503–12 or 1503–15.

Unfortunately, it has also been impossible to ascertain the names of the other New Christians who were associated with Noronha. As far as Noronha himself is concerned, we have not been able to find out what his name was prior to baptism. However, it does appear that he was not baptized forcibly. Compulsory baptism began in Portugal in 1497, and Noronha was a *cavaleiro da casa real* (knight of the royal household) as early as 1494. In 1498 he became a citizen of Lisbon. From all available evidence it would seem that he was a very prominent and wealthy Jew, who played a significant role at court and voluntarily adopted the Christian religion. His godfather, to whom he owed the name Noronha, was a member of one of the most important families on the Iberian Peninsula and a descendant of Henrique II, king of Castile.[19]

The Portuguese genealogist Padre Antonio Soares de Albergaria, in his *Tropheos Lusitenos* (Lisbon, 1631), states that Fernão de Noronha lived in England for some time, and that his patent of nobility bestowed by the English king was later confirmed by Manoel I and his son João III. His godfathers had been the Conde de Linhares Noronha and Dom Antonio de Noronha. In order to distinguish between the Old Christian and New Christian families Noronha, the latter subsequently adopted the name Loronha.[20]

Introduction of Sugar Cane into Brazil

Sugar was first produced in Asia, and during the time of the Crusades Europeans became acquainted with it through the Arabs. At the be-

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:21 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ginning of the fifteenth century, sugar was so expensive in Europe that it was sold only in pharmacies for medicinal purposes.[21]

In 1420 the Portuguese transplanted sugar cane from Sicily to Madeira, which had been discovered in 1400. In Madeira the sugar industry became so succesful that, by the end of the fifteenth century, 150 sugar factories had been established there.[22] About 1493 the Portuguese commenced to plant sugar cane and manufacture sugar on the island of São Thomé, in the Gulf of Guinea off the west coast of Africa, which had been discovered by them in 1470.[23] São Thomé, a forbidding island, harbored exiled convicts and Jews who had refused to recant.[24] According to an eighteenth-century historian, the exiles planted sugar cane on that island on a large scale.[25] By 1522 São Thomé had 60 sugar factories. The production of the 120 factories on Madeira and São Thomé enabled Portugal to dominate the world sugar trade. This resulted in a decline of the sugar industry in the Mediterranean area as well as a slump in the price of sugar everywhere. Within a century the price of sugar fell by approximately 85 percent. It was at this point that Brazilian sugar entered the world market.[26]

In 1516 Manoel I had decreed that persons emigrating to Brazil to colonize that country be given, at the expense of the Crown, all the necessary equipment as well as an expert to assist in the introduction of the sugar industry in Brazil.[27] There is no doubt that the Noronha group, referred to earlier, brought sugar cane from Madeira and São Thomé, where their ships landed en route, and that they made successful attempts at planting it in Brazil. By 1516 the Portuguese Crown deemed the construction of a sugar mill necessary; the colonization of Brazil was becoming a profitable venture. In that same year Manoel I took the initiative in the establishment of the first sugar mill in Brazil. There is good reason to believe that the first experts in the new industry were New Christians.

The oldest printed source conerning the transplantation of sugar cane by Jews to Brazil dates from 1779. Don Antonio de Capmany de Montpalau, a member of the Royal Academy of History and Letters of Seville, wrote concerning sugar: "This last commodity is a product derived from Asia and was used only in medicine until the era of its introduction and cultivation in America, whereto it was brought from the island of Madeira in 1549 by some Jews banned from Portugal."[28]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:21 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

It is evident that the date 1549 is incorrect; as we know, sugar cane was transplanted to Brazil before 1516. The first known *engenho* (sugar plantation and mill, an agricultural-industrial enterprise) belonged to Cristovão Jaques in Pernambuco. Documents of 1526 in Lisbon refer to customs payments for sugar imported from Brazil. The second, called "Senhor Governador," was established by the *donatário* Martin Afonso de Sousa in 1532–33 in São Vicente, seven miles from the present-day harbor of Santos in São Paulo.[29]

The first man to engage in systematic and intensive development of the sugar industry was Duarte Coelho. Duarte was the son of the Portuguese cosmographer and navigator Gonçalo Coelho, and with his wife, Dona Brites de Albuquerque, he founded the Brazilian family of Coelho de Albuquerque. By a royal decree of March 10, 1534, Duarte Coelho was appointed *donatário* of the captaincy of Pernambuco. A letter written by him to the king of Portugal on April 27, 1542, reveals that he was instrumental in establishing large sugar plantations in Brazil and that he had issued orders for the building of sugar mills by contractors whom he had brought from Portugal.[30] Duarte's broter-in-law, Jeronimo de Albuquerque, established the third known Brazilian sugar mill, "Nossa Senhora de Ajuda" in Pernambuco.[31]

The historian Oliveira Lima reports, without indicating his source, that the trained foremen and skilled workmen brought by Duarte Coelho from Madeira and São Thomé to Brazil were "mostly Jews, who were the best economic element of that time and who gained advantage by escaping from the religious fury that raged on the Peninsula."[32] The Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre also states that "Jewish mechanics for the sugar factories had to be imported to Brazil."[33] He fails completely to mention the historic fact that many Jews all over Brazil were *senhores de engenho*—owners of sugar cane plantations and sugar mills.[34]

In 1550 Brazil had 5 sugar mills; by 1600 the total was 120.[35] At least one of the original mills belonged to Jews. It was the "De Santiago," which was the property of the Jew Diogo Fernandes and his Jewish associates. A large mill with good land, excellent water, and much timber, it was later destroyed in a war with the Indians from Iguaraçú. In a letter dated August, 1556, the governor of Pernambuco, Jeronimo de Albuquerque, brought the incident to the attention of the king of

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:22 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Portugal, João III. As a result of the disaster, Diogo and his wife, his six or seven daughters, and his two sons had become very poor, and the letter suggested a royal favor for Diogo. After giving a report of the attack by the Indians, the writer stated that no one in Brazil could equal Diogo in the skill and knowledge required to manage *engenhos:* "One will not find in this country a more capable man than he."[36] Of the technicians in the manufacture of sugar whom Duarte Coelho had called to Brazil in 1542, or brought with him in 1535, Diogo Fernandes was certainly the most important.[37]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:22 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

II. *Inquisitorial Activities*

PORTUGAL ADOPTED THE PRACTICE of deporting criminals to Brazil in 1535. For many of these convicts, deportation meant reprieve from the death sentence. From the time of the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal, Judaizers were also exiled to Brazil.

In 1549, the Portuguese Crown appointed a governor-general for Brazil, and a central government for the colony was established in Bahia, which became the capital of Brazil. The Inquisition was never formally introduced in Brazil, but about 1580 the bishop of Bahia was given inquisitorial powers by the Holy Office in Lisbon. Jesuits were empowered to assist the bishop in preparing proceedings against heretics, and in extraditing offenders to the tribunals of the Inquisition in Lisbon.[1]

After the unification of Portugal and Spain in 1580, the activities of the Inquisition everywhere were intensified in severity and enlarged in scope. On March 26, 1591, Albert, archduke of Austria, a cardinal and Inquisitor General for Portugal and the Colonies, appointed the *licenciado* Heitor Furtado de Mendoça as *visitador* for São Thomé, Cabo Verde, Brazil, and the administration of São Vicente or Rio de Janeiro.[2]

Visitation of the Holy Office in Bahia, 1591–93

The *visitador* Mendoça arrived in Bahia on June 9, 1591. On July 28, 1591, after having appointed the inquisitorial commission, he published an Edict of Faith, a Monitory Letter, and a Term of Grace for the city of Bahia and an area of one league surrounding Bahia. The population could, within thirty days, make confessions and denounce other persons in order to obtain merciful treatment from the Inquisition. The objectives of the visitation included the discovery of unnatural sexual

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:22 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

practices, sorcery, and insults to the Catholic Church, also exposure of Lutherans, and Judaizers among the New Christians. All offenses against the established order were to be harshly punished. The Judaizers, or "persons of the Nation," who professed Catholicism but secretly observed Jewish rites and customs, were the most important game hunted by the Inquisition.

The original text of the Monitory Letter published in Brazil has not been preserved, but undoubtedly it was in essence the Letter composed by Dom Diogo da Silva, which had been used in Portugal since 1536, now adapted to the needs of the year 1591.[3] The part of that Monitory Letter which dealt with Judaizers mentioned the following practices of Jewish rites and ceremonies as falling into the category of crimes to be confessed or denounced:

1. The observance of the Sabbath in conformity with Jewish tradition. Failure to work on the Jewish Sabbath; the wearing of fresh underclothing, festive clothing, and jewels; the cleaning of houses on Friday afternoon; the preparation on Friday of food for the Sabbath; the lighting of new candles on Friday; the lighting of candles at an earlier hour than usual on Friday evening; the burning of candles during the night until they burned out; the performance of all these rites in order to honor and observe the Sabbath.

2. The slaughtering of animals and birds according to Jewish tradition. Cutting the throats of animals; testing and trying the knife with a nail before slaughtering; covering the blood with earth.

3. Failure to eat the meat of certain animals and fish. Bacon, hares, rabbits, stunned birds, eels, polypods, conger eels, ray, any fish without scales, and other foods prohibited to Jews by the Old Law.

4. The observance of Jewish fast days. The observance, in September, of the most important Jewish fast day by refraining from eating until stars appear in the sky; not wearing shoes on that day; eating meat and a porringer full on that night; asking one another's forgiveness; observing the fast day of Queen Esther,[4] as well as other Jewish fast days; fasting throughout the day on every Monday and Thursday.

5. The celebration of Jewish holidays. The celebration of the holiday of unleavened bread, of "booths," and of the "horn"; the eating of unleavened bread and the use of new pots and porringers on Pesah.

6. The recitation of Jewish prayers. Facing a wall while saying Jewish

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:23 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

prayers; bending and raising one's head in prayer according to Jewish tradition; wearing *ataphlijs*.[5]

7. The recitation of the penitential psalms, omitting the *Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto*.

8. The treatment and burial of corpses and mourning according to Jewish customs. Eating at low tables during the period of mourning; eating fish, eggs, and olives as symbols of grief, and staying behind doors during the mourning period; bathing corpses and dressing them in linen clothes; dressing them in long shirts, covered by folded shrouds forming a sort of cap, prior to burial; burying the deceased in virgin soil and in very deep graves; the singing of litanies according to Jewish tradition as part of the mourning ritual; placing a seed pearl or a silver or gold coin in the mouth of the deceased, with the intention of paying for their first lodging; cutting the fingernails of the deceased; emptying pitchers and earthen pots of water after a person's death as an expression of the belief that the soul of the deceased came to bathe therein or that the striking angel had washed his sword in it.

9. Putting iron, or bread, or wine into jars and pitchers on St. John's Eve and on Christmas night to express the belief that the water would otherwise be changed to blood during these nights.

10. The blessing of children according to Jewish tradition. Placing of hands upon their heads, drawing the hand over their faces without making the sign of the cross.

11. Circumcision of male children and the secret assignment of Jewish names to them.

12. Scraping off the oil and chrism after the baptism of a child. The Monitory Letter also required that any attempts by Jews or Moors to convert New or Old Christians to Judaism or Mohammedanism be reported, and that the owners of Bibles written in the vernacular be denounced; it further provided that such Bibles be brought to the *visitador* for examination.[6]

Under threat of excommunication, and with the promise of complete secrecy, the population of Bahia was required to make confessions and to present denunciations.

Among the most prominent persons affected by these denunciations were members of the family of Heitor Antunes and his wife, Ana Rois, who had left Portugal on April 30, 1557, and arrived in Bahia on Decem-

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:23 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ber 28, 1557, having traveled on the same ship as Mem de Sá, the chief administrator of Brazil.[7] Heitor Antunes died long before the arrival of the first *visitador* in Brazil, but his children still survived: four daughters, Isabel, Violante, Beatriz, and Leonor; and three sons, Jorge Antunes, Alvaro Lopes Antunes, and Nuno Fernandes. There were also four granddaughters: Ana Alcoforado, Lucas Escobar, Isabel, and Custodia.

Another prominent family of Judaizers included the children of the deceased Fernão Lopes, formerly tailor to the duke of Bragança, and his wife, Branca Rois: Maria Lopes, Leonor da Rosa, Catharina Mendes, and Ana Rodrigues. Maria Lopes was married to the chief surgeon of Lisbon, the New Christian Afonso Mendes, who was appointed chief surgeon of Brazil and arrived there on December 28, 1557, on the ship with Mem de Sá and Heitor Antunes.[8] Their children were Manoel Afonso, a priest in Bahia; Ana de Oliveira; Branca de Leão, married to Antonio Lopes Ulhoa; and Alvaro Pacheco. Ana Rodrigues had a daughter, Antonia de Oliveira (married to Pedro Fernandes) and two sons, Mathias Rois and Diogo Afonso.

All of the Judaizers in Bahia—and they included numerous individuals unrelated to the Antunes and Lopes families—were obviously wealthy people, owners of sugar mills, merchants, surgeons, innkeepers, and farmers. It appears that already in that period the heavy work in their mills, farms, and homes was done by imported African slaves.

It is easy to imagine the panic which the *visitador*'s publications produced among the few thousand white people who lived in Bahia in 1591. Those who knew the methods of the Inquisition were alarmed. Others were aroused to carnality and a thirst for vengeance. Dozens of people appeared before the inquisitorial commission to make confessions, and hundreds came with denunciations against strangers, friends, relatives, and even deceased persons. Many of these people probably told the truth in asserting that, prior to reading the Monitory Letter, they were completely ignorant of the fact that some of the rites practiced by themselves or others constituted Judaizing activities. It is interesting to examine a few specimens of the confessions and denunciations made in that period.

A farmer, Nicolo Faleiro de Vasconcellos, an Old Christian from Matoim in the captaincy of Bahia, confessed that his wife, Ana Alcoforado, was a New Christian on her mother's side, a daughter of Isabel

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:23 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Antunes and a granddaughter of the deceased Heitor Antunes, merchant of Matoim, who was said to have had a patent of nobility proving his descent from the Maccabees. His wife had poured water from jars after the death of slaves in their household. It was only the publication of the Edict of Faith that made him aware that this was a Jewish ceremony. For that reason, he appeared to accuse himself and to ask for mercy. He emphasized that his wife was a good practicing Christian.[9]

Ana Alcoforado later made an appearance to confess that she had poured water from a jar after the death of a slave in her household, but she averred that she had learned that rite of swearing by the world to which the souls of the dead had departed from her grandmother, Ana Rois (Rodrigues). The *visitador* told her that the ceremony of pouring water from jars in case of death was known to be a Jewish one, that Jews practiced the custom of swearing by the "Orlon" of their fathers,[10] that is, by the world in which the souls of their deceased fathers reside, and, finally, that she was suspected of living according to the Law of Moses.[11] Ana Alcoforado was sent to Lisbon for trial and remained there in prison from August 23, 1601, until she was set free on January 17, 1605, by the general amnesty of that year conceded by Pope Clement VIII on August 23, 1604, and published on January 16, 1605.[12] In consequence of that amnesty 155 prisoners (70 men and 85 women) were freed.[13]

Maria Lopes, a sixty-five-year-old New Christian residing in Bahia, a daughter of Fernão de Lopes, had come from Evora in Portugal. She confessed that she had hung up dead chickens in order to cleanse their blood and to improve their taste; that before roasting a sheep or a swine (*sic*) she was in the habit of removing the gland from the animal's back in order to make it more tender; that she did not like to eat chickens or other birds which had died from disease; and that, after the death of her son, a priest, she had had a jar with fresh water brought into her house. She further confessed that, about ten years before, on learning that the teacher Roque, a New Christian from Evora, had committed suicide by cutting his throat after having been imprisoned by the Inquisition, she had said that his death was more honorable than had he been burned. She asked for pardon and mercy.[14]

Clara Fernandes, a forty-year-old innkeeper in Bahia, half New and half Old Christian, confessed that she changed her waist on Saturdays,

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:24 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

but did so from motives of cleanliness rather than to observe the Sabbath. She pointed out that her profession called for a neat and clean appearance. She reported that Isabel Rois owed her money, was her enemy, and had circulated the lie that she was in the habit of flogging a crucifix which was in her possession.[15]

Antonia d'Oliveira, a New Christian thirty years of age, confessed that her cousin Alvaro Pacheco had instructed her to fast on Mondays and Thursdays until the appearance of stars in the evening sky; that her deceased aunt Violante Rois had instructed her not to work on Saturdays, since Saturday rather than Sunday was the true Sabbath, and to put on fresh waists on Saturdays. She told a strange story, allegedly heard from one Miguel Gomes, to the effect that the Jewish fast days were observed to atone for the worship of the Golden Calf.[16]

Beatriz Antunes, a forty-three-year old New Christian, daughter of the late Heitor Antunes and Ana Rois and wife of Bastião de Faria, an Old Christian and owner of a sugar mill in Matoim, stated that she had come to Brazil with her father. She confessed that her mother had taught her some rites without telling her the reasons for which they were practiced, saying merely that to practice them was right. She confessed that she had poured out water in her house in cases of death; that no meat had been eaten during the mourning period; that she had sworn by the world in which the soul of her father dwelled; that she had approved of the treatment of corpses according to Jewish custom; and that she had refrained from eating fish without scales. The *visitador* quickly informed her that her confession proved that she and her mother were Jewesses, and that he could not believe that she, as a "full-fledged New Christian," had been acting in ignorance of the fact that these well-known customs represented Jewish rites.[17] She was eventually sent to Lisbon for trial.[18]

Ana Rois, an eighty-year-old New Christian, who was a native of Covilha and had been brought up in Sertão, Portugal, reported that she was the daughter of Diogo Dias, a New Christian merchant and his wife Vilante Lopes, both deceased, and the widow of the deceased New Christian Heitor Antunes, a *senhor de engenho* in Matoim, also mentioned as a merchant. She confessed that she had not eaten fried or cooked game for the past four or five years, because it did not agree with her, but that she had eaten salted and roasted game; that she placed

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:24 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

her hands upon the heads of her grandchildren in blessing them without any particular reason for doing so; that after the death of her husband about fifteen years ago she had accidentally remained sitting behind closed doors; that after the demise of her son Antão she had poured the water from the jars in her house and refrained from eating meat during the first eight days of mourning. She had not been aware of practicing Jewish rites, having learned all these customs from an Old Christian godmother in Portugal, who had told her it was right to adhere to them. For this reason she had taught all of these practices to her daughters, Dona Leonor and Beatriz Antunes. She further confessed that she was in the habit of swearing by the soul of her father, husband, or son. In Sertão, she had been taught to swear by the souls of the deceased, and she did not realize that this was a Jewish custom. When her son Nuno Fernandes had been ill three or four years ago, she had often remained without food until evening. She finally stated that, seven or eight years earlier, when she had fallen ill in Matoim, where she still resided, she had become delirious and people said that she had spoken nonsense. She did not remember whether she had said or done anything to offend God at that time. The *visitador* asked her when she had turned to Judaism and begun to teach her daughters to practice Jewish customs and to believe in the Law of Moses. Ana Rois replied that she had always believed in Christ and had never known or understood that she was practicing and teaching Jewish rites. The *visitador* declared that there was a strong suspicion that she was Jewish and lived according to the Mosaic Law; that she had departed from the holy Catholic faith, and that it was impossible that she had practiced all these well-known Jewish rites without being Jewish; that it was obvious that she was Jewish and that she could not deny it. He finally instructed her not to leave Bahia without his permission.[19] Ana Rois was sent to Lisbon for trial; she was arrested on April 23, 1593, and she entered prison on August 2, 1593. She died in prison, and after death her corpse was condemned to burning (*relaxada em estatua*).[20]

Nuno Fernandes, a thirty-year-old merchant from Matoim, son of Heitor Antunes and Ana Rois, confessed that after the death of his sister Violante Antunes several years ago he had fasted for a whole day and eaten only fish at night, not knowing that this was a Jewish custom. He further confessed that some years ago he had read the book *Diana*,[21] which had been banned, and that the "Ovid of Metamaforgis"[22] in a

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:24 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Portuguese translation was in his possession. The *visitador* told him to bring the books and Nuno Fernandes replied that he owned only the Ovid at that time. He was ordered not to leave Bahia without the permission of the *visitador*.[23]

Gaspar Fernandes denounced Beatriz Antunes, her sister Dona Leonor, and their mother, Ana Rois, alleging that they claimed to be descendants of the Maccabees, an aristocratic Jewish family.[24]

Antonio da Fonseca accused Ana Rois of having practiced Jewish rites.[25] Alvaro Sanches charged Anrique Rois with being a Jew and observing the Jewish Sabbath. Isabel Serrão reported that Dona Leonor and Beatriz Antunes were in the habit of swearing by the world in which the soul of their father dwelled.[26]

Manoel Bras reported that Jews met to "make *esnoga*," i.e., to hold divine services, at the home of Diogo Lopes Ilhoa while another group watched outside the house. He further stated that there had been a synagogue in the house of Heitor Antunes in Matoim about twenty years earlier.[27]

Belchior Mendes de Açevedo stated that he had heard that João Nunes was the rabbi of the Jews in Pernambuco; and that about two months previous, when news had arrived in Olinda that the New Christian Tomas Nunes, who had left that town, had been burned alive in Portugal or Spain, his relatives and brothers-in-law—the New Christian merchants Duarte Dias Anriques, Diogo Vaz, Pantalião Vaz, Gemmes Lopes, Manoel Nunes who lived in Olinda, and Simão Vaz who lived in Camaragibe—had sat in mourning for him. He further reported that there were rumors in Olinda that Tomas Nunes had denounced seventy people as Judaizers. Because of these rumors and because of the arrival of the *visitador* of the Holy Office in Brazil, the merchants mentioned above had ceased to issue bills of exchange. The general opinion was that they and other New Christians of the captaincy were preparing their escape from Brazil.[28]

A priest named Francisco Pinto Doutel, vicar of the São Lourenço church at the border of Camaragibe, appeared in person and reported that Simão Vaz and Nuno Alvares of Camaragibe, Francisco de Thaide, Francisco Vaz Soares, and Pero de Galegos of Olinda, Duarte Dias Anriques of Capibaribe, and Ambrosio Fernandes Brandão of São Bento—all New Christians—permitted their employees to work on Sundays, indulged in scandalous behavior at church, and met in Camara-

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:25 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

gibe to hold divine services in the sugar mill called "São Martinho." He further stated that Jorge Dias de Caja, who had died two years ago, had been the rabbi of the Jews of Pernambuco twenty years before. Instead of ringing a bell, Caja was said to have walked through Olinda with a piece of white linen on his foot and a sword in his belt as a signal to call the Jews of Olinda to the synagogue.[29]

Ines de Barros reported the existence of a synagogue in a separate cottage on the farm of the deceased Heitor Antunes.[30] Cristovão Pais Daltero charged Ines Dias with holding a kind of service with a number of candles which was considered a Jewish ceremony. He further stated that Francisco Soares, the father of Simão Soeiro, had been buried in virgin soil in the Jewish manner.[31]

Pero d'Aguiar Daltero denounced Ana Rois, alleging that when a likeness of Christ on the Cross was brought to her bedside during an illness she had exclaimed: "Take him away, take him away."[32]

João Alvares Pereira charged Ana Rois with having buried her husband in the forest rather than the cemetery.[33]

João Bautista stated that he was thirty-one years old, that he had been born in "Celonique" in Turkey of Jewish parents, and that he had come to Portugal and been punished by the Inquisition. He reported that Gregorio Nunes, who had come to Brazil on the same ship four years earlier, had struck a crucifix and liked to recite the following lines: "Eagles and lions conquered the fortress; ascended to such a height that they were taming the dragons; and while all of them were embroiled in strife and confusion, the freed lions ascended with one of David's lineage." Bautista understood that these verses expressed the expectation of a Messiah.[34]

Guiomar de Fontes charged Ana d'Oliveira with having circumcized her sons; one of them, he said, had been seen bleeding and heard crying after the circumcision.[35]

The priest Antonio da Rocha, of the Society of Jesus, reported that Bento Teixeira, formerly of Ilheos, Bahia, and now living in Pernambuco, had written to the priests that anyone destined by God for paradise or hell would go there regardless of any good deeds that he may have performed. The priest Pedro Madeira, of the Society of Jesus, stated that Ana Rois had mourned her deceased husband and treated his body in accordance with Jewish custom.[36]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:25 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

João da Rocha reported having heard that Gaspar Dias Vidigueira, a New Christian, had presented his forty-day-old child, together with some pigeons, to a hermitage in conformity with an alleged Jewish rite. In the course of an argument, Rocha had called Vidigueira a New Christian; Vidigueira had replied that it was his highest honor to be a New Christian. Rocha further reported that Anrique Mendes did not work on Saturdays.[37]

João Garces said he had heard that, ten years ago, a synagogue had been maintained in the house of Antonio Tomas, who now lived in Porto.[38]

Diogo Dias declared that, when he was a young man, public opinion and rumor in Bahia concurred in the belief that a synagogue and "toura" (probably not a Sefer Torah [Holy Scroll] but only a *mezuzah*), existed in the house of the late New Christian merchant Heitor Antunes in Matoim; New Christians were said to have met there in order to Judaize and to observe the Jewish law.[39]

Belchior de Sousa, Gaspar Lobo de Sousa, and others denounced the New Christian Salvador da Maia; he was charged with practicing Jewish rites, with eating the paschal lamb according to Jewish custom, with having stolen the holiest of sacraments in Ilheos; with having written the words "this is the synagogue of Joam Braz" upon the chapel of João Braz, and, finally, with having killed his Old Christian wife. One of the persons bringing these charges was of the opinion that Salvador da Maia deserved to be burned alive for his Judaizing activities. He was imprisoned on September 18, 1591, and sent to Lisbon for trial. He was, however, acquitted and merely ordered to pay the expenses of the trial and imprisonment.[40]

Belchior Mendes de Açevedo stated, as a fact known to everyone in Olinda, that João Nunes, of Olinda, had a crucifix in his lavatory; a mason named Silva had seen it while making repairs in Nunes's house, and Nunes had tried to bribe Silva, first to prevent him from divulging the story and later to cause him to revoke it. Açevedo accused Nunes of being the rabbi of the Jews in Pernambuco. The previous year, on Maundy Thursday, he had been seen wearing new and splendid clothes, including a small coat of grogram and a breastpiece of silk. (Despite the fact that he owned two sugar mills and his wealth was reputed to be 200,000 cruzados, Nunes usually dressed poorly.) Belchior also said

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:25 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

that he had been told that there was a synagogue in Camaragibe, three leagues from Olinda.[41]

Called to Bahia by the governor, Nunes came elegantly attired and accompanied by many slaves. Nunes had earlier been imprisoned by the Inquisition in Portugal, and no less than twenty-one denunciations were brought against him before Mendoça, both in Bahia and, later, in Pernambuco. They alleged that Nunes was a usurer and a disreputable businessman, and that he had once made the remark that everybody, from the doorkeeper to the Pope, was living off shady business deals.

It was further alleged that Nunes had lived with Francisca Ferreira, wife of Manoel Ribeiro, and that Ribeiro, upon his return to Brazil from Angola, had tried to bring charges of adultery against his wife before the auditor Jorge Camello and been arrested. It was alleged that the auditor, who was both a close friend and a debtor of Nunes, had not released Ribeiro until he had signed a written promise not to sue his wife for adultery. Contrary to the promise he made, it was asserted, Nunes refused to return either Ribeiro's wife or farm, and he kept both. The church auditor (*licenciado*) Diogo de Couto, stated that when he had arrested Nunes because he lived in sin with Francisca Ferreira, Nunes was immediately released from prison due to the intervention of the Jesuits. Someone reported that Nunes and Joane Mendes d'Oliveira had charge of the *bolsa* (that is, were the treasurers) of the Jews.[42] None of the twenty-one persons bringing charges repeated the denunciation of Belchior Mendes de Açevedo that Nunes was the rabbi of the Jews in Pernambuco.

The denunciations indicate that João Nunes was a wealthy and ruthless man who lived with an Old Christian woman legally married to another man, and that he corrupted auditors and even Jesuits. They do not reveal whether he observed the Sabbath, visited the synagogue, and observed Jewish food laws, holidays, fast days, and other Jewish ceremonies and rites. It is certain that he was a Judaizer, but a man of his reputation and conduct cannot be assumed to have been the rabbi and spiritual leader of the Judaizers in Pernambuco. It is evident from other cases that the originator of the story, Belchior Mendes de Açevedo, attorney to the king, was a swindler and a blackmailer.[43]

It seems very likely that he had failed in an effort to blackmail the wealthy Nunes and therefore attempted to bring about his downfall.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:26 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Arrested on February 22, 1592, João Nunes was sent to Lisbon for trial. Because there was no conclusive proof to substantiate the charges against him, he was absolved and allowed to return to Brazil.[44]

These confessions and denunciations were made between the 29th of July, 1591, and the 11th of February, 1592. Meanwhile, the *visitador* had again promulgated an Edict of Faith, a Monitory Letter, and a Term of Grace for the area of Bahia; these were valid for thirty days and expired on February 11, 1592.

It is noteworthy that these confessions and denunciations reveal many Judaizing practices of which no mention was made in the Monitory Letter. It is highly probable that, prior to promulgation in Brazil, the Monitory Letter had been supplemented by some of the crimes confessed or reported.

Most of the confessions and denunciations affected the inhabitants of the town of Matoim in the captaincy of Bahia, where there was a great deal of intermarriage between New and Old Christians. The Judaizers of Bahia had secret synagogues, rabbis, and perhaps a Sefer Torah brought by Heitor Antunes from Portugal in 1557. Whenever it was not too dangerous, they circumcized their sons, observed Jewish holidays, fast days, and ritual food laws, as well as various Jewish ceremonies and customs. Some of their practices were based on superstition; others, such as the flogging of crucifixes, were induced by the years of festering hatred which persecution by the Inquisition had aroused.

Most of these New Christians lived as secret Jews without much interference by the Church, and they do not appear to have taken any great precautions to hide the fact. At first, the visit of an inquisitorial inspector caused a panic among them, and many considered emigration. However, the *visitador* lacked sufficient evidence to start proceedings against many of the Judaizers in Bahia, and only a few were turned over to the tribunal of the Inquisition in Lisbon.

Visitation of the Holy Office in Pernambuco, 1593–95

On September 21, 1593, Heitor Furtado de Mendoça arrived in Recife. On October 24, 1593, he established an inquisitorial commission in the town of Olinda near Recife by promulgating an Edict of Faith, a Monitory Letter, and a Term of Grace for certain parishes. He also visited Itamaracá and Parahiba.[45]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:26 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

At that time, the captaincy of Pernambuco was populated by some eight thousand whites, two thousand peaceful Indians, and ten thousand African Negro slaves.[46] As the sixteenth century ended, Pernambuco was the most advanced and prosperous captaincy in Brazil, Jorge de Albuquerque then serving as its governor. The economy of the area was based on sugar, cotton, and dyewood, on exports and imports, and Pernambuco had many wealthy families whose standard of living included a measure of luxury.

The denunciations and confessions occasioned by the visitation in Pernambuco deserve special attention for the light they shed on the nature of alleged transgressions. Particularly interesting are thirteen denunciations against the deceased Diogo Fernandes and his wife, Branca Dias, brought before the inquisitorial commission in Olinda. Diogo has already been mentioned as an important technician in the sugar industry. According to rumors, Branca Dias had come to Brazil after having been persecuted by the Inquisition, and her husband had followed her after her escape from Portugal, sometime between 1535 and 1542.

On their arrival in Olinda, Diogo Fernandes and Branca Dias established a boarding school for young girls, in which they gave instruction in cooking and sewing. Later, they moved to Camaragibe, where Diogo Fernandes became the administrator of the sugar mill and farm of Bento Dias Santiago, a rich New Christian and a relative of Branca Dias. Santiago was the tax-farmer for the captaincies of Bahia, Pernambuco, and Itamaracá from 1575.[47]

Diogo and Branca had two sons. One, Jorge Dias da Paz, was married and living in Parahiba; the other lived in Portugal. They also had eight daughters: Ines Fernandes, married to Balthasar Leitão; Violante Fernandes, married to João Pereira; Guiomar Fernandes, married to Francisco Frasão; Beatriz Fernandes, called "the Old," who was crippled and remained unmarried; Isabel Fernandes, married to Bastião Coelho; Felippa da Paz, married to Pero da Costa; Andresa Jorge, married to Fernão de Sousa; and Ana Fernandes, married to another Diogo Fernandes.

Former pupils of Branca Dias's boarding school reported that with the help of Negro slave girls they had cleaned and washed the house every Friday, and that no one in that house worked on Saturdays. Branca Dias and her daughters, it was alleged, had worn their best

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:27 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

clothes on the Jewish Sabbath; on that day Branca shared her meals with her daughters. A special yellow-colored dish was prepared for the Fernandes family on the Sabbath. According to Branca's younger daughters, it consisted of ground grains, meat, oil, onions, and spices. Others reported that, on Sundays in church, when the words "alevantavão ao Senhor na ostia consagrada" were recited, Branca Dias used to murmur "there are chained dogs." It was further asserted that Diogo Fernandes did not permit his slaves to work in the sugar mill on Saturday, and that he worked outside Camaragibe during the week but always came home on Friday and stayed until Monday morning. It was also reported that the candlesticks were cleaned and equipped with new twisted thread and fresh oil on Friday. It was charged that there was a synagogue in Camaragibe, in which Jews gathered, arriving in carriages adorned with tree branches, to celebrate the fast day of "Gujpurr" (Yom Kippur) and other holidays. Diogo, his brother Duarte, and his son-in-law Diogo, all of them administrators of the farm and sugar mill in Camaragibe, were said to have lived in conformity with the Jewish law, rites, and customs. It was further stated that, at a later date, the new administrators of this sugar mill, members of the Vas family, continued these Judaizing activities. The schoolteacher Bento Teixeira was accused of frequent visits to Violante Fernandes, to whom he would explain the Latin Bible.

The denunciations continued. A likeness of the head of an ox, made of wood and about a span and a half (13½ inches) long, had been seen in the house of Diogo and Branca; Branca Dias and Jorge Dias de Caja had possessed a "toura," which they worshipped; Dona Brites de Albuquerque, widow of Duarte Coelho, the first governor and *donatário* of Pernambuco, had visited Diogo Fernandes before he died and had reportedly advised him to invoke the name of Jesus, but Diogo had refused to follow her advice.[48]

Diogo Dias Fernandes and his wife are the first Brazilian Marranos to be identified by name. There is no doubt that Diogo Fernandes and Branca Dias and their family were Marranos, and that the synagogue of Camaragibe on the farm of Bento Dias Santiago was the center of Judaizers in Pernambuco. The name of Branca Dias became legendary in Brazil, and it has found its way into the literature of later generations.[49] Not only Diogo Fernandes and Branca Dias, but also their daughters

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:27 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Ines, Violante, Guiomar, and Felippa were dead by the time the *visitador* came to Pernambuco in 1593. This functionary did not hesitate, however, to imprison on August 28, 1595, the unmarried daughter of Diogo and Branca, the crippled Beatriz Fernandes. The initial sentence pronounced against Beatriz Fernandes at an auto-da-fé of January 31, 1599, condemned her to go to the public auto-da-fé and to abjure her heresies. She was there sentenced to life imprisonment and to the wearing of the *habito* (prison garb) for life.[50] Thus did the Holy Inquisition wreak its vengeance on the family of Diogo Fernandes and Branca Dias, the first known Judaizers in Brazil.

Further denunciations were made against João Nunes, as noted earlier. Among the many other charges, it was alleged at this time that he had assisted the governor in the conquest of Parahiba by extending credits.[51] João's brother, Diogo Nunes, the owner of a sugar plantation in Parahiba, was also the subject of many denunciations as one who engaged in Judaizing activities.[52]

Balthasar da Fonseca, a mason, who was thirty-five years old in 1594,[53] was charged with not believing in the Cross or in such saints as Peter, Paul, or John, but only in God. He pretended to be an Old Christian from Coimbra. The individual so accused is of particular historical interest, because a man named Balthasar da Fonseca, together with his family, openly professed Judaism after 1630 when the Dutch conquered Pernambuco. This Balthasar was the builder of the first section of the bridge from Recife to Mauricia, for which purpose he was employed by the count of Nassau, governor of Dutch Brazil.[54] Balthasar would then have been about eighty years old, but there is no proof that he is the man who was denounced in 1594.

On October 8, 1591, Ambrosio Fernandes Brandão, a New Christian and administrator of the farm of Bento Dias de Santiago, was one of the persons denounced in Bahia by Francisco Pinto Doutel, vicar of São Lourenço, a church at the border of Camaragibe. Brandão was accused of letting his slaves work on Sundays, of behaving in a scandalous manner in church, and of visiting the synagogue in Camaragibe.[55] However, in the 354 pages of the records of the inquisitorial commission in Pernambuco there is no charge against him. He is nonetheless of great interest, for this New Christian had participated as a captain in the expeditions against the French and the Indians of Parahiba. In 1583 he

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:27 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

still lived in Pernambuco; in 1613 he lived in Parahiba, where he owned two sugar mills. In 1627 he acquired a third mill in Parahiba,[56] which would seem to prove that Padre Doutel's denunciation did not cause the *visitador* to molest Brandão.

The most reliable Brazilian historians consider Brandão the author of the *Dialogos das Grandezas do Brasil* (Dialogues on the greatness of Brazil), of which one copy was discovered in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon (whence it disappeared in 1848) and another in the library at Leiden, Holland, in 1874.[57] This excellent work consists of six dialogues, carried on during the course of six days. They are conversations between two friends, Brandonio and Alviano, on such topics as the geography, climate, culture, economy, zoology, and customs of the Portuguese and the Indians in Brazil in 1618. Brandão and another New Christian, Nuno Alvares, together with the sons of Diogo Fernandes, were administrators of the sugar mill at Camaragibe belonging to the wealthy New Christian Bento Dias Santiago. Both were denounced by Doutel at the same time. The fact that the dialogues are put in the mouths of two friends called Brandonio and Alviano further helps us to identify the Judaizer Ambrosio Fernandes Brandão as the author of the first well-known Brazilian book, the *Dialogos das Grandezas do Brasil.*

Several references to Jews occur in the *Dialogos.* Brandonio is of the opinion that the Brazilian Indians were descendants of Israelites. He believes that, during a three-year absence with the fleet of King Hiram, some of the ships of the Tarshish fleet of King Solomon, driven by storms, accidentally landed on the coast of Brazil; and that the crew of those vessels remained there while the rest of the fleet returned from Ophir to Israel, carrying a cargo of gold, silver, ivory, monkeys, and parrots. The port of Ophir, according to Brandonio, was located in "Tharsis" on the western coast of Africa, near the city of São Jorge (Mina). Brandonio holds that the crew members who remained in Brazil were the ancestors of the Brazilian Indians. Alviano responds that barbarians like the Brazilian Indians could not be descendants of Israelites. If they were, he argues, they would have inherited some of the Israelites' cultural traditions. Brandonio retorts that the loss of such traditions could be ascribed to the long period of time that had elapsed since the old Israelites' arrival in Brazil. In a remote land, without the scriptures, they had lost the memory of the culture of their ancestors and

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:28 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

had become barbarians. Moreover, he argued, the Brazilian Indians used many Hebrew concepts and allusions. For example, they practiced the custom of accepting their nieces as their true wives. They had knowledge of the stars, although they called them by other names. He adduced other evidence to prove that the native Brazilian Indians were descendants of the Israelites, who were the first to navigate the surrounding seas.[58]

Bento Teixeira, previously denounced in Bahia, was denounced by ten people in Olinda. On January 21, 1594, he appeared in person before the inquisitorial commission, where he stated that he had been born in Porto, Portugal, in 1561, and that he was the son of the New Christians Manoel Alvares de Barros and his wife Leonor Rodrigues, who had both died in Bahia before 1594. He studied at the College of the Society of Jesus in Bahia, where, about 1580, he was seen wearing long robes and the type of hat usually worn by clergymen. In 1584 he lived in Ilheos, where he married the Old Christian Felippa Raposa. From about 1586 he was in Iguaraçú, Olinda, and Cabo de São Agostinho, all in the captaincy of Pernambuco, following his profession as a teacher of Latin, arithmetic, reading, and writing. His two brothers, Fernão Rodrigues, who lived on the island of Itamaracá, and Fernão Rodrigues da Paz, who lived first in Rio de Janeiro and later in Itamaracá, were also teachers. Bento Teixeira murdered his wife Felippa Raposa, probably in 1594. As early as December, 1594, he is known to have lived in the monastery of São Bento in Olinda, where he found asylum against prosecution for murder.

The following charges were brought against Bento Teixeira: that he did not give lessons on the Jewish Sabbath; that he used to swear by the hair about the private parts of the Holy Virgin, that he owned the banned book *Diana* by Jorge de Montemayor; that he liked to discuss religious and philosophical problems with laymen as well as friars. He was further reported to have said that since human beings were created in God's image, God did not punish them after death in the world beyond, but made their conscience continue to torment them as punishment. This statement was considered a heretical denial of the existence of hell. On another occasion, during a discussion with Friar Damião da Fonseca, head of the monastery where he had found asylum, Teixeira expressed the belief that Adam would have had to die even if he had refrained from eating the forbidden apple from the tree of knowledge.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:28 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

He was accused of saying that he considered the Old Testament his guide.[59]

In 1601, the editor Antonio Alvares published in Lisbon, with the imprimatur of the Holy Inquisition, a small book written by Bento Teixeira. Its title was *Prosopopea* (Emphatic discourse); it contained a "prose prologue directed to Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho, Captain and Governor of the Captaincy of Pernambuco, parts of Brazil, New Lusitania, etc.," and a poem of 94 stanzas (752 lines). The *Prosopopea* glorifies the Albuquerque family and especially Jorge de Albuquerque, the third *donatário* of Pernambuco. It also contains a description of Recife. The work has little poetic or literary value, but it is the first poem written in Brazil, and its author has thus been the subject of a great deal of writing by bibliographers, historians, and historians of literature.[60]

For no apparent reason, this first Brazilian poet was called Bento Teixeira Pinto, and all of his biographers have held that he was born in Pernambuco. It was a great surprise when, upon publication in 1925 and 1929 of the *visitador's* records of denunciations in Bahia (1591–92) and in Pernambuco (1593–95), Bento Teixeira turned out to have been a New Christian and a Judaizer who was born not in Brazil, but in Porto, Portugal. Rodolfo Garcia, the great Brazilian historian, pointed out that at the end of the sixteenth century no other person by the name of Bento Teixeira lived in Brazil, and that no one in the country equaled him in learning at the time. The Marrano Bento Teixeira must thus be credited, according to Garcia, as the "father of Brazilian poetry."[61] Garcia's conclusion has not been generally accepted, and many other views have been advanced, expressing a contrary opinion.[62]

Rodolfo Garcia thinks it surprising that the inquisitorial commission did not arrest Bento Teixeira, so often denounced as a blasphemer and a Judaizer, and that there is so little evidence concerning a trial. He explains it in this manner: Governor Albuquerque, to whom the *Prosopopea* had been dedicated (the Prologue ends with the words "Your vassal kisses the hands of your Grace"), was Bento Teixeira's protector and saved him from the grasp of the Inquisition.[63]

Was the charge that Bento Teixeira was a secret Jew based on fact? Was he indeed one? Further, is it possible to prove by another means than that used by Rodolfo Garcia, that the author of the *Prosopopea* and

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:28 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the Marrano Bento Teixeira were one and the same person. The great Brazilian historian, we repeat, based his conclusion on the contention that no other individual with Teixeira's name and literary ability lived in Pernambuco at the end of the sixteenth century. Finally, we are moved to inquire: What was Bento Teixeira's fate?

In the sixth stanza of the *Prosopopea*, Teixeira declares that "Air, Fire, Sea, and Land" are the four elements that constitute the universe. In the discussion in December, 1594, with the priest Damião da Fonseca, to which we have alluded, it will be recalled that he argued that Adam would have had to die regardless of whether or not he had eaten from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. He presented material reasons to support this theory, namely, that man was composed of the four elements.[64] The thirty-fifth stanza of *Prosopopea* reads as follows:

> O fate, so cruel, so changeable,
> Why do you usurp man's right to the Good?
> You always choose the most abominable,
> Reprove and abhor the perfect one.
> The less worthy you make agreeable,
> The most agreeable, less esteemed.
> O fate, fragile, inconstant, frail,
> Robbing man of possessions and justice.[65]

In these verses we recognize a continuous Jewish plaint, that the wicked prosper and the righteous endure pain and poverty. "Zaddik wera lo rosha wetov lo"—the righteous one suffers and the wicked one enjoys life.[66]

The title page of the *Prosopopea* bears the coat of arms of the Albuquerque family, and at the end of the poem Bento Teixeira affixed an emblem: a phoenix gazing at three small phoenixes. The phoenix is encircled by the Latin motto "Fortis est ut mors dilectio."[67] (Love is as strong as death: Canticles 8. 6). According to fable, the phoenix, a miraculous bird, lives from five hundred to a thousand years, is consumed by fire, and rises afresh from its own ashes. The phoenix thus is a symbol of immortality. The phoenix happened to be the emblem of the second Portuguese Jewish Community in Amsterdam, Neweh Shalom, which was founded by Portuguese ex-Marranos.[68] It was evidently designed to show that the Inquisition could burn Jews but could not destroy immortal Judaism. At the end of the sixteenth century, as a sort of seal

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:32 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

to his book, Bento Teixeira used this emblem of the Portuguese Marranos and thus proved that he was actually an "underground" Jew (*ex ungue leonem*). In doing so, he also ridiculed the Holy Inquisition, which sanctioned the printing of the *Prosopopea*—including the Marrano emblem.

None of the bibliographers, historians, and historians of literature who have discussed the author of the *Prosopopea*, beginning with the Abbot Diogo Barboza Machado in 1741 and ending with Rodolfo Garcia in 1949, knew Bento Teixeira's fate after he had disappeared. The truth is that Bento Teixeira was arrested on the 20th of August, 1595, in Pernambuco, and sent to Lisbon for trial. He was sentenced to attend the public auto-da-fé of January 31, 1599, and to abjure his heresies. Further, he was sentenced to imprisonment and *habito perpetuo* (penitential habit for life). However, in Lisbon he received permission to live outside the prison walls. Soon thereafter he contracted a lung disease and began spitting blood, as was certified to by a doctor, J. Pinheiro, on April 9, 1600; he died at the end of July, 1600.[69]

In the future, on the basis of the foregoing conclusive evidence, historians of literature will have to refer to Bento Teixeira as a New Christian Judaizer who was born in and died in Portugal, spent about twenty-five years—from 1570 to 1595—in Brazil, and was the first Brazilian poet.

An Indian girl named Monica, a baptized Christian, made on December 6, 1593, the following very interesting denunciation. It had been her custom to visit frequently, about ten years earlier, the house of the New Christian Fernão Soares. One day she saw hanging on the wall an object, affixed with a nail, that looked like an ox made of gilded clay, with black horns, and spots and its feet drawn together. When she told the story she got the explanation that she had seen a "toura", worshipped by the Jews. It is obvious that she had seen a *mezuzah*, hidden in the clayform of an ox. Because an ox is called in Portuguese *toura* (a barren or sterile cow) and the Jewish Law is called in Hebrew Torah, the Old Christians thought that the Jewish Torah had always been in the form of a *toura* (ox).[70]

It is very improbable that the Marranos had had the courage to bring the voluminous scrolls of the Law from Portugal to Brazil. Probably they had brought small hidden *mezuzot* as substitutes.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:32 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The records presented throughout these pages indicate that a considerable part of the white population of the captaincy of Pernambuco were Judaizers. They began to come to Pernambuco very early in the sixteenth century. They were farmers, owners, and administrators of sugar plantations and sugar mills, merchants, manufacturers of confections, teachers, and owners of boarding houses. The richest among them were Bento Dias Santiago and João Nunes. Their spiritual center was Camaragibe, which had a synagogue and a "toura" (probably not a Sefer Torah but only a *mezuzah*). This center was evidently organized by Diogo Fernandes and his wife, Branca Dias, the first known couple of New Christians who settled in Brazil. For Yom Kippur, the Judaizers of Pernambuco came to Camaragibe. In Olinda they had a Shammash to call them to the divine services held in Camaragibe. It is almost certain that the author of the *Dialogos das Grandezas do Brasil*, one of the greatest books ever written about that country, was the Judaizer Ambrosio Fernandes Brandão of Pernambuco. The first Brazilian poet, author of the famous *Prosopopea*, was Bento Teixeira, another Judaizer, who spent about twenty-five years in Brazil. The records reveal other important facts: Many of the officials of the Catholic Church in Brazil were New Christians; others were bribed by Marranos to tolerate Judaizing activities. The curate Cortiçado, for example was charged with having accepted bribes from Judaizers in return for tolerating the practice of their customs.[71] Even the ecclesiastical auditor of Pernambuco, the vicar Diogo de Couto, who was still in office in 1593, was reported to be a New Christian on his father's side, and to have been bribed by Judaizers.[72]

Developments from 1596 *to* 1624

After the departure of the *visitador* Heitor Furtado de Mendoça from Brazil at the end of 1595, it again became incumbent upon the bishop of Bahia to prepare the trials of Judaizers and heretics and to extradite such offenders to Lisbon with the aid of the Jesuits.

Preserved in the archives of the Inquisition in Lisbon is the dossier of Beatriz de Sousa, New Christian, unmarried daughter of Fernão de Sousa, a native and resident of Pernambuco, arrested on the 16th of December, 1599. She was sentenced to go to the public auto-da-fé *in*

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:33 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

corpo carrying a lighted candle, to recant without hesitation, and to pay penalties of a spiritual nature; sentence was made public at the auto-da-fé of the 3rd of August, 1603.[73] There is also the dossier of Catherina Favella half New Christian, unmarried, daughter of Pero da Costa, an Old Christian native of Pernambuco, arrested on the 16th of December, 1599; she was released from prison and sentenced to penalties of a spiritual nature.[74] Both of these women were granddaughters of the well-known Judaizers Diogo Fernandes and Branca Dias. The records of the 1593–95 visitation in Pernambuco reveal that Fernão de Sousa was married to Andressa Jorge and Pero da Costa to Felippa da Paz, both daughters of Diogo Fernandes and Branca Dias. The agents of the Inquisition in Pernambuco evidently kept a sharp eye on the descendants of the famous couple. Diogo Lopes, a merchant from Rio de Janeiro, appeared at the auto-da-fé on November 3, 1600, in Lisbon and was sentenced to the galleys.[75]

The report of the *visitador* Mendoça about the unreliability of the Brazilian clergy resulted in the exceptional Law of the Crown against New Christian church officials in Brazil. A royal decree dated February 4, 1603, provided for great precautions to be taken in appointing officials of the Church in Brazil. Only Old Christians were to receive such appointments. The stringency of the decree was in line with the reports that had stated that most of the churches in Brazil had New Christian clergymen and that steps should be taken to put an end to this situation.[76]

On the other hand, a royal decree dated April 4, 1601, revised the decree of January 27, 1587, which had prohibited that New Christians leave Portugal or sell their property without license. They were now permitted to leave Portugal, sell their property, and later return to the country without special license.[77] The New Christians paid 170,000 cruzados for this favor.[78] A general improvement of the New Christians' situation was in the offing. At the beginning of 1605, the king obtained a general pardon from the Pope. It was valid for one year, and covered all Portuguese New Christians and their past offenses. The price for this act is mentioned in the king's patent of February 1, 1605, as 1,700,000 cruzados in cash and, in addition, cancellation of the royal treasury's debt in the amount of 225,000 cruzados by "the descendants of the New Christians of the Hebrew Nation from Portugal".[79] In conformity with the terms of the agreement, the Portuguese Inquisitorial tribunals

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:33 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

released 410 prisoners (among them the Brazilians Ana Alcoforada, Brites da Costa, and Ana da Costa), imposing only a formal penalty upon them. It was henceforth prohibited to refer to the New Christians as Jews; they were to be called New Christians. They obtained the right to free trade with the colonists. The assessmen of 1,700,000 cruzados was divided among all the New Christians of Portugal. The Brazilians' part of this assessment was fixed at eighteen contos. The collection began in 1606 and had not been completed in 1617.[80]

That the Crown was interested solely in obtaining Jewish money and had no intention of changing its basic attitude towards the New Christians is evidenced by the promulgation, on May 24, 1605, of a royal edict prohibiting New Christians from entering the "Service of Letters." This restriction extended even to Old Christians married to New Christian women.[81] On June 6, 1605, another patent decreed that New Christians could not leave Portugal without proving that they had paid their part of the assessment or given the necessary guarantee for its payment.[82] On June 21, 1605, another royal patent was issued. It provided that no "person of the Hebrew Nation," was exempt or could be exempted from payment of his share of the 1,700,000 cruzados. "Nobles, cavaliers, knights" were not excluded from this order. In brief, the obligation imposed by the patent was not to be limited or revoked in any individual cases.[83]

After expiration of its one-year term, the Holy Inquisition resumed the prosecution of Judaizers among the New Christians. The Crown remained vigilant lest the New Christians cheat the treasury. It is understandable that New Christians tried to leave Portugal without paying the assessment to the Crown. A decree promulgated in December, 1606, stated that the king had been informed that some had succeeded in doing so, and it provided that every New Christian making a similar attempt in the future was to forfeit his possessions in favor of the Crown. The person denouncing the offender was to receive one-third of the recovered proceeds.[84] In 1605 there was an exodus of many New Christians from Portugal; a large number of them probably went to Brazil. Despite the king's patent decreeing that New Christian clergymen were not to be employed in Brazil, Dom Diogo de Menezes, governor-general of Brazil, who had come to the country at the end of 1607, repeated in a letter to the king of July 12, 1608, that Bishop Dom

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:33 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Constantino Barradas employed the New Christian vicar, Diogo de Couto, as an advisor. Couto was a vicar of the mother-church in Bahia, and had been elected contrary to the king's decree.[85]

The most interesting report on New Christians in Brazil at the beginning of the seventeenth century is contained in a travel book by the Frenchman Pyrard de Laval, who, after a stay of about two months, left Bahia on the 7th of October, 1610. He writes that Bahia had many New Christians "who are Jews or of Jewish race become Christians," and no Inquisition, but that the New Christians were terrified by rumors of the Spanish king's intention to introduce the Inquisition in Brazil. Some of the New Christians, he notes, were very wealthy, with fortunes of sixty, eighty, or a hundred thousand cruzados.

"The people," according to Pyrard, had no esteem for the New Christians. The caliber of "the people" to whom Pyrard spoke is disclosed by the following sentence from his book: "The major part of the Portuguese living there are degraded, bankrupt, or criminal people."

Brazil's enormous sugar production facilitated the accumulation of wealth. Travelers from Brazil to Portugal brought with them sugar, canned fruit, balm, tobacco, oranges, lemons, green ginger, and coins. The coins came to Brazil from Rio da Prata in big pieces of one, two, four, and eight reales, and were exported to Portugal. The importers also made large profits, since they sold imported food and clothing in Brazil at prices about 700 percent higher than those prevailing in France. These commodities came from Portugal, the Azores, and the Canary Islands. Immigrants often came back home to Portugal, after nine or ten years in Brazil, very rich.

Pyrard left Brazil on a 250-ton ship carrying 60 passengers. Its owners were two Dutchmen, who had become naturalized in Portugal and lived in Lisbon. One of them was the captain of the ship. Among the passengers were six or seven New Christian businessmen, two of whom were very wealthy. One had a cargo of Brazilian goods worth more than 100,000 escus on board the same vessel. This Jew became involved in a heated argument with the captain when the ship neared Lisbon on January 15, 1611. It appears that the captain wished to land despite a great tempest that was then raging. The Jew took the wheel by force and changed the ship's course. After many insults had been exchanged, they came to an agreement: the Jewish businessman signed a declaration

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:33 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

assuming responsibility for all risks, losses, damages, and expenses that might result from failure to land in Lisbon. The ship then proceeded to the Islands of Baiona in Galicia, eighty leagues from Lisbon, arriving there on January 21, 1611, after a stormy journey of five days.[86]

This story clearly shows that New Christians not only emigrated from Portugal to Brazil to take up residence in that country, but that they also returned to Portugal after acquiring wealth in Brazil. Their trading activities were probably aided by the royal decree of April 4, 1601. This decree was superseded by a royal provision dated March 13, 1610,[87] which again required that Jews obtain a special permit either to leave Portugal or return there in order to sell goods and other property.

Visitation of the Holy Office in Bahia, 1618

The rumors that the Inquisition would be introduced in Brazil, while untrue, were not utterly without ground. In 1618, the *licenciado* Marcos Teixeira, *visitador* of the Holy Office from Lisbon, arrived in Bahia and organized an inquisitorial commission and tribunal. He was active in the Church of the Society of Jesus in Bahia from September 11, 1618, to January 26, 1619,[88] and 52 persons appeared before the tribunal to denounce 134 others, including 90 Judaizers. On the first day, September 11, 1618, and on September 13, 1618, the renegade Melchior de Bragança appeared as the principal accuser. He stated that he was forty years old, a member of the Hebrew Nation, a doctor, and a convert to Christianity. He had been born in Morocco, and had married and resided in Lisbon prior to being exiled to Brazil for killing a man. In Spain he had taught the Hebrew language and expounded the Holy Scriptures at the universities in Alcala and Salamanca, and at the College of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in Coimbra, Portugal.

He accused Dominguos Alvares de Serpa, a merchant in Bahia, of once declaring that he did not believe that Bragança's conversion to Christianity had been a voluntary one, since the Law of Moses was the true law. He also charged that Dinis Bravo, a resident of Bahia and the owner of a mill, had challenged the sincerity of his conversion. Bravo, he alleged, had said to him: "Are you the Hebrew doctor? Is it possible that you have preached the Law of Moses and have abandoned it? Do you believe that all who eat pork are Christians? Know, then, that all

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:34 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

those who are Jews in Spain are better Jews than those who received the Law of Moses on Mount Sinai." Bravo, Bragança continued, had also asserted that people burned in Spain died as martyrs for the Law of Moses. Melchior de Bragança also denounced the *licenciado* Francisco Lopes Brandão, a New Christian lawyer in Bahia, who had discussed Psalm 67 with him, and explained the verses "Si dormiatis inter medios cleros" and "Rex virtutum dilecti" in favor of the Jews rather than of Jesus Christ.[89]

The *visitador* observed, in response to Brangança's spate of accusation, that it was difficult to believe that people of the Hebrew Nation, astute and cautious as they were, should have spoken to him so freely. Melchior explained, in answer, that they knew that he had been a rabbi and very learned in the Law of Moses, and therefore did not really believe in his conversion. Moreover, he went on, they believed that he, a poor stranger, would not dare to denounce them, who were very wealthy and powerful men.

He resumed his denunciation and asserted that he had been present at meetings on several Friday afternoons in the house of Gonçallo Nunes, a member of the Hebrew Nation in Bahia. On those occasions he saw the following Hebrews: Dinis Bravo and his brother, Pascoal Bravo; the bailiff Diogo D'Albuquerque; the lawyer Francisco Lopes Brandão; Dominguos Alvares de Serpa; Diogo Lopes Franco; the son-in-law of the alderman Henrique Monis Telles; and Simão Nunes de Mattos, a sugar mill owner. When these men met, Melchior alleged, they spent the time from 7:00 P.M. to 12 midnight practicing, he suspected, ceremonies prescribed by the Old Law.[90]

Once, he continued, he was invited to dinner at the house of Manoel Rodrigues Sanches, a member of the Hebrew Nation and owner of a sugar mill, where the Hebrew, Luis Alvares, who was Sanches's clerk, was also present. Alvares, knowing something about Holland, plied him with questions about the status of Judaism in Flanders. Alvares, he said, then went on to talk about the Jews, their ceremonies in the synagogue, the way they put on the *tefillin*, and how their bodies swayed while they recited the Psalms of David. He talked about the rabbi who wore a white robe and prayed, while the congregation rocked: "Cadox, Cadox, Cadox" (Kadosh). This was equivalent, Melchior explained, to uttering: "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth." On this

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:36 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

same occasion, Luis Alvares had declared that the written law had undeniably been given to Moses on Mount Sinai.[91]

What motivated this murderer and renegade, Melchior de Bragança, to denounce the very people who had extended to him such cordial hospitality was soon revealed: the wealthy men of the Hebrew Nation in Bahia had apparently refused to give him the financial assistance he had requested.

The *visitador* also heard a varied assortment of accusations and denunciations from sources other than that choice specimen. The clergyman Balthasar Ribeiro, a member of the Hebrew Nation who had lived in Portugal and was the former owner of the sugar mill in Matoim, was reported to have owned a Spanish Bible with fine illustrations.[92] Indeed, a close friend of Balthasar Ribeiro, the bishop of Bahia, Dom Constantino, freely acquitted people denounced for their Judaizing activities.[93] Someone had heard that Dominguos Alvares de Serpa had used the Jewish expression "gayas, gayas" (*goiyot:* gentile women).[94] Antonio Velho, another member of the Hebrew Nation, had been heard saying that people were being detained in Porto in order to deprive them of their fortunes.[95] Matheus Lopes and his brother Luis Lopes[96] were charged with taking a bath and changing their shirts on Friday nights, and with always being well-attired on Saturday mornings. Further, it was stated, the brothers had never eaten pork and had repeatedly uttered blasphemies against Jesus Christ and the host. "Lopes Franco christão novo" (Matheus) from Bahia was imprisoned on December 8, 1619, and, finally, condemned in Lisbon.[97]

To resume the accusations spun out before the *visitador*, it was said that Felippa Gonçalves and Margarida Dinis did not use lard to cook their meat, but gave their lard to the servants.[98] Simão Nunes de Mattos was again denounced because a neighbor had seen that on Fridays and Saturdays many men of the Hebrew Nation came to his home for dinner and supper and spent the night there. A servant of Mattos stated that on such occasions the "toura" had been removed from the barn. The visitors to Nunes's home included Francisco Tinoco de Lisboa, Simão Machado, Diogo Fernandes d'Elvas, Simão de Leão, Francisco Duarte Tinoco, Manoel Alvares de Galegos, and Pascoal Bravo.[99]

The *visitador* also heard Diogo Gonçalves Lassos describe his trip from Madeira to "Nostra Dama" in Flanders (Amsterdam) six years earlier.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:36 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

During this trip he was told by friends that Manoel from São Miguel, one of whose parents was of the Hebrew Nation, and who had married Clara de Mendoça in Bahia and now lived in Rio de Janeiro, had returned to Judaism when he was in "Nostra Dama."[100]

A clergyman nicknamed "Mouco," who lived in São Bento, was charged with having made the following statement as he looked at the three crosses on the steeple of the monastery of Carmo: "Three crosses of three thieves."[101] Antonio Viegas, curate of the cathedral in Bahia and a member of the Hebrew Nation on his mother's side, was accused of scandalous conduct while holding services.[102] Adam Gonçalves, an Old Christian servant of Henrique Monis Telles, was reported to have removed, at the request of Telles, the portrait of Ana Rois (Telles's mother-in-law, whose body had been burned by the Inquisition) from the main portal of the church in Matoim where it had been put up by order of the Holy Office.[103] Pedro Fernandes Raphael and Lopes de Paredes were charged with writing a "book of the confraternity of the Jews,"[104] for which purpose they had locked themselves in a shop at night.

Gaspar Afonso reported that, about six years earlier, he had taken refuge in the house of Pero Garcia, owner of four sugar mills, who lived in Bahia. He had served Garcia as an accountant and, in the office, had found a letter written by Diogo Fernandes from Pisa to his brother Henrique Fernandes in Bahia, who had died in the meantime, in which Diogo implored his brother to come to Pisa and to obey God's command. The letter warned that there was no hope of salvation, unless he made that trip to Pisa. Finally, Diogo requested his brother to answer him through letters from Dinis Bravo or Luis Vaz de Paiva and to burn his when he had finished reading it.[105]

Other persons denounced included a number of relatives of the Antunes family: Henrique Monis Telles, the husband of Leonor Antunes, Diogo Lopes Franco, the son-in-law of Telles, and Simão Nunes de Mattos. The latter, who was reported to own a Sefer Torah, was a brother of the rich João Nunes who had been arrested on February 22, 1592. Simão Nunes was also charged with having placed a gold coin in the mouth of Gaspar Dias de Moura, who had lived in Mattos's sugar mill and was a member of the Nation, after the latter's death five years earlier.[106]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:36 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Among the 90 Marranos denounced in 1618 we find: Dinis Bravo, *senhor de engenho;*[107] Luis Lopes Paredes, *lavrador de cannas* (sugar-cane farmer);[108] Manoel Rodrigues Sanches, *senhor de engenho;*[109] Manoel Mendes Mesa, *senhor* of the big sugar mill of Piraja;[110] Pero Garcia, who was Jewish on his father's side and *senhor* of four *engenhos;*[111] Simão Nunes de Mattos, *senhor de engenho.*[112] Five sugar mill owners who owned between them eight sugar mills, were this time among the people denounced as Marranos.

The records of the visitation of 1618–19 in Bahia reveal that for about twenty-five years the Marranos of Brazil and the professing Jews of Flanders had been in constant communication with one another. They played a leading part in organizing the export of sugar from Brazil through their family and business connections with the Marranos in Portugal and the former Portuguese Marranos who had escaped to Amsterdam and lived there as open professing Jews.

In 1618, the Judaizers were no longer called New Christians in the inquisitorial records of Bahia, but members of the Nation. The denunciations of 1618 contained little information about ritual food, Jewish fast days, mourning ceremonies, circumcision, superstitious practices, and the like. This was due to the fact that since 1591 the greatly increased number of Judaizers in Brazil had not only become wealthier and more influential, but also more cautious and prudent. The denunciations launched against them were confined mainly to verbal heresies.

It should be noted that the denunciations were replete with references to "Flanders," "Nostra Dama," and the people who lived there and emigrated to Brazil from those regions. The explanation for this lies in the following developments: At the beginning of the seventeenth century Amsterdam had become one of the most important commercial and financial centers of the world. The religious toleration fostered by the Dutch Calvinists drew particularly the Portuguese New Christians to Amsterdam. "Dutch Jerusalem" attracted Judaizers in Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. The translation of the Bible from Hebrew into Spanish, first printed in Ferrara in 1553, was reprinted in Amsterdam in 1611, and thence found its way to Brazil. As early as May, 1605, the bishop Dom Pedro de Castilho, viceroy of Portugal, had received secret information from a confidant in Holland that a large quantity of Bibles and many other "heretical" books in Spanish were being printed in Amsterdam

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:36 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

and Leyden and shipped to the East Indies, the West Indies, the Mediterranean Sea and its islands, to Brazil, and other parts of the world with which the Dutch maintained commercial relations, and that the purpose of this activity was to make proselytes for heretical sects.[113] The records of the visitation of 1618 reveal that four to five thousand copies of this Spanish translation of the Bible were published in the Amsterdam edition.[114]

The concrete results of the 1618 visitation in Brazil were insignificant. Nevertheless, many Marranos were greatly alarmed by the presence of a *visitador* of the Inquisition and left Brazil. In 1618, and in the years following, they went to Buenos Aires and thence to Peru, Paraguay, and Chile. Most of them were jailed upon arrival; some took refuge in Jesuit monasteries, where they enjoyed the protection of the friars. In 1619 the *visitador* Marcos Teixeira maintained correspondence with Franco de Trego, commissioner of the Spanish Inquisition in Buenos Aires, concerning the Brazilian Judaizers who had left for Buenos Aires.[115]

After the departure of Teixeira, other agents of the Inquisition continued their work in Brazil. By a royal edict dated June 8, 1623, Dom Marcos Teixeira (not the same person as the *visitador* Marcos Teixeira) was appointed bishop of Brazil and entrusted with all the affairs of the Inquisition in that country.

By 1624 Brazil had about fifty thousand white inhabitants. This number, as ample evidence reveals, included a high percentage of Marranos. They were businessmen and farmers, owners and administrators of plantations and sugar mills, exporters and importers, masons, Catholic clergymen, teachers, writers, and poets.

The minutes of the proceedings of the Holy Inquisition in Lisbon against twenty-five Brazilian Judaizers processed before 1624 are very well preserved and legible in the archives of the Inquisition, the Archivo da Torre do Tombo, in Lisbon. The names of the Judaizers and the numbers of their dossiers are as follows:

Alcoforada, Ana	11618	Favella, Catherina	2304
Antunes, Beatriz	1276	Fernandes, Beatriz	4580
Antunes, Heitor	4309	Fontes, Diogo	3299
Costa, Ana da	11116	Franco, Lopes Matheus	3504
Costa, Brites da	11116	Gonçalves, Diogo Laso	1273
Dias, Manoel Espinoza	3508	Lopes, Diogo	4503
Duarte, Paula	3299	Lopes, Guiomar	1273

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:37 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Maia, Salvador da	3216	Sousa, João Pereira de	16902
Mendes, Henrique	4305	Sousa, Jorge de	2552
Miranda, Antonio de	5002	Teixeira, Bento	5206
Nunes, João	12464	Teixeira, Diogo	5724
Rois, Ana	12142	Ulhoa, André Lopes	5391
Sousa, Beatriz de	4273		

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:37 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

III. Dutch Conquests

THE MARRANOS IN BRAZIL MAINTAINED constant relations with Amsterdam Jewry, and they were thus profoundly affected by the events that occurred in that area of the world. It is necessary, therefore, to recapitulate very briefly some facts of Netherlands history.

To begin with, it will be recalled that the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands were united under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1579. In 1581 they seceded from Spain, that is, from domination by the Hapsburg dynasty, and finally, in 1588, they officially proclaimed their status as a republic.

The Treaty of Utrecht provided that no one within the territory of the Dutch republic could be persecuted for his religious convictions or practices. Whatever the motivation for this step, whether it arose as a reaction against the rigorous standards of Spain, from whom the Calvinist republic had to wrest their freedom after a bitter and protracted struggle, this provision constituted a revolutionary change. The religious toleration granted by the Treaty encouraged New Christian Judaizers or, as they are better known, Marranos to emigrate to Amsterdam, where most of them immediately were circumcized and openly embraced and professed Judaism. There new arrivals came from Antwerp, France, Spain, and Portugal.

In Portugal the Inquisition's activities had been intensified after the annexation of that country by Spain in 1580. Although emigration from Portugal presented difficulties, an ever increasing number of Marranos left the country. This was particularly true during the first decade of the seventeenth century, when the Marranos were free to sell their property and to leave Portugal. By 1624, Amsterdam contained approximately eight hundred Jews, most of whom were Portuguese.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:37 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

They represented then about three-fourths of one percent of Amsterdam's total population.[1]

The cultural and religious life of this Jewish community burgeoned rapidly. These few Jews founded three congregations, Beth Jacob, Neweh Shalom, and Beth Israel, as well as a Talmud Torah school and a college, Ets Haim. Several famous *hakhamim* provided the community with spiritual guidance. Within a relatively short period of time Amsterdam had two rabbis, Menasseh ben Israel and Isaac Aboab da Fonseca. Both had been born Catholics (of Marrano families), and they were the first to receive their rabbinical training in Amsterdam.[2] This rapid cultural development of the new immigrants' community is in part attributable to some fortunate political and economic conditions. Spain's policy of persecuting Jews and Calvinists as heretics had forged certain bonds of unity among the two groups and mutually strengthened their will to resist the persecutor. The Spanish and Portuguese ex-Marranos considered themselves allies of the Dutch in their conflict with Spain. The fact that the United Dutch Provinces constituted a center of economic gravity at that period of history was an economic factor propitious to the growth of the Jewish community.

During the first half of the seventeenth century Holland was the world's foremost commercial power. Her ships, built at little cost, were adaptable to varying purposes. Her merchant marine excelled all others in efficiency and achieved predominance in world shipping. Amsterdam had the lowest rates of interest and was the center of the marine insurance business, as well as of banking and international export and import. Timber, linen, and grain were shipped in from the Baltic Sea and then sent on to southern Europe. Spices, salt, wine, fruit, dyewood for the textile industry, tobacco, sugar, gold, silver, and indigo arrived from sou hern countries and from America and were then transported to northern Europe.

While there is some tendency to exaggerate the importance of the few hundred Jewish immigrants to Holland's thriving economy, it is reasonable to assert that they made a substantial and important contribution. Their intelligence and acumen unquestionably were appreciable factors in this flowering of Holland's commerce and industry. They contributed capital, which they had brought from Portugal and which they continued to receive from relatives and friends in that country

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:38 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

who, temporarily unable to emigrate, wished to invest part of their fortunes at a safe distance from the Inquisition and the grasp of the Spanish Crown. Still another and more important contribution to Holland's economy was the range of the Jews' culture and international connections. They had business acquaintances and dealings, relatives, and correspondents in Brazil, in the Rio do la Plata provinces, in Morocco, Turkey, Italy, India, Madeira, Africa, and elsewhere. Their knowledge of the Spanish, Portuguese, and Ladino languages proved very useful for Dutch commerce, especially with the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and helped to develop new areas of expansion for Dutch trade.

Thus it will be perceived that this flowering of prosperity could not but cement the bonds already formed between the Dutch and the Jews in their common opposition to religious persecution by Spain. There were mutual interests at stake which were appreciated by both groups and which lent to their intercourse a depth of understanding and tolerance. Certain historians have evinced an understanding of the important role filled by the exiled Jews. G. N. Clark, for example, writes: "One of the typical features, for instance, of the seventeenth century is the importance of the exiles. For several countries it will already include some names of the gifted race who in that and the preceding century were hunted from Spain and Portugal to be received in Holland and later in England: amongst the exiles were the Jews."[3]

During the period under discussion, the Jews of Amsterdam were engaged in the silk trade and industry, the sugar trade, book printing and the book trade, as well as the tobacco trade. In the diamond industry there were Jewish entrepreneurs, dealers, cutters, and polishers. There were Jewish shipowners (and, for that matter, pirates), as well as exporters and importers of all types of commodities.[4]

The secret reports written in Portuguese and addressed in 1605 to the viceroy of Portugal, Dom Pedro de Castilho, testify to the fact that the Jews of Amsterdam were engaged in commerce between Holland and Brazil, São Thomé, Angola, and East India. The ships under their control carried cargoes of sugar, skins, dyewood, and gold and silver coins. Through the mediation of New Christian correspondents in the countries and colonies already referred to, such commodities also arrived as contraband through France, England, and Germany.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:38 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Such commerce apparently included the transmission of heretical cultural propaganda.

A report of 1611 further alleges that many ships, equipped with false papers and carrying cargoes of ivory, cotton, and slaves, sailed from the coast of Angola to Brazil and Spanish India, returning with coins and commodities, and that these activities were instigated by Jews on both sides. Still another report, dated 1612, asserts that through the mediation of Dutch Jews and their relatives large business transactions damaging to the royal treasury were entered into with Brazil and other Spanish colonies.

An Amsterdam Jew, Diogo Dias Querido, is singled out in the *Avisos* (Advices) given by the General Inquisitor to the State Council of Spain on November 9, 1611. This man, the *Avisos* informed the Council, in association with other Jews and heretics, was engaged in large-scale operations on the west coast of Africa, where ten large vessels as well as many smaller ships and boats were maintained. To aid him in these operations, Diogo Dias Querido employed in his household several Negro slaves who were natives of that coast. In his home they received instruction in the Portuguese and Dutch languages, so that they could serve as interpreters in Africa. Moreover, it was alleged, these slaves were given instruction in the Mosaic Law and converted to Judaism.[5]

The denunciations brought before the *visitador* of the Inquisition in Bahia in 1618 reveal that there was constant intercourse between the Jews of Amsterdam and the New Christians of Brazil. Balthasar Ribeiro was charged with possession of a Spanish Bible about the year 1610. It was stated that Luis Alvares, who had been in Holland, had given Manoel Rois Sanches detailed information on the customs and practices of the Jews in the synagogues.[6]

In 1612 Diogo Gonçalves Lassos, describing his visit to "Nostra Dama" (Amsterdam), mentioned that he had heard that one Manoel Homen, a native of the island of São Miguel who had been married in Bahia, had abandoned the holy Catholic faith and become a convert to Judaism in Amsterdam.[7] Mention was also made of a man named Francisco Lopes Franco who had left Brazil for Holland.[8]

The king of Spain was informed by reliable agents in Holland that Dom Manoel (pretender to the Crown of Portugal and a son-in-law of William the Silent, then resident in The Hague), the son of Dom Anto-

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:38 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

nio, Prior do Crato, was corresponding with Captain Francisco Ribeiro of Parahiba, who had Jewish relatives in Holland. In a letter dated September 24, 1618, the king instructed Dom Luis de Sousa, governor-general of Brazil, to keep a close watch on Dutch ships.[9] In that same year Alvaro Sanches informed the Inquisition's inspector in Bahia that Diogo Lopes, a local manufacturer of confections and a Jew, had told him he had met in Holland a certain Diogo Dias Querido, a Jewish merchant born in Porto and who had resided in Bahia. Querido had said to him "I am glad you came here to save your soul." Querido urged him to marry his sister, but Lopes declined because she was a Jewess.[10]

This Diogo Dias Querido was probably identical with the Diogo Dias who had, in 1591 appeared in Bahia before the *visitador* Heitor Furtado de Mendoça, and had come to Amsterdam from Brazil soon after his hearing. In Holland he was converted to Judaism and, as a shipowner, exporter, and importer, played a prominent role in the city's trade. His name was actually an alias for David Querido. He was one of the founders of Beth Jacob, the first Jewish congregation and synagogue in Amsterdam.[11]

This enterprising individual had become a shipowner as early as 1597; his vessel, the *São Francisco*, bound for India, had landed in Bahia during that year. Dom Francisco de Sousa, who was in urgent need of funds for a projected expedition to Rio Grande do Norte, borrowed 30,000 cruzados from the store of this ship, a debt later repaid by the royal treasury of Portugal. In 1604 Querido invested 1,900 florins in the East India Company.[12]

Querido's name is intimately linked with Jewish communal history of the period. Jacob Israel Belmonte, alias Diego Nunes Belmonte, was married to Querido's sister Dona Simha, alias Guiomar Vaz. Jacob Israel Belmonte was also a founder of the Congregation Beth Jacob.[13] A single copy of the portrait of Dona Simha Vaz engraved by her son Moses has been preserved in the archives of the Portuguese Israelitic Community in Amsterdam.[14] Dona Simha had probably come to Amsterdam from Brazil, which makes this likeness unique in that it is the only one extant of a Brazilian Jewess of that time. This exquisite portrait bears the following inscription in Hebrew: "Praise be to a woman who fears the Lord."[15]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:39 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The preceding pages have given some general notion, it is to be hoped, of the ramified connections of Amsterdam and Brazilian Jewry. It is instructive to turn now to specific developments which had an impact on Jewish life, which in turn was influenced by the role of the Jews.

In 1609, Philip III of Spain concluded a twelve-year truce with Holland. This truce was confined to Europe; it did not extend to Brazil, Spanish and Portuguese India, or the Philippines. Year after year, Dutch merchants equipped privateers and captured Portuguese ships with cargoes destined for the mother country. In 1616, twenty-eight, and in 1623, seventy such ships were captured.

This is the context in which the East India and West India Companies were founded in Amsterdam, in 1602 and 1621 respectively. Their economic objective was the acquisition of goods in India, West Africa, and America through purchase, barter, or piracy and without Portuguese interference. Another aim was political: to divide the Spanish fleet and, in general, to weaken Spain to the greatest possible extent.

The West India Company

Willem Usselincx, born in Antwerp in 1567, was the initiator of the West India Company. He had visited Spain, Portugal, and the Azores as a young merchant, and he settled in Amsterdam in 1585. Established on June 3, 1621, the company was granted a monopoly by the state on trade with West Africa and America for a period of twenty-four years. The state undertook to furnish troops for the projected enterprise, while the company was to raise its own capital through subscriptions. The West India Company was authorized to appoint its own governors and officials in conquered areas. The company was administered by a board of nineteen directors, called the Heeren XIX. Eighteen Jews of Amsterdam had subscribed only 36,100 guilders to the West India Company by 1623. The total sum subscribed to the company in 1628 was 7,108,106½ guilders.[16]

The Heeren XIX, aware that Brazil was a poorly defended colony, decided to equip and dispatch an expedition against that country. In April, 1623, Jan Andries Moerbeeck, in a conference with the prince of Orange and other dignitaries at The Hague, explained the need for such an expedition. He pointed out that Brazil's Portuguese inhabitants and

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:39 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the Brazilian Indians had had little military experience. Most of the Portuguese, he added, were Jews and thus sworn enemies of the Spaniards; from them no resistance was to be expected. To secure their good will, he argued, Holland should proclaim religious freedom for Brazil.

Moerbeeck adduced other arguments for the project that were strategically and economically attractive. He argued that Brazil's large territory was deceptive; it would suffice to conquer Bahia and Pernambuco to control it entirely. The West India Company might expect ample booty in ships and various commodities, as well as the property of the Catholic clergy, the Spanish Crown, and wealthy Portuguese merchants. Expensive apparel and jewels would be the spoils to fall to the soldiers. A successful expedition, he estimated, would yield an annual net profit of 50,000 kilograms of gold, on the basis of the following calculations:

60,000 crates of sugar @ 500 pounds each	53,000 kg
Profits from community exports to Brazil	10,000 kg
Profits from dyewood exports from Brazil	1,000 kg
Profits from the export of tobacco, ginger, comfits, syrup	3,000 kg
Revenue from a head tax	3,000 kg
Tithe revenues hitherto collected by the clergy	4,000 kg
Revenues from the landed property of the Crown and the clergy	3,000 kg
	77,000 kg
Annual expenditures for the defense of Brazil	27,000 kg
Approximate annual net profit	50,000 kg

In addition, Moerbeeck noted, there would be the profit from the reexport to Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Poland, Muscovy and other countries of the dark sugar processed in Dutch refineries.[17]

These were the lures Moerbeeck held out to encourage an expedition of pillage and plunder against a colony which Portugal had developed over a period of 123 years. But there were also ancillary moral and religious arguments advanced by him which contain an element of humor. In 1580 the king of Spain had destituted the Portuguese King, the true master of Portugal and Brazil, in a fashion that could hardly be deemed Christian or even legitimate. Divine justice, Moerbeeck urged, might therefore be expected to assist the West India Company in its enterprise.[18] He failed to explain, however, why God should be ex-

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:39 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

pected to help Holland rather than Portugal to acquire Brazil—preferring, apparently to let it be understood that God was on the side of the Calvinists.

The West India Company selected Bahia, the capital of Brazil, as its first military objective. It possessed more information about that city than any other in Brazil. This information had been obtained from Dutchmen and New Christians residing in Brazil and from naval officers who had been captured as pirates on the coast of Brazil and who later escaped to Holland. Among these officers were Rodrigo Pero, Manoel Vandale, Francisco Duchs,[19] and Francisco Lucena. The latter, along with the six soldiers and ten privateers under his command, had been imprisoned near Bahia several years earlier. The six Dutch soldiers had been hanged by the governor of the colony, but Lucena was subsequently freed by two friends residing in Bahia. These friends, Rodrigo Pero of Holland, who was married to a Portuguese woman, and a wealthy New Christian merchant named Gabriel Rodrigues Sanches, hid him in their homes for a time and later helped him to escape to Holland.[20] Francisco Duchs, Rodrigo Pero, and Francisco Lucena not only brought detailed and accurate information to Holland; they also served as captains of the expedition to Bahia.[21]

While the West India Company was enjoying these ample disclosures, Spain and Portugal were receiving detailed reports of the company's plans from their agents in Amsterdam. Accordingly, a royal decree was issued on July 20, 1623, which provided for the fortification of Bahia and Pernambuco, and for the stationing there of some three thousand militiamen. Those New Christian merchants in Portugal who probably d d not intend to leave the country were considerably disturbed by the founding of the East India and the West India Companies. They proposed to the Crown that they finance the establishment of similar organizations, with headquarters in Portugal, on condition that their right to trade with the colonies be restored. According to a report to the king by the court secretary Pedro Alvares Pereira,[22] the New Christian economist Duarte Gomes de Solis, author of the *Discourses on the Commerce of the Two Indies*, was the first to advance this proposal. In return for a payment of 200,000 cruzados the New Christian merchants, by a royal decree of July 31, 1601, had been granted the right to trade with the colonies, but in 1610 this concession had been revoked. The

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:40 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Portuguese New Christian merchants suffered tremendous losses as a result of this act of revocation, since almost all of the country's export trade had been in their hands.

In their representations to the Spanish Crown, the New Christian merchants of Portugal had pointed out that they were compelled to secure insurance for ocean freight from foreign companies who provided the king's enemies with the names of the vessels, their departure dates, destinations, and cargoes, useful data for those preying on Portuguese shipping on the high seas. They proposed the following measures to remedy this situation: capital punishment and confiscation of property for obtaining insurance in foreign countries, censorship of correspondence; reentry permits for the Jews who had emigrated, thus enabling them to return with the wealth they had accumulated elsewhere; and, finally, a guarantee of protection for them from ill treatment.[23]

In 1624 the Crown carried out the Jews' idea of founding trading companies. By decree, on December 10, 1624, it gave its support to the establishment of the "Companhia de Navegação e Comercio da India, Mina e. Guine,"[24] which was founded in August, 1628, and soon failed. The company was liquidated in April, 1633.[25]

Capture and Loss of Bahia by the Dutch

In the meantime, the West India Company had equipped its expedition. It sailed from Holland in January and arrived at Bahia on May 8, 1624. The expedition consisted of 26 sailing vessels armed with 450 guns and manned by 3,300 men under the command of Admiral Jacob Willekens and Vice-Admiral Pieter Heyn. The commander of the troops was Jan Van Dorth. On May 9, after a few hours of combat, the Dutch conquered the two principal forts, causing great panic among the troops and inhabitants of Bahia. The most alarmed person in the city was Bishop Dom Marcos Teixeira, who had, as mentioned before, been put in charge of the Inquisition's activities in Brazil by a royal decree of June 8, 1623. During the night of May 9 to May 10, 1624, all of the Portuguese troops deserted; the bishop and most of the priests, as well as the majority of the population, fled into the forests surrounding Bahia.[26]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:40 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The men who guided the landing party were two Dutch skippers, Dirck Pieters Colver and Dirck de Ruiter, formerly prisoners at Bahia who were well acquainted with the terrain.[27] The New Christian Diego Lopes de Abrantes brought the news of the troops' desertion to the Dutch,[28] and when the latter entered Bahia on May 10, 1624, only a small part of the population was left in the city. In the government palace were found only the governor of Brazil, Diogo de Mendonça Furtado, his seventeen-years-old son, the sergeant-major, the auditor general, a merchant, and several priests. All of them were taken into custody and sent to Holland.[29]

In his appeals in April of 1623 Jan Andries Moerbeeck had correctly predicted that the conquest would be easy to accomplish. Although those who fled had taken with them as many of their valuables as haste permitted, the pillaging troops still found ample booty in the city. We do not know with any certainty what elements of the population remained in Bahia, but it is probable that they included those New Christians who were convinced that the Portuguese had been permanently driven out by the Dutch and would never return.

The Dutch immediately proclaimed a policy of religious tolerance and offered to protect the property of the city's residents in an effort to lure refugees back to the city. This appeal was heeded by two hundred refugees called "criminals" by a seventeenth-century Portuguese historian.[30] This figure certainly formed the basis for a frequently repeated but unsubstantiated claim by later historians that two hundred or more Marranos in Bahia had officially proclaimed their adherence to the Jewish faith in 1624 and, together with the Jews arriving from Holland, established the first Jewish congregation or community in America.[31] That there were Jews in the Dutch expedition to Bahia in 1624, either as part of the invading troops or as individuals pursuing private interests, is supported by historical evidence. However, statements to the effect that the expedition included a thousand Jews (at a time when the entire Jewish population of Holland did not exceed that number) are pure invention.[32] A close approximation to the truth is that a dozen or so Marranos had remained in or returned to Bahia to live among the Dutch, and that several dozen Jews had come with the expedition from Holland.

The records of the Portuguese Inquisition's *visitador* in Bahia from

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:40 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

1591 to 1593 reveal that the Marranos in Bahia and other towns secretly maintained synagogues, and that they risked their lives and fortunes in attending them. Hence, it is safe to assume that the Jews from Holland and the Marranos of Bahia also had a *Minyan* during the Dutch occupation of Bahia, which lasted a little less than one year, but there is no proof that they had organized a Jewish Congregation.

The people, as well as the militia, who had fled Bahia during the night of the 9th of May quickly recovered from their panic and began to organize under the leadership of the bishop, Dom Marcos Teixeira. Approaching the city from several sides, they started a guerilla war against the Dutch. In one foray, on June 17, 1624, the Dutch forces were ambushed and Van Dorth, the city's Dutch governor, was killed. Shortly thereafter his successor, Colonel Albert Schoot, died as a consequence of too much drinking. The Dutch were thus prevented from carrying out their plan to use Bahia as a base for the conquest of the Brazilian hinterland and from exploiting its wealth of sugar, dyewood, and other products.

Meanwhile, at the end of July, 1624, the news of the fall of Bahia had been received in Lisbon and Madrid. It aroused fear that the Dutch, from their foothold in Brazil, would gradually conquer all of the South American colonies. There was widespread belief in Spain and Portugal that the New Christians, the people of the "Nacion Hebrea" had helped the Dutch to conquer Bahia. This matter was discussed in the State Council in Madrid following representation from Portugal in September, 1624.[33]

At this juncture the Spaniards and the Portuguese, who usually differed with each other, immediately agreed on the necessity of equipping a large expedition for the reconquest of Bahia. A large number of Spanish and Portuguese nobles volunteered their services for this campaign of liberation under the command of Don Fadrique de Toledo. The expeditionary force, consisting of 52 warships, a number of freighters, and 12,566 men (Spaniards, Neapolitans, and approximately 4,000 Portuguese) and 1,185 guns, landed on the coast of Bahia on March 29, 1625. On the next day the troops debarked, the artillery was unloaded, and the encirclement of Bahia commenced. Every possible measure was taken to prevent the escape of the Dutch fleet, which consisted of 25 ships.[34]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:40 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

We receive glimpses of the siege of Bahia from the diary of a soldier, who made the following notation on April 12, 1625: "A Dutchman who was taken prisoner reported that the Dutch were very strong, and that many Jews and Jewesses who had come with them from Holland and were now inside Bahia encouraged them to defend themselves and supported them with large sums of money."[35]

The Dutch in Bahia possessed sufficient troops, arms, and food to withstand the siege, but the 1,919 soldiers lacked respect for their 56 officers and discipline left much to be desired. The troops were made up of mercenaries of Dutch, German, English, French, and Polish descent.[36] The Spaniards and the Portuguese outnumbered their enemies, and their morale was heightened by the conviction that they were fighting for the liberation of an old colony from a usurper who was, moreover, an enemy of the Catholic Church. The Dutch in Bahia surrendered on May 1, 1625, three weeks before the arrival of a fleet of 34 vessels from Holland, which had been dispatched to support them.

On April 29, 1624, the Dutch attempted to get favorable terms of capitulation from Don Fadrique de Toledo, including the provision that the "Portuguese of the Hebrew Nation" who had remained in Bahia during the occupation were not to be molested. The victor dictated his own terms: the Dutch were required to surrender all arms and munitions, ships, prisoners, and slaves, as well as all gold, silver, jewels, and other goods. They were given ships to return to Holland, and weapons for their defense during the journey. They were allowed to keep their clothing and to take with them provisions for a voyage of three and one-half months. Only the Dutch, English, French, and Germans—not the Portuguese—were granted the right of free emigration.[37]

The agreement makes no mention of the Jews. There can be no doubt that those who had come from Holland were considered to be Dutch subjects, even if they were of Portuguese descent or had their origin in other countries. Were this not the case historians would surely have reported specifically on their fate, or there would be documents extant with references to the Jews. The term Portuguese was obviously used to designate such Old and New Christians as had lived in Bahia during the occupation. When Don Fadrique requested a list of collaborators from the Dutch, the latter destroyed this list. That the Spaniards were

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:41 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

impressed by this action on the part of the Dutch is reported by a seventeenth-century historian.[38]

It is necessary to repeat that the morale of the Dutch army had sunk to a low level. Had the Dutch proved more courageous, they almost certainly would have succeeded in saving their few New Christian local collaborators and in taking them along to Holland. In 1647 the Dutch historian Gaspar Barlaeus wrote as follows on the capitulation of 1624: "The Dutch, conquered by their vices rather than by force of arms, returned to their country, of no value to the Company, a disgrace to the fatherland, and held in contempt by the enemy. This was the dishonor and the penalty they suffered for their carelessness and their perfidy".[39]

On May 1, 1625, the victors entered Bahia, where they found 1,919 Dutchmen, 600 Negroes, and a few Portuguese Jews.[40] On the same day the auditor-general of the Army, Don Geronimo Quijada de Solorzano, arrived with his aides and caused those rebels who had collaborated with the enemy—those on whom he was able to lay hands—to be arrested. They included Diogo Lopes de Abrantes ("a man of the Hebrew Nation"), Manoel Rodrigues de Açevedo, Luis Martin, Francisco de Morin, and Antonio de Matos, all of whom had gone over to the enemy. Francisco Pombero, a Negro slave who had served the enemy as captain of a Negro company, his Negro lieutenant, first sergeant, and three corporals, as well as most of the soldiers of the company, were arrested and kept in custody in the public jail.

The judge investigator general, Antonio de Mesquita, examined the documents giving testimony against the accused. He obtained secret information about, among others, the following persons of the Hebrew Nation: Dinis Bravo, Pascoal Bravo, Manoel Rodrigues Sanches, and Duarte Alvares Ribeiro. They were charged with dealing with the enemy and having made presents to the Dutch forces. Other members of the Hebrew Nation were accused of having accepted passports from the enemy upon coming to Bahia, thereby assuming allegiance to that country in conflict with the loyalty they owed their own. Criminal proceedings were instituted against the above mentioned persons and also against Captain Ruy Carvalho Pineiro and Captain Gonzalo Becerra. These two men were accused of having failed to prevent enemy landings on the beach of Santo Antonio.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:42 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The defendants gave information and confessed under torture, and the following verdicts were pronounced in accordance with the offenses committed: Diogo Lopes de Abrantes, Manoel Rodrigues de Açevedo, Luis Martin, Francisco de Morin, and Antonio de Matos were declared to be traitors and sentenced to death by hanging. The Negro captain and the other five Negro officers were sentenced to death by quartering, their remains to be scattered in the streets. These sentences were executed on June 30, 1625. The 22 soldiers of the Negro company previously mentioned were condemned to the gallows. Dinis and Pascoal Bravo and their consorts, having proved their innocence, were acquitted and exempted from the payment of fees. The property of Manoel Rodrigues Sanches, who had died in the meantime, was to be confiscated. Indeed, the property of all those convicted were confiscated and used for the fortification of Bahia. The captains were sentenced to discharge from their companies and to the payment of fines.[41]

Later historians have claimed without evidence that five or more New Christians, as well as a number of Indians, were executed after the victors entered Bahia.[42] But from the report of Don Juan de Valencia y Guzman, an eyewitness whose history of events in Bahia in 1625 remained unpublished until 1870, we find that only one Christian, Diogo Lopes de Abrantes, was executed. The other persons sentenced were Portuguese and Negroes; there were, incidentally, no Indians. Guzman's report may be considered the more reliable, as the four defendants, men of the "Hebrew Nation," are well known to us from the records of the Inquisition in Bahia of the year 1618.

Dinis Bravo was the owner of a sugar mill and resided in Bahia in 1619. His brothers were Pascoal Bravo and Alvaro Gomes Bravo, his parents Herculano Bravo and Margarida Dinis. Dinis was married to the New Christian Beatriz Nunes.[43] His brother Pascoal Bravo, a merchant residing in Bahia in 1618, had been denounced at that time as a Judaizer.[44] Manoel Rodrigues Sanches was the owner of a sugar mill in 1618 and resided in Bahia.[45] Duarte Alvares Ribeiro, born in Setubal, was a merchant in Bahia in 1618.[46]

Gabriel Rodrigues Sanches, probably a close relative of the Manoel Rodrigues Sanches who had helped to release Captain Lucena, was probably no longer alive in 1625. Diogo Lopes de Abrantes, hanged for treason in Bahia on June 30, was the man who, during the night of

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:42 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

May 9, 1624, had informed the Dutch that the militia and inhabitants of Bahia had fled. The records of 1618 make mention of a Diogo Lopes from Madeira, who may be identical with the man referred to above.[47]

Felix Lope de Vega Carpio, in his play *El Brasil Restituido* (1625), has a character, the New Christian Bernardo, say that the people of his nation in Brazil, fearful of new visits of Inquisitorial inspectors from Portugal, had written to Holland and asked the Dutch to come and liberate them.[48] This was obviously, as we have noted before, the opinion widely current in Spain, Portugal, and Brazil in 1624 and 1625, and most Spanish, Portuguese, and other historians have uncritically accepted it as fact.[49] The real facts, however, are more complex than would appear. There is adequate historic evidence to warrant the assertion that the Dutch Jewry and Brazilian Marranos were impelled to aid the West India Company from economic as much as any presumptive religious motives. At any rate, the first Dutch expedition to Brazil ended in complete rout and economic disaster for all who had participated in it—the States General, the West India Company, and their allies and collaborators, the Jews of Holland and the Marranos of Brazil.

Dutch Conquest of Pernambuco

In accelerating preparations for the expedition to Pernambuco, the West India Company was so certain of success that it completed its plans for the administration of Brazil as early as August, 1629. These plans were given to General Lonck, the chief of the expedition, in the form of secret instructions, and a modified and more detailed version was approved by the States General at The Hague on October 13, 1629.[50] Of particular interest for us is Article Ten, which reads as follows: "The liberty of Spaniards, Portuguese, and natives, whether they be Roman Catholics or Jews, will be respected. No one will be permitted to molest them or subject them to inquiries in matters of conscience or in their private homes; and no one should dare to disquiet or disturb them or cause them any hardship—under the penalty of arbitrary punishments or, depending upon circumstances, of severe or exemplary reproof".[51]

Despite this grant of religious toleration, the expulsion of Jesuits and the closing of their convents were ordered. It was made clear that the

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:42 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Christian Reformed Church of the Dutch represented the state religion, and that its preachers, pastors, and teachers were to enjoy a privileged position.

The grant of freedom of conscience enabled the Jews to join the Dutch expedition of 1629, which consisted of 56 ships with 1,170 guns and 7,180 soldiers and sailors. The expeditionary forces entered the harbor of Recife, the capital of Pernambuco, on February 14, 1630. Next day a force of approximately three thousand soldiers was landed at the beach of Pau Amarello, near Olinda, where it met little resistance and marched on to Olinda the following day.[52]

A Jew named Antonio Dias Paparrobalos, who had been a merchant in Pernambuco for several years prior to his arrival in Holland, served the landing force as its principal guide through the unknown territory.[53] According to Calado, the most important contemporary Catholic historian, they were guided by two native mulattoes who had been dispatched by the New Christians of Recife to meet the Dutch Army.[54] The Marranos of Recife rejoiced at the arrival of the Dutch expedition, for there had been for several years rumors that the Inquisition intended to establish a permanent seat in Pernambuco. Indeed, the Portuguese Catholics of Brazil were convinced that the Marranos had concluded an agreement with the West India Company and shared the cost of the expedition to Brazil.[55]

A large number of Marranos in Brazil were greatly relieved by the prospect that their double lives would come to an end, that they would no longer be spied on by friends and agents of the Inquisition and could cease feigning loyalty to Catholicism. Some of them may even have expected the arrival of relatives from Holland. Despite the resistance offered by the troops under Governor Mathias de Albuquerque, the Dutch quickly conquered Olinda and Recife. Within two weeks of their landing they were masters of Recife. They did not, however, find much booty. The satisfaction of their quick conquest was diminished by the fact that, prior to the city's evacuation, storage houses and ships loaded with goods had been set on fire by order of Albuquerque. Religious toleration was in 1630 again guaranteed by the West India Company and approved by the States General, but public worship was not allowed and any public scandal had to be punished.[56]

There is little information concerning the Jews who arrived with the

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:42 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Dutch expedition in Recife in 1630. Some of them were soldiers, and some were probably interpreters employed by the West India Company. It should be noted that the Dutch expeditionary force of more than seven thousand men came to a country whose language, Portuguese, was unfamiliar to them. At the same time it should be understood that the Portuguese Jews who had lived in Holland for many years spoke the Dutch, Portuguese, and Ladino tongues. Many who had come to Amsterdam from Spain and France also spoke Spanish and French. The expedition certainly included a number of Jews who, having previously lived as Marranos in Brazil, were familiar with the country, the people, and the economy and were qualified to serve as economic experts. It was probably also joined by Jews who had relatives in Brazil, by some Polish and German Jews who were refugees from the Thirty Years War, which had raged in Europe since 1618, and, last but not least, by adventurers. The first batch of immigrants certainly did not yet include Jewish members of Amsterdam's intellectual and financial élite. Some of the Jews who arrived in 1630 are said to have possessed only the ragged clothes they wore upon landing. They may have acquired riches quickly because the Dutch and the Portuguese, unable as they were to communicate with each other, were mainly dependent upon them in commercial dealings. The Jews were thereby able to buy goods at low prices and to resell them with big profits.[57]

A few of the first Jewish arrivals are known by name. Moses Cohen, among other Jews, was given free passage to Brazil by the West India Company.[58]

The first Jewish soldiers in America were Moses Navarro, Antonio Manoel, David Testa, and Samuel Cohen. Moses Navarro arrived in Brazil as navel cadet (*adelborst*) in the company of Captain Bonnet in 1630.[59]

The soldiers of the Dutch expedition were mercenaries hired on three-year contracts, and they were of different nationalities. They were mainly Dutchmen, Germans, Norwegians, Scots,[60] and Jews. Many of these mercenaries asked after the expiration of their contracts for permission to remain in Dutch Brazil as *vrijluiden* (free civilians), and they became merchants, employees, innkeepers, and the like.[61] Navarro was one of those who wanted to stay in Brazil. In 1635 he received a broker's license for sugar and tobacco.[62] He subsequently became a

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:43 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

very important and rich man in Dutch Brazil, owner of the sugar mill "Jurisseca" in Pernambuco in 1637, and from 1637 to 1645 he was also a big tax farmer, as we shall see later.

While the information about the Jews who arrived in 1630 is scant, this is not the case with respect to the Marranos of Pernambuco, who openly returned to Judaism after the Dutch had conquered the country. Calado tells with indignation of the New Christians who, "having been suckled at the breasts of the Holy Mother Church of Rome," allowed themselves, after the arrival of the Dutch, to be circumcized and openly professed the Jewish faith.[63]

Among many others, the following New Christians embraced Judaism "with a great scandal for the Christian people": Gaspar Francisco da Costa, Balthasar da Fonseca, Vasco Fernandes and his children, Miguel Rodrigues Mendes, Simão do Vale, and Simão Drago. Calado certainly lists these persons specifically because they were important citizens of Pernambuco. The Jews of Pernambuco boasted that all the local New Christians were actually professing Jews, and that those who failed to avow it after 1630 were restrained by the fear that the situation might change and that the Portuguese might regain power.[64]

Documents of the period reveal some of this return to the Jewish faith. One entry in a minute book of the Reformed Church in Brazil records the facts that the New Christian "Simon Lion" and his wife, Philipina da Fonseca, openly professed Judaism and, in so doing, changed their first names to Abraham and Sarah respectively.[65] Another shows that Fernão do Vale, who was considered a Catholic, openly professed the Jewish faith.[66]

The Catholic priest Manoel de Moraes, who had married a Dutch Calvinist in Holland and later became a merchant in Brazil, was arrested in the latter country in 1646 and subsequently surrendered to the Inquisition in Lisbon. He denounced the following persons as having openly professed Judaism in Brazil.

Manoel Rodrigues Monsancto of Pernambuco and his wife, as well as his woman slave from Guinea, Beatriz, and her mulatto daughter Rachel (her other daughter married a mulatto Jew, the son of Salim); Gabriel Castanho (a son-in-law of Monsancto) and his wife, residents of Recife; Pero de Campos and his brother Domingos da Costa Brandão, who became a Jew in order to marry a Jewess in Amsterdam; Vicente

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:43 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Rois; Duarte Saraiva; João Delafaia and his wife, Francisca de Faria; João Castanho; Manoel Carvalho; and Simão Correia.[67]

After the conquest of Recife the Dutch made little progress, for a time, in their effort to further occupy and exploit Brazil. Attempts to conquer Parahiba, Rio Grande do Norte, and Cabo de São Agostinho failed. In addition to Recife, the only foothold the Dutch were able to gain was Orange, a small fortress on the Island of Itamaracá. A sudden change in the Dutch fortune was brought about by the desertion os Calabar, a mulatto, to the side of the Dutch on April 20, 1632. Hif detailed and accurate knowledge of the territory as well as his advice helped the Dutch to conquer Iguarassú and Itamaracá in May, 1632, and Rio Grande do Norte in 1633. Reinforcements, immigrants, and provisions continued to arrive from Holland. The country's climate and the appalling sanitary conditions that prevailed killed many of the troops every year. The soldiers did not wish to serve in Brazil for more than the three years of their contract. In 1634 Cabo de São Agostinho and Parahiba were conquered, and in 1635 Porto Calvo and the Arraial. However, Albuquerque, who had begun a general retreat, reconquered Porto Calvo after six days of siege. When Major Alexander Picard surrendered he gave up Calabar, who had assisted in the defense of Porto Calvo, as well as the New Christian Manoel de Crasto, bailiff of the Dutch in Porto Calvo, who had provided the latter with meat and flour.

Calabar was strangled with an iron collar and quartered. Manoel de Crasto, the first Jewish victim in Dutch Brazil, was judged a traitor and hanged from a cashew tree by order of the auditor general. The executions took place on July 22, 1635.[68] Albuquerque continued his retreat. After this victory at Porto Calvo, on December 16, 1635, after many years of strenuous but vain resistance against the Dutch, he left Brazil and returned to Portugal. Toward the end of 1635 the new governor of Brazil, Dom Pedro da Silva, arrived with a fleet of thirty Spanish ships, which landed at Alagoas since it did not dare to attack the Dutch fleet anchored at Recife. The brother of Mathias de Albuquerque took charge of the civil government of Pernambuco. The 1,700 soldiers who were commanded by Dom Luis de Rojas, suffered a crushing defeat in the beginning of 1636, and Rojas was killed in the action.

The Dutch victories in Brazil did not give much satisfaction to the

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:43 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

shareholders and directors of the West India Company. The expeditions were expensive and proved, in fact, a liability. The revenues obtained from Brazil and from capturing 547 Iberian ships and booty yielded approximately 37 million florins between 1623 and 1636; the company's expenses for fleets, troops, and supplies amounted to approximately 45 million florins, apart from the occupation costs, which surpassed the income derived from the sale of Brazilian sugar, dyewood, and other colonial products.[69] The war halted the production of sugar, dyewood, tobacco, and skins desired by the European consumer. In this situation, the West India Company decided it must appoint a man of great prestige and organizing ability as the governor of Dutch Brazil.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:43 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

IV. The Governorship of Johan Maurits van Nassau

JOHAN MAURITS VAN NASSAU, a descendant of the Ottonian line of the House of Nassau, was born in 1604 in Dillenburg, Germany. He studied in Herborn, Basel, and Geneva. At the age of sixteen he enlisted in the Dutch army to fight for the Protestant cause, and he distinguished himself in several battles. By 1632 he held the rank of general. In April, 1636, he recaptured the fort of Schenckenshans in southern Holland, which earned him a great deal of popularity.

On August 4, 1636, Johan Maurits appeared before the Heeren XIX in The Hague and accepted a five-year appointment as governor-general of Dutch Brazil and chief of military operations in Brazil. He was offered an allowance of 6,000 florins for clothing and equipment, 2 percent of all booty, and a monthly salary of 1,500 florins as well as an allowance for living expenses. He was authorized to take with him a Protestant minister, a physician, and a secretary, and he received the following titles: governor, captain, and admiral-in-chief of the territory conquered or to be conquered in Brazil by the West India Company, and of the land and naval forces at the disposal of the company in that country. The States General confirmed his appointment on August 23, 1636. During the same session the plan of administration of October 13, 1629, to which we have referred, was replaced by a charter for Dutch Brazil. This charter fixed the rights and duties of military and civil authorities and the relationship between the government and the Reformed Church, and it established certain rules with respect to education and the treatment of Indians and Portuguese. The charter reiterated in article 32 a guarantee of protection for persons of Jewish and Catholic faith.[1]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:44 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Establishing Security and Law

Johan Maurits left Holland on October 25, 1636, and arrived in Recife on January 23, 1637, where he was acclaimed by the pro-Dutch elements of the population. In his first letter, dated February 3, 1637, he wrote to Holland that Brazil was one of the most beautiful countries in the world. Within a month of his arrival he defeated the Portuguese at Porto Calvo and pursued the forces of the defeated Bagnolo as far as Rio São Francisco, where "Fort Maurits" was created on a hill overlooking the river, opposite the small town of Penedo. The province of Ceara was won in 1637. For reasons of security, Johan Maurits established his headquarters on the uninhabited Island of Santo Antonio, which the Dutch, after a previous owner, renamed Antonio Vaz. On this island, where the only buildings were a deserted Capuchin convent and some smugglers' cabins, he established his government and built the town of Mauricia (Mauritsstad). Bridges were constructed to connect the island with Recife on one side and with the continent on the other, a project that was finished in 1644. Johan Maurits's primary concern was the maintenance of discipline and order in the colony; judges and other government officials were admonished to perform their duties conscientiously. Hospitals and orphanages were reorganized. In a country whose population included Indians, Catholic Portuguese, Jews of Portuguese and other descent, Portuguese New Christians, Negro slaves, and Dutch Calvinists, the governor's task was not an easy one. The situation was further complicated by the presence of an army of occupation which, composed of mercenaries of many nationalities, included all kinds of adventurers. Despite these difficulties, Johan Maurits succeeded within a short period of time in giving all the inhabitants of Dutch Brazil the sense of security that comes from awareness of living in a country based on law.[2]

In addition to the regular army, Johan Maurits established a militia in which all the *vrijluiden*, including Jews, were enrolled. This militia had four companies, each with its own captain and flag. The Jews in the militia were exempt from guard duty on Saturday with deference to "scruples of conscience."[3] For this favor they had to pay a certain amount.[4] It seems that one of the four companies was entirely Jewish.

Johan Maurits, a devout Protestant, took the necessary measures to assure the dominant status of the Reformed religion in Dutch Brazil.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:44 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

He appointed Reformed ministers for all of the occupied areas, and with them agreed on the treatment to be accorded Indians, Catholics, and Jews, a course which was to take into account the individual differences. The Indians were to be dissuaded from the superstitious worship of a variety of gods and converted to monotheism. The Catholics were to be induced to abandon their recognition of a single infallible authority on earth. As for the Jews: "It is necessary to destroy the deep-rooted pretention of the Jews to observe the Mosaic Law and to wait for the restoration of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. They must be persuaded that Jesus Christ, the son of Mary, was the promised Messiah, who has already arrived, and to revere and believe in him,"[5] The efforts of the Calvinist preachers to make converts succeeded only with the Indians. According to a Calvinist historian of that time, the Catholics paid scant attention to the only Calvinist preacher who had a command of the Portuguese language.[6] No success was achieved with the Jews; the only known conversion was dubious and not fully voluntary.

The case was this: A Jewess from Parahiba was charged with the commission of a "horrible sacrilege" against "our saviour Jesus Christ and holy baptism." She was brought before the Classis of Brazil (the supreme council of the Reformed Church), which was composed of Reformed clergymen and preachers, some government counselors, and a few merchants, magistrates, officers, and farmers. At its session on March 3, 1637, it decided to propose severe punishment for this Jewess to the governor and the council.[7] But on January 5, 1638, it heard a report from the fraternity of Parahiba that the woman was regularly attending church and that there was great hope for her conversion. The assembly withheld action, and the brothers in Parahiba were requested to keep a close watch on her.[8] At the session of October 29, 1638, a report was presented that the woman was still considering conversion, and the recommendation of January 5, 1638, was reaffirmed.[9]

Johan Maurits was both outstanding and popular as a governor. His enlightened policies and the law and order that prevailed in Brazil became widely known, and during the seven years of his administration many Jews were encouraged to emigrate to Brazil. In fact, a kind of Jewish élite emigrated to Recife. Undoubtedly the Jews in that city had held *Minyanim* in private homes since 1630, but only in 1636 is the existence of a synagogue in Recife mentioned in official documents.[10] However,

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:45 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

by 1637 the Jewish population had become so numerous and felt so secure under Johan Maurits's government that they leased space for two synagogues, where public services were subsequently held. Parahiba is also reported to have had Jewish divine services.[11]

The First American Responsum

Congregation Zur Israel of Recife was probably in existence in 1637. In that year Brazilian Jews, either directly or via Amsterdam, addressed an inquiry regarding a liturgical problem to the famous Rabbi Hayyim Sabbatai in Salonica. This communication represents the earliest American contribution to the *Responsa* literature. Jost and Kohut hold that it was dated 1636; Eisenstein contends that it was dispatched some time between 1642 and 1646.[12] Hayyim Sabbatai published the inquiry as *Responsum* No. 3 in Volume III, pages 2–4, of the *Sefer Torat Hayyim*. The title page reveals that the book was printed in 5482 (1722), the manuscript having remained unpublished for more than eighty years. This means that it was ready for printing in 1642.[13] Rabbi Sabbatai died in 1647. A key to the exact date of the Brazilian inquiry is contained in a remark of Sabbatai's in his *teshubah* (decisive answer) to the effect that the *she'elah* (inquiry) had reached him at a time when he was greatly preoccupied with other matters, when the city of Salonica had been thrown into a state of confusion by the "Bigdey malkut shehistargu aley al Zavareynu,"[14] so that he had lacked the time for a thorough consultation of the *Poskim*.

To understand Sabbatai's allusion, it is necessary to grasp the historical background. Since 1568 the Jews of Salonica had been allowed to pay their taxes to the Turkish government in the form of goods, that is, in textiles of their own manufacture. From 1635 to 1637 they had difficulty in paying these taxes, and, on February 20, 1637, they sent a delegation headed by Rabbi Corvo to Constantinople in order to clarify the tax situation. This delegation brought textiles for delivery to the tax authority, but a conflict with the latter developed and Rabbi Corvo was imprisoned, condemned to death, and executed on September 5, 1637.[15] Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that Rabbi Sabbatai could afford to give little attention to the Brazilian inquiry, the date of which is clearly 1637.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:45 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

This is the inquiry and the response made to it:

In Brazil the seasons of the year are the reverse of those in Europe. The hot days last from Tishri to Nissan (October to March) and the rainy season from Nissan to Tishri (April to September), at which time the need for rain for the crops is the greatest. If it were to rain during the hot season, the resulting humidity would be conducive to disease and epidemic. The Jews of Brazil inquired whether they must pray for rain from Tishri to Nissan, like other Jews throughout the world, or could they change the order of their prayers to correspond to the seasons in Brazil? Could they pray for rain from Nissan to Tishri? In the *teshubah* Rabbi Sabbatai made reference to the *Gemara*, the *Rambam*, the *Rosh*, the *Tur Orah Hayyim*, and other *Poskim*. He pointed out that while no one can be expected to pray for something that may bring him harm; the area in question actually did not constitute an entire country and thus did not represent a case which would justify a change in the order of prayers. He cited the case in the past when the great city of Nineveh had asked a rabbi's permission to pray for rain in Tammuz, and the decision had been negative. The present case involved only a small group of Jews in one city; a change in the order of prayers was, therefore, out of the question. Rabbi Sabbatai's decision was summed up in the *Kelal*: The Jews of the city of Brazil were not to pray for rain or to mention rain in any of their prayers either in summer or in winter. If a situation in which they required rain arose during the season following Passover, they might pray for it after the *Shomea Tefillah* prayer.[16]

The final line of the inquiry, "Our teacher may instruct us whether the Law is on their side that we may be enlightened by his light," indicates that Rabbi Sabbatai did not receive the inquiry directly from Brazil, but rather through a rabbi in another city, probably Amsterdam. The inquiry and the decision made in reply to it constitute the first vestige of Jewish literature in America.[17]

Jews in the Sugar Industry

Upon the landing of the Dutch force in 1630, many Portuguese farmers, as well as owners of sugar plantations and sugar mills, fled their estates. Johan Maurits appealed to them to return and to live under Dutch protection, and his appeal was partly successful. In 1637, compelled by a

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:45 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

shortage of labor, Johan Maurits dispatched an expedition of nine ships and 1,200 men to West Africa, where they occupied the fortress of Elmina, the most important Portuguese harbor for the shipment of Negro slaves.

Johan Maurits at that time (1637) decreed the confiscation and sale at auction of those sugar plantations and mills which had been deserted by their owners. The state treasury obtained 1,816,027 florins, payable in installments. The sugar mills were renovated by the new owners, and the manufacture of sugar, the industry most important to the country, soon flourished again. Documents dating from 1637, 1638, and 1663 list the names of sugar manufacturers who had fled and those who had remained upon the arrival of the Dutch, those who had returned and regained possession of their mills, and those who had bought the confiscated factories at auction.[18] The conclusion that those who were unafraid of the Dutch and consequently did not abandon their property in 1630 were mostly Marranos appears logical, but it happens not to be correct. It is true that we find the names Pereira, Oliveira, Lemos, Carneiro, Mendes, and Pinto—names very often borne by Marranos—but it is entirely wrong to consider all who have the mentioned family names descendants of Jews, because Jews forcibly converted to Christianity were given the names of their Catholic Portuguese godfathers. In other words, the above names were borne by Old Christians and New Christians alike.

The assumption that every Brazilian-Portuguese *senhor de engenho* present in Dutch Brazil was Jewish misled the historian Hermann Waetjen, who makes the following entirely incorrect statement: "The entries show that at that time Portuguese Jewry acquired about two thirds of the objects at auction, but also that Dutch military officers who had served their time, government officials, businessmen, real estate speculators, and adventurers who had been affected by the general sugar fever acquired mills."[19]

Waetjen, in another connection, identifies Jorge Homen Pinto as a very rich Jew. Pinto, the most important sugar mill owner in Dutch Brazil and the biggest debtor to the West India Company (his final debt was 1,245,160 florins) in 1645, found himself unable to meet his obligations and was forced to give the West India Company a mortgage on six sugar mills—not nine, as is often erroneously stated—370 Negro slaves, and 1,000 oxen. Waetjen's sources do not substantiate his statement

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:45 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

that Pinto was a Jew; the following evidence proves that he was not.[20]

Jorge Homen Pinto was nominated in 1637 to serve in the *conselho de escabinos* (council of jurymen) in Parahiba.[21] These councils, established by Johan Maurits, were composed entirely of Dutch and Brazilian Christians. Persons of Jewish descent were ineligible. In 1637, when the list of nominees for *escabinos* in Olinda contained the names of Pedro Lopes de Vera, Fernão do Vale, and Gaspar Dias Fereira, the important Dutch businessman and sugar mill owner Jacob Stachower stated in open session that these three persons were of Jewish descent and thus *inhabilitey* (ineligible) for public office. In a full session of the council Fernão do Vale admitted that he was a professing Jew and withdrew from office. Pedro Lopes de Vera was not present; however, we do not find his name among those of the jurymen confirmed in office. Gaspar Dias Fereira, on the other hand, emphatically denied his Jewish origin and proved that he was a descendant of Old Christians and thus as worthy as any of those present. When the persons present declared Fereira eligible, Jacob Stachower and Nicolaes de Ridder refused to be convinced. They left the meeting in protest, and declined to take the oath of office.[22]

By royal decree of September 13, 1644, Jorge Homen Pinto, the son of Lourenço Homen Pinto of Rio Grande, Brazil, was awarded the *Ordem do Christo*, an honor accorded only to very meritorious Catholics of Old Christian descent. The citation reads as follows: "Grace to Jorge Homen Pinto, son of Lourenço Homen Pinto, from the captaincy of the fortress of Rio Grande, with the promise of 15,000 (fifteen thousand) Reis pension, and one of the commanderies of the Order of Christ, for his services in Cascaes, Parahiba, fortress of Cabedello; for the services of his uncle Artur Homen Pinto; and for those of his stepfather Dr. Antão de Mesquita."[23]

These documents certainly destroy the fictitious statement of many historians that Jorge Homen Pinto, the biggest sugar mill owner and insolvent debtor of the West India Company, was a Jew.[24]

In 1639 there were 166 *engenhos* in Dutch Brazil; 120 of these were in operation, the others were in the process of restoration. Of the 166 *engenhos*, about 60 percent were owned by Brazilian Portuguese, about 32 percent by Dutch, and about 6 percent by Jews. Probably some of the Brazilian-Portuguese *senhores de engenho* were of Jewish origin, but

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:46 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

in view of the fact that they did not have the courage to declare themselves as professing Jews, despite religious toleration under Dutch rule, there is no reason or basis to call them Jews.

The professing Jews who owned sugar plantations and mills in 1639 were:

1. Duarte Saraiva, who owned the following *engenhos* in Pernambuco:

"Bom Jesus," which he had purchased at the 1637 auction for 60,000 florins and which had belonged before 1630 to Dona Isabella de Moura. This sugar mill had a yearly production of about 10,000 *arrobas* of sugar (1 *arroba* = 32 pounds).[25]

"São João Salgado," with a yearly production of about 5,000 *arrobas*.[26]

"Novo," which he had purchased in 1637 at the auction for 42,000 florins from Cristovão Paes Barreto. Yearly production was about 6,000 *arrobas*.[27]

"Camassarim," which was not in operation. This *engenho* may be identical with "Velho de Beberibe," which he had purchased in 1637 at the auction for 10,000 florins and which had belonged earlier to Antonio de Sá.[28]

2. Moses Navarro owned the *engenho* "Jurissaca," in Pernambuco, which he had purchased at the auction in 1637 from Luis de Sousa for the sum of 45,000 florins. The yearly production was about 6,000 *arrobas*.[29]

3. Fernão do Vale owned the *engenho* "São Bartolomeo" in the parish of Muribeca in Pernambuco.[30]

4. Pedro Lopes de Vera owned four *engenhos*:

"Bom Jesus," with a yearly production of about 6,000 *arrobas*.[31]

"São João," which he had purchased at the auction of 1637 for 30,000 florins. The former owner was João Paes de Crasto. The yearly production was about 5,000 *arrobas*.[32]

"Nossa Senhora do Rosario."[33]

"São Braz."[34]

It cannot be said that the Jews played a dominant role in Dutch Brazil as *senhores de engenho*. Unquestionably, they played a more important part as financiers of the sugar industry, as brokers and exporters of sugar, as suppliers of Negro slaves on credit, accepting payment of capital and interest in sugar.[35]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:46 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Jewish Tax Farmers

In the field of tax farming, however, the Jews were leaders. On July 30, 1636, Moses Navarro leased from the government of Dutch Brazil the right to collect certain taxes in the amount of 5,650 florins for a period of six months. On August 12, 1638, the government sold tax farming rights for 280,900 florins. The following Jews were among the buyers: Moses Navarro, who paid 148,500 florins (not 54,000 florins as Bloom erroneously states) for the right to farm sugar taxes (the tithes, i.e., the tenth part of the value) in Pernambuco and 54,000 florins for the area of Parahiba; Benjamin de Pina paid 4,300 florins for the right to farm minor taxes in certain regions of Pernambuco, Santo Antonio de Cabo, Ipojuca, and Serinaem.[36]

RIGHTS PURCHASED BY JEWISH TAX FARMERS IN DUTCH BRAZIL, 1636–45

	July 30, 1636	*Aug. 12, 1638*	*Aug. 11, 1639*	*July 31, 1641*	*July 31, 1642*	*July 31, 1643*	*Aug. 2, 1644*	*July 31, 1645*
Alvares, Afonso						4,400		
Alvares, David							7,600	
Alvares, Joseph								12,700
Correia, Jacob Gabbay								2,500
Dormido, Salomon							21,800	21,400
Fonseca, Balthasar da						113,500		
Fonseca, Simão della Valle						16,000		
Franco, Jacob							11,000	
Gamme, Abraham de								3,150
Gidion, Samson								4,400
Henrique, Moses Cohen						24,000		
Mercado, Luy de						8,700		
Navarro, Moses	5,650	202,500	31,300					126,500
Netto, Moses					35,000			
Nunes, Duarte							39,000	
Nunes, Jacob								4,500
Nunes, João						6,000		
Parede, David					2,500			
Pechotte, Diogo						25,000		
Pina, Benjamin de		4,300	22,000		147,000			2,041
Sacute, Moses								5,000
Saraiva, Duarte			128,000				105,000	
Sera, Isaac				2,200				
Torres, David				26,000	1,500			
Torres, João de					6,400	6,000	4,200	
Total purchased by Jews	5,650	206,800	181,300	28,200	192,400	203,600	188,800	182,191
Total rights sold	5,650	280,900	227,100	292,100	357,850	298,200	206,500	228,086
Percentage	100.0	73.6	80.0	9.7	54.0	68.3	91.6	80.0

Source: Notulen van Brasilie, July 30, 1636; August 12, 1638; August 11, 1639; July 31, 1641; July 31, 1642; July 31, 1643; August 2, 1644; July 31, 1645.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:46 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In 1638, 206,800 florins of a total of 280,900 were farmed by the two Jews named above. On August 11, 1639, the government sold the right to farm taxes in the amount of 227,100 florins, of which rights in the amount of 181,300 florins were purchased by Jews.[37]

Of tax farming rights in the total amount of 292,100 florins which the government sold on July 31, 1641, Jews purchased rights for only 28,200 florins.[38] In that year Navarro, Saraiva, and Pina lost their tax farming business, mainly to the Portuguese João Fernando Vieira, who purchased tax farming rights in the amount of 193,000 florins. He, incidentally, became in 1645 the leader of the rebellion against the Dutch.

The weight of the evidence adduced points to the conclusion that 63 percent of the tax farming business in Dutch Brazil were in Jewish hands. Jews in Brazil—as in many other countries before and after the period in question—were heavily engaged in this highly profitable business of tax farming. Their activity in this field aroused hostility, for the taxpayer is not likely to be fond of the tax collector, particularly if the latter is a stranger to his country and of a different faith besides.

In Brazil, a Catholic colony captured from the Spaniards and the Portuguese, who were common enemies of the Jews and the Dutch, the Jews considered themselves allies of the victorious Calvinist Dutch and apparently acted accordingly during the early period of the Dutch occupation. Soon thereafter, however, they were compelled to change their view of the situation. Besides their important position in the sugar industry and in tax farming, they dominated the slave trade. From 1636 to 1645 a total of 23,163 Negro slaves arrived from Africa and were sold for 6,714,423 florins.[39] The West India Company, which monopolized imports of slaves from Africa, sold slaves at public auctions against cash payment. It happened that cash was mostly in the hands of Jews. The buyers who appeared at the auctions were almost always Jews, and because of this lack of competitors they could buy slaves at low prices. On the other hand, there also was no competition in the selling of the slaves to the plantation owners and other buyers, and most of them purchased on credit payable at the next harvest in sugar. Profits up to 300 percent of the purchase value were often realized with high interest rates.[40]

If it happened that the date of such an auction fell on a Jewish holiday,

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:47 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the auction had to be postponed. This occurred on Friday, October 21, 1644.[41] Incidentally, slaves generally preferred Jewish owners to Dutch and Portuguese owners, because the Jews usually gave them two days a week free of work, Saturdays and Sundays. The Portuguese allowed them Sundays only, and the Dutch, especially in the hinterlands, made them work also on Sundays, even though it was against the law.[42]

Vicissitudes of the Jewish Community

Hostility against the Jews soon began to manifest itself in Dutch Brazil. The Old Christian Portuguese Catholics of the country, accustomed to living with the Portuguese or Spanish New Christians, frequently spied on the latter to find out whether they secretly observed Jewish rites, with a view to denouncing them before the agents of the Lisbon Inquisition. In Dutch Brazil they saw these New Christians, who had formerly joined them in going to Mass and had participated in Church processions, seeking the company of other Jews from Holland, most of them former New Christians who had escaped the Inquisition in Portugal. These two groups visited the synagogues together and participated in the Jewish festivities. The Old Christians regarded the local New Christians as traitors who had helped the Dutch Calvinist invaders to conquer and organize the country. During at least the first few years of the Dutch occupation, the Old Christians, lacking a command of the Dutch language, were entirely dependent upon the Jews, who took advantage of the situation and attempted to get rich as quickly as possible. Undoubtedly there were also Jews in Brazil who had themselves been tortured by the Inquisition or had had close relatives suffer a similar fate, either languishing in the prisons of the Inquisition or having been condemned to death. It is not surprising, then, that the Jews of Dutch Brazil, a country whose charter guaranteed tolerance of religion and freedom of conscience, often behaved arrogantly toward the Catholic Portuguese and even mocked them.

As time went on, the Dutch learned to speak Portuguese and were able not only to communicate directly with the Catholic Portuguese, but also to serve as interpreters to new Dutch arrivals. They began to resent Jewish competition in trade, at the auctions of sugar plantations, in the slave trade, and the like. Moreover, they were influenced by their

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:48 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Calvinist preachers to oppose Jewish rights in Dutch Brazil. Johan Maurits and the Supreme Council were subject to many pressures from the Catholic and the Dutch population, and especially from the Reformed clergy of Brazil, with respect to Jewish affairs. As early as December 5, 1637, the *escabinos* in Olinda, in a letter to the West India Company in Holland advocating freedom of trade and limitation of the company's trade monopoly, stated that the country was being flooded with Jews. The West India Company was requested to prevent the domination of Brazil by undesirable settlers, for no one, neither the Indians nor the Dutch, profited from transactions with Jews who inclined towards fraud and bankruptcy. The letter suggested that Christians rather than Jews be encouraged to emigrate to Brazil. If, however, the immigration of Jews could not be prevented, the company was requested to see to it that, at the very least, their privileges in Brazil were not to exceed those they enjoyed in Holland. The right to participate in public sales, for example, they argued, should be immediately abrogated. The letter was signed by the following Christian Portuguese and Dutch jurymen of Olinda: Jacques Hack, Gaspar Dias Fereira, Francisco de Brito Pereira, Wilhelm Doncker, and João Carneiro de Mariz.[43] The president was Gaspar Dias Fereira, one of the wealthiest Portuguese Catholics of Brazil, who collaborated with the Dutch but also maintained contact with the enemies of Holland. Fereira was a good friend of Johan Maurits.[44]

The sentiments of this letter were paralleled by the action of the Classis. The minutes of its periodic meetings have been preserved, and they show that the session held in Recife, on January 5, 1638, dealt with the religious liberty exercised by the Jews. It charged that the Jews were holding public services at two places in Recife, and that this constituted an obstacle to the dissemination of the truth and a scandal to the faithful and to the Portuguese. The governor and the Supreme Council were requested to use their authority to halt further abuses by the Jews.[45]

The government, in its reply, affirmed the right of the Jews to practice their religious customs and rites, but only in private places; it prohibited street processions. It further stated that the judiciary had been instructed to restrict the liberties of the Jews.[46] Catholics were also denied the privilege of street processions and of building new churches, although their existing churches could continue to function. The government's rulings patently discriminated against the Jews, and it was clear that

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:48 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Johan Maurits had succumbed to the pressure. The two synagogues in Recife were closed sometime between January 5 and January 14, 1638. On January 14, 1638, the government reported the following facts to its superiors in Holland: Brazil had many Jews who, fearful of the Inquisition, had formerly pretended to be Christians. After the country's conquest by the Dutch, they openly professed Judaism and were now practicing their "superstitions," together with the Jews who had immigrated from Holland. The Portuguese Old Christians were scandalized by the liberties which had been granted the Jews. The Jews who had arrived from Holland were accused of shameless boldness in their conduct, and of slandering the Christian religion, to which the government had been compelled to put a stop by threatening severe penalties. The Jewish religious services, which greatly annoyed laymen and clergy, had become increasingly public in Recife and had been prohibited by the government. The Jews had received strict orders to hold their ceremonies in closed places, "so secretly that they should not be heard," so as not to give rise to scandal. The report goes on to note that the Jews of Brazil were convinced that they deserved greater liberties than the Catholics, since the Dutch had greater assurance of their loyalty. It acknowledges this contention to the extent that the Jews did not, under any circumstances, wish to return to the Spanish yoke and could not afford to do so, therefore the Jews, the report concludes, are constrained to uphold and defend Dutch Brazil while the Portuguese Catholics have proved to be very disloyal and would desert the Dutch at the first available opportunity. This report was signed by Johan Maurits, and by M. van Ceuten and Adriaen van der Dussen.[47]

It appears likely that the government and the Jews of Recife finally reached a compromise whereby the latter renounced noisy celebrations in the synagogue (on Simhat Torah, Purim, and the like) as well as street processions, in order to avoid hard feelings on the part of the Christian clergy and the Christian population.

In April, 1638, Johan Maurits attempted to conquer Bahia with an expedition of 30 ships and 4,600 soldiers. This time, however, Bahia had more soldiers than the invaders and the attempt failed after several weeks of fighting and siege and heavy losses for the Dutch. When a Spanish fleet consisting of 86 ships carrying approximately twelve thousand soldiers sailed to Recife at the end of 1639, Johan Maurits

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:48 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

organized the defense of the city, mobilized the population, established military units composed of volunteers and Indians, and dispatched 41 well-armed ships to await the Spaniards about four miles outside of Olinda. On January 17, 1640, the Spaniards approached the Brazilian coast, but, upon sighting the Dutch fleet, they were reluctant to give battle. Contrary winds drove the Spanish fleet to the north, with the Dutch in hot pursuit. A naval battle lasting several days resulted in complete victory for the Dutch. On this occasion, the Jews of the militia refused to stand guard on the Sabbath, and this was later held against them.[48]

In 1639, the authorities in Holland reached a decision on the problem of free trade with Brazil. In line with Johan Maurits's proposals, shipping and trade with Brazil were freed to all inhabitants of the United Provinces who were shareholders in the West India Company. The Company retained its monopoly only on trade in Negro slaves, arms, ammunution, and dyewood.[49] This edict encouraged a large number of traders from Holland to bring goods to Brazil, so that the shortage of commodities was relieved for some time. It also encouraged a new wave of emigration to Dutch Brazil, and the country, including a great many Jews, began to enjoy a definite increase of prosperity.

As early as 1636 the Dutch had reorganized the communities in Brazil to accord with those in Holland. The Council of Justice chose electors, who, in turn, prepared lists of those eligible to serve as members of the other councils. From these lists the Supreme Council elected the *escabinos* (*scheppens*). A *conselho de escabinos* represented each community. Only persons of Dutch and Portuguese nationalities were eligible for membership and enjoyed equal representation in them. The *escabinos* were presided over by an *esculteto*, who combined the functions of an executive, a delegate of the administration, and collector of taxes.[50] As noted earlier, Jews were not represented; neither were the Indians nor, of course, the Negro slaves. In brief, the Jews did not enjoy the full rights of citizens in Dutch Brazil. Indeed, the country's Portuguese Christians, who were hostile to the Dutch occupation, had a greater measure of rights. The first legislative assembly of Brazil (the first in America), called by Johan Maurits and held in Recife from August 27 to September 4, 1640, was composed of *escabinos* and of the most respected inhabitants of Dutch Brazil—that is, Dutch and Portuguese citizens. Jews were not represented.[51]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:49 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The new immigrants required homes, and Recife saw a great deal of construction. On the Island of Antonio Vaz, where Johan Maurits had settled immediately after his arrival in Brazil, a new town named Mauricia (Mauritsstadt, also called Mauritiopolis) was built. Johan Maurits erected for his own residence the Vrijburg, which faced the ocean. Its grounds encompassed a large park, a fish pond, a banana grove, and an orchard of lemon and orange trees. Johan Maurits also built a small mansion, called Boa Vista, facing the continent.

In 1638, while the town of Mauricia was still under construction, Johan Maurits studied the possibility of connecting the island with Recife and the mainland by bridges, with a view to dispensing with ferries and transporting sugar by carriage to the harbor of Recife. The Island of Antonio Vaz is washed by the waters of the Capibaribe and Beberibe rivers, both of which flow into the ocean. In February, 1641, Johan Maurits commissioned a contractor, Balthasar da Fonseca, "a man who had previously done similar jobs," to construct the bridge across the Beberibe River, which was to connect Mauricia with Recife. He was to receive 240,000 Dutch florins, in addition to a gift of 1,000 patacas in cash in the event of his marriage (the pataca was a Brazilian silver coin worth 320 reis). To guarantee his fulfillment of the contract, he put up real estate valued at 100,000 florins and offered the Jews, Gaspar Francisco da Costa and Fernão do Vale as bondsmen.

Fonseca had undertaken to build the bridge upon stone arcs and pillars. When it was half finished in 1643, he encountered great technical difficulties. The bed of the stream, even during the ebb tide, was about eleven feet deep. The strength of the currents during the ebb tide made it impossible to continue construction upon stone pillars. He believed it impossible to finish the second part of the bridge and gave up the job. Johan Maurits thereupon authorized construction of the second part upon pillars of wood. Trees felled in the jungle were cut into beams forty to fifty feet long to support the bridge. At a depth up to twelve feet they were fastened with nails; some were arranged vertically, and others were placed at an angle so as to make them flexible to the stream. The second part of the bridge cost only 28,000 florins. Fonseca had received 100,000 florins, which were apparently paid with great difficulty, for the first half completed. The total price was 128,000 florins, rather than the 240,000 originally estimated. After completion of the bridge crossing

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:49 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the Beberibe river, a bridge from Mauricia to the continent, also constructed upon wooden pillars, was quickly built. The bridge connecting Recife with Mauricia was opened for traffic on February 28, 1644, and leased to a toll collector for a yearly rent of 28,000 florins. The bridge which was a curiosity because of its mixed stone and wood structures, bore the arms of the Houses of Orange and Nassau and the inscription: "Fundabat me Illustrissimos Heros Joannes Mauricius, Comes Nassaviae & c. Dum in Brasilia terra supremme Principatium, Imperiumque teneret. Anno Dni MDC XXXX." The inscription was still legible at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and led historians to report that the bridge was completed in 1640, whereas 1640 was the year in which Johan Maurits had ordered work begun on the project.[52] The bridge was a memorial to Jewish and Dutch cooperative enterprise. As we have shown, the statements that Balthasar da Fonseca was "A Jewish engineer who built a bridge for Johan Maurits in 1640, connecting Recife with Mauricia,"[53] and that he was an "outstanding engineer"[54] are not quite correct.

A serious violation by the Dutch of the charter granting toleration of religion and freedom of conscience to the Jews occurred in the following case. The Classis of Brazil had received a report from France that a Jewish couple had taken up residence in Brazil. The husband was actually a Frenchman who had been born a Catholic and had entered into a Catholic marriage with a Protestant woman, whose son by her first marriage had been baptized as a Protestant. The three emigrated from La Rochelle to Amsterdam, where the man and the ten-year-old boy were circumcized when all three of them became Jews. From Amsterdam they went to Brazil. Protestant friends in France now appealed to the Classis to have the boy turned over to them, and consequently, in April 1640, the parents were called before the Classis and interrogated. The woman (no names are mentioned in the minute book of the Classis) stated that she was a daughter of a Protestant, one Jean Ayeur de Parier, and confirmed the facts given above. She declared that her son had been circumcized at his own request. Her husband gave the same background of his life and marriage. His wife's son had been circumcized fourteen months ago at the boy's own request. He added that he had never asked his wife or her son to become Jews. The Classis, after hearing the couple, decided to ask Johan Maurits and the Supreme Council to deport the Jewish

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:49 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

couple from Recife to Amsterdam and to turn the boy over to his father's friends so that he might receive a Christian education. The boy, who was now over eleven years old, was not questioned by the Classis and thus not given a chance to testify whether he had been circumcized voluntarily or against his will. A session of the Classis held in November, 1640, received a report that the Jewish boy had been sent to D. Rivert, a relative in the capital, but that his parents, whose deportation had been promised by the authorities, were still in Brazil. A resolution urged the authorities to take further action. On January 18, 1641, Johan Maurits and the Supreme Council replied that the case required further study, which indicates that they were hesitant about sanctioning the arbitrary act of expelling from Dutch Brazil adults who had voluntarily embraced the Jewish faith and were apparently not guilty of any offense. It appears, however, that in the end the authorities could not resist the pressure of the Reformed clergy and council and that, after the abduction of the Jewish boy, his parents were deported. This is the report of the third session of the Classis on October 17, 1641: "Johan Maurits and the Supreme Council considered sending the Jewish couple to Amsterdam. We wish to acknowledge this kindness and will not trouble ourselves further concerning this subject."[55]

The year 1640 also saw the affair of Bento Henrique. The Dutch had great hopes of finding silver and gold in Brazil. Two government agents, Schmient and Semler, accompanied by Indians and Negroes, discovered a modest silver mine in the area of Cunhau. The mines which aroused the greatest interest, however, were those of Albuquerque, Copaoba, Cabo de São Agostinho, and Terra Nova.[56] In 1640 the Jew Bento Henrique, who had been referred to as "a big boaster," interested the Supreme Council in a secret mine which he had discovered, but he requested one half of the proceeds for himself and his heirs. The government made vague promises to the effect that he would receive the compensation which the company's directors had provided for such discoveries. Bento Henrique now declared that he would leave for Holland. Afraid that Henrique would reveal his secret to others, the councilors resumed negotiations with him; unable to reach an agreement, they resorted to force and forbade him to leave Dutch Brazil. In the end, probably through the mediation of the Supreme Council in Recife, Henrique succeeded in concluding a solemn contract with the Heeren

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:50 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

XIX in Amsterdam, the highest authority of the West India Company. Henrique now went to the mine he had discovered and returned with samples of the minerals found. Analysis of the samples revealed that they were sulphur and lead, and thus worthless. Besides, the mine now turned out to be located inland, at a great distance from the sea, south of the São Francisco river and, furthermore, in the Dutch-Portuguese war zone. The dream of discovering gold and silver in Dutch Brazil thus came to naught and heaped ridicule on all those who had participated in the project.[57]

The meeting of the Classis of November, 1640, again dealt with the Jewish problem. In point five of the agenda, "concerning the insolence of the Jews," the assembled priests and elders of the church did not hesitate to stress the economic aspects of the problem. The Jews, it was stated, were coming to the country in ever larger numbers, and, by their fraudulent transactions, they had taken hold of all kinds of business, with the result that they were dominating the country's trade. It was to be expected that this situation would become aggravated, to the detriment and demoralization of the Christians, and a scandal in the eyes of the Indians and the Portuguese. It would tend to weaken the state. In religious matters, the Jews had become so bold as not only to hold public divine services in the market place of Recife, despite the government's prohibition, but to prepare for the construction of a synagogue. They would marry Christian women, convert Christians to Judaism and circumcize them, use Christian household servants, and have Christian concubines. It was unanimously decided to appeal for remedial measures to the government in Recife. At the same time, the government was threatened with the following resolution: "And since there is no country in the world in which the Jews are not suppressed, the same policy must be pursued here; those opposed to it must be punished accordingly." It was further decided to ask the government to submit the problem in a missive to the Heeren XIX in Amsterdam.[58] On January 18, 1641, Johan Maurits and the Supreme Council gave the laconic reply: "Fiat." The meeting of October, 1641, resolved to inquire of the government whether the Heeren XIX had expressed its views concerning the Jewish question. "In view of the fact that the Jews have constructed a synagogue here in Recife without the consent of the Supreme Authority, the resolution is taken to represent these facts to Your Excellency and to the Supreme

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:50 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Council and to solicit the taking of the necessary providence."[59] The documents quoted above reveal clearly that the government's prohibition, issued in January, 1638, of public divine services was either revoked or—and this seems more likely—no longer enforced; for the Jews not only held public services in 1640 but actually started to build a synagogue, the completion of which was reported in 1641. This was undoubtedly the large synagogue on the Rua dos Judeos (street of the Jews), which, together with the Talmud Torah and Ez Hayyim religious schools, owned and occupied buildings consisting of several stories. The synagogue faced on the Street of the Jews; behind it was the river which led to the pier of the town of Olinda.[60]

Since 1638 a very large number of Jews had come to the country. Manoel Mendes de Crasto, led a group of two hundred Jews who came in 1638 on two boats from Holland to Recife. There were rich and poor among them. Mendes passed away soon afterwards. This expedition evidently was prepared with much care, because the records of the Dutch government in Amsterdam mention as early as 1636 the intention of Mendes to found a colony in Brazil with two hundred members of the Hebrew Nation. The Jews played an increasingly important role in exporting and in the import of commodities vital for Brazil, functioning as moneylenders, purchasers of slaves, owners of *engenhos*, tax farmers, financiers for sugar mill owners, and in other capacities. These factors, as well as the immigration of other Jewish elements, the pressure brought to bear upon the West India Company by the Jews of Amsterdam, and the local Jews' patriotism and their loyalty as allies of the Dutch in Dutch Brazil no doubt caused Johan Maurits and the Supreme Council in Recife to accord tacit toleration, if not legal sanction, to the building of a synagogue. A seventeenth-century Portuguese historian mentions a rabbi who preached in the synagogue of Recife in 1639.[61]

As previously mentioned, a parliament called by Johan Maurits and composed of 55 reputable Portuguese Catholic citizens met in Recife in August and September of 1640. This was the first legislative assembly in South America. Each jurisdiction delegated *escabinos* and Portuguese members of its citizenry. The parliament was called to deal with matters concerning the general welfare and the administration of the state. All of the deputies signed a petition to the Supreme Council, wherein they praised Johan Maurits's goodness and justice and requested that, after

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:50 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

expiration of his five-year contract, his term office as governor of Dutch Brazil be extended for an additional five years. It appears that the formulation of this petition was the principal purpose for which the Parliament was called. The Supreme Council promised its immediate transmittal to the Heeren XIX in Holland. Strangely enough, the Jewish question was touched upon only superficially. When the delegates from Parahiba requested that the Jews be banished from their area, the government replied that only delinquent Jews were to be punished by the legal authorities. This evidently meant that measures could not be taken against those whose conduct was correct.

A change in the international scene toward the end of 1640 was to be of tremendous significance to the future fate of Dutch Brazil and its Jewish inhabitants. On December 1, 1640, after sixty years of union with Spain, Portugal achieved its independence as a result of a bloodless revolution which took place in Lisbon. The Duke of Bragança was recognized as king of Portugal and assumed the title João IV. The news reached Bahia in February, 1641. Portuguese Brazil and the Portuguese colonies in Africa and India immediately followed the example of the mother country and recognized King João IV by acclamation. A peculiar situation arose as a result: Holland became Portugal's ally against Spain but, at the same time, continued to occupy the Portuguese colonies in Brazil and on the west coast of Africa, which had been conquered by Spain. Thus, for all practical purposes, the Catholic Portuguese of Dutch Brazil found themselves in a friendly country while the Jews of Dutch Brazil may be said to have been in enemy territory. Portugal sent an ambassador to The Hague where, on June 12, 1641, a ten-year truce and a defensive and offensive alliance against Spain were signed. The truce, which extended to the colonies, contained a clause making it effective in Brazil immediately after its official publication. João IV ratified the agreement on November 18, 1641, but it took some time until Johan Maurits received official notification. What he did receive was a hint from the Heeren XIX to abuse Portugal's good faith. The Heeren suggested that he quickly conquer as much Portuguese territory in Brazil and Africa as he could and, if possible, even conquer Bahia. Johan Maurits lost no time in following this advice. While negotiating the details of the truce with the government in Bahia, he sent four vessels with troops to Sergipe, the captaincy located between Pernambuco and

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:51 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Bahia, and occupied the area which extended to the river Real, where he caused trenches to be constructed. He also equipped an expedition to Africa, which arrived in Loanda on August 25, 1641, and captured this slave trading center from the Portuguese, who had been unprepared for the attack. On October 11, 1641, the island of São Thomé off the west coast of Africa was conquered. Admiral Cornelis Jol, as well as many officers and hundreds of soldiers, succumbed to the climate of this unfortunate penal colony. Portugal, at the end of the fifteenth century, had sent a number of Jewish children to the island, most of whom became victims of the terrible climate and of the snakes and crocodiles which infested the area. An expedition sent by Johan Maurits against Maranhão on October 30, 1641, proceeded to the attack on November 25, 1641. Convinced that a truce had been in effect for a long time, the governor of the captaincy was taken by surprise and the territory to the north of Ceara was occupied. This campaign resulted in the expansion of Dutch Brazil towards the north, just as the conquest of Sergipe had increased its territory to the south. The official notification of the truce did not reach Johan Maurits until July 3, 1642, and the Dutch government did not instruct him to comply with the terms of the agreement until it had received news of the occupation of Maranhão. Dutch Brazil had now reached the peak of its expansion; it included Maranhão, Ceara, Rio Grande do Norte, Parahiba, Itamaracá, Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Sergipe. Military operations ceased, and the country saw a great boom in construction, agriculture, industry, and trade. The government had the firm leadership of a clever diplomat who made every effort to do justice to the country's varied ethnic and religious elements and to maintain law and order.

On January 10, 1641, 66 Christian merchants residing in Dutch Brazil submitted to the government in Recife a report very hostile to the Jews. It stated that the country's trade and brokerage were passing more and more into Jewish hands, and that almost the entire sugar trade was dominated by Jews; that the Jews were adept at laying their hands on all profitable transactions, generously leaving the rest to the Christians; and that they would lie and cheat, use false weights and measures, practice usury, and enrich themselves. The report suggested that they be forced to wear red hats or yellow insignia upon their chests, as was done in other countries, so that everyone would be able to identify them. It

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:51 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

further stated that the Jews had an unfair advantage in that their knowledge of the Portuguese language caused the Portuguese to come to their shops and to use them as brokers. Their unfair business methods were alleged to give them a privileged position. It was stated that Jews often sold below purchase prices in order to obtain liquid funds, which they then loaned to persons in need of capital in the interior of the province at monthly interest rates of 4, 5, and even 6 percent. Non-Jews would be compelled either to give up their business or to adopt the practices of the Jews. The report, which further stated that Brazil had Jews from Poland, Spain, Italy, Turkey, the Barbary States (North Africa) and Germany, ended with the request that Jews be excluded from the retail trade.[62] Johan Maurits and the Supreme Council hastened to report to the Heeren XIX in Holland on the same day. Their report dealt with the complaints of the clergy and the citizens against the Jews. The complaints concerning the economic questions were repeatedly summarized. Grievances with regard to religious problems were also taken up, and it was stressed that the Jews were permitted to hold public divine services and were building a synagogue. The report requested instructions.[63] It leads us to believe that the government of Recife, in response to the complaints of 1638, 1639, and 1640, had been directed by the Heeren XIX to comply with the charters of 1629 and 1636 and not to hinder the Jews in the practice of their religious customs, but to take strict measures only in cases of blasphemy and religious demonstrations in the streets.

The complaints dealing with economic questions also failed to make the desired impression on the Heeren XIX, for in August, 1641, the government of Recife again intervened. It pointed out that in the early days Dutch brokers and merchants had lost the confidence of the population through speculation and carelessness, which had resulted in advantages for the Jews. At the time of writing, however, the report continued, Dutch Brazil had very honest and respectable Dutch merchants and brokers.[64]

Jews who made derogatory remarks about the church and the Christian religion were treated without mercy by their judges. A letter of December 20, 1641, which the government addressed to Holland, reveals that a Jew imprisoned because of such remarks was freed only upon payment of 4,000 florins for charitable purposes.[65]

Despite these incidents in Dutch Brazil, the Heeren XIX in Holland

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:51 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

undoubtedly continued to encourage further Jewish immigration, for the West India Company not only profited from the Jews' bussines ability and their services as tax farmers and purchasers of Negro slaves imported from Africa, but regarded them as completely reliable political allies as well.

The several hundred Jewish families residing in Recife, Mauricia, and Parahiba were already in urgent need of ecclesiastical officers such as *hakhamim*, *hazzanim*, *shammashim*, and *shochetim*. The *hakham* Menasseh ben Israel, who, prior to professing the Jewish faith, had borne the Christian name of Manoel Dias Soeiro, was one of the four rabbis of the Congregation Talmud Torah in Amsterdam. He intended to emigrate to Brazil and evidently expected to be called to serve as the *hakham* of Recife. Born in Madeira in 1604, Menasseh ben Israel later became famous through his writings (*Conciliador*, *Thesouro dos Dinim*, and *Mikweh Israel*), and particularly through his negotiations with the English government concerning the readmission of Jews. At an early age he had come to La Rochelle in France, together with his parents. He later went to Amsterdam, where he studied the Torah and, as early as 1622, became *hakham* of the Congregation Neweh Shalom. When in 1638–39 the three Amsterdam congregations united to form Congregation Talmud Torah, Menasseh ben Israel became one of the latter's four *hakhamim* with an annual salary of 150 florins and the sole duty of preaching on one Sabbath every month. In 1639 he wrote in a postface to his book *De Termino Vitae* that, in view of the low salaries of the synagogue, he had sent his brother Ephraim Soeiro to Brazil to examine the possibilities there; in case they were good, they would enable him to give more time to religious studies.

Resolved to emigrate to Brazil, he dedicated the second part of his *Conciliador* to the "Gentlemen of the Council of the West Indies, the Heeren XIX, at The Hague." As an introduction to the book of Kings, which was included in the second part of the *Conciliador* and appeared in 5401/1641, he addressed the following greeting to the Jewish inhabitants of Recife:

> To Messrs. David Senior Coronel, Doctor Abraham de Mercado, Jahacob Mucate, Ishac Castanho, and other men of our Nation and inhabitants of Recife in Pernambuco, Greetings.
>
> If persons of lesser caliber may imitate the great; if, according to the prince of

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:51 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Latin poets, they may do so; may I, then, be permitted to emulate the Kings, their magistrates, or an ambassador who, of his own accord, announces his arrival and reports: In the same manner (most noble gentlemen), I—having decided to leave the flourishing land of Holland and to depart for the distant latitudes of Brazil—at this time resolve to send, not an ambassador,—*nobis non licet esse tam beatis*— but, in accord with our modest situation, a token of my erudition and knowledge which, in this instance, will have to take the place of an envoy. I hope that he (my ambassador) will be received with the affection due him, both because of the rare and great cause under discussion, i.e., the reconciliation of the Book of Kings, and because your minds have always been favorably inclined, particularly to the members of our faculty and to the doctors of our synagogue. I, on my part, prove my good will, hope that your causes will be successful, and will be content if they are favorable, and if you will heed them promptly.

Yours with much affection,
Menasseh ben Israel.[66]

The four gentlemen mentioned in the salutation certainly were the *Parnassim* (trustees) of the Jewish community of Recife in 1641. We are of the opinion that the closing sentence of the salutation refers to the complaints received at The Hague from the Classis and the government of Dutch Brazil, particularly with regard to the construction of a synagogue. It appears that Menasseh ben Israel's hopes for an appointment as *hakham* of Recife were in vain. Spies of the Inquisition seem to have reported his intention to come to Recife, because in a *Carta Citatoria Edital* of the Inquisition in Lisbon, dated August 12, 1640, Manoel Dias Soeiro is mentioned as an apostate who had previously lived in Lisbon and was now living in Pernambuco.[67] Instead, *hakham* Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, another of the four rabbis of the Congregation Talmud Torah of Amsterdam, received and accepted the call to Recife. Isaac Aboab was accompanied by *hakham* Moses Raphael de Aguilar and a large group of immigrants to Brazil, and they arrived there in the beginning of 1642.

The Jewish community in Brazil saw the arrival of a number of important Jewish scholars who were to become their spiritual leaders, and of a great many new immigrants who, after conclusion of the ten-year truce and an offensive and defensive alliance between Holland and Portugal, obviously felt that Dutch Brazil was assured of an epoch of peace and prosperity.

The year 1642 also brought some trouble to the Jewish community in Brazil. In execution of a sentence passed by the political council, a Jewish broker by the name of Daniel Gabilho was to be hanged in Recife

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:52 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

on January 27, 1642. Deputies of the Jewish community appeared before Johan Maurits on the preceding day and offered him 11,000 florins in the event that Gabilho was pardoned. Since Gabilho was bankrupt, the government requested that the Jewish community raise 15,000 florins to satisfy his creditors and to finance his deportation for a period of ten years to the island of São Thomé, which had been conquered a few months before. To save Gabilho's life, and to spare the Jewish community in Brazil the disgrace of his hanging, these terms had to be accepted. The files do not reveal the nature of Gabilho's offense.[68]

As early as February, 1642, a new case arose. In Mauricia a Jew, whose name was not mentioned, was imprisoned and tortured. This news created great agitation among the Jews of Recife and Amsterdam, who began to talk about an "Inquisition" of the Calvinists in Recife. As a result, the Heeren XIX intervened with the Recife government by letter on June 19, 1642. It appears that this prisoner was also expelled from the colony.[69]

Another scandal in 1642 involved the Jew Moses Abendana, who committed suicide by hanging himself. Because he left many debts, some to Dutch people, the *escabinos* did not allow his corpse to be buried, but ordered that it should be hanged on the galleys as posthumous punishment for Abendana's bankruptcy. The Jews said that Abendana did not commit suicide, but that he was murdered. In order to save the Jewish community shame, the Jews Duarte Saraiva, Jacob Senior, Mardocai Abendana, and João da Fonseca made themselves responsible for Abendana's debts to his Dutch creditors and the West India Company, amounting to 12,000 florins. They then obtained from Johan Maurits the permission to bury Abendana's corpse.[70] Jews complained at that time, that Captain Dassinex had imprisoned Jews in Iguaraçu for practicing their religion.[71]

Johan Maurits's five-year contract as governor of Dutch Brazil had expired, but, at the request of the Heeren XIX, he remained in Brazil and, on May 1, 1642, sent Tollner, his private secretary, to Holland to render a report on the situation in Dutch Brazil. The principal purpose of Tollner's mission was to explain that the order to economize by dismissing high-ranking officers and reducing the number of troops was not only unreasonable but also dangerous since the Portuguese in Brazil,

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:52 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

loyal to their king, were conspiring in secret. Their soldiers scarcely five thousand in number, would not suffice to defend Dutch Brazil, Angola, and São Thomé. Furthermore, the country was short of arms and ammunition. Many Portuguese debtors of the West India Company and, generally speaking, of the Dutch, would welcome confusion on the political scene in order to shake off their debts. In 1640, when the great Spanish Armada appeared before Recife, it had become obvious how fervently the Portuguese desired the ruin of the Dutch. The report includes the following slanderous statement: "The Jews, whose natural bent it is to revolt, are not very solid in their loyalty." Greater privileges the report continues, should be accorded the Portuguese with regard to freedom of religion.[72] Unreasonably, the practice of Catholic rites had been restricted while the Jews were permitted to celebrate their Sabbath without any molestation. Johan Maurits's resignation was not meant seriously, for he actually wished to remain in Brazil. During his negotiations with the authorities in Holland, Tollner submitted seven letters, addressed to Johan Maurits by the communities of Mauritsstadt, Serinaem, Porto Calvo, Iguaraçu, Itamaracá, Parahiba, and Rio Grande do Norte, and signed by the *escabinos* and other reputable citizens. In these letters Johan Maurits's personality and methods of administration were praised in the most glowing terms; he was requested to continue as governor of Dutch Brazil, and offered an annual gift of half a petaca (1 petaca = 1.25 florins) for each crate of sugar manufactured during his presence in the country, which, with an annual production of 30,000 crates of sugar, would amount to not less than 18,750 florins a year. Tollner also presented a petition of the Hebrew Nation, addressed to Johan Maurits, on behalf of all the Jewish inhabitants of Brazil. In this petition, dated May 1, 1642, the Jews thanked Johan Maurits for his kindness and for the protection he had granted them, praised his wise and happy rule, asked that he remain governor of the country, and promised him an annuity of 3,000 florins in case he accepted. This petition was signed by "Duarte Sarayua, Josse Fathias, Binjamin de Pina, Isaque Castanha, Isak da Costa, acacob Mocata, Miguel Roiz Mendes, Jacob Mose, Aharon Netto, Isaque Semah, and Abraham Abeneka."[73] These letters were not spontaneous declarations, but "ordered" manifestations of affection. According to the minutes of the Classis, Tollner personally appeared before its ninth session in October, 1641, and reported that Johan Maurits wished to go

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:53 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

to Holland, and that he wished to receive *litterae testimoniales* concerning his treatment of the population from the meeting of the Classis.[74] We may thus draw the conclusion that the petition of the Jews was not a spontaneous declaration, but, in fact, written upon the request of the governor, which could not be refused. On the other hand, it is possible that the Jews regarded Johan Maurits as the lesser of several evils. The Heeren XIX, who had come to consider Johan Maurits's administration too costly, recalled him with the request that he return in the spring of 1643. Johan Maurits, unwilling to recognize this recall, which had not been signed by the States General, dispatched new reports on the situation in Brazil both to the States General and to the Heeren XIX. Nevertheless, in September, 1643, Johan Maurits was notified by the States General that they had confirmed his recall, and he decided to leave Brazil in the spring of 1644. The Jews are said to have offered 600,000 gulden for the Castle of Vrijburg, which they wished to establish as their synagogue in Mauricia. This transaction was prevented by the Christian population.[75] On May 6, 1644, the governor bade farewell to the most prominent men of the country: supreme judges, government officials, church councilors, the clergy of Mauricia, army and navy officers, high-ranking officials of the West India Company, officers of the militia, and important men among the Jews. On May 22, 1644, Johan Maurits embarked for Holland. To his successors he left a document which, giving advice on the administration of Brazil, has been referred to as his political testament. He suggested in it that an attempt be made to preserve the friendship of some of the more loyal Portuguese and Catholic priests in particular. To this end they were to receive both cooperation and liberal promises. If the Dutch treated them with respect and showed them honor, they would be able to learn their secrets and to remain informed of Portuguese plans and intentions. At any rate, the Portuguese were to be treated gently, since that was the best way to get along with them. The Dutch, as far as their possessions were concerned, were to be handled with the utmost caution, for their fortunes meant more to them than their lives. Johan Maurits recommended tolerance in religious matters. Everyone, he stated, loved and remained attached to the religion in which he had been brought up in his childhood. It was better, therefore, to overlook certain practices than to try to extinguish this sacred flame by unreasonable and untimely expedients.[76]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:54 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Johan Maurits's sensible suggestions with regard to religious policy reflect the complete failure of the Calvinists' missionary activity in Dutch Brazil. About three years after Johan Maurits's return to Holland, Gaspar Barleus published a history of Brazil during the period of Johan Maurits's administration. Inspired by the former governor, this work summarizes the measures adopted by Johan Maurits between 1637 and 1644. It reports that blasphemers were severely punished, and that heavy penalties were also imposed on persons who insulted, mocked, or impertinently provoked the Jews. According to this book, the following restrictions were imposed upon Jews and Abramides: They were prohibited from establishing new synagogues. No Jew could either marry a Christian woman or have a Christian concubine. They were not allowed to convert Christians to the Mosaic law or to persuade them to return from Protestant freedom to the vices of the old law, from light to darkness. No Jew was permitted to outrage the sacred name of Jesus. Jews might not exceed one-third of the total number of brokers appearing in the broker's survey. They might not cheat anyone in trade. Children from intermarriages between Jews and Christians were to be turned over to their Christian relatives in the event of the parent's death. If they had no such relatives, they were to be brought up in orphanages if they were poor, and to remain under the care and supervision of the secret Council if they were rich.[77]

During the seven years of Johan Maurits's administration, Jewish immigration had reached its peak and Jewish wealth and economic power had considerably increased. The Jews had built a synagogue, and they enjoyed the spiritual leadership of important scholars from Amsterdam. Despite the violent antagonism of the Catholic Portuguese population, Calvinist preachers, and Dutch merchants, and despite the fact that Johan Maurits and the Dutch counselors, in reports to their superiors in Holland, rather openly expressed themselves against the Jews, it was impossible to restrict their immigration, to prohibit their public synagogue services, or to exclude them from the retail trade. The central agencies in Holland, interested in settling Dutch Brazil with politically reliable friends of their country and with capable merchants who had mastered the language and could provide for a regular flow of imports and exports of a variety of commodities, simply did not consent to the drastic measures against the Jews which were frequently requested of them. Their attitude was

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:54 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

not inconsiderably influenced by prominent representatives of the Jews in Amsterdam, by Jewish shareholders of the West India Company, and by the great Jewish merchants. The only important restrictions upon the Jews when Johan Maurits left in 1644 were as follows: (1) they were prohibited from establishing a new synagogue, and (2) two-thirds of all brokers had henceforth to be Christians, which meant that an important branch of the economy was closed to numerous Jews.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:54 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

V. Brazilian-Portuguese War of Liberation

WHEN HE RETURNED TO HOLLAND, Johan Maurits delegated the government of Dutch Brazil to a council composed of the following men: Henrique Hamel, formerly a merchant in Amsterdam; A. van Bullestrate, formerly a carpenter in Middleburg; and Pedro Jansen Bas, a former goldsmith who had been a political councilor under Johan Maurits. All three were citizens with little education and just as little political experience. Difficult times were in store for them. Early in 1645 charges were brought by the Classis against the Jews for circumcizing Christians and keeping Christian maids and abusing them as concubines. The elders of the Jewish community appeared on February 3, 1645, before a meeting of the Supreme Council in Recife to give their explanations. They declared that they had never misled Christians to become Jews, nor had they circumcized any of them; but they admitted that some New Christians of Portuguese descent had become professing Jews under Dutch rule in Brazil. They declared further that only two married members of the Jewish community in Recife, each with nine children, kept Christian nurses, and that each of these had been with their employers in Holland. All denied having used Christian servants as concubines. The Supreme Council warned the Jewish elders against such acts under menace of severe punishments. The Supreme Council reported the whole story to the Heeren XIX in Holland in a missive dated February 13, 1645, adding that they knew of no Dutchman or member of another nation who had been circumcized by Jews, unless it were some Portuguese of Jewish descent. Further, they did not know in fact of any Jews who kept Christian servants, still less of any who were involved with Christian concubines or prostitutes.[1]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:57 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Rebellion and Relief

Despite the truce and the alliances between Holland and Portugal, the latter country, with the collaboration of Brazilian patriots, began preparations for the reconquest of Brazil as early as 1642. In May, 1642, André Vidal de Negreiros was in Lisbon, where he had an audience with King João IV. He accompanied the new governor, Antonio Telles da Silva, to Bahia. In September, 1642, under the pretext of negotiations with Johan Maurits, he visited Recife. In talks with João Fernandes Vieira, several Catholic priests, and prominent Portuguese citizens, he discussed a revolution to be organized against the Dutch. Shortly thereafter an insurrection broke out in Maranhão, where the Dutch garrisons were taken by surprise and conquered. A long drawn-out battle between the rebels and the Dutch, who did not receive any aid from Recife, ended with the reconquest of Maranhão by the rebels in February, 1644. The king thereupon appointed Vidal governor and captain general of Maranhão. The news that the province had been lost reached Recife shortly before Johan Maurits's departure. In September, 1644, Vidal returned to Recife, stayed at Vieira's home, and subsequently traveled through the captaincy of Parahiba, where he met several leading Portuguese with whom he discussed plans for uprisings in both Pernambuco and Parahiba. After his return to Bahia and a talk there with the governor, small groups of soldiers were secretly dispatched to the vicinity of Recife and hidden in sugar mills by Vieira. The Dutch had no inkling of these events until they were informed by the Jewish elders that Jews from inland districts outside Recife had reported that the Portuguese were preparing some sort of action against the government. On October 13, 1644, the Supreme Council sent a report on these events to Holland. The Jew Gaspar Francisco da Costa, alias Moses da Cunha, and two other Jews had betrayed Vidal's plans. The government consequently took a number of precautions.[2] On May 23, 1645, eighteen of the conspirators signed a document in which they undertook to put their lives and property at the service of the "restoration of our fatherland." Vieira made plans for a banquet to be given on June 24, 1645, the festival of the anniversary of his saint. To this celebration he wished to invite all of the Dutch chiefs who were to be assassinated or arrested. This was to be followed by the occupation of Recife. The

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:57 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

conspiracy and the plan of a blockade and occupation of Recife was betrayed by Sebastião de Carvalho, one of the eighteen men involved; by his Jewish friend Fernão do Vale; and by a third person, name unknown, who wrote an anonymous letter to the Supreme Council which ended with the words "A verdade Plus ultra." The Jewish physician, pharmacist, and community leader Dr. Abraham de Mercado of Recife, a close friend of Fernão do Vale, was entrusted with the delivery of the letter.[3] Vieira learned that his plan had been betrayed and escaped to the hinterlands before the sheriffs of the Supreme Council could apprehend him. On June 13, 1645, Vieira and several of the conspirators met in the sugar mill of Luis Bras Bezerra and decided to start a guerilla war against the Dutch. The watchword of the rebels was *Açucar* (sugar). The first skirmish occurred in Ipojuca on June 17, 1645. The first victims were two Jews. During the loading of sugar, flour, and other commodities on three sailing vessels bound for Recife, a violent quarrel broke out between Manoel de Miranda, a Portuguese, and one of the Jews, a shopkeeper in Ipojuca. Several of the Portuguese and a number of Jews came to grips and two Jews were killed. At this point a group of thirty Dutch soldiers stationed at São Francisco convent in Ipojuca, whose lieutenant happened to be in Recife at the time, intervened. The population of Ipojuca, informed of Vieira's projected rebellion against the Dutch, fell upon the Dutch soldiers, killing some and wounding and disarming others. They attacked the house of the Dutchman Rotres, where they captured thirteen of the Dutch and prevented the departure of their ships.[4] The news of the uprising in Ipojuca reached Recife on June 20, 1645, and it aroused great excitement, particularly among the Jews. The Catholic chronicler Calado reports that the Jews and Jewesses of Recife loudly lamented the death of the two Jews killed in Ipojuca, that they convinced the members of the Supreme Council that the dead must be avenged, and that they offered funds to finance the cost of an expedition against Ipojuca.[5] Actually, an expedition of six hundred soldiers and three hundred Indians under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Haus was immediately dispatched to Ipojuca. It defeated the rebels, pillaged and plundered the community, and released the forty Dutchmen imprisoned in the convent. On August 3, 1645, on Monte das Tabocas near Recife, an open battle ensued between the Dutch troops under Haus and the rebels under the

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:57 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

command of João Fernandes Vieira. The Dutch suffered losses of hundreds in dead and wounded and, defeated, were compelled to withdraw. On August 16 André Vidal, at the head of his own and Vieira's troops, marched in the direction of Recife; on the morning of August 17 he attacked Casa Forte, into which Haus had withdrawn with 320 men and several officers. The Dutch surrendered after three hours of stubborn resistance. The Dutch officers and soldiers, approximately two hundred in number, were sent as prisoners to Bahia. Captain Blaer was assassinated en route, and the Indian soldiers, sentenced to death as traitors, were executed. The rebels proclaimed that whoever collaborated with them might follow his religion freely, so long as he caused no scandal.[6]

At about that time, during the second half of August, 1645, a boat carrying goods, a number of Dutchmen, and three Jewish merchants sailed from the Island of Itamaracá to Recife and anchored at Pau Amarelo, a community already in the possession of the Portuguese. The travelers, who, of course, did not know when they departed that the Portuguese had already conquered Olinda, were arrested by the Portuguese guards on duty and brought before Vieira and Vidal, who sent the Dutch as prisoners to Bahia. Two of the Jews arrested, Moses Mendes and Isaac Rusten, were New Christians. Both of them had been born in Lisbon and baptized as Catholics at birth, only later, after escaping to Holland, openly embracing the Jewish faith; the third had been born abroad as a Jew. This latter, whose name cannot now be ascertained, was granted protection in return for the promise that he would undergo baptism as soon as he had become familiar with the teachings of Christianity. Two priests immediately volunteered to instruct him. As soon as he was released, however, he succeded in escaping to Recife. Mendes and Rusten were regarded as apostates and charged with sacrilegious remarks about Christ. The auditor-general sentenced them to death by hanging. Pending execution, they were imprisoned under guard in São João Church. In the presence of a large number of people who had come to the church, Padre Manoel Salvador Calado (the historian) and several other priests now began a harangue against the two unfortunates. They reproached them with being apostates and blasphemers and alleged that, like all of the Jews, they had incited the Dutch to cruel actions against the Portuguese. They were

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:57 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

exhorted to seek salvation now that the hour of death was drawing near, and to embrace the belief that Christ was the true Messiah who had been announced by the prophets. If they had any doubts, Calado proceeded, he was prepared to discuss them. The two sentenced men explained all their doubts and gave their reasons for not considering Christ the true Messiah. They also explained why the Jews were waiting for another Messiah who would bring them to Jerusalem, a place blessed with riches. Calado thereupon embarked upon an explanation of passages from the Old Testament, original Hebrew texts from the Talmud, and passages from the rabbinical literature. After a lecture of more than an hour and a half the Jews are said to have become so confused and perplexed that they declared they wished to die as Christians. Calado initiated them into the mysteries of Catholicism and baptized them forthwith. The two unfortunates are reported to have shed tears of joy at the thought of dying as Christians. All of the priests present accompanied the newly baptized men to their execution, after which they were buried in the cemetery of São João Church, according to Catholic rites, with military honors and in the presence of all the soldiers.[7] The Supreme Council, upon hearing of these events, immediately wrote a firmly worded letter of protest to Vidal, objecting to the fact that the two Jewish prisoners had been treated differently from the Dutch and hanged in a barbaric manner on August 30, 1645.[8]

On September 3, 1645, Fort Nazare on Cabo de São Agostinho surrendered. It had been betrayed by its commandant, the Dutch Major Hoogstraeten, for a bribe of 18,000 florins and the promise that he would command a regiment granted him by the Portuguese. The majority of the troops in his charge also joined the army of the rebels. Those who refused were sent to Bahia as prisoners. While the Dutch were facing a tragic situation on land, the Dutch Admiral Lichthardt, on September 9, 1645, succeeded in completely defeating a Portuguese fleet of fifteen ships in the Bay of Tamandare, after troops for the relief of the rebels had been landed. In the course of the battle, seven hundred of the Portuguese were drowned, ten ships were burned, and the admiral and vice-admiral, together with three of the best vessels, were brought to Recife in triumph. To the Portuguese Admiral Serrão de Paiva, defeat came as so great a surprise that he did not find time to destroy important documents, which, as a result, fell into the hands of the Dutch and

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:58 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

proved, black on white, that the rebels had not only enjoyed the support of the governor of Bahia but that the king of Portugal himself, in violation of the truce, was involved in this affair. Itamaracá, Iguaraçu, Porto Calvo, and Fort Mauricio on the São Francisco River fell into the hands of the rebels, and only Recife, Parahiba, and Rio Grande do Norte continued their resistance. For strategic reasons, a section of the new town of Mauricia on the Island of Antonio Vaz was destroyed. The population of Olinda and of the destroyed part of Mauricia had to be given shelter in Recife, where, not counting the Negro slaves, about eleven thousand people, including Dutchmen, Portuguese, Jews, soldiers, sailors, and Indians were crowded together.

The Dutch government abolished on June 19, 1645, the right conceded previously to Jews to be exempt on Saturdays from guard duty in the militia. They had to appear on Saturdays in case of alarm, at their posts, for the duration of the rebellion.[9]

On June 26, 1645, it had been decreed that Jews and Dutch exchange their rifles for muskets, because the rifles were needed for expeditions in the hinterland of Recife.[10] The first news we have of the Jewish militiamen after the outburst of the insurrection comes from September 12, 1645. From seven to eight in the evening, the vigorous fire of the cannon and muskets was heard in Recife from the Jewish fortlet. About seventeen or eighteen men were inside.[11] On November 13, 1645, forty Jews left Recife on the boat of Simon Slecht, to sail northward. They were commanded by a Jewish captain, and in Itamaracá a group of Indian troops was to join them.[12] On November 21, 1645, a bark arrived from Itamaracá with the message that the Jewish troops were still there, only awaiting a favorable wind in order to realize their project.[13] On June 18, 1646, a bark arrived from Itamaracá, bringing the message that a big contingent of Portuguese troops had attacked the island and had burned the three Dutch barks on guard.[14] The Superior Council of Dutch Brazil gave order that the Jewish companies should return to Recife, and on June 22, 1646, two boats arrived from Fort Orange with the Jewish soldiers.[15]

There is documentary proof that the forty Jews, commanded by a Jewish captain, who were in Itamaracá were volunteers. On November 27, 1645, the elders of the Jewish community in Amsterdam wrote to the Dutch authorities that thirteen Jewish prisoners had been executed

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:58 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

by the Brazilian-Portuguese rebels in cold blood. They called attention to the facts that the Jews in Dutch Brazil were loyal and vigilant in their efforts to defend Dutch Brazil against the rebels; that they exposed their lives at considerable danger; that more than forty Jews had volunteered (*vrijwilighen*) for service in the navy against the enemy. The letter requested an order of the States General to the Dutch government in Brazil that, in all agreements with the enemy, members of the Hebrew Nation should be treated like other Dutch subjects.[16]

On December 7, 1645, the States General of the United Netherlands gave the requested order to the government of Dutch Brazil, mentioning in it the support that the Jews had given to the conquest of Brazil, and their loyalty and valor.[17] The letter of the trustees shows that the forty Jews were not just militiamen on duty, but volunteers for service in the navy. They must have volunteered immediately after the outbreak of the rebellion in June, certainly not later than August, 1645, and so it was possible that the news was already known in Amsterdam in November, 1645, because about three months were required for a sailing boat from Recife to reach Amsterdam. The forty Jews were not sent to Itamaracá before November 13, 1645, as indicated above.

The Jews of Brazil gave financial assistance to their government, participated in fighting the rebels, and helped to raise the morale of the defeatist Dutch officers and the heterogeneous mass of soldiers. No wonder that the hatred of the Portuguese was concentrated upon them, as is revealed by the official letter which Antonio Telles da Silva, governor of Bahia, addressed to the Supreme Council in Recife on July 19, 1645.[18]

The sugar harvest of the past few years had been unsatisfactory, and now many of the sugar mills were destroyed by the war while others were deserted by their owners. The paralyzing effect of the rebellion upon the economy, which brought to a standstill exporting, importing, and manufacturing, and the disruption of communications with the hinterland of Recife brought about the economic ruin of Dutch Brazil. Most of the farmers and the majority of the Portuguese sugar mill owners went over to the rebels and remained indebted for large sums to Jews who had lent them money and sold them Negro slaves and all kinds of commodities on credit; they also remained indebted to the West India Company, which had sold the confiscated sugar mills on an installment

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:58 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

basis. The taxes were not collectible. Moses Navarro, who owed the tidy sum of 126,500 florins for his lease on the tithe on sugar and the impost for weighing in 1645, informed the government that he was not in a position to meet his obligations. Jacob and Aaron Navarro, having farmed the public scales in August, 1645, informed the government on October 17, 1645, that they could not comply with the terms of their contract because business was nonexistent.[19] They also stated that most of the Jews were impoverished and insolvent as a result of recent events.[20] At the end of 1645, the West India Company had outstanding assets of about 22 million florins in Dutch Brazil.

In 1645, thanks to the intervention of the Jews of Amsterdam with the West India Company, the Jewish attorney Michael Cardoso, contrary to a previous decision, succeeded in obtaining permission from the Supreme Council in Brazil to practice law in that country.[21] He thus joined a triumvirate of remarkable Jews: Balthasar da Fonseca was the first Jewish builder of bridges, Dr. Abraham de Mercado first Jewish physician and pharmacist, and Michael Cardoso the first Jewish attorney in the Western hemisphere.

As previously mentioned, the plan of October 13, 1629, for the administration of Brazil had been superseded by the Charter of August 23, 1636, which may be called the organic law of Dutch Brazil. On November 6, 1645, the West India Company and the States General issued supplementary instructions. On November 27, 1645, the *parnassim* of the Jewish community in Amsterdam addressed their petition to the mayors of the city of Amsterdam requesting benevolent treatment of the Jews in Dutch Brazil. It is easy to understand that the Jews of Amsterdam were greatly concerned about the future fate of a Jewish community as important as Recife, whose membership at the present time was probably not much smaller than that of the Amsterdam community; besides, many of the Jews in Dutch Brazil were near relatives of Amsterdam Jews. As a result of this intervention the States General, on December 7, 1645, issued special instructions to the Supreme Council in Brazil, which may be called the first charter for Jews in the New World. In this charter it was pointed out that the "Hebrew Nation" had demonstrated by its actions for the past several years, in Holland and elsewhere, that its members looked upon Holland with favor, affection, and a sense of attachment. There was particular emphasis on Jewish aid

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:58 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

in the conquest of Brazil and the Jews' loyalty and valuable services in Dutch Brazil in the recent past. For these and other reasons, the instructions stated, the State took the "Hebrew Nation in Brazil" under its special protection. The Jews in that country were to be protected from any damage to person or property, in the same manner as were all the citizens of the United Netherlands.

> The said Supreme Government that now is or hereafter shall be in Brazil shall favor and be of service to the aforenamed Jewish nation on all occasions according to and as their loyalty and valor deserves, and also in all cases let them enjoy the result thereof without in any manner making or observing, or causing to be made or observed, any greater or lesser distinction or division between them and those of our other nationals, not doubting that the said Jewish nation will thereby more and more be animated and encouraged to further the service in this state and that of the puissant West India Company, they being also assured that we and the said Supreme Government shall in all the aforesaid matters not fail as we have decided the same to be proper.[22]

Such a communication on behalf of the Jews, from a Christian state in the seventeenth century, was a unique and extraordinary occurrence. It shows to what extent the Jews had helped, with their lives, property, and loyalty, to hold and to defend Dutch Brazil at the very time when the former favorites and friends of Johan Maurits organized and took charge of the rebellion against Holland and mercenary Dutch officers went over to the Portuguese and surrendered troops to the enemy. Since the beginning of the uprising the Jews had proved to be the only completely reliable element in Dutch Brazil, prepared to stand by Holland in every emergency. Their very lives were at stake. They fought for their physical, religious, economic, and political existence, and the Dutch, well aware of this fact, responded with the above-mentioned charter in order to encourage the Jews to remain in Dutch Brazil and to help them to the best of their ability to retain possession of the colony.

The minds of fanatical Calvinist clergymen and church councilors apparently were not troubled by these considerations. In its meeting of the Classis of January 9, 1646, the Classis resolved to bring a complaint against the Jews before the Supreme Council, alleging that they kept their stores open, let their slaves work, and sent their children to school on Sundays.[23] As a result, the elders of the Jewish community (i.e., the Mahamad of the Congregation Zur Israel) were requested to appear

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:59 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

before the Supreme Council. They promised that they would henceforth close their stores and refrain from making their slaves work on Sundays. They also agreed to open their synagogues on Sundays for divine services only, and not for purposes of instruction.[24] This incident reveals, first of all, that the Jews of Recife were actually in the habit of keeping their stores open on Sundays during the period in question; that some of them, in 1646, let their slaves (who were free on Saturdays) work on Sundays; and that they actually sent their children to school on Sundays. The school in question adjoined the synagogue. The incident further indicates that the Jews of Recife held daily religious services at that time.

Several skirmishes took place between the Dutch who had withdrawn to Recife and Mauricia and the Portuguese who surrounded these towns. The besieged population, to whom assistance could only come by sea, waited in vain for troops and foodstuffs from Holland. A shortage of provisions soon began to make itself felt. Many Dutchmen and Jews left the country for Holland. Their exact number cannot be ascertained. The Jew Manoel da Costa, known as the "Prince of Parahiba,"[25] and his wife went over to the enemy on the evening of June 16, 1646. Food was rationed and government officials, accompanied by soldiers, went from house to house to requisition stocks for the public warehouses. On June 11, 1646, compulsory requisitions of oil and wine reserves were made from a great number of people, including the following Jews: Moses de Leão, Jacob Carillo, Jacob Navarro, Jacob Valverde, Salamon Musaphia, Isaac da Costa, Jacob Drago. The weekly bread ration was one pound per person. Many people died of inanition; swelling of the limbs was a symptom of approaching death. Cats and dogs came to be regarded as delicacies. Negro slaves dug out the cadavers of horses and greedily devoured them. The sight of the starving Negroes in the city was truly distressing. The summer was very hot and there was a shortage of potable water. When foodstuffs were at last exhausted and death by starvation appeared to be the only way out, the Supreme Council suggested that an attempt be made to break the siege. If it failed, the people would at least die with honor. The regular soldiers were to form the vanguard, women, children, sick persons and invalids were to follow them, and the members of the Council and the people assigned to defend the rear would be the last in line. The Jews, more than anyone

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:59 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

else, were in a desperate situation. Many preferred to die, sword in hand, rather than face subjugation by the Portuguese. Apart from the famine, the besieged town of Recife was faced with mutiny and a general lack of discipline. The troops clamored for capitulation, since they were receiving neither food nor pay. The Supreme Council requested a loan from the rich Jews and received about 100,000 florins, which were distributed among the troops who, while unable to buy anything with the money, nevertheless derived some satisfaction from receiving it. Before the plan of a break-through could be carried out, the two ships *Elizabeth* and *Valk*, dispatched from Holland, arrived in Recife on June 23, 1646. They brought some ammunition and the news that a great relief expedition was en route. Although the people were so weakened that they were hardly able to walk, everyone who could dragged himself to the harbor and many of them wept with joy at the sight of the two ships. The captains of these ships subsequently received specially made gold medals with the inscription: "Door de *Valk* en *Elizabeth* is het Recief ontzet" (Recife was saved by the *Valk* and the *Elizabeth*).[26]

Prior to the arrival of the ships, Recife still had eight barrels of flour for 8,000 persons. In *Zekher asiti leniflaot El* (I have set a memorial to God's miracles), the first Hebrew poem written in the Western hemisphere, Isaac Aboab related the events and his experiences between the outbreak of the rebellion in 1645 and the arrival of the two relief ships. Following is a paraphrase of this work:

I have set a memorial to God's miracles and to the great mercy and favor he has shown to the house of Israel, when the armies of Portugal, a vicious nation whose name is disgrace, fell upon it, planning to exterminate, kill and destroy in one day in the year of 5406 all that is called by the name of Israel. As long as I live I shall sing the praise of God's miracles, and I shall sing the praise of his infinite mercy. The poem will be limited as I am and cannot hope to express God's greatness. May this poem be a memorial to the glory of God's name, and for the congregation of Zur Israel. Who is like Thee and not like Thee? Who resembles Thee and does not resemble Thee? Oh Lord, my God, I shall rejoice in singing your name in the *Kahal* of the faithful. Because of my sins, I was flung into a far-away land. I fell into an abyss from the sky, my head was buried under the waves of the sea, but my spirit and my soul always looked to God. In the year of 5405 [1645], Portugal's king in his wrath

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:59 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

schemed to destroy what was left of Israel. From the gutter he raised an evil man, whose mother was of Negro descent, a man who did not know his father's name [João Fernandes Vieira, the leader of the rebellion]. This evil man gathered much gold and silver and led the revolt. He tried to overcome the ruling Dutch by ruse, but his schemes were discovered. Then he fled to the woods until the hoped-for troops of the Portuguese king came to his rescue. He then caused great trouble for the Jews. The revolt led to the siege of the cities from the land and from the sea. I prayed and wept and implored the shepherd of Israel to send help. I asked the people to fast to atone for their sins and to conciliate God. The sword raged without and fear within. Bread ran short and Recife, under siege, suffered a severe famine. Fish was eaten in place of bread. The foe who besieged us thought that God had forsaken his people and that it could now be destroyed. On hearing this, God rose in His anger. On the 9th of Tammuz two ships arrived, bringing help to my people. God made that day. The memorial I shall set Him will last forever, and I shall sing songs in His praise. Who is like you among the Gods, O Lord.[27]

A New Government

The announced expedition, with foodstuffs, two thousand soldiers and a new government, composed of five councilors who relieved the Supreme Council of three men, finally arrived from Holland. The President of the new Supreme Council was Walter van Schonenburgh, who arrived in Recife on August 12, 1646. In September, the new government proclaimed a general amnesty for those who had gone over to the Portuguese, which was followed by a similar amnesty issued by Vieira. Minor attempts by the Dutch to lift the siege of Recife failed. On the other hand, in October, 1646, a Dutch expedition of ten large and eight smaller ships, dispatched to the river São Francisco, succeeded in making a landing and occupying the town of Penedo, where it established a fort which, however, could be held for only a few months.

In 1646 the Dutch lost the friendship of the Tapuya Indians, who had always been on their side while the Tupis, enemies of the Tapuyas, had sided with the Portuguese. The Tapuyas, as irregular troops, had fought on the side of the Dutch and even accompanied the expeditions to

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 13:59 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Africa and Chile. Dutch agents, energetic and courageous men like Johann Rabe (or Jacob Rabi) and Rudolf Baron had learned the language of the Tapuyas, lived among them, and given them military training and guidance. Jacob Rabi acquired a bad reputation because, on July 16, 1645, Tapuyas under his command attacked and massacred unarmed inhabitants of the town of Cunhaú while they were attending Mass. On April 5, 1646, Rabi, together with the Dutch Colonel Garstman, was asked to dine at the home of one Dirck Mueller on the river Potigny. Shortly after the guests' departure at 11:00 o'clock at night, shots were heard and Rabi was found shot to death. Garstman was suspected of having caused his assassination because of differences of opinion that had arisen between them. The Tapuyas, alarmed and indignant at the murder of their friend and leader, requested that Garstman be surrendered. This was refused, but Garstman left Brazil. Apparently misled by the name Rabi—also spelled Rabbi—many historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have referred to Rabi as a German Jew, but without giving the source of this information. Barleus states that he was a German from the principality of Waldeck, and Pierre Morreau also calls him a German. Other contemporary authors, such as Nieuhof, Marcgrav, and Morisot, make no mention whatever of Rabi's nationality; Calado, while reporting on the massacre of Cunhau in some detail, does not mention Rabi. Since Calado's book was full of invective against the hated Jews, it stands to reason that, had Rabi in fact been a Jew, Calado would have used an incident such as the massacre of Catholics during Mass as reason for violent attacks upon the Jews.[28]

The Classis continued to complain about Jews holding divine services, and they again raised this subject in a letter to Holland on June 28, 1646. The Supreme Council was surrounded by enemies and dependent upon troops who were tired of the war and Dutch officers who often proved mercenary. It was, therefore, too greatly in need of Jewish espionage activities among the Portuguese, Jewish assistance in money and goods, Jewish militia soldiers and, in short, of Jewish loyalty to support the complaints of the Classis against the Jews, as Johan Maurits had frequently done. In its letter to Holland of December 4, 1646, the Supreme Council refers to the complaints of the Classis and points out that, in compliance with instructions from Holland, the Jews were accorded equal treatment with the Dutch so that restrictions could not be imposed upon them.[29]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:00 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Manifestations of Jewish loyalty continued. When Johan Maurits had left Brazil, he was accompanied by his close friend, Gaspar Dias Fereira, who had succeeded in acquiring a considerable fortune since the arrival of the Dutch in Brazil. The latter's collaboration with the Dutch had made him many enemies among the Portuguese, and it appears that he was afraid to remain in the country without Johan Maurits' protection. Jews furnished proof of his conspiratorial activities after his arrival in Holland. He was arrested there and later managed to escape to Lisbon.[30]

In January 1647, General Schoppe, in command of twenty-four hundred soldiers, succeeded in driving the Portuguese garrison from the Island of Taparicá in the Bay of Bahia. As reprisal, the Dutch troops slaughtered the island's Portuguese inhabitants, seven hundred in number according to one report and two thousand according to another, including women and children. Schoppe fortified the island, and Portuguese attempts to reconquer it failed. On the other hand, the situation in Recife continued to be very unfavorable. Emergency shipments received from Holland proved inadequate to relieve the shortage of foodstuffs. Meanwhile, the shares of the West India Company in Holland had dropped to 30 percent of their nominal value. As a result, the States General and the West India Company decided to dispatch to Brazil a great expedition consisting of six thousand government troops, thirteen hundred and fifty mercenaries of the West India Company, twelve battle ships, thirty-nine government transports and six West India Company vessels. It was very difficult, however, to raise troops for this new expedition. For this and many other reasons departure was delayed, and the forces did not arrive in Recife until the middle of March, 1648. In January, 1648, however, Schoppe, urged to return to Recife, which was under siege and in great danger, had evacuated the Island of Taparicá, several days prior to the arrival of a Portuguese fleet dispatched to free the Bay of Bahia. By the time the Dutch expedition arrived in March, 1648, the territory of Dutch Brazil had been reduced to Recife, Mauricia, Parahiba, Itamaracá, and Rio Grande, that is, to a few coastal towns without a hinterland. Maranhão, Ceara, the hinterland of Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Sergipe had been lost. The Dutch decided upon a break-through from Recife, and a great battle against the Portuguese ensued at nearby Guararapes. The latter were commanded

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:00 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

by the Portuguese general Francisco Barreto de Menezes, who had, by royal decree, been appointed chief of the troops of Pernambuco. While the Dutch outnumbered their enemies two to one, they lacked an adequate knowledge of the terrain and, after a part of the troops had been lured into the swamps, they were defeated. Their losses, in addition to five hundred dead and as many wounded soldiers, included large quantities of arms and ammunition, as well as a cannon which they had left on the battlefield upon retreating. There were seventy-four officers among those killed and wounded on their side. The Dutch government in Recife was very discouraged, although in July, 1648, it still had about sixty-five hundred soldiers at its disposal. On July 9, 1648, the Supreme Council reported to Holland that Dutch Brazil, for all practical purposes, had become a wasteland, and that the fertile area of Parahiba had been so destroyed by fire and the ravages of war that within several miles of the city not even an orange was to be found. Rio Grande, formerly rich in cattle, was devastated. It was suggested that Holland come to terms with Portugal.

It should be added at this point that, as early as 1647, Portugal had reconquered Angola and São Thomé, a fact of little significance for Dutch Brazil because there had been no demand for Negro slaves since the outbreak of the insurrection. Agriculture and sugar production having come to a standstill, Recife no longer had a market for Negroes. Ships carrying Negroes which arrived in Recife after 1645 took their cargoes to the Barbados and other islands of the West Indies, where they bartered them for cotton, tobacco, and indigo. After 1646 such ships rarely even landed in Recife. As a result of the Portuguese reconquest of slave centers in Africa, the West India Company, in fact, no longer had access to this particular commodity. In Holland, negotiations with a view to finding a solution for Dutch Brazil had taken place between the States General and the ambassador of Portugal ever since 1645. Portugal officially denied that it gave any support whatever to the rebellion in Brazil. In a letter of July 20, 1645, Gaspar Dias Fereira had proposed to the Portuguese king that he buy Brazil from the Dutch for the sum of 3 million cruzados, payable in six monthly installments. Sousa Coutinho, the Portuguese ambassador at The Hague, considered this proposal very practical. The Jesuit priest Antonio Vieira, a man who exercised considerable influence in Lisbon and Brazil at the time,

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:00 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

also advocated this solution. The negotiations, however, yielded no results, since the West India Company declined the offer. Negotiations were resumed in 1647. At this time they were based on the idea of partitioning Dutch Brazil, but the Dutch were extravagant in their demands. The Portuguese victory near the mountains of Guararapes completely changed the political situation and increased the bargaining power of the Portuguese Crown in the negotiations, which, however, remained entirely without results.[31]

The year 1647 brought a great deal of tragedy to the Jews of Brazil. Apart from the same hardships suffered by other citizens—death from disease, famine, and military operations, and the hazards of guard duty in the militia—they were most cruelly afflicted in that, at the beginning of the insurrection, Jews taken prisoner by the Portuguese were without much ado sentenced and hanged as traitors. Somewhat later, certain Jews were sent to Lisbon for trial. They were: Gabriel Mendes, also called Abraham Mendes; João Nunes Velho, also called Samuel Velho; Diogo Henriques, also called Abraham Bueno; David Salem; Isaac Carvalho; Samuel Israel; David Michael de Alamagna; Salamão bar Jacob; Jacob Polaco, also called Juda bar Jacob de Polonia; Isaac Johannis de la Manha; Miguel Frances, also called David Frances; and Manoel Gomes Chação.[32]

The first ten of these Jews named had been taken prisoner during the Rio São Francisco campaign together with 266 Dutchmen, 24 women, 33 children, and 18 slaves. Unlike Moses Mendes and Isaac Rusten, who had been arrested in Olinda a month before and hanged as traitors, a procedure which had elicited a sharp protest from the Dutch authorities, the Jews captured this time were sent to Lisbon as prisoners. There the investigating authorities attempted to discover which of these Jews had been born as Christians and had only later in life embraced Judaism. Command of the Portuguese language was considered an indication of Portuguese birth.[33] Each prisoner was induced to denounce the others. Jacob Polaco, from Poland, was—as we can verify in the dossiers of the Inquisition—very helpful as a *malshin* (denouncer).[34] Finally it was determined that, besides the Ashkenazim, the four Jews from Poland and Germany (David Michael, Salamão bar Jacob, Jacob Polaco, and Isaac Johannis), the three Sephardim (David Salem, Isaac Carvalho, and Samuel Israel) were born as Jews in Amsterdam and therefore could not

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:00 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

be regarded as apostates. As persons born to the Jewish faith they were not under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, and accordingly they were set free in Lisbon and allowed to leave for Holland. But the three Jews born as Christians in Portugal, Abraham Mendes, Samuel Velho, and Abraham Bueno, were surrendered to the Lisbon Inquisition for trial and appeared at the auto-da-fé on December 15, 1647. They abjured the Jewish faith, promised to be good Catholics again, and consequently were sentenced only to brief imprisonment.

Miguel Frances[35] and Manoel Gomes Chação also appeared at the auto-da-fé on December 15, 1647, and were given light prison sentences, but they had been extradited from Bahia as Judaizers and had had no part in the Rio São Francisco campaign. According to reports of Dutchmen who were imprisoned with the Jews and came home via Lisbon, liberated by the Portuguese, the Jewish prisoners had been separated from the other prisoners immediately after capture.

Representatives of Amsterdam's Jewry intervened constantly with the Dutch authorities in The Hague in behalf of their captured brethren. On February 27, 1646, the Dutch government wrote detailed instructions to the Dutch Supreme Council in Recife concerning the eight Jewish prisoners from Rio São Francisco who were at that moment being held in the fortress of Bahia. They said, among other things:

> We instruct you to insist that the detained Jews be freed in the same manner as our Christian subjects and residents. Furthermore, it is our earnest wish and serious intention that you treat and cause to be treated the Jewish nation on a basis of equality with all other residents and subjects in all treaties, negotiations, and actions in and out of war, without discrimination, in accordance with the content of our aforenamed missive of the seventh of December. In order that the aforenoted Jewish nation shall be animated with ever increasing affection, good will and attachment to the promotion of service to these lands in general and to the West India Company in particular.[36]

These instructions were a consequence of the petition of the Jews of Amsterdam dated February 22, 1646. The Dutch authorities in The Hague wrote on the 10th of October, 1646, directly to João IV, king of Portugal, urgently requesting the liberation of the ten Jews, who meanwhile had been extradited from Bahia to Lisbon[37] on the basis of the Dutch-Portuguese armistice accords dated June 12, 1641. The Portuguese king answered this letter on December 7, 1646, informing the States General in The Hague that before the reception of their letter the

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:01 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

following four Jews from among the ten Bahia captives had been liberated and shipped to a Dutch port: David Michael, Salamão bar Jacob, Jacob Polaco, and Isaac Johannis. It was further stated that they were sustained properly. Three other Jews, Samuel Israel, Isaac Carvalho, and David Salem, were also free and merely waiting for transportation; they also were properly sustained. These three were in the hands of the Office of the Holy Inquisition, as was customary in Portugal, in order to clear up a few matters concerning religion, things that were not and could not have been included in the armistice agreement.[38] The Dutch government continued to intervene with the Portuguese ambassador Francisco de Sousa Coutinho in Holland for the last three Jews mentioned, who were considered apostates: Abraham Mendes, Samuel Velho, and Abraham Bueno. On July 8, 1647, Coutinho wrote to the king that the Dutch Secretary Muts had intervened on July 6 in behalf of the three prisoners of the Inquisition. The Jews of Holland were pressing the States General concerning the aforementioned prisoners, holding that their treatment was in contradiction of Article 5 of the armistice agreement. Muts had told Coutinho to write the following, in his name, to the king: "he may send to the devil the Jews, the others will not be reformed because of having burned these, and he certainly will not fall short over there of many for burning purposes."[39]

The day after the intervention of Secretary Muts, the Dutch authorities again wrote a direct letter on the subject to the king in Lisbon, repudiating the king's arguments and emphasizing that the three Jews were also Dutch subjects, included in Article 25 of the armistice agreement. They were Dutch subjects "cujuscunque nationis, conditionis, qualitatis, & religionis illi sint, nullis exceptis," and could visit freely and participate in navigation and trade. The treatment of the three Jews consequently was a contravention, and the release of the "tres isti Judaei, subditi nostrix sine nulla mora ac dilatione" was urged.[40] All the interventions were in vain, because the king himself had no power to liberate apostates who were in the hands of the Inquisition. The three Jews appeared at the auto-da-fé of December 15, 1647, but because they had meanwhile become Catholics, they were sentenced only to short prison terms. The news of the auto-da-fé of December 15, 1647, came to Amsterdam in January, and there was a storm of excitement and anger among the Jews. On January 27, 1648, the Jews of Amsterdam intervened with

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:01 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the Dutch authorities and urged the release of the three condemned Jews. [41] On February 24, 1648, the Portuguese ambassador wrote to the king that the Jews of Amsterdam were terribly agitated about the whole affair.[42] Also, the priest Antonio Vieira wrote, on February 3, 1648, to the Marques de Nizza that the States General complained very much about the condemnation of the three Jews from Recife.[43] Meanwhile, four other young Jews from Amsterdam fell into the hands of the Portuguese in Brazil. Two of them jumped into the sea; the other two, Samuel Nahamias and Aharon Noveno, were sent to Lisbon for trial.[44] Interventions of the States General continued, and in 1649 the king wrote to the States General, in a letter dated Alcantra, the 16th of June, 1649 (received in The Hague on August 11, 1649), that he could do nothing in favor of Jews jailed in the prisons of the Holy Office. If this were in his power, he would have attended to the requests long ago.[45]

Besides the twelve Jews mentioned, another, by the name of Matheus da Costa, a sugar plantation owner from Ipojuca in Pernambuco, was arrested in Bahia on September 6, 1646, and sent to Lisbon for trial.[46] Records of the year 1637 refer to him as having bought from the Dutch the confiscated sugar mill "Salgados" for the sum of 18,000 florins, payable in six installments until January, 1640.[47] He owed 14,811 florins and 7 stuivers to the West India Company, according to a debtors list of the West India Company for the year 1663.[48] During the trial he denied being a Jew and said that he was considered a Catholic by the Jews in Dutch Brazil. He gave as proof the fact that the Jews Joseph de Solis and Daniel Cardoso had charged him 3 percent monthly interest on loans. He named Old Christian witnesses in Brazil who could confirm his depositions. Matheus da Costa appeared at the auto-da-fé of December 13, 1652, and was sentenced to *abjuração de vehementi, carcere a arbitrio*. (Those who had to abjure their faith *de vehementi* were in case of a relapse condemned to death.)

Isaac de Castro, Brazilian Jewish Martyr

On December 15, 1647, there appeared at the auto-da-fé in Lisbon a twenty-two-year-old Jew by the name of Isaac de Castro (Tartas), alias Tomas Luis, alias José de Lis. He had been extradited to Portugal

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:02 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

almost three years before from Bahia and incarcerated in the prison of the Inquisition to await trial.

The minutes of the inquisitorial proceedings reveal that Isaac de Castro migrated to Dutch Brazil in 1641, when he was only sixteen years old.[49] He lived there about three years, and in October, 1644, left for Bahia. There Castro, ostensibly a Catholic, was soon denounced to Dom Pedro da Silva, the bishop of Bahia and deputy of the Inquisition in Brazil, by Catholics who had seen him visiting the synagogue in Recife when he was resident there.

Arrested and brought for his first hearing before the bishop on December 16, 1644, Castro stated that his name was José de Lis, that he was a Jew, son of Jewish parents, Abraham Meatoga and Sarah Meatoga, and that he had been born in Avignon.[50] He had left his parents at an early age for Tartas, and later for Bordeaux and Paris, where he had studied philosophy and the first principles of medicine. He pretended to be a Christian by participating at the Mass and making confessions.

At a second hearing before the bishop, Castro declared that under the influence of his religious teachers at a Catholic university, he realized that the Law of Moses was not good and then he—a circumcized Jew—began to perform Christian rites. He had left Dutch Brazil and had come to Bahia in order to receive baptism there.

Isaac de Castro's presentation of his case was very clever, because the Holy Inquisition in Portugal did not persecute Jews who never had been Catholics. Only persons of Jewish origin who had been born Catholic, or those born Jews and baptized later who had deserted Catholicism openly or secretly, were subject to the Inquisition and were considered apostates.

The bishop of Bahia, however, understood very well the stratagem of Isaac de Castro—a stratagem used by many who had been denounced as apostates. The bishop declared that Isaac de Castro's statements were "cynical, repugnant, and contradictory" and imprisoned him. Among his belongings, Castro's *tefillin* (phylacteries) were seized. The extradition of the prisoner by the tribunal of the Inquisition in Lisbon was ordered, and he and the minutes of the proceedings in Bahia were sent overseas in January, 1645. On March 15, 1645, Isaac de Castro entered the prison of the Inquisition in Lisbon.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:03 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

On June 22, 1645, at his first hearing in Lisbon, Isaac de Castro admitted the true identity of his parents and himself. The names of his parents were Cristovão Luis and Isabel de Paz, and they were natives of Bragança, Portugal. They were New Christians who had left Portugal for Tartas, France. His own name was Tomas Luis, but he did not admit that he had ever been baptized. He related the following story: His mother had told him that, on the occasion of his baptism, she had fraudulently substituted another child for him. For this reason he believed that he had never had any obligation to the Roman Catholic Church and was free to practice Judaism.

In the course of later hearings Castro stated that his parents and their children had left France for Amsterdam, where his father and his father's sons were circumcized and openly professed Judaism. His father then assumed the name Abraham de Castro and he the name Isaac de Castro.

He had left Amsterdam for Pernambuco and had escaped from there to Bahia because of a certain homicide ("de certo homicidio") he had committed. Poor Isaac tried everything to escape from the snare, knowing well that the main thing was to convince his prosecutors that he had never been a Catholic. But his efforts were unsuccessful. The tribunal did not believe his story, and there were depositions of witnesses that Isaac de Castro had come to Bahia with the intention to teach there the faith and ceremonies of the Law of Moses ("com o intento de ensinar ahi a crença e ceremonias da ditta Ley"). The tribunal was of the opinion that the Jews who had sent him to teach the Torah to the Marranos in Bahia had instructed him to try to liberate himself, in case of imprisonment, by asserting that he was never baptized.

The tribunal decided that Isaac de Castro was a baptized Christian, and that his duty was to comply with all the doctrines of the Holy Roman Church. The accused then was advised to discharge his conscience in order to save his soul and in the interest of a good course for his trial. From now on the Holy Office tried by all means to reduce (*reduzir*) the young man to Catholicism.

Isaac de Castro understood now that there was no hope for him to be set free to travel home to his family in Amsterdam, and that the price he was expected to pay for not being burned alive was to abjure the Jewish faith and embrace Catholicism, as most imprisoned apostates in his situation did. It must have been then that he decided to perish for

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:03 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

his faith as a martyr *al Kiddush ha-Shem*, for the sanctification of God's name.

During subsequent hearings Isaac de Castro made the following statements.

Since he had attained the age of reason he had lived in conformity with the Law of Moses, because he was convinced that it was the better one. He understood that non-Israelites could obtain salvation through the precepts of nature, but he himself, and all the descendants of the twelve tribes subject to the laws of the Israelitic people, could obtain salvation only through the Law of Moses. These were the reasons why he professed Judaism, and he was determined even to give up his life for it (*até dar a vida por ella*). Isaac further declared that he was observing Judaism with firm conviction, recommending himself seven times a day to the God of heaven and earth in whom alone he believed. He observed the Jewish holidays and fast days, exercising such care that whenever he was uncertain as to the exact date of a particular fast day he would not eat for two or three days in order to be sure that he did not miss the exact day. He was especially careful to observe the Day of Atonement, and for forty days he observed the customary Jewish rites, fasting during the last ten days of the forty, known as the days of repentance.[51] Isaac further confessed that he used to observe the Feast of Weeks (*Shabuot*) and the Feast of Tabernacles (*Sukkot*) as well as all the Jewish ceremonies that he was able to perform. He only regretted that he could not do this with complete perfection. He refrained from eating any food forbidden by Jewish law and any meat of animals not slaughtered in conformity with ritual law. He had observed all the aforementioned fast-days, holidays, ceremonies, all the 613 precepts (*mizvot*), and others enacted by the sages, with such caution and simulation that the Catholics considered him a Catholic, the Calvinists a Calvinist, and the Jews a Jew. Only the Jews, however, knew what his true profession of faith was. He had lived in this manner until he had been imprisoned in Bahia. Determined to surrender his life for his faith, while imprisoned in Lisbon he continued to observe, to the best of his ability, the Sabbath, holidays, and fast days, and to offer his prayers.

During the years 1645 to 1647, several learned friars discussed matters of faith with Isaac de Castro and endeavored to convert him to Catholicism. In the name of Christ he was vehemently reprimanded and called

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:03 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

upon to open "the eyes of his soul" in order to see the light of the truth, that, by the coming of Christ to the world, the prophecies which dealt with the Messiah had been fulfilled and the Law of Moses abrogated. The belief in the Law of Moses was not only dead but deadly as well. Salvation exists only through the evangelical law and the faith in Christ. Several passages of the Bible and their interpretations were discussed. The friars tried again and again to convince Isaac that the appearance of Christ meant the fulfillment of all the promises made by God to the Jewish people, because Christ was the Messiah. Isaac's reaction was that the passages quoted from the Scriptures had been falsified. He declared that he knew very well that he would be treated with compassion by the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition were he to accept the Catholic religion; but, he would not lie, because he had made up his mind not to surrender the Jewish faith.

The officers of the Holy Inquisition finally came to the conclusion that Isaac de Castro could not be convinced to renounce Judaism and that he had no intention whatsoever of accepting Catholicism.

The general solicitor of the Holy Office then presented the criminal bill of complaint against the accused. A copy was handed over to him. Isaac replied in conformity with his former statements.

The Holy Inquisition then made new efforts to convert the defendant. Again many friars renewed discussions with him and tried to convince him, but in vain. Castro refused to ask for pardon and pity, and again and again repeated that he wanted to give up his life for the Law of Moses. When, during his hearing of November 15, 1647, the viaticum passed in the street in front of the courtroom, the Inquisitors went on their knees and ordered Isaac de Castro to do the same. This he refused to do.

The tribunal saw in his obstinacy a danger and was afraid that this attitude would "pervert and infect" (*peruerta e inficione*) other persons with his "false opinions and heresies", and on November 17, 1647, it condemned the defendant to be handed over to the lay justice (*relaxado a Justiça secular*), the standard expression used by the tribunals of the Inquisition for capital punishment. The sentence read:

> Invoking the name of Jesus Christ, we declare the delinquent José de Lis or Isaac de Castro guilty and confessed of the crime of heresy and apostasy, and that he was and presently is a heretic and apostate of our holy faith. He is condemned

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:04 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

to the major excommunication, to confiscation of all his belongings in favour of the fisc and the Royal Chamber, and to other legal penalties established against similar delinquents. And as a heretic apostate, convicted and confessed, professing, affirmative, and stubborn, we condemn him to be released to the secular Justice asking them with much instance, to treat him kindly and mercifully, and not to proceed with the penalty of death or the effusion of blood.[52]

Isaac de Castro appeared at the auto-da-fé on Sunday, December 15, 1647, together with thirty-four other Jews on Terreiro do Paço (the square before the royal palace) in front of the apartment of the queen. For the great spectacle the king and queen of Portugal, their children, all the principal authorities, the ambassador of England, the diplomatic representative of France Monsieur Lasnier, and the people of Lisbon were present. The ceremony of the auto-da-fé began with a procession from the courthouse of the Inquisition to the Square of the Royal Palace, where a large scaffold had been erected. In front of the procession, the standard of the Holy Inquisition was carried, followed by the religious orders of Lisbon. Following them came, in sequence, those condemned to light and more severe penalties, wearing a special linen garment of yellow color with different paintings on it, carrying torches in their hands. The last to walk in the procession of the condemned were those who were to suffer the penalty of death. They were preceded by a crucifix with the face of Christ turned to them. Their garments were painted with grotesque figures of devils and imaginative pictures of the condemned in the midst of flames. Their heads were covered with high, pointed caps. Those condemned to capital punishment were accompanied by their confessors, almost always Jesuits. In Lisbon they were also followed by the brotherhood of Saint George.

When the procession had arrived in the square and the authorities and the condemned had taken their reserved places on the scaffold, a sermon was delivered by a high ecclesiastical authority and then the victims stepped forward in groups of six to hear, on their knees before an altar, the sentence for the first time, read publicly, and then to pronounce the formulas of abjuration of their errors.

After the notification of sentence the condemned man still had one possibility open to save his life. He had only to declare that he had decided to embrace Catholicism, and the death sentence would be commuted to *carcere perpetuo*. Literally, this meant perpetual prison,

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:04 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

but it was in practice a prison sentence of from three to five years or, sometimes, only confinement in a monastery or in a certain village in Portugal, Angola, Africa, or Brazil.

The spectacle of the auto-da-fé having ended, those condemned to death were, in Lisbon, brought to the Relação (the Supreme Court of Secular Justice) where the penalty of death was directly pronounced.

At this time the delinquent had the privilege of declaring that he desired to die a Catholic. In that case he would not be burned alive at the stake, but granted an easier death. He would be strangled with an iron collar tightened by a screw (garrote), and only then would his body be delivered to the flames. It is a matter of fact that among about twenty-five thousand persons who appeared at the Portuguese autos-da-fé during more than two hundred years, about one thousand were condemned to capital punishment, and only a few of them had the strength of character to be burned alive for their faith.

The sentence usually was not carried out on the day of the auto-da-fé, but a day or a few days later. On the last page of the original minutes of the trial of Isaac de Castro we find a handwritten certificate by João de Moraes Homen, clerk of the criminal court in Lisbon, dated January 3, 1648, stating that he had assisted in the execution of José de Lis, alias Isaac de Castro, and had seen him burned alive at the stake.

The diplomatic agent of France in Lisbon, M. Lasnier, sent a special report, dated December 30, 1647, concerning the case of Isaac de Castro to his chief, Cardinal Mazarin, in Paris. He had become involved in this case because Isaac de Castro had lived (and probably was born in) Tartas in Gascony, and was therefore considered a Frenchman by the tribunal of the Inquisition. The Inquisitors invited Lasnier to interrogate Castro concerning his stay in France and what he did there. Lasnier also tried to convince him to convert to Catholicism. Isaac told Lasnier that he would be happy to do anything for him that was based on human motives (*considération humaine*), but that he could do nothing that would conflict with his conscience. He listened to everyone who talked to him about conversion and thanked them with courtesy and civility. Isaac spoke different languages, Lasnier reported. Lasnier further relates that he assisted at the auto-da-fé on December 15, 1647, where the twenty-two-year-old Isaac appeared, and that he visited him thereafter at the secular supreme court and also assisted at the execution. As Lasnier

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:05 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

recorded de Castro's end, "he always persisted in his unfortunate faith, to the last breath crying in a loud voice *Ely, Adonai, Sabahot*, never has such resolution and perseverance been seen.[53]

We have not been able to find other documentation by eye-witnesses of the execution.

There is, however, a manuscript from the second half of the nineteenth century which contains a list of autos-da-fé, with corrections and annotations by Antonio Joaquim Moreira. In it there is a note on the trial of Isaac de Castro which reads as follows: "He was burnt alive calling for *Adonai Sabahoth* (the Lord of Hosts)."[54] We were unable to find any documentary evidence for the statement of Ishac Cardoso, made in 1679, oft-repeated by historians who have dealt with the case, that Isaac de Castro expired reciting the *Shema*, the Jewish confession of monotheistic faith.[55] Cardoso de Béthencourt, who possessed a copy of Lasnier's report and had read Moreira's annotation, strangely stated that Isaac de Castro had expired reciting the *Shema* aloud, citing Moreira's note as his source.[56] It seems most probable that Isaac de Castro recited the *Shema* and expired with the words *Ely, Adonai, Sabahot* as recorded by the eyewitness, Monsieur Lasnier. As for the exact date of Castro's execution, Cardoso asserted that he was burned alive at the stake on December 22, 1647.[57] Béthencourt gave January 3, 1648, as the date of execution.[58] However, from a manuscript, in the Algemeen Rijksarchief at The Hague we can establish the fact that the execution occurred on December 15, 1647, the very day of the auto-da-fé. The horrible news reached Isaac de Castro's relatives in Amsterdam in a letter dated Lisbon, December 21, 1647. This is mentioned in the request of the representatives of the "Jewish Nation" in Amsterdam to the States General of the United Netherlands, dated January 27, 1648, asking its intervention with the king of Portugal in favor of other Dutch Brazilian Jews who were at that time prisoners of the Inquisition in Lisbon.[59]

The case of Isaac de Castro caused a great stir among Christians and, especially, among Jews in different parts of the world. In Amsterdam, where his parents and brothers (who were prominent in the book printing business) lived, he was greatly mourned. The *hakham* Saul Levi Mortera delivered a *hesped* (funeral oration) on the heroic martyr.[60] Solomon de Oliveyra mourned him in a Hebrew poem,[61] and Jona Abrabanel in Spanish.[62]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:05 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The *hakham* Menasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam mentions the famous case in his book *Mikveh Israel*, published in 1650. The passage reads:

> Ishak de Castro, Tartas, an acquaintance of mine, a young intelligent man, knowing Greek and Latin literature, had left from here for Pernambuco, I do not know by what fate, and arrived there a captive of the Portuguese as if he were encircled by carnivorous wolves. They sent him to Lisbon, where he was tyrannically imprisoned and burned alive at the age of twenty-four, not because of any treason he had committed since he had defended his place as he was obligated to do under military law, as our people are doing in that province, where they, because of their fidelity, are entrusted with the most important positions. But who could imagine that such a thing would happen because he refused to believe in anyone but the one God who created heaven and earth.[63]

This passage shows that even such an important contemporary as the *hakham* Menasseh ben Israel, who certainly was acquainted with Isaac de Castro from the synagogue and religious schools in Amsterdam, as well as with his family, did not have the slightest idea why Isaac had left Amsterdam for Dutch Brazil and therefore had a completely erroneous notion concerning the reason for his imprisonment. Menasseh thought that Isaac had been captured by the Portuguese during the performance of his duty in the militia of Dutch Brazil[64] whereas, actually, Isaac had voluntarily come to Portuguese Bahia. Menasseh ben Israel's testimony confirms the statement of Monsieur Lasnier that Isaac de Castro was a very cultured young man who seems to have known Latin, Greek, French, Portuguese, Hebrew and probably Dutch and Spanish.

The question remains: Why did a sixteen-year-old boy leave his parents and Amsterdam in the first place, for distant Brazil, and then Dutch Brazil for Portuguese Brazil, to be seized by the authorities there? Cardoso, in 1679, reported that Isaac de Castro had lived in "Prahiva" (Parahiba) and was warned by his relatives and friends before leaving for Bahia that he would run the risk of being denounced there as a Jew and imprisoned by the Inquisition, and that his answer was that he would in such a case "sanctify the name of God" (*sanctificaria el nombre del Senor*). Cardoso further stated that Isaac had written to his parents in Amsterdam, before leaving Parahiba, that he intended to leave for Rio de Janeiro in order "to see whether he could bring some of his relatives, who lived there, to the fear of God" (*a ver si podia conduzir a algunos de sus parientes, que alla estavan, al temor Divino*) and they should

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:05 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

not expect any letter from him for four years.[65] This Jewish-Dutch source corresponds with the deposition of Catholic witnesses mentioned above, namely, that Isaac had come to Portuguese Brazil in order to teach Judaism among crypto-Jews.

We have another reason to believe that this is the historical truth. On January 1, 1647, during a hearing before the tribunal of the Inquisition in Lisbon, Isaac de Castro made detailed depositions concerning seventy-six Jews and their families, who were his acquaintances, residing in various parts of Dutch Brazil. He revealed their names, ages, often their former names as Catholics, where they had come from to Brazil or whether they had been born in Brazil, and, for some of them, whether they knew Hebrew well. He was well acquainted with Jews who had been living in Recife, Parahiba, Porto Calvo, Villa de Garacu, Olinda, Alagóa, and Mauricia in 1644. His statements could not harm these people while they were residents of Dutch Brazil, and his depositions have been of great historical value and help in identifying Brazilian Jews known only by aliases.

The fact that a young man of nineteen years knew so many details about seventy-six Jewish families residing in so many places in Dutch Brazil, that he was a learned and cultured young man familiar with many languages, of strong character and a zealot—in addition to the aforementioned depositions of witnesses and the statement of Cardoso (which may not have been based on documentary proof but on facts given to him by Isaac's brothers and Jews who had returned from Dutch Brazil to Amsterdam)—makes us believe that Isaac de Castro really was an emissary sent to Portuguese Brazil to communicate with New Christians there who needed spiritual guidance.

The Dutch Defeated

For a long time after the defeat at Guararapes, the Dutch did not dare to face an encounter with the enemy on land. Several ships of the Dutch fleet landed in the vicinity of Bahia in February, 1649, burned 23 sugar mills, and returned to Recife. Shortly thereafter, on February 17, 1649, the Dutch, with a force of 3,510 soldiers under the command of Colonel Brinck, sought out the enemy. They occupied the highlands of Guararapes, which had been captured by the Portuguese in the battle

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:05 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

of 1648, but on February 19, 1649 the Dutch suffered complete defeat. Their total losses, 855 dead and 90 prisoners, included 173 commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The rest of the soldiers escaped. The Dutch were, after the second battle of Guararapes, granted the right to bury their dead.

The Dutch commission was accompanied by Moses Navarro, who served as interpreter. After the burial, the Dutch captain in command of the troops, accompanied by Navarro, paid a call to General Barreto. On this occasion Vieira was brought from his nearby farm in order to dispel rumors of his death, widespread in Bahia at the time.[66] This second defeat on Guararapes dealt the final blow to the Dutch. Although Recife was short of money and provisions and the city's population had been verging on starvation for several years, Barreto could not conquer Recife by land, because it still received assistance and supplies by sea. What he required was the cooperation of a Portuguese fleet.

As early as 1621, Portuguese New Christians had suggested that their country establish a trading company similar to those founded by the Dutch. The company founded in 1628 was, as we have seen, a failure; it was liquidated in 1633. In 1649 the venture was taken up again by the Portuguese Crown. The initiative this time was taken by Duarte da Silva, one of the richest New Christians of Portugal, who had been enthusiastically recommended by his friend the famous Antonio Vieira in 1644. The Inquisition and João IV still refused agreement in 1647. In 1649, João decided to accept the idea in spite of the opposition of the Pope and the Holy Office (who were not even consulted this time by the king). The idea was that New Christians, in whose hands the capital and commerce of Portugal were concentrated at that time, should give the necessary money for the foundation of a chartered Brazil Company and establish an armada of 36 units. This fleet was to protect the Portuguese merchant vessels that brought sugar and other goods from unoccupied Brazil to Portugal and returned with different kinds of goods from Portugal to Brazil. The countervalue for the New Christians was to be that the capital of the New Christian shareholders should be exempt from confiscation by the Inquisition.

The company was to finance a great expedition for the reconquest of Brazil, for which New Christians were to furnish the capital. An introduction to the royal decree of February 6, 1649, points out how

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:07 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

necessary it was to found a company in order to dispossess the northern heretics of the Portuguese colonies. The company was to be composed of great Portuguese merchants and *gente da nação* (people of the Nation). It was necessary to equip 36 war ships, whose function it would be to protect commercial shipping. The Crown should not be expected to contribute to this project. It is expressly stated that, in the future, persons arrested or sentenced by the Inquisition for "heresy, apostacy, Judaism" should not suffer confiscation of their fortunes but be permitted to dispose of them in favor of Catholics. Those who were not susceptible to conversion and chose to persist in their Jewish fallacies even unto death, were to form an exception to this rule.[67]

On March 8, 1649, the Companhia Geral para o Estado do Brazil was established. Its statutes, comprising 52 articles, reveal that the company was granted the sole rights to supply Brazil with wine, oil, flour, and *bacalhau* (codfish) and to levy taxes on imports. Further, it had a monopoly on the importing of dyewood from Brazil, also sugar, cotton, tobacco, hides, and the like. The contract was signed by a number of financiers, among them Francisco Botelho Chação, Afonso Serrão da Silveira, Duarte da Silveira, Gaspar Dias Mesquita, and many others.[68] The total capital raised, however, was not more than 1,250,000 cruzados, which was sufficient to finance only half of the company's naval program.[69] The majority of the New Christians in Portugal could only with difficulty be persudaded to invest funds in the company. Only too well aware that the Portuguese Crown was given to ruses, they were not deceived as to the value of the *Alvaras* (royal decrees) which granted concessions to the *gente da nação* and withdrew them again as soon as the Crown saw fit. Notwithstanding, the bulk of the money subscribed, 1,255,000 cruzados, came from the leading New Christian merchants of Lisbon.[70] The company's first fleet sailed to Bahia on November 4, 1649. The author of the idea, the above-mentioned Duarte da Silva, had meanwhile been imprisoned as a Judaizer, appeared at the auto-da-fé of December 1, 1652, abjured *de vehementi* and been condemned to deportation for five years to Brazil. He was, however, liberated shortly afterward.[71]

In the meantime, the population of Recife, under siege, suffered from chronic starvation, lack of funds with which to pay the troops, and a general atmosphere of discontent.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:08 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Holland now decided to equip another great relief expedition for Brazil. Portugal sent Antonio de Sousa de Maçedo as her new ambassador to The Hague, with authority to discuss a solution to the problem of Brazil. The negotiations began in March, 1651. In return for the desired evacuation of Brazil, Portugal offered: (1) the sum of 3 million cruzados; (2) the trade in salt obtained from Setubal, Portugal; (3) free trade with Brazil for the Dutch; and (4) 300,000 cruzados for the orphans of the Dutch province of Zeeland. The ten-year truce between Holland and Portugal was soon to expire, but the Dutch were unreasonable enough to decline these offers. They broke off negotiations and suggested to the Portuguese ambassador that he leave Holland. The news of the negotiations at The Hague and of the possible sale of Brazil gave rise to great unrest and, indeed, panic in Recife. Morale became lower and lower, and there were many cases of desertion among the troops. The situation was aggravated by a long period of drought, particularly in Parahiba and Rio Grande. The expected relief expedition from Holland did not arrive; Holland had meanwhile been forced to face other problems. In 1651 Cromwell promulgated the Navigation Acts, intended as a death-blow to Dutch shipping. Holland now required her entire fleet to keep England away from her shores and, in 1651, even found it necessary to recall two Dutch warships from Brazil. For many months not a single European ship landed in Recife. At the same time, the people under siege in Recife were cut off from all routes to the interior of Dutch Brazil by the Portuguese. English cruisers began to capture Brazilian ships in 1652. In 1653 a Dutch envoy came to Lisbon to discuss the partition of Brazil. Due to the conflict with England, however, the international position of the Dutch had deteriorated. In addition, another expedition to Brazil by the Companhia Geral para o Estado do Brazil was in preparation. In view of these circumstances, Portugal declined the Dutch proposals. The authorities in Recife decided to send three emissaries to Holland. Abraham de Açevedo was chosen to represent the Jews, and Gaspar van Heussen and Jacob Hamel were to speak on behalf of the Dutch. They carried an official letter, dated July 16, 1652, from the Recife government. It suggested that if the war against England made it impossible to aid Dutch Brazil, negotiations should at least be taken up with Portugal. In case the colony had to be surrendered, a guarantee of freedom of person

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:08 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

and property should be secured for the Dutch, the Jews, and the Indians.[72] The inclusion of a Jewish representative among the three deputies indicates that the Jews in Recife, thanks to their numbers, their financial assistance to the government, and their loyalty, had become a very important factor. We are not a little surprised however, to see from the pertinent documents that Açevedo's colleagues, Heussen and Hamel, attempted without his knowledge to secure a restriction of Jewish rights in Dutch Brazil. The charter granted the Jews on December 7, 1645, was a thorn in the flesh of the Dutch in Brazil, who could not calmly face the fact that the Jews' patriotism and their sacrifices in lives and property had steadily increased their prestige in Holland. This attitude is clearly revealed by a letter which John van Raesvelt, a member of the Council of Justice in Recife, wrote to Constantijn Huygens, secretary to the Prince of Orange at The Hague on April 20, 1649. He mentions that the Jews, at the time of the greatest emergency, had lent money to the government and that they enjoyed the latter's favor. On the other hand, he points out, the Jews' sacrifices did not deserve much appreciation; they were numerous in Brazil and had come to the country poor and destitute, acquiring riches to the detriment of the Christians. The money they had lent to the government had been sucked from the people's substance.[73] As soon as Açevedo learned of his colleagues' intrigues, he enlisted the support of the representatives of the Jewish communities in Amsterdam and Recife. He received full authority to act on behalf of the Jews of Amsterdam. One of his petitions to the authorities in Holland contains the following words: "The said Jewish Nation have always been willing and vigilant in keeping guard by day and by night, like the other inhabitants there. As a result, several of them, while on guard, were shot dead by the enemy." The petition was signed by Abraham de Açevedo "in the name of the Jewish nation of Amsterdam as well as of Brazil."[74] On December 18, 1653, Aaron de Pina, Jacob Drago, and Jacob de Lemos, members of the executive committee of Congregation Zur Israel of Recife (called the "Elders of the Jewish Nation" in Dutch documents) appeared before the Recife government and reported that they had received letters from Holland stating that one or both of the Brazilian deputies had spoken against the rights of the Jews. They asked whether the government knew what had transpired. The Recife government replied that it was completely

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:08 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

uninformed, and that the two deputies had acted without its knowledge.[75]

Ever since the beginning of the insurrection, cautious Dutchmen and Jews had attempted to leave Dutch Brazil. First to return to Holland were most of the Reformed ministers, who, in 1645, had escaped from the interior to Recife upon approach of the rebels. While Rabbi Isaac Aboab remained in Recife to the very end to help his congregation in its distress and, by his prayers and sermons, give it courage, hope, and strength during the bitter years from 1645 to 1654, the Calvinist preachers escaped to Holland as quickly as they could. Waetjen commented: "The rats were leaving the sinking ship."[76] For the average citizen, however, it was not easy to leave Dutch Brazil. There was a lack of shipping space. Since the fall of 1645, no shipments had come from the interior to Recife. As a result, there were no exports, and vessels did not come to pick up cargoes. Moreover, most merchants were indebted to the West India Company, particularly for purchases of Negro slaves, and no one was permitted to leave Dutch Brazil unless he had paid his debts.[77] As we see from the statutes of Congregation Zur Israel, Jews who wished to obtain a passport were also required to deposit a sum prescribed by the Mahamad as a contribution to the payment of debts incurred by the Jewish community as a whole.[78] Most people, impoverished by the crises and lack of communications with their debtors in the interior of Dutch Brazil, were unable to raise the funds necessary for travel. Calado reports that many Jews wished to embark for Holland as early as 1645, but only three of them succeeded in doing so, and those at great expense.[79] In January, 1646, thirteen Jews embarked for Holland on the vessel *Zeelandia* by permission of the Supreme Council.[80] A letter written in Holland in February, 1646, informs us that a vessel carrying 148 passengers, "mostly Jews," had suffered shipwreck near the Isle of Wight, and that 120 of the passengers perished.[81]

On February 26, 1648, the Supreme Council reported to Holland that Luis de Mercado, a debtor of the West India Company, had succeeded in departing without permission, although, according to a proclamation, no one without a passport was allowed to leave or to be given passage on a vessel.[82] In February, 1653, Councilor van Goch, without the permission of the Dutch government, departed for Holland. Two other members of the Recife government, Messrs Schonenburgh and

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:09 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Haecxs, disheartened by the lack even of promises of assistance, threatened to depart in the spring of 1654. On December 18, 1653, the Jewish merchant Fernão Martin da Silva received permission to return on his private yacht, *Schutter*, the six Negro fishermen who had been raised in Martinique, since he had no way of employing them in Brazil.[83] A number of wealthy Jews remained in Recife to the end, although they could no doubt have made arrangements to leave the country. Probably they stayed on partly because of their sense of responsibility toward the Jewish community of several hundred persons, and partly because they owned reserves of dyewood, received from the government in lieu of payment, and real estate and other assets which they did not wish to abandon. From an inventory of all the houses in Recife and Mauricia, made by officers of the Portuguese Royal Treasury on February 20, 1654, we can see that the following persons, named in the inventory as "Judeos," owned one or several houses. It also tells us exactly where they were located. The owners were Jacob Valverde, Moses Netto, Jacob Zacuto, João de Lafaia, Jacob Fundão, Gil Correia, Gabriel Castanha, Gaspar Francisco da Costa, Moses Navarro, Abraham de Açevedo, Fernao Martins, Duarte Saraiva, David Atias, Benjamin de Pina, and David Brandão.[84]

The three deputies despatched to Holland were unable to obtain either military assistance or ships for the repatriation of the Dutch, the Jews, and the troops. The war with England made very great demands on Holland's resources, and the country could spare neither money nor ships. On December 20, 1653, the second expedition equipped by the Companhia Geral para o Estado do Brasil, consisting of 13 men-of-war and 64 merchant ships, arrived at Recife. After Pedro Jaques de Magalhaes, chief of the expedition, had disembarked, he held a council of war with General Barreto and other high-ranking officers in Olinda. A land attack on Recife was decided upon. Although the Dutch still had sufficient men, munitions, and food for another year, their morale by this time was assumed to be so low as to make it advisable to take advantage of the situation before any change occurred. On January 15, 1654, an attack on the outer fortifications began, and on the same night Fort Rego capitulated with 8 officers and 70 soldiers. On January 19, 1654, Fort Altenar surrendered. The 185 soldiers in the latter fortress forced Berghen, the commandant, to hoist the white flag. In view of

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:09 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

steadily increasing difficulties, representatives of the population were appointed to assist the government in its decisions. The two representatives of the Jews were Aaron de Pina Sarfatti and Jacob Navarro. It was decided to continue resistance to the Portuguese attack.[85] In the evening of January 21, Vidal occupied the fortress of Amelia, and on the following day he advanced toward Fort Cinco Pontas and bombarded it with cannonfire. The conquest of Fort Cinco Pontas threatened to cut off Recife's supply of drinking water. The troops in Recife were unwilling to continue fighting. The government learned that soldiers in the city's streets had said they would prefer to pillage the houses, particularly the home of the Jew Joseph Frances, who at the time was evidently considered the richest Jew in Recife. Talk to this effect had been overheard by Abraham Cohen, and the rumors caused great alarm in the city. The military commander was unable to discover those who had indulged in such conversation, and he therefore mobilized the entire population to provide protection from pillaging by his own troops.[86] On the same day a meeting of the military and civil authorities took place. It was unanimously decided that an understanding with the enemy should be reached at the earliest opportunity, in order to get the best possible terms and to avoid shedding the blood of innocent women and children.[87] In the afternoon of the 23d, Captain Falloo took a message to General Barreto. He returned the same evening and, on January 24, accompanied by Messrs With and Brest, again called upon General Barreto. The visit was repeated on January 25, and, on January 26, 1654, at 11:00 P.M., the capitulation agreement was signed at Taborda, near Recife. So ended the colonial adventure of the Dutch and the Jews in Brazil—in disaster.

While Portugal rewarded the victors, General Barreto, André Vidal, and João Fernandes Vieira, with honors and important posts, Sigismund Schoppe, the Dutch military commander of Recife, as well as Schonenburgh and Haecxs, members of the former Recife government, were arrested upon their return to Holland. They were charged with neglect in the defense and administration of the colony, but were acquitted after a long trial. Without the assistance of troops, warships, and munitions from Holland, Dutch Brazil was unable to maintain itself. Such aid had not been forthcoming, at first for lack of funds and later because Holland required all of her ships for the war against England. Moreover, the Dutch had fought in foreign terrain, with an army of mercenaries

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:09 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

interested only in their pay and in a speedy return to Europe, that is, with a fighting force motivated by purely economic interests. The Portuguese population of Brazil, on the other hand, which fought in its own country and was supported by troops and ships from Portugal had waged a war of liberation against intruders who were of a different faith, that is, against Calvinists and Jews. The Portuguese-Brazilian rebels were thus inspired by material as well as patriotic and religious motives, and they fought fanatically until final victory was achieved, just as the Dutch had fought their war of liberation against Spain in the not too distant past. The expulsion of the Dutch marked the beginning of national feeling in Brazil.

The Dutch-English War was terminated by the Treaty of Westminster on April 5, 1654. In 1657, Holland prepared a great expedition, which it planned to send to Lisbon to dictate a peace settlement providing for the return of Brazil, Angola, and São Thomé. At this point, however, difficulties arose with Sweden, and the execution of Holland's plan was delayed. Hostilities ensued, and Holland had to part with Ceylon and Negapatnam in India. On August 6, 1661, a peace treaty was signed. In return for an indemnity in the amount of 8 million florins, a guarantee of freedom of the seas and of trade (with the exception of dyewood) in all of Portugal's possessions, including Brazil, the right of free settlement and freedom of worship for the Dutch, as well as the return of the artillery left in Recife, Holland renounced all her claims to Brazil, Angola, and São Thomé. The sum of 8 million florins was to be payable in sixteen annual installments, either in cash or in sugar, salt, and tobacco.

Brazil maintained its hold in the imagination of the Dutch people for a long time to come. In 1772, the Dutch poet Onno Zwier van Haren wrote the following lines:[88]

Verzuimd Brasil! O Ryke velden
Wier aard' is Diamant en goud!
Uw laaste rampen gaan zig melden
Nu Bankert u niet meer behoud!
Vergeefs heeft Post, Olindas Kerken
Verwoest voor onse nieuwe Werken
Met Nassau wykt het wuft geluk:
De Plaats, de naamen, zijn verlooren,
Die d'Overwinnaar had verkooren
In 't heedendaagsche Fernambucq!

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:09 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

VI. Jewish Communities in Dutch Brazil

The Number of Jews in Dutch Brazil, 1630–54[1]

THE STATEMENT THAT IN 1654 more than five thousand Jews lived in Dutch Brazil has been accepted and repeated by many historians. The figure was first given by the Portuguese historian Dom Luis de Menezes, count of Ericeyra (1632–90).[2] In his account, the explanation for the capitulation of Recife after only slight Dutch resistance was to be found chiefly in the fact that in January, 1654, the five thousand Jews who lived there accused the Dutch officers and soldiers of planning to plunder the Jews before surrendering the city to the Portuguese, and the Jews therefore anxiously implored the Dutch government to capitulate.

It is true that, according to the rumors in Recife on January 22, 1654, soldiers had been heard to say that they would rather pillage the houses in the city, and especially the home of the Jew Joseph Frances. These rumors caused great alarm. But the decisive reason for the capitulation by the Dutch was the simple fact that a large Portuguese fleet had been lying off Recife since December 20, 1653, while the city was besieged by land, and the Dutch had no ships for defense. Because of the first Anglo-Dutch War of 1652–54, the Netherlands needed its entire fleet in Europe and could spare no ships for Brazil. "With the command of the sea now gone, Dutch hopes for relief sank to zero."[3] The commander of the Portuguese-Brazilian land army of liberation, General Francisco Barreto took advantage of the arrival of the Portuguese fleet to launch a general attack on the outer fortifications of Recife on January 15, 1654. Within a few days he conquered the forts of Rego, Altenar, and Amelia;

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:10 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

on January 22, Barreto bombarded the fort of Cinco Pontas, threatening to cut off the city from its supply of drinking water.[4]

On the afternoon of January 22, a meeting was called of the military and civilian authorities of Recife. Their unanimous decision was that an understanding be reached at the earliest possible moment, in order to obtain the best possible terms ("de favorabelste conditien") and avoid the shedding of blood, particularly that of many women and innocent children. Discussion of the terms of surrender was initiated the following day, and the agreement was signed on January 26.[5]

During the seven-year period of prosperity and security under the rule of Johan Maurits van Nassau (1637–44), Jewish immigrants had arrived continually. In a letter to the administrators of the West India Company on December 5, 1637, the *escabinos* of Olinda complained that Dutch Brazil was being flooded with Jews arriving on every boat.[6] A month later, the Classis complained that the Jews were publicly holding divine services in two places in Recife.[7] Documents show that in 1638, two ships brought two hundred Jews from Holland under the leadership of Manoel Mendes de Crasto. Another large group is said to have arrived in 1642 in the company which included the *hakhamim* Isaac Aboab de Fonseca and Moses Raphael de Aguilar.[8]

Undoubtedly the Jewish population of Dutch Brazil reached its peak in 1645, before the outbreak of the rebellion against Dutch rule. The government census of that year may be broken down as follows:[9]

Army personnel	3,050
Native Indians (called Brazilians)	3,583
Negro slaves	2,671
Wives and children of employees of the West India Company	500
Vrijluyden (civilians: white Hollanders, Portuguese Jews, free persons not in the service of the West India Company)	2,899
Total	12,703

The 2,899 "civilians" were distributed as follows:

Recife	855 men	
	452 women	
	397 children	1,704
Mauricia		685
Itamaracá		150
Parahiba		160
Rio Grande		200

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:10 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

It is obvious that in a total white civilian population of 2,899 there could not have been five thousand or more Jews in the year 1645. The estimate of 1,450 Jews, about one-half of the total civilian white population, is probably truer.

For the years 1648–53, a Jewish census list has been preserved in the *Pinkes* (minute book) of the Congregation Zur Israel of Recife. It contains the signature of about 180 heads of Jewish families. Since in 1645 the ratio of men to women and children in Recife was approximately $1:\frac{1}{2}:\frac{1}{2}$, an optimistic calculation with regard to the Jews, it is reasonable to assume that each male family head represented three additional persons. On this basis we can estimate that in 1648 the total Jewish population of Dutch Brazil did not exceed 720 persons.

After the capitulation in 1654, the Dutch administration prepared and submitted to General Barreto, at his request, a census of the Jews then in the district. Unfortunately the original document has disappeared and no copy is to be found in the Dutch archives, although there is a reference to it in a document dated February 21, 1654.[10] However, in a manuscript of the period 1654–60, we find the statement by a contemporary that, at the time of the capitulation, there were more than 600 Jews in Brazil, all of whom returned safely to Amsterdam.[11]

The conclusion is obvious. On the basis of the documents cited, the number of Jews in Dutch Brazil increased steadily from 1630 on and reached a high point of about 1,450 in 1645. Thereafter the number decreased to about 720 in 1648, and to about 650 in 1654. This was, nevertheless, a large Jewish community for the seventeenth century. The Amsterdam Jewish community numbered only about eighteen hundred in 1655, after the arrival of the Brazilian refugees.[12]

The Congregations Zur Israel and Magen Abraham

The minute book of Congregations Zur Israel of Recife and Magen Abraham of Mauricia, covering the period from 1648 to 1653, fortunately was brought to Amsterdam in 1654. It is well preserved and still quite legible.[13] It contains the regulations (*haskamot*) as revised in a general assembly of the members of the Jewish community in Brazil on November 16, 1648, as well as the tax schedule, the names of the 177 adult members of the community, and records of the meetings of the Mahamad

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:11 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

(executive committee). It provides many insights into the religious economic, and communal life of the state-within-a-state which the Jewish community represented.

The five members of the Mahamad who presided at the mentioned general assembly of the Congregation Zur Israel on November 16, 1648, were Dr. Abraham de Mercado, Jacob Drago, Abraham de Açevedo, Jacob Navarro, and David Dias. In addition, four gentlemen who were well acquainted with the practices of Judaism were co-opted to assist in revising the regulations governing the community. These men were Isaac Atias, Abraham Israel Dias, Jacob Valverde, and Benjamin de Pina Sarfatti. The regulations, it was emphasized, were to serve the dual purpose of improving the divine service and the self-government of the community. They were not confined to religious questions, but were extended to problems of every kind. Forty-two regulations were adopted, dealing with such diverse problems as election procedures, synagogue affairs, education, philanthropy, finances, and administration of justice.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNITY. All the Jews who on November 16, 1648, lived in Dutch Brazil, and all future Jewish immigrants to that country, became members of the Congregation Zur Israel of Recife and were automatically subject to its regulations concerning debts, taxes, and assessments. No discrimination whatsoever against Ashkenazim (Jews not descended from those of Spain or Portugal) can be discovered in the Brazilian regulations, a significant innovation for this period.

CENTRAL CONTROL BY CONGREGATION ZUR ISRAEL. The establishment of any congregations in Brazil other than Zur Israel in Recife and Magen Abraham in Mauricia was prohibited under penalty of excommunication. In the event of an increase in the Jewish population in any part of Brazil, the establishment of new congregations would then receive assistance from Congregation Zur Israel.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND FUNCTIONARIES; THEIR DUTIES. The Mahamad consisted of five members elected for a term of one year by their predecessors, not by a plenary assembly. A system of rotation was adopted whereby two or three members of the Mahamad resigned from their respective offices every six months to be replaced by new officers elected by the incumbent committee. A report of the activities of the Mahamad to all the members of the congregation and/or the concurrence of all its members through a plenary meeting was provided for in certain

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:11 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

instances. Thus the immense power of this executive committee had certain limits in Brazil. Four members of the committee were trustees and one the treasurer. The president was chosen by lot every three months. Men who had been circumcized in Brazil were required to wait a year before being eligible for election to the Mahamad. Apparently this was to insure their having sufficient time to become familiar with Judaism.

The Mahamad elected the *noivos de ley* (bridegrooms of the law), the *gabay de Terra Sancta* (treasurer of the Holy Land), the *gabay de cativos* (treasurer of ransoms for Jews in captivity), the trustees and the treasurer of the *hebra*, the administrator of the Jewish Cemetery, and the administrators of the religious schools. All elections were held by means of balls and a ballot box, and they were determined by the vote of a simple majority. The Mahamad met twice each week to discuss and make decisions on current business.

It was the duty of the Mahamad to protect the property of the Congregation, to provide for the punctual offering of prayers and strict observance of divine services, and to prevent improper behavior within or at the gates of the synagogue. It placed strict prohibitions on controversies concerning matters of religion with non-Jews.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES AND EDUCATION. No one was permitted to change the seat assigned to him in the synagogue. (No mention is made of women in this connection.)

Those honored by being called to the reading of the Torah in the synagogue service were chosen by lot; the other honorary functions in the synagogue were also decided by lot. Recent converts to Judaism and Jews newly arrived from Holland were called to the reading without any election.

Recife had a Talmud Torah school for small boys and an Ez Hayyim Talmud school for older boys.

The conversion of gentiles to Judaism by circumcision of men and admission of women to the ritual bath was allowed only with the prior consent of the Mahamad.

The ninth of Tammuz was declared a day of thanksgiving for the Jews in Dutch Brazil, in commemoration of the arrival on that day, in the year 5409 (1646), of two Dutch ships in the harbor of besieged Recife with food supplies for the starving populace.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:12 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

SOCIAL WELFARE. The relief of the poor was left in the hands of the Mahamad, and private almsgiving was prohibited. The *sedaca* was the general fund of the community. Revenues from taxes, voluntary gifts, organized collections on Purim, and donations and fines were sources of the Congegration's welfare fund.

A special treasurer (*gabay de cativos*) was in charge of ransoming Jews, a service that needed frequently to be performed for those who faced the dangers of pirate infested seas. Another special treasurer was in charge of the relief of Jews residing in the Holy Land. In Recife, Sabbath Nahamu, the Sabbath after Tish'ah'b'Ab, was the day on which pledges were made for donations for the Holy Land.

FINANCES. In principle, the financial expenditures of the Congregation were to be covered by its revenues. The financial system was based upon various sources of income:

1. Taxes on commercial transactions. The Jewish inhabitants of Brazil had to pay in two annual installments to their Congregation a percentage of gross proceeds on all imported goods; on imported or exported money in cash, gold, silver, precious stones, amber, or similar articles; a fixed amount for each case or barrel of sugar shipped or sold on the domestic market; and a percentage for tobacco, conserves, and other commodities. Taxes had also to be paid for the profit made on provisions, on Negro slaves, on the purchase and sale of government bonds, on money exchanged or deposited, on brokerage profits, on the purchase and sale of houses, on booty from privateering, on commodities sold and bought at public auction. All persons subject to taxation were required to submit their books and declarations to the Mahamad for inspection twice a year.

2. *Nedarim* or pledges for charity. Verbal promises to contribute to the *sedaca* and to other charitable funds, to be used for ransom payments, dowries for orphans, and other such purposes, were payable every three months.

3. *Nedabot* or voluntary contributions. Free-will offerings were taken for the aid of the needy residing in Brazil or in the Holy Land.

4. Emigration tax. Jews who wished to leave Brazil were required to pay to the *sedaca* a sum, stipulated by the Mahamad in each case, to assist in the payment of the community's debts. They were not permitted to embark until this tax had been paid.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:12 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

5. Fines. A number of categories were set up to provide for fines to be paid by individuals for various offenses committed. These included improper conduct in the synagogue or at its gates and violations of the regulations of the community.

6. *Finta* or special assessments. In the event all available sources of revenue proved insufficient to cover congregational expenditures, the Mahamad had the right to impose a special assessment upon the members of the community.

JUSTICE AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW. The Mahamad exercised strict control over the legal aspects of community life.

1. Litigation among members of the Congregation. Disputes and civil or criminal suits among members of the Congregation were not to be brought before non-Jewish courts, but were to be submitted to the Mahamad. It was within the discretion of that body to permit the referral of certain suits to the state courts. Without its consent no Brazilian Jew was permitted to testify in the state courts against a fellow Jew.

2. Cases detrimental to the honor of the Congregation. If a Brazilian Jew became subject to the jurisdiction of the state courts because of immoral conduct, the Jewish community abandoned the criminal and refused to be involved, so as not to impair the reputation of the community.

3. Extraordinary offenses. The regulations prohibited and declared to be subject to severe penalties the solicitations of votes or opinions for causing disturbance of the peace of the community; the writing of libelous statements, pamphlets, or letters of denunciation against anyone and the mailing of same to Holland; the misappropriation of letters belonging to others.

4. Law enforcement. The Mahamad had practically dictatorial powers in law enforcement. Its means were moral pressure and religious sanctions, which included the following: refusal of admission to public services at the synagogue, refusal of admission of children of any offender to the religious school and the synagogue, refusal of burial in the Jewish Cemetery, forcing the offender to ask forgiveness of God and the community publicly in the synagogue, and, finally, excommunication of the offender for a short duration. It appears that these means of law enforcement were strong enough to take the place of a police force and a prison.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:12 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The Congregation Magen Abraham in Mauricia had, in 1648, refused to recognize the supremacy of Congregation Zur Israel of Recife and their right to close their synagogue at any time they saw fit. The consequence was an ugly fight between the two congregations which led the executive committee of the Congregation Zur Israel to apply to the Dutch government of Dutch Brazil for a decision. The case was submitted to the Council of Justice and the decision was against the Congregation Magen Abraham.[14] Finally, in January, 1649, the congregations were united. Magen Abraham no longer had a Mahamad. The Mahamad of Zur Israel was to elect a treasurer to collect taxes and donations in Mauricia, and the Jews of Mauricia continued to have their divine services in their own synagogue in Mauricia.[15] The last recorded meeting of the Mahamad of the Jewish Congregations in Brazil was held on September 28, 1653.[16]

The synagogue of Recife was located on the Rua dos Judeos, in a building of two stories, constructed with stone and calk. The Dutch called the street Bockestraet, but after the reconquest of Recife by the Brazilian-Portuguese liberation army it was renamed Rua da Cruz (street of the Cross) and the buildings of the former synagogue and religious schools bore the number 26. In 1879 the street was renamed Rua Bom Jesus. The synagogue building was destroyed at the beginning of the twentieth century and replaced by a building now occupied by a bank. The building today bears the old number 26, as well as the actual present number, 155.[17]

The site of the Jewish Cemetery is indicated on two rare Dutch maps of Recife and Mauricia: it is called "De Jodse Begraef Plaets" on the map of Johannes Vingboons published in 1639, and "Ioden Kerckhof" on the map of Cornelis Golijath published in 1648 by Claes Ians Vischer. The cemetery was located at a great distance from Recife and Mauricia, in the backland which is separated from Mauricia by the river Capibaribe. The Jews, therefore, had to transport their dead on barques until 1644, when the bridges from Recife to Mauricia and from there to the backland were completed. When the rebellion against the Dutch started in the summer of 1645, the Dutch authorities decided to use the excellent palisade work of the Jewish Cemetery for purposes of defense before it could be seized and utilized by rebels.[18]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:12 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Leaders of the Community

Nearly all the 177 members of the Jewish community are known to us by name, either because they are mentioned in the minute book or because their signatures appear in it. Only five of these signatures are illegible.

The foremost ecclesiastical functionary was, of course, the *hakham* or rabbi. The spiritual leader of Recife's Jewish community from 1642 to 1654 was Isaac Aboab de Fonseca, the first rabbi in the New World and one of the most interesting Jewish personalities of the Seventeenth century. He was a Hebrew grammarian, a poet, and a mystic; above all, he was an excellent and very popular preacher. While in Brazil he wrote the historical poem *Zekher asiti leniflaot El*, which has already been mentioned. A year later, in 1647, he prepared a Hebrew grammar, which is as yet unpublished.

Second in importance was the *hazzan* (reader), who led the readings of the prayer in the synagogue and recited the weekly portion of the Pentateuch. Joshua Velozinos was, at least from November of 1648, the *hazzan* of Congregation Zur Israel.

From the greeting of *Hakham* Menasseh ben Israel to the Jews of Dutch Brazil in 1641 we know that the Jewish leaders at that time were David Senior Coronel, Abraham de Mercado, Jacob Mocata,[19] and Isaac Castanho. From the minute book of the Congregations we know that the nine men who assisted in the revision and enactment of the new regulations of the Congregation were Abraham de Mercado, Jacob Drago, Abraham de Açevedo, Jacob Navarro, David Dias, Isaac Atias, Abraham Israel Dias,[20] Jacob Valverde, and Benjamin de Pina Sarfatti. Besides these gentlemen, other members of the Mahamad between 1648 and 1653 were David Atias, Joseph Frances, Jacob de Lemos, Moses d'Oliveira, Eliau Nahmias, Isaac de Silva, Benjamin Barzilai, Jacob Cohen Henriques, Joseph da Costa, Aaron de Silva, Aaron Serfatti, and Samuel da Veiga.

Other ecclesiastical officers of the Congregation, besides the *hakham* and *hazzan*, were Samuel Frazao, *ruby* (teacher); Isaac Nahamias, *shammash* and *ruby* (beadle and teacher); Abram Azubj, *shammash* and *ruby*; and Benjamin Levy, *bodek* (inspector of ritually slaughtered meat).

Jacob da Silva and Joseph Jesurun Mendes were bridegrooms of the law; Isaac Abendana and Moses Drago were treasurers of the Holy Land;

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:13 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

and Samuel Barzilai, David Jesurun Coelho, Abraham Mocata, and Rafael de Mercado were treasurers of ransoms.

In Mauricia, the following men were active in Jewish community life: Isaac Henriques, Moses Israel Pena, Isaac Franco Drago, Isaac Montezinos Mesquita, David Alvares, David Torres, and Jacob Henriques.

List of Members of the Jewish Community in Dutch Brazil as Transcribed from the Minute Book of Congregations Zur Israel and Magen Abraham (1648–54)

Dauid Abendana
Dauid Abendana
Isaque Abendana
Manuel Abendana
Jacob Abendana
Moseh Abenacar
Abraham Jeosua Aboab
Yizhak Aboab [a]
Moseh Aboab
Dauid Aboaf
Mosseh Rel de Aguilar
Joseph S Aluares
David Alvares
Mosses Baruch Alvares
Isaac Atyahs
Dauid Atias
Joseph Atias [b]
Jehosuah Ys: de Avila
Abraham de Azeuedo
Moseh de Azeuedo
Abram Azubj
Isaque Baruh
Benjamy Barzilay
Semuel Barzilay
Joseph Israel Belillos
Daniel Belmonte
Isaac Benhacar e Bomdia
Yosef Bemvenist
Jeudah Bemvenista
Dauid Leui Bomdia
Aráo Burgos
David Burgos
Elyau Burgos
Izaque Canchess
Dauid Cohen Farro
Dauid Cardoso
Simeon Cardoso
Eliau Aboab Cardozo
Salamao Cardozo
Isaque Castanho
Dauid Castiel
Dauid Jesurun Coelho
Abraham Cohen
Dauid Senior Coronel [c]
Dauid Senior Coronel
Dauid Senior Coronel
Ishac Senior Coronel
Jehosuah Senior Coronel
Jacob Gabai Correa
Dauid da Costa
Joseph da Costa
Daniel de Crasto de Hamburgo
Mosse de Crasto
Mosseh Nhemias Crastoz
Abraham Dagama
Salamao Dasylua
Samuel Daueiga
Abrao Decaserez
Izaque Defontes
Abraham Demarchena
Aron Dorta Depaz
Abraham Ysrael Diaz [d]
Dauid Diaz
Salo Yzarael Mendes Diaz
Moseh Doliueyra
Daniel Dormido [e]
Salomoh Dormido [f]
Abraham Drago
Ishac Franco Drago [g]
Jacob Drago
Moseh Drago
Jacob Defaria [h]
Yizhak al Farin
Abraham Faro
Dauid Israel Faro
Aron de la Faya [i]
Isaque Febos
Dauid de Figeroa
Abaan da Fonseca
Joseph Francez
Jacob Frazao
Josseph Frazao
Semuel Frazao
Jacob Fundáo
Izaque Gabai
Salamao Gabay
Jacob Gabbay de Morais
Moseh Hamis Gago
Jacob Gollas
Aron Guabay
Samson Gujdon
Josua Jessurun de Haro
Abr: Bueno Henriques
Jaacob Henriques
Jacob Cohen Henriques
Moseh Henriques
Moseh Cohen Henriques
Yshac Henriques
Joseph Bueno Henriquez
Dauid Hoeb [Oefb]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:13 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Isaque Izarael
Jozea (.....)
Dauid Juda Leáo
Moseh de Leao
Jacob de Lemos
Beniamin Levy
Isaque Levy
Jacob Leuy Paro
Manoel Levy
Abrao Lion
Daui Lopes
Mose Lumbroso
Jehudah Machabeu
Mordehay Machorro
Dauid Maestro
Isaque R[o]d[rig]ez da Mattos
Davi Mendes
Israel Levy Mendes
Jacob Franco Mendes
Dr. Abraham de Mercado
Moseh de Mercado
Rafael de Mercado
Benyamin Bueno de Mesquita
Abraham Mocata
Jahacob Mocata [j]
Yacob Mochoro
Isaque Montesinos
Semuel Montesinos
Mathathias Moreno
Isaac Nahamias
Eliau Nahmias
Daniel Namiaz
Moseh Namiaz de Amburgo
Jacob Nauarro
Moseh Nauarro
Moseh Netto
Mosche Nunes
Mosseh Nunes
Ab. Querido Omoso
Isaque Isr: Uelho
Abrao Aboab Paiz
Mose Israel Pena
David Baruh
Izaque Pereira
Mose Peres
Abraham Pinheiro
Abraham Ysrael de Piza
Arao Preto
Eliau Pretto
Abraham Querido [k]
Arom Levy Rezio
Isaque Rison
Isaiah Salom
Binjamy Sarfatty
Jaacob Senior
Mordechaj Senior
Aharon Serfatti
Isaque da Serra
Isaque Gabai Senah
Isaque da Silua
Jahacob da Silua
Aron da Silva
Binjamin de Solis
Daniel Aluares Torres
Dauid Aluares de Torres
Abraham Gabay Uilareal
Abraham Valuerde
Jahacob Valverde
Jeosua Velozino
Jacob Zacutto
Moseh Zacutto
Dauid Zuzarte
Aram de Thoar

[a] Hebrew signature of Isaac Aboab da Fonseca. [b] Also known as Gaspar Francisco, a native of Brazil. [c] Duarte Saraiva. [d] Dr. Fernandez Patto. [e] Luis Dormido. [f] Antonio Dormido. [g] Simão Franco Drago. [h] Francisco de Faria. [i] João de la Faya. [j] Gil Correia. [k] Gaspar Rodriguez.

Brazilian Marranos outside Dutch Brazil

The greater part of the Marrano population was concentrated in the northern provinces of Brazil. The minute books of the council of São Paulo and the records of the inspector of the Portuguese Inquisition in Bahia of 1591–93 reveal that Marranos also inhabited communities in the southern provinces, in Rio de Janeiro, São Vicente, and São Paulo. The Lisbon Inquisition never sent a *visitador* to São Vicente or São Paulo. The Jesuits in these localities defended the New Christians against such investigations, despite the conflicts which resulted.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:13 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In 1627 a *visitador* arrived in Rio de Janeiro, and he appointed a representative of the Treasury to take charge of the collection of the property of persons who were expected eventually to become prisoners of the Holy Office. We have found nothing to indicate that he engaged in any activity other than this.

The records of this period show only a single case in which a Brazilian Judaizer was persecuted and tried. On January 10, 1628, Isabel Mendes, the wife of Luis Peres from Viana in Portugal, half New Christian and a resident of Rio de Janeiro, was imprisoned there and sent to Lisbon for trial. She spent six years in jail while her case was investigated. At an auto-da-fé held in Lisbon on April 2, 1634, she walked in the procession holding a burning candle in her hand. She was compelled to abjure Judaism *de vehementi* and sentenced to *carcere a arbitrio*.

In 1633 a royal decree issued in Portugal barred members of the Hebrew Nation from holding public office of any kind. This measure was automatically applied in those areas of Brazil which were not occupied by the Dutch.

On January 28, 1643, Gaspar Gomes, of one-fourth Jewish descent, a shoemaker and soldier residing in Bahia, was arrested in that city as a Judaizer and surrendered to the Inquisition in Lisbon. The records of his trial reveal that he was accused of adherence to the Law of Moses both in faith and practice, and that he had observed the Sabbath and was in the habit of donning his best clothes and fresh underwear on that day. He was further charged with fasting on Thursdays and with abstaining from pork and the meat of rabbits. Although the customary tortures were employed, the defendant refused to confess or to appeal for pardon and mercy. He was sentenced to appear at the auto-da-fé of July 10, 1644, convicted and condemned to death by burning, *convicto, falso, ficto*. At the same auto-da-fé, there appeared Manoel de Mattos and Manoel de Silva, two Judaizers from Bahia. They were sentenced to *carcere e habito perpetuo*.

Pedro de Almeida, also called Izak de Almeida, from Parahiba who appeared at the auto-da-fé of June 10, 1650, received a short prison sentence. He was captured on January 1, 1649 on a boat near Pernambuco.

Exodus from Brazil[21]

When the capitulation agreement between the defeated Dutch occupa-

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:13 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

tion army and the victorious Brazilian-Portuguese army was signed on January 26, 1654, one of the articles of agreement provided that all those vanquished residents of Recife and Mauricia who did not desire to remain permanently in Brazil were to leave within three months from that date. Although General Barreto treated the defeated Dutch subjects with great magnanimity and issued rigid regulations to assure their protection, nearly all the Dutch and all the professing Jews elected to leave Brazil. The Jews, particularly, must have found it extremely uncomfortable to live even for a few months under the very eyes of agents of the Inquisition. In addition to everything else, they were forced to observe soldiers billeted in their synagogue.[22]

That three months' period was one of feverish activity for the Dutch subjects in Recife as they endeavored to liquidate their assets. Under the terms of the capitulation agreement they were permitted to retain all of their movable property (article 2); to retain all their ships, then in the harbor of Recife, that were capable of passing the equator (article 3); to take with them all their papers and movable property (article 9); to leave their movable goods for sale in Brazil and nominate their own representatives in Brazil (article 10); to dispose of all the foodstuffs they owned or make use of them for their journey out of the country (article 11); to have their own ships dispatched to Brazil in order to enable them to embark with their movable property (article 14). As long as funds were available, the former government of Recife paid its debts to businessmen, officials, officers, and soldiers in cash. When cash ran out, payments were made in dyewood, of which large reserves apparently were still available in Recife. On February 7, 1654, General Barreto authorized the former Dutch military commander of Recife, Sigismund Schoppe, and the Jew Joseph Frances to receive a quantity of Brazilian dyewood from Portuguese residents in payment of debts.[23]

The ships available to the Dutch subjects were few in number, and each one that departed was crowded with passengers, baggage, and supplies. At times it was necessary to throw the precious dyewood ballast into the sea, in order that a boat might proceed.[24] As the deadline for their departure approached and still there were not enough accommodations for all those who wished to leave, members of the former Dutch government on April 7 requested General Barreto to extend the date for the departure of both Christians and Jews, since the lack of

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:14 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

shipping space should be considered an act of God.[25] On the next day Barreto stated in a proclamation that should the General Vicar intend to persecute those Jews who had been Christians he could not hinder it; in order to avoid any miseries they should therefore embark before the expiration of three months.[26] He also added the following statement: "All the people, Christians as well as Jews, who because of the delay of the vessels on which they are to leave have not departed within the three months after the accord, shall be treated as up to the present, except the Jews who have been Christians, these being subject to the Holy Inquisition wherein I cannot interfere."[27] Any Jew who had never been baptized could have remained in Brazil without risk of being molested or persecuted. Former Marranos of Spanish and Portuguese descent who had openly embraced Judaism constituted a large majority of the Jewish population in Dutch Brazil, but their children who had been born Jews either before or after their parents' migration to Brazil could not be considered heretics by the Inquisition. These consequently would not have been subject to molestation had they chosen to remain in Brazil.

On April 8, 1654, a group of Jews petitioned the members of the former Dutch government to provision them for their projected journey to France on the Portuguese ship *São Francisco*. They received flour for one hundred and fifty persons, stockfish, and provisions for cooking.[28] This appears to have been the last of such petitions, for the only remaining members of the former government of Dutch Brazil, Walter van Schonenburgh and Hendrik Haecxs, embarked for Holland on April 9 on the ship *Den Brasilien*. We do not know what measures these two men may have taken to assure the safe departure of the Jews from Brazil before April 26 and thus prevent their being extradited to Portugal by the Inquisition. However, there is at least one document extant which indicates that all Brazilians who openly professed Judaism left before the appointed time because General Barreto placed Portuguese ships at their disposal, and there is no evidence that Jews residing in Brazil were ever extradited *en masse* to Portugal or became victims of autos-da-fé in that country in the years immediately following 1654.

Most of the approximately one hundred and fifty Jewish families departing Dutch Brazil in 1654 were bound for Holland. From there some of them eventually returned to the New World to found new Jewish communities in the Caribbean area. Some went from Amsterdam to

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:14 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

England, others to North America. Some of them faced many hardships on their journeys. The occupants of at least two ships fell into the hands of the enemy shortly after leaving Brazil. An unpublished manuscript written by the chief *hakham* of Amsterdam, Saul Levi Mortera (d. 1660), relates that one of the sixteen Portuguese ships put at the disposal of the Jews by Barreto

> was captured by the Spaniards, who wanted to surrender the poor Jews to the Inquisition. However, before they were able to carry out their evil intentions, the Lord caused a French ship to appear on the scene which freed the Jews from the Spaniards and took them to safety to Florida or to the New Netherlands whence they arrived peacefully in Holland.[29]

A second group was detained on the island of Jamaica by the Spaniards, and it appears that some of them were still there in November, 1654, when representatives of Amsterdam Jewry interceded in behalf of persons of the Portuguese Jewish nation who had left Recife on the frigate *Valk*. Their petition asked that the Dutch consuls in Cadiz and San Sebastian intervene with the king of Spain to request the release of the Brazilan Jewish prisoners. The Dutch government immediately complied with the Jews' request and on the same day wrote to the consuls stating, among other things, that they considered the affair a very serious one.[30]

Of this group twenty-three fared better: the oldest extant volume of the New York city records shows that early in September, 1654, there were in New Amsterdam twenty-three Jewish refugees from Brazil who arrived from Cabo São Antonio, Cuba, on the bark *Sainte Catherine*. The circumstances of their departure from Recife on the ship *Valk*, their liberation from the Spanish in Jamaica, and their eventual arrival in New Amsterdam in the company of a group of Dutch Calvinists have been discussed in detail elsewhere.[31] Among these twenty-three adults and children we have identified three men mentioned in the city records with persons known to have signed the minute book of Congregation Zur Israel in Recife in 1648: Abraham Israel, David Israel, and Mose Lumbroso.

Rosh Hashanah, in the year 5415, fell on September 12, and the adults among these Jews, together with the several others already in New Amsterdam, may well have conducted on that day the first of such divine services to be held on the island of Manhattan. These twenty-three Jewish refugees from Brazil were the founding fathers of the first Jewish community in New York.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:14 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

VII. Late Brazilian Marranos, 1654-1822

AFTER A WAR OF LIBERATION lasting nine years, the economy of North Brazil in 1654 was completely ruined. The sugar plantations and refineries, which at the time produced the country's most important export product, were destroyed or inoperative nearly everywhere. Portugal continued to exile criminals and Judaizers to Brazil. The bishops in Brazil were authorized to act as commissioners of the Inquisition, and periodically they sent persons suspected of bigamy, sodomy, and Judaizing to Lisbon for trial. This exchange of persons between the motherland and the colony was effected by means of the trading vessels commuting between Brazil and Lisbon.

The most reliable historian of the New Christians, João Lucio de Azevedo, states that during the second half of the seventeenth century the Marranos of Brazil were not molested by the Inquisition, but this statement is not borne out by the facts. The eight dossiers discussed below deal with Brazilian Marranos extradited to Lisbon and tried by the Inquisition in that city.[1]

DOSSIER 4487. On May 24, 1655, the New Christian Isabel Ribeira, born in Villanova de Portimão, the wife of Manoel Soares de Aguiar and a resident of Jagaripe near Bahia, was imprisoned for Judaizing activities. Sent to Lisbon for trial, she was compelled to appear at the auto-da-fé of October 29, 1656, and to abjure her errors *de vehementi*. She was sentenced to prison for from three to nine months.

DOSSIER 4786. Manos de Lima, one-fourth New Christian, who had been born in Lisbon and who resided in São Luis in Maranhão, was imprisoned as a Judaizer on July 4, 1660. He appeared at the auto-da-fé

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:15 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

of October 16, 1660. He was sentenced to jail for from three to nine months and forced to recant. He was further sentenced to be whipped in the streets and was subsequently sent to the galleys for five years. His petition to be sent to Bahia was disregarded.

DOSSIER 2840. On November 15, 1663, Sebastião Soares de Lemos, half New Christian, a harp player born in Coimbra and residing in Bahia, was imprisoned. He appeared at the auto-da-fé held in Lisbon on August 7, 1664, and was sentenced to prison and wearing of the prison garment *perpetuo sem remissão*, which in practice meant five years in prison.

DOSSIER 3081. On December 11, 1667, Diogo Vaz, part New Christian, a native of Villa Campo and a resident of Sergipe, was arrested. He appeared at the auto-da-fé of March 31, 1669, where he was commanded to abjure de Levi and received a prison sentence of three to nine months. On April 14, 1669, he was released and permitted to choose his own residence, but not to leave the country.

DOSSIER 5411. On December 9, 1673, Anna da Costa, born in Rio de Janeiro and residing in Lisbon, widow of the sugar mill owner Gaspar Pereira, was arrested. She appeared at the auto-da-fé of November 26, 1684, in the usual manner, was compelled to recant *de vehementi*, and sentenced to three to nine months in prison.

Due to a conflict between the Vatican and the Portuguese Crown, the Inquisition suspended all its proceedings between 1674 and 1681.[2] A royal decree of August 5, 1683, provided for the expulsion from Portugal of all persons who had confessed, during an Inquisition trial, that they were Judaizers and against whom evidence to that effect had been brought. They were compelled to depart from Portugal or her colonies within two months and to abandon their property, which was confiscated. Wives of men so sentenced, if not personally charged with Judaizing activities, were given their choice of either remaining in Portugal or her colonies or following their husbands into exile. They were allowed to take with them their children above the age of seven. Children below the age of seven were permitted to rejoin their parents only when the latter produced evidence that they were living as Catholics abroad. One half of the property of these Judaizers who had been convicted or had made confessions was given to the people by whom they had been denounced. Offenders who had not left the country

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:15 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

within two months after the date on which the Inquisition certified that they had received complete instruction in Catholic doctrine, and those who returned to Portugal afterwards, were subject to capital punishment. Members of the secular clergy were also made subject to this law.[3] Since this edict of August 5, 1683, was confined to those Judaizers who had made confessions and were sentenced to abjure *de Levi* (the more lenient penalty), only a small group of Judaizers was affected by the law. The edict had, on the one hand, a preventive effect. It was a warning to Judaizers not to allow themselves to be caught in the practice of Jewish customs and rites. On the other hand, it had a moderating effect on the tribunals of the Inquisition, which regarded it with mixed feelings.[4]

DOSSIER 2816. On December 9, 1683, Theotonio da Costa, a New Christian bachelor, son of the banker Gaspar da Costa de Mesquita, a native of Lisbon residing in the town of São Paulo, was imprisoned for observing Jewish rites and customs. After refusing to confess the offenses with which he was charged, he appeared at the auto-da-fé held in Lisbon on July 14, 1686, and, was sentenced to confiscation of all his belongings and to capital punishment.

DOSSIER 3648. Manoel Lopes Freire, partly a New Christian, a seaman born in Buaroos and residing in Bahia, was imprisoned on November 19, 1687. He appeared at the auto-da-fé, recanted, and was sentenced to *carcere e habito perpetuo*.

DOSSIER 3666. On November 27, 1688, Estovão Rodrigues Ayres, a seaman born in Villa de Redondos, who resided in the town of Asumpaco in Bahia, was imprisoned for Judaizing activities. He was condemned to hear the sentence in the office of the Inquisition in Lisbon, to abjure his heretical errors, and to *carcere e habito perpetuo*.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, 17 Judaizers were dispatched from Brazil to be tried in Lisbon. Eight Judaizers, i.e., only slightly less than half that number, were extradited for the same purpose in the second half of the century. The proceedings mentioned indicate that there were arrests in Bahia, Maranhão, Sergipe, and São Paulo in 1655, 1660, 1663, 1667, 1673, 1683, 1687, and 1688; i.e., there was continual investigation and denunciation of Judaizing activities throughout Brazil. The extent of the areas in which they lived and the caution they

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:15 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

exercised explain why relatively few Judaizers were sent to Lisbon for trial. Five of the eight extradited were offspring of mixed marriages between Old and New Christians. Two of the persons convicted were *homen do mar* (seamen), one a banker or businessman, another a harp player. One of the two women owned a ranch. The records at our disposal do not indicate the occupations of the three others who were convicted.

The first Judaizer from Brazil delivered to the Inquisition in Lisbon in the eighteenth century was Francisco Nunes de Miranda. He was a physician by profession and only three-quarters New Christian, i.e., he had one Old Christian grandfather or grandmother. He was the son of Antonio Nunes, a tanner, and Guiomar Nunes, and he was married to Isabel Bernardes. Born in Villa de Almeida, he resided in Bahia. He was arrested on November 9, 1700, sentenced to hear the verdic in the courtroom of the Holy Office in Lisbon, and compelled to abjure his heretical errors at the same time. In addition, his property was confiscated. The verdict was made public on February 19, 1701.[5]

The New Christian Dona Leonor, a native and resident of Bahia, was surrendered to the Inquisition in Lisbon on August 23, 1701, and sentenced to life imprisonment and wearing of the prison garb for life.[6]

The New Christian Alexander Henriques, an unmarried man, a merchant and son of Pedro Rodrigues da Costa (likewise a merchant), was born in Villa de Sabugal and resided in Rio de Janeiro. He was arrested on December 20, 1703, and sentenced in Lisbon to appear at the auto-da-fé of October 10, 1704. He was further given a three-year prison sentence.[7]

The majority of the Brazilian Judaizers surrendered to the courts of the Inquisition in Lisbon during the second half of the seventeenth century came from Bahia. At the beginning of the seventeenth as well as of the eighteenth century, French travelers reported that Bahia was full of Jews, by which they meant the descendants of Jews, i.e., New Christians.[8] By far the largest number of Judaizers extradited to Lisbon during the eighteenth century was from Rio de Janeiro. This does not indicate that Rio had more Judaizers than Bahia during that period; it merely suggests that Rio de Janeiro and the area surrounding it had become a great center of the Marrano population during the second half of the seventeenth century, and that these Marranos—due to their own

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:15 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

lack of caution and consequent denunciations—were unfortunate enough to attract the attention of the Inquisition's henchmen. The animating spirit of the Inquisition's activities was the bishop of Rio de Janeiro, Francisco de São Jeronimo.[9]

The trial in 1707 of Teresa Barera, a twenty-year-old girl from Olinda, marks the beginning of the period of most intensive persecution of Brazilian Marranos. The year 1707 saw the beginning of mass persecutions, mass extraditions, and mass convictions. Denunciations provided the impetus for this increased activity. Francisco Gomes da Silva, from the Rio area, arrested in Portugal and tried by the tribunal of the Inquisition in Evora in 1705, denounced as Judaizers a number of persons residing in Rio. All of them were arrested and extradited to Lisbon.[10] The largest number of denunciations was furnished by a Portuguese girl, one Catherina Soares Brandoa. On May 15, 1706, she called upon Paulo Afonso de Albuquerque, the Inquisitor in Lisbon, and told him the following story: In 1698 she had visited relatives in Rio de Janeiro. At that time, José Gomes da Silva, a tobacco tax farmer in Rio de Janeiro, married his daughter Catharina Marques to a *senhor de engenho* named Manoel de Paredes. Silva was one of Rio's wealthiest men, and his house was filled with guests for the occasion. Catherina Soares Brandoa was the only Old Christian among them. All of the other guests were New Christians. Men and women assembled in separate rooms for the wedding banquet. When the servants retired after the banquet, one of the women raised her glass, proposing a toast: "Todas bebessem o sangue de Christo" (Let all present drink the blood of Christ). In response, someone was heard to say: "Todos a qui somos da nacão e so aqela perra perdigueira não è" (All of us here belong to the Nation, except that female partridge). All the other guests now began to talk to her, attempting to convert and to initiate her into the ways of the Judaizers. She yielded to their persuasions. But, after marrying a merchant in Rio, she returned to Portugal and proceeded to denounce 55 of the wedding guests and, later, an additional 24 Judaizers from Rio de Janeiro.[11]

The Inquisition promptly went to work, ordering mass arrests of the persons denounced, as well as of their families and relatives. These arrests were, as usual, accompanied by property confiscations. The first victims appeared at the auto-da-fé of July 30, 1709, in Lisbon.[12] Of the

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:16 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

13 persons sentenced, 8 were from Rio de Janeiro, 4 from Bahia, and 1 from Sergipe. There were 9 men and 4 women. Of the men, 2 were owners of sugar plantations and sugar factories, 1 was a judge, 3 were merchants, 2 physicians, and 1 a pharmacist. The women's occupations are not mentioned. With the exception of one death sentence, the customary penalties were imposed. Rodrigo Alvares, three-fourths New Christian, a thirty-two-year-old pharmacist born in Villa de Avis and a resident of Bahia, who had been delivered to Lisbon on December 18, 1705, was sentenced to death.[13]

During the period that followed, hundreds of Brazilian Judaizers were arrested, extradited to Lisbon, and sentenced. In view of this fact, we shall select only exceptionally important cases for discussion.

On October 6, 1710, the New Christian lawyer Castro Lara, a native and resident of Rio de Janeiro, was arrested. He was sentenced to *carcere e habito a arbitrio*.[14] At the auto-da-fé of July 26, 1711, 52 Brazilians appeared. Among them were two Old Christians accused of bigamy. They were sentenced to flogging and five years in the galleys. The other 50 cases involved Judaizers, 26 men and 24 women. Of the 52 defendants, 49 had lived in or around Rio de Janeiro, and 3 had resided in Bahia. Their trades and professions were varied: 4 *senhores de engenho*, 10 sugar cane farmers, 2 sons of plantation owners, 1 businessman, 3 lawyers, 2 physicians, 2 tanners, 1 commander-in-chief, and 1 second lieutenant of infantry. Nine of the 24 women accused were married to men who were also arrested and sentenced. The other 15 were widows or daughters of manufacturers or sugar cane farmers, physicians, and lawyers. None was sentenced to death. The penalties imposed were *carcere e habito a arbitrio*, *carcere e habito perpetuo*, *and carcere e habito perpetuo sem remissão*.[15]

While these 50 persons were tried in Lisbon, new arrests took place in Rio de Janeiro and the unfortunate men and women concerned were imprisoned there to await transportation to Portugal. This is revealed in a letter of December 7, 1711, addressed to Domingos José da Silveira in Lisbon by one Manoel de Vasconcellos Velho. Reporting on the events of the French invasion of 1711, he relates that approximately one hundred New Christians had escaped during the invasion and were still at large. As soon as shipping space was available, he added, they would one day doubtless be surrendered to the Inquisition in Lisbon. One of

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:37 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

them, José Gomez da Silva (the tax farmer mentioned above), and his sons were said to have embraced a French flag, Silva exclaiming that he placed himself under the protection of the flag of the French king. He did, in fact, leave Rio with the French invaders.[16] This incident was reported to have taken place when the French general left his residence in Rio.

For reasons unknown to us, José Gomes da Silva did not succeed in saving his daughter Catharina Marques, at whose wedding in 1698 Catherina Soares Brandoa had met so many Marranos whom she subsequently denounced. He was unable to get her on one of the ships of Duguay-Trouin, the French invader. She was extradited to Lisbon and imprisoned by the Inquisition. She was never released, and at the age of sixty-seven she died in prison. Her detention was the Inquisition's revenge for the escape of her father and brothers.[17]

At the auto-da-fé held in Lisbon on July 9, 1713, there appeared the New Christians, mentioned in the letter of Manoel de Vasconcellos Velho, who had succeeded in freeing themselves during the French invasion. To that auto-da-fé were summoned 78 New Christian Judaizers, extradited from Rio, and one Jew. The latter's case is unique in that the Inquisition did not ordinarily persecute freely professing Jews, who were subject only to persecution by the Portuguese Crown under the Expulsion Edict of 1497. A foreign Jew who came to visit Portugal or Portuguese territory, such as Brazil (after the promulgation of the Expulsion Edict and the compulsory baptism subsequent thereto there were no Portuguese Jews), was forced to wear a yellow hat at all times, and to be accompanied by a guard. Also, he was prohibited from leaving his home at night.[18] The Jew referred to above was Abrahão, alias Diogo Rois Rodrigues, and usually called Dioguinho Hebreo. He resided in Bahia, was forty-nine years of age, and a merchant. He was born in Vidae, France, and the records of his trial refer to him as "Hebreu de nacão," a man of Hebrew nationality. Born as a Jew in France, son of Paula Gomes, a native of Porto, Portugal, and circumcized eight days after his birth, he came to Brazil where he presented himself as a Catholic. On October 10, 1712, he was arrested and accused of pretending to have been baptized and regularly receiving the sacraments of the Church, despite the fact that he was actually a Jew. He was sentenced to be whipped in the streets and to five years in the galleys.[19] We do

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:37 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

not know of any similar case in the history of the Marranos in Brazil.

Among the 78 victims of the auto-da-fé of July 9, 1713, there were 37 men and 41 women. One of the women was the freed Negro slave Marianna, forty years of age, a native of Angola and a resident of Rio de Janeiro; there was also the mulatto Marianna de Andrade, daughter of Catherina, a native and resident of Rio de Janeiro.[20] Both were accused of Judaizing activities and sentenced to *carcere e habito perpetuo*. The younger woman was probably the daughter of a Marrano and his Negro slave, who had been converted to Judaism. Manoel de Moraes, the Catholic clergyman who had appeared at the auto-da-fé in Lisbon on December 15, 1647, charged with heresy as well as with marriage to a beautiful Dutchwoman in Holland, had reported under inquiry that many Brazilian Marranos officially returned to Judaism after 1630, following the conquest of Recife and the northern provinces of Brazil. Among others he named Manoel Rodrigues Monsancto of Pernambuco, who left Brazil for Amsterdam, where he was circumcized and thereafter professed Judaism along with his entire household, his wife, his slave Beatriz, and her daughter, the mulatto Rachel. Another daughter of the slave Beatriz married a mulatto, son of the Jew Solis.[21]

The 37 men sentenced included 5 *senhores de engenho*, 5 sugar cane farmers, 4 young sons of *senhores de engenho*, 1 judge, 4 lawyers, 1 physician, 4 businessmen, 2 students, 1 soldier, 1 musician, 1 farmer's son, 1 merchant's son, 1 contractor, 1 captain, 1 tanner, and 4 persons without occupation. Ten of the women were the wives, widows, or daughters of *senhores de engenho*, the others of captains, businessmen, farmers, and the like. One of them, Dona Ventura Isabel Dique, twenty-six years of age and of part New Christian heritage, was a nun in the convent of Odivellas. She was the daughter of João Dique de Sousa of Rio de Janeiro, *senhor de engenho*, who later appeared as a Judaizer condemned to die at the auto-de-fé of October 14, 1714. Two of her brothers, Fernão Dique de Sousa and Diogo Duarte de Sousa, appeared at the same auto-da-fé as their sister Dona Ventura, and a third brother, Luis Dique de Sousa, was summoned to the auto-da-fé of February 16, 1716. Dona Ventura was sentenced to *carcere e habito perpetuo*.[22] On November 16 of the year in which she was sentenced, she was turned over to the convent of the Congregation São Bernardo, where the nuns refused to accept her, saying they did not wish to live with a convicted Judaizer.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:38 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Their protests, however, were to no avail. The Inquisition forced them to admit Dona Ventura to the convent.[23]

The following penalties were imposed upon the victims of the auto-da-fé of July 9, 1713. Pedro Mendes Henriques, who had previously appeared at the auto-da-fé of July 26, 1711, was sentenced to *carcere e habito perpetuo sem remissao*. Thirteen of the accused were sentenced to *carcere e habito a arbitrio*, and all the others to *carcere e habito perpetuo*. The ages of the victims ranged from sixteen to sixty-seven years. Among them was Isabel de Paredes, the wife of José Gomes da Silva who, as mentioned above, had succeeded in escaping to France with his sons. Antonio de Miranda of Bahia, forty-four years of age, died during interrogation in prison.

The persecutions, arrests, and property confiscations of these last years in Rio de Janeiro brought to a standstill the growing manufacture and exports of sugar, which at the time was still Brazil's principal export product. Also, they seriously disrupted trade between Portugal and Brazil. Dom Luis da Cunha, a member of the Royal Council of the Portuguese kings Pedro II (who died in 1706) and João V (who died in 1750), and at various times Portuguese ambassador to Vienna, The Hague, and Paris, reports the following in his *Testamento Politico:* "After the Inquisition discovered the Jews as a 'gold mine,' and confiscated their property which had been primarily invested in the manufacture of sugar, now ruined, His Majesty, in view of the great damage confiscation would entail for the trade in this important product, found himself compelled to direct that the sugar factories mentioned be not confiscated."[24] Neither Cunha nor other historians indicate how this extraordinarily difficult problem was solved; that is, how the authorities went about sentencing and confining the Judaizers in Lisbon and, at the same time, leaving the management of their sugar plantations and factories in Brazil in their hands. The only possible solution would have been to return the *senhores de engenho* to their homeland and to make restitution of their property, but there is no indication that such action was taken.

The next auto-da-fé was held in Lisbon on October 14, 1714. Twenty-six men and women from Rio de Janeiro were summoned to it. Of the men, 1 was a *senhor de engenho*, 3 were sugar farmers, 2 soldiers, 1 a lawyer, and 2 contractors. One of them was without occupation.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:38 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Among the accused was Padre João Peres Caldeira, part New Christian, sixty years of age, a priest of the Order of São Pedro and a lawyer by profession. He died in prison. Only his name was mentioned at the auto-da-fé. Ignes Ayres, eighty-one years of age, also died in prison before the auto-da-fé was held. Six of the defendants were sentenced to *carcere e habito a arbitrio*, fifteen to *carcere e habito perpetuo*. João Dique de Sousa, part New Christian, sixty-seven years of age, *senhor de engenho*, a native of Lisbon and a resident of Rio de Janeiro, father of the nun Dona Ventura, who had appeared at the auto-da-fé of July 9, 1713, was sentenced to death. José Gomes da Silva, who, in the records of the proceedings instituted against him was referred to as Marcos Henriques, and his son André de Barros were burned *em estatua*, since they had previously escaped to France. Gomes's twenty-three-year-old daughter Antonia was also among the accused who appeared at the auto-da-fé of October 14, 1714.[25] Two men and two women from Rio de Janeiro, accused of Judaizing activities, were summoned to the auto-da-fé of February 16, 1716. One of the men was the son of João Dique de Sousa, the other a Mandioca farmer. Two of the defendants were sentenced to *carcere a arbitrio*, two to *carcere perpetuo*.[26]

At the auto-da-fé of June 16, 1720, there appeared three men and two women from Rio de Janeiro, all accused of Judaizing activities. One of the men was a lieutenant-colonel and *senhor de engenho*, one a Mandioca farmer, and one a student. Two of these five were sentenced to *carcere a arbitrio*, and two to *carcere perpetuo;* one received the death penalty. The person sentenced to death was Theresa Pays de Jesus, sixty-five years of age. She was part New Christian, married to the teacher Brandão Mendes de Simoes, and had been arrested in Rio on December 1, 1718. Of the persons sentenced at this auto-da-fé, Sebastião da Fonseca Coutinho, lieutenant-colonel in the cavalry and *senhor de engenho*, Dona Anna Sodre Pereira, and André da Veyga Freyre were given permission to return to Rio de Janeiro a few months after they had been convicted by the Inquisition.[27]

Four men and three women were summoned to the auto-da-fé of October 10, 1723. Six of the accused were from Rio de Janeiro, and one was from Bahia. Of the four men, one was a physician, one a student, one a soldier, and one was without occupation. Four of these seven persons were sentenced to *carcere a arbitrio* and three to *carcere*

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:38 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

perpetuo. The soldier, João Correa Ximenes, asked permission to return to Rio but was refused. Leonor de Jesus and Maria de Jesus, both sentenced at the auto-da-fé of October 10, 1723, were allowed to return to Rio. These permissions were granted on June 20, 1725, and June 15, 1725, respectively.[28]

Three men from Rio de Janeiro were summoned to the auto-da-fé of May 6, 1725. One was a soldier, one a sugar farmer, and one was without occupation. One of them was sentenced to *carcere a arbitrio* and two to *carcere perpetuo*.[29]

Brites Lopes, of Villa Nova de Foscoa, was summoned to the auto-da-fé of June 30, 1726. She was sentenced to *carcere perpetuo*.[30]

Four Judaizers appeared at the auto-da-fé of October 13, 1726. Three of them were from Rio, one from Bahia. One was a soldier and son of a sugar farmer, another a lawyer's daughter, one a law student, and the fourth a Catholic priest. The latter, Padre Manoel Lopes de Carvalho, forty-four years of age and a member of the Order of São Pedro, was an Old Christian born in Bahia and residing in Lisbon. He was sentenced to death as a follower of the Law of Moses.[31]

The law student was Antonio José da Silva, twenty-one years of age, unmarried, and a resident of Lisbon. Since this law student later achieved prominence as a poet and, eleven years thereafter, in 1739, appeared at another auto-da-fé after having been sentenced to death, we will discuss his first trial in some detail.

Antonio José da Silva was born on May 8, 1705, in Rio de Janeiro, the son of João Mendes da Silva, the lawyer, and Lourença Coutinho, daughter of the New Christian Balthasar Rodrigues Coutinho, *senhor de engenho*. Charged with Judaizing activities, Antonio José's entire family was summoned to the courts of the Inquisition for trial. As a prisoner on the vessel *Madre de Deus*, his father arrived in Lisbon on October 12, 1712. The same fleet carried his mother and the rest of the family, of whom the following persons appeared at the auto-da-fé of July 9, 1713: Antonio's uncle, Diogo Cardoso Coutinho; Manoel Cardoso Coutinho; his father, then thirty-three years of age, who claimed to be an Old Christian, which, however, was proved to be untrue; his uncles Luis Mendes da Silva and Bernardo Mendes da Silva; his aunts Isabel Cardoso Coutinho and Francisca Coutinho; his sixty-seven-year-old grandmother Brites Cardoso, a widow; his mother Lourença Coutinho, then

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:38 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

thirty-one years of age; and his aunt Branca Maria Coutinho. Ten members of his family thus appeared at the auto-da-fé. His parents were sentenced to *carcere e habito perpetuo*. The family, confined in Lisbon, remained under close observation by the Inquisition.

On August 8, 1726, Lourença Coutinho was again arrested, and Antonio José was arrested for the first time. Brought before the Inquisitor, João Alvares Soares, on the same day, he proved willing to plead guilty with regard to Judaizing activities and had to swear by the Holy Gospel that he would tell the truth. It was then suggested to him that he name, without exception, all persons known to him who lived by the Law of Moses, including both the living and the dead, free men and prisoners, relatives and those not related to him, residents of Portugal as well as of foreign countries. He was told that by relieving his conscience in this manner he would save his soul and bring the proceedings pending before the Inquisition to a favorable conclusion. He first related that several years ago, a deceased aunt of his, Dona Esperança, the widow of Diogo de Montarroio of Rio de Janeiro, had persuaded him in Lisbon to live by the Law of Moses. She did so with the intention of making it easier for him to enjoy sexual relations with her maid, to whom he had previously made advances. She told him that, under the Law of Moses, this would not be considered a sin but simply fornication. The Law of Moses, according to her, was more generous in matters of this nature. She further told him that, to save his soul, he would have to fast on the High Holiday about the middle of September, that is, go without drink or food from one evening to another. He henceforth lived according to these rules, observing the Jewish Sabbath until, in June, 1726, he listened to a preacher in São Domingos who spoke of "Nossa Senhora" (Our Lady). Enlightened by the Holy Ghost and guided by pangs of conscience, he decided to return to the life of a Christian. He stated that he felt remorse, and he appealed for pardon and mercy. He subsequently denounced as Judaizers his own brothers, cousins, and other persons, but apparently only those whom he knew had already been imprisoned by the Inquisition, so that his testimony could not harm them or lead to their arrest.

His defense, at any rate, was very clever. He pointed out that when he allowed himself, at the age of sixteen, to be persuaded by his deceased aunt to engage in Judaizing activities, he had been driven by sexual

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:39 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

impulses; that a short time ago, illuminated by the Holy Ghost, he had voluntarily returned to the life of a good Christian.

On August 13, 16, 22, and 23, as well as September 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, and 16, the accused was repeatedly brought out of his prison and presented to the Inquisitor. The cross examination concerning his practice of Jewish rites on various occasions was evidently based on denunciations received by the Inquisition. He was requested several times to make new confessions in order to save his soul and to improve his prospects in the trial.

On September 18, the court of the Inquisition decided to torture the accused. On September 23, another attempt was made to obtain new confessions from him, and when he declared that he had no more confessions to make, the decision to proceed to torture was announced. He was led into the lower part of the building. Physicians, a surgeon, and other assistants assigned to these proceedings were then brought before the court and requested to affirm under oath that they would faithfully perform their duties and keep all of the proceedings secret. Antonio José da Silva was then undressed and thrown upon the *porto* (a wooden frame upon which the accused was tied with ropes which cut into his flesh). While he was being tied, the notary stated on behalf of the Inquisitors that they declined all responsibility in the event of death, broken limbs, or loss of consciousness during torture, since the defendant's refusal to confess was his own fault. When Antonio José repeated that he had no more confessions to make, torture was continued. For at least six months afterwards, prisoners were unable to use their hands, and often could not even handle table utensils. Many persons thus tortured retained permanent scars.[32] Antonio José was tied with eight ropes, and after undergoing a half turn in all of them he was released and returned to his cell. The entire procedure had lasted fifteen minutes. Antonio José screamed many times and appealed to God, but not to Jesus or any of the saints. The pleadings of the prosecution state, among other points, that Antonio José, while baptized a Christian, had departed from the Catholic faith and turned to Judaism; that he did not believe in Christ and appealed only to Almighty God; that he observed the Jewish Sabbath as a holy day and was in the habit of fasting on the High Holiday in September; and that, together with other members of his Nation, he presented himself as a Jew. They further stated that he had

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:39 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

failed to make a complete confession. He was, therefore, an apostate from the holy Catholic faith, and his property was declared confiscated in favor of the Treasury and the Royal Chamber. He was sentenced to appear at the auto-da-fé and to listen to a reading of the verdict, and was convicted to *carcere e habito perpetuo*. He was to be given such instruction in Catholic doctrine as would prove necessary for the salvation of his soul.

The verdict was read at the auto-da-fé of October 13, 1726, in the Church of São Domingos. Among those present were King João V, Prince Francisco, and Prince Antonio, several Inquisitors, many officials, and a large number of noblemen and other people.

The defendant promised under oath that he would always live in conformity with the holy Catholic faith, remain obedient to the Holy Father, Pope Benedict XIII, and submit to appropriate punishment in case of a relapse.

On the following day, October 14, 1726, Antonio José accepted the terms of a document in which he undertook to keep strictly secret everything he had seen and heard in prison, as well as everything that had befallen him during the proceedings. Since he was unable to use his hands after torture, the scribe Fabião Bernardes signed for him in the presence of witnesses. On October 23, 1729, he was released. The Inquisitors impressed upon him that he must henceforth live as a faithful Catholic, and that he was to mingle with Catholics and refrain from association with people who might pervert him. In addition, he was repeatedly cautioned against a relapse.[33] This trial, particularly interesting because of the person accused, was, however, typical of all the proceedings of the Inquisition previously referred to. For that reason it has been treated here in some detail.

At the auto-da-fé of October 16, 1729, 15 Judaizers from Brazil appeared. Among them were 12 men and 3 women. Of the men, 8 were merchants, 1 was a tax farmer, 1 a physician, 1 a Mandioca farmer, and 1 a soldier. Six of the accused came from Rio de Janeiro and the surrounding area, 3 from Minas Geraes, 5 from Bahia, and 1 from Espirito Santo. Seven of them were sentenced to *carcere a arbitrio*, and 8 to *carcere perpetuo*. Lourença Coutinho, the mother of Antonio José da Silva, who was arrested for the second time on August 8, 1726, was exiled to Castro Marim for three years. Isabel Cardosa Coutinho, her sister, who was also summoned for the second time, was exiled to the

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:39 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

town of Silves for three years. The physician João Tomas de Castro of Rio de Janeiro, whom Antonio José had denounced during the interrogation of August 8, 1726, and who was arrested on May 22, 1726, was sentenced to death. He was a son of the lawyer Miguel de Castro Lara. One of the defendants had died in prison and was sentenced to death *em estatua*. In the auto-da-fé of 1729, referred to above, as well as in subsequent proceedings we find Judaizers from Minas Geraes in Brazil, which points to the existence of a new group of Judaizers.[34]

In 1694, the first Brazilian gold mines were discovered in Itaberaba. This was followed by the discovery of additional mines in Ouro Branco, Ouro Preto, and many other places. As a result, there was a mass migration to the area of Minas Geraes, similar to that which took place in California a hundred and fifty years later. White persons, Negroes, mulattoes, Indians; men and women, young and old; the rich, the poor, noblemen and commoners, clergymen and laymen; foreigners with or without passports—all rushed to the gold area.[35] The crowd, of course, included a considerable number of New Christians, and among these were Judaizers who, if discovered, were denounced, arrested, and surrendered to the Inquisition in Lisbon.

Ten men and 9 women were summoned to the auto-da-fé of June 17, 1731. Ten of the accused came from the Parahiba, 4 from Bahia, 2 from Minas Geraes, and one each from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Pernambuco. Three were farmers, 1 was a physician, 4 were businessmen, and 1 was a shopkeeper. One of the defendants was sentenced to *carcere a arbitrio*, 15 to *carcere perpetuo*, and 3 received the death penalty. Those sentenced to death were: Guiomar Nunes, a New Christian, thirty-seven years of age, a resident of the *engenho* "Sancto André" in Parahiba and the wife of Francisco Pereira, a brazier, who was declared *convicta, negativa e pertinaz*. Felix Nunes de Miranda, a merchant, twenty-eight years of age, a New Christian from Bahia, was accused of observing Jewish rites and ceremonies and of expecting salvation from the Law of Moses. He confessed to having fasted on Yom Kippur, and to other accusations. His verdict refers to him as *convicto, ficto, falso, simulado, confitente, diminuto, impenitente e relapso*. Miguel de Mendoça Valladolid, a New Christian, thirty-seven years of age, a merchant born in Spain and residing in the district of São Paulo, was declared *convicto, ficto, falso, simulado, confitente, diminuto e impenitente*.[36]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:39 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

At the auto-da-fé of July 6, 1732, there appeared 24 persons, 16 men and 8 women. Eleven of them came from Parahiba, 6 from Minas Geraes, 5 from Bahia, 1 from Rio de Janeiro, and 1 from Rio São Francisco. Three of them were farmers, 2 farm hands, 4 merchants, 2 miners, and 1 a physician. Four of the men had no occupation (they were sons of manufacturers and merchants). Six were sentenced to *carcere a arbitrio*, 15 to *carcere perpetuo*, and 3 received death sentences. The following were sentenced to death: Domingos Nunes, forty years of age, a dealer residing in Minas Geraes; Diogo Correia do Vale, fifty-nine years of age, a New Christian physician residing in Minas d'Ouro Preto in Minas Geraes; and Luis Miguel Correia, a son of the physician mentioned above, from Villa Rica, Minas Geraes. Diogo Correia do Vale had observed Jewish rites, the fast days "Dia Grande" (Yom Kippur) and "Rainha Esther" (Esther Taanith).[37] Eight Judaizers were summoned to the auto-da-fé of September 20, 1733, 5 men and 3 women. Among the men were 3 farmers, 1 merchant, and 1 without occupation. Three were from Parahiba, 1 was from Minas Geraes, and 1 from Rio São Francisco. The 3 women were from Parahiba. Two received the penalty of *carcere a arbitrio*, and 3 *carcere perpetuo*, 2 of the persons sentenced died in prison, and Fernando Henriques Alvares, a Mandioca farmer from Rio São Francisco was condemned to death. He was a native of Portugal. The verdict refers to him as *convicto*, *ficto*, *falso*, *simulado*, *confitente*, *diminuto e impenitente*.[38] At the auto-da-fé of July 24, 1735, there appeared 7 men and 11 women, 8 of whom were from Parahiba. Of the men, 2 were sugar farmers, 2 merchants, 1 a brazier, 1 a miner, and 1 a farmer. Twelve were sentenced to *carcere a arbitrio*, and 6 to *carcere perpetuo;* 2 of the women died in prison.[39]

Manoel da Costa Ribeiro, a son of José de Carvalho de Almeida, part New Christian, unmarried, a miner residing in Minas d'Ouro Preto, appeared at the auto-da-fé of September 1, 1737. He was charged with having insulted a crucifix. Convicted as a Judaizer, he was sentenced to death.[40]

Eight men and 3 women appeared at the auto-da-fé of October 18, 1739. Four were from Rio de Janeiro, 2 from Bahia, 1 from Goyaz, 1 from Ouro Preto, 1 from Serro do Frio, 1 from Villa do Principe, and 1 from Parahiba. Of the men, 1 was a government employee, 1 a farmer, and 1 a lawyer, 2 were miners, 1 was a merchant, 1 the director

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:40 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

of a convoy, and 1 had no occupation. Four of these persons were sentenced to *carcere a arbitrio*, 1 to *carcere a arbitrio* and three years of exile on the island of Cabo Verde, 2 to *carcere a perpetuo*, and 1 to *carcere a perpetuo sem remissão*. One of the accused died in prison, and two others were sentenced to death.

Among the persons sentenced was Lourença Coutinho, now sixty-one years of age, the mother of the lawyer and poet Antonio José da Silva, and her sister Isabel Cardosa, fifty-two years old. Both of them had been arrested for the third time, having been charged with relapsing into the heresy they had previously abjured. Strangely enough, they were given the most lenient penalty, i.e., *carcere a arbitrio*.

Luis Mendes da Sá, a New Christian, thirty-five years old, director of convoys, a native of Coimbra, Portugal, and a resident of Rio das Contas, Bahia, was condemned to death.[41]

The second victim sentenced to death was the lawyer and poet Antonio José da Silva, who, in 1726, had been fortunate enough to be sentenced only to *carcere a perpetuo*. Due to a denunciation of Leonor Gomes, a slave of his mother's and a native of Cabo Verde, he was arrested for the second time on October 5, 1737. Leonor Gomes, who was also detained, was interrogated on October 10, 1737. She related that she had had to clean thoroughly the dwellings of his mother and his aunt, as well as that of Antonio Gomes and his wife Leonor Maria, on the preceding Thursday and Friday; that Antonio José and his wife had washed before dinner on that day, and that they had changed the bed linens. On Saturday the entire family changed their underwear and fasted the whole day. In order to conceal the true state of affairs from her, they requested that she bake some fish. The entire family often failed to go to Mass. Enjoying good health all week, they feigned illness on Saturdays in order to avoid working on that day and going to Mass on Sunday. They only attended Mass when they heard that arrests had been made by the Holy Office. All four members of the family lived as heretics, and had lived in this manner both prior to their arrest and after their release. She stated that she made these denunciations in order to relieve her own conscience and by no means because of hatred or ill will against the family she accused. On April 8, 1738, Fernando Cardozo, the caretaker of the Inquisition's secret prison in Lisbon, reported that the prisoner Antonio José, who was usually observed by the prison

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:40 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

guard, had recently failed to eat his dinner, a fact the guards had reported to him. They understood that the prisoner was about to "jejuar judaicamente," i.e., to fast in the Jewish manner. On April 12, 1738, the prison guard Maximiliano Gomes da Silva appeared before the Inquisitors and reported that Antonio José had fasted in his cell on Thursday, April 10, 1738, and that he had moved his lips as if he were praying. He described Antonio José as "magro, alvo, de mediana estatura, cabello curto, castanho escuro" (thin, white, of medium height, with short hair of dark chestnut color). The guard Antonio Gomes Esteves was interrogated on the same day. His statements agreed with those of his colleagues. The same facts were reported by a third guard, named Antonio Baptista. Shortly thereafter Antonio José was accused of having fasted on Monday, April 14. In April, 1738, similar denunciations were received; the prisoner was reported to have observed five fast days in April. On May 8 the prisoner was brought before the authorities, and all of the witnesses who had accused him of fasting testified under oath that he was the man they had observed in prison. Written statements to that effect were prepared and signed.

On June 10, 1738, the New Christian José Luis de Açevedo, who was charged with Judaizing activities and shared Antonio José's prison cell, was interrogated. He reported that Antonio José, while in prison, had repeatedly fasted according to Jewish rites and that he had persuaded him to do likewise. He himself now wished to follow Christ, was confessing for this reason, and requested that he be removed from Antonio José's cell.

On December 30, 1738, Bento Pereira, a new cellmate of the accused, was interviewed. His testimony was of similar content, and he stated that Antonio José fasted regularly on Sundays, Mondays, and Thursdays. On January 19, 1739, the same witness brought new denunciations of a similar nature. He also reported that while Antonio José did recite the *Pater noster*, at the conclusion of the prayer he did not mention Jesus, but instead the God of Israel and Abraham.

On October 22, 1737, Antonio José was interrogated and requested to make confessions. He stated that he had nothing to confess. An inventory of his property, which had been confiscated, was prepared. On November 15, 1737, he was again interrogated and again he declared that he had nothing to confess. His genealogical data was taken. His

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:40 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

wife's name was Leonor Maria de Carvalho, and his only daughter, two years of age, was called Lourença. Asked whether he knew why he had been imprisoned, he replied that he suspected denunciations had been brought by persons hostile towards him, that is, by a former nursemaid of his little daughter, by Leonor, a Negro slave of his mother's, and, further, by a neighbor named Antonia and her maid Theresa. On November 26 he was again brought before the court. He was asked whether he knew the penalty in store for persons who had abjured heresy and subsequently suffered a relapse. Antonio José replied that he was aware that it was the death penalty. The next question put to him was whether it was true that, like the Jews, he was still waiting for the Messiah, since he did not look upon Jesus as the true God. He said that that was not the case. He also pleaded innocent to all charges of Judaizing activities which had been brought against him. Another interrogation, conducted on June 3, 1738, had equally negative results. The same was true of interviews held on September 19 and 24, 1738. During his first trial, in 1726, Antonio José had been very cooperative and talked a great deal. This time he showed no inclination to confess or to denounce anyone. On September 24, 1738, the complaint reiterating all of the charges was read to him, and the death penalty was proposed. He was then asked whether he wished to contest the charges and whether he desired the court to furnish counsel. It was pointed out to him that he could request the services of attorneys José Rodrigues Leal and Dr. José da Mata Freire. He consented and gave them a joint power of attorney. On September 25, 1738, Antonio José and Dr. José da Mata Freire appeared before the court and Dr. da Mata Freire took note of the complaint. A document signed by the accused and his attorney contested the details of the charges and affirmed that the defendant had been a good Catholic since his release from prison in 1726. Three clergymen from the convent of São Domingo in Lisbon, as well as other persons, were named as witnesses.

On October 15, Padre José da Camara, one of the witnesses named, appeared before the Inquisition and testified under oath that he had known the accused for about four years, since the latter had often visited his convent. Antonio José had heard Mass, gone to confession, showed attention in listening to sermons, and conducted himself like a good and true Catholic. He did not know what had been the accused's true feelings

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:41 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

during that period. The other clergymen also testified that the defendant had impressed them as a good and devout Catholic at all times. The other witnesses named by the defense testified along the same lines.

On November 13, 1738, the accused and his counsel were summoned to appear in court and the denunciations brought against the former were read to them. A total of twelve persons whose names were not mentioned had furnished denunciations. The defendant requested that these persons be reexamined so that their testimony could be proved false. He suggested that they be asked various questions, e.g., where and when he had met them; if on the street, what street; if in a building, what building; the exact dates of the offenses with which he was charged; how many persons had been present; the names of such persons; where had the witnesses obtained reliable information that he had been fasting on certain days; how did they know that his occasional abstinence was due not to indisposition because of stomach trouble but to Judaizing activities; that he put on fresh underwear to observe the Sabbath and not for reasons of cleanliness? Were the witnesses his and his family's enemies?

On the same day it was decided to comply with Antonio José's request and to reexamine the persons who had brought denunciations, with the exception of the slave Leonor Gomes, who had died in the meantime.

The witnesses and those who had denounced Antonio José were all reexamined on November 13, 24, and 26, 1738. They reiterated their statements. The interrogations were continued on February 4, 1739. On February 16, 1739, Antonio José was brought before the court. Although repeatedly admonished to make confessions, the defendant declared that he had nothing to confess. The denunciations received were then read to him. They stated in essence that the accused was in the habit of fasting "judaicamente" (in conformity with Jewish rites); that he celebrated the Jewish Sabbath as a holy day; that in dealings with members of his nation he presented himself as an adherent of the Law of Moses and repeatedly attempted to convince them that his faith was beneficial for the salvation of the soul. Asked whether these charges were true, Antonio José replied that they were false, and that he desired the assistance of his counsel to prove them false. On the same day he met with José Rodrigues Leal, and they answered the denunciations as follows: Maria Theresa, the nursemaid, and the Negro slave Leonor were not trustworthy since they were hostile towards him. They stated

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:41 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

that the slave Leonor had had sexual relations with a Negro whom she had admitted to the house with the assistance of the nursemaid. Antonio José had often punished her for this conduct. Both girls had stated to others that he and his mother were Jews. The Negress, according to their statement, had made these denunciations in the hope that they would free her from slavery.

On February 18, 1739, the defendant was brought before the court. It was suggested to him that he substantiate his testimony by bringing strong witnesses, Old Christians, reliable people, preferably men instead of women, and persons who were neither relatives nor servants. He named Antonio da Costa Soares (a New Christian), his wife, two women who were Old Christians, and his sister-in-law Antonia Maria, another Old Christian. The other Old Christian women were Elena Gaetana and her sister Maria Messia. On February 19, 1739, Elena Gaetana was interrogated. She was a mulatto, daughter of the Negress Francisca da Cruz. She stated that she was aware of the differences of opinion which the question of admitting a Negro into the house had raised between Antonio José and the two domestic servants mentioned. The slave Leonor, according to her, had been disobedient and impertinent. Both servants had been in the habit of maligning the accused and his relatives as dogs and Jews whose house ought to be set on fire. Her sister, Maria Messia, testified along the same lines. Antonia Maria Theodora, the wife of Balthasar Rodrigues Coutinho, brother of the accused, confirmed the testimony of the former witnesses. All of the two girls' denunciations were said to be false and intended to free the slave so that she could marry her Negro lover.

The witness Catharina Theresa confirmed the above testimony. Antonio da Costa Soares was seriously ill and thus prevented from appearing before the court. On March 11, 1739, the court resolved to bring Antonio José's trial to a conclusion. The Negro slave Leonor Gomes had died in the meantime so that she could not again be interrogated. For this reason, and because the accused had contested her statements, they were declared irrelevant. On the other hand, the testimony of the prison guards and of the prisoner's cellmates was accepted as true. Antonio José, the court concluded, was thus a heretic, an apostate from the holy Catholic faith, and to be surrendered to secular justice. The decision of the seven Inquisitors present was unanimous. The General

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:41 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Council of the Inquistition in the presence of His Eminence reviewed the trial records on the same day and confirmed the verdict. On October 16, 1739, the verdict was announced to Antonio José in his cell, and he was ordered to appear at the auto-da-fé on October 18, 1739. The prison guards immediately tied the hands of the accused, and the Jesuit Padre Francisco Lopes remained in his cell to render spiritual assistance.

The last few sentences of the record of this great trial, which had lasted since October 5, 1737, read as follows:

> Invoking the name of Jesus Christ, it is declared that the accused Antonio José da Silva is convicted, negative, obstinate and relapsed into the crime of heresy and apostasy, and that he is a heretic and an apostate from the holy Catholic faith; that he has incurred the sentence of major excommunication and confiscation of all his belongings in favor of the Royal Treasury, and the other penalties established by the law for similar cases; and that, as an apostate and heretic against the holy Catholic faith, convicted, negative, obstinate, and having suffered relapse, he is condemned and delivered to secular justice. The secular authorities are asked to treat him kindly and mercifully and not to resort to the death penalty or to bloodshed.[42]

Like the great majority of persons whom the Inquisition surrendered to secular justice, that is, of persons condemned to die, Antonio José professed his repentance and, as a result, was not burned alive but first garroted. His earthly remains were then burned at the stake. This sentence aroused a great deal of attention in Portugal; for, prior to his second conviction in 1739, Antonio José was not only a lawyer in Lisbon but one of the most prominent playwrights in Portugal. His comedies were received with a great deal of applause in the theater, and even in his own time he was given the epithet "the Jew," which he was later to retain in the history of literature.

It was June 21, 1744, before another Judaizer from Brazil appeared at an auto-da-fé. He was Dionisio da Silva, part New Christian, a herder from Piauhi, Parahiba, who was imprisoned on December 19, 1741. He was sentenced to *carcere a arbitrio*.[43]

At the auto-da-fé of September 24, 1744, there appeared Miguel Nunes Sanches, a New Christian, thirty-nine years of age, a soldier from Paracatu, sentenced to *carcere a perpetuo*.[44]

Two Judaizers from Brazil were summoned to the auto-da-fé of October 20, 1748. One of them, Antonio Ribeiro Sanches, thirty-eight year of age, a New Christian physician from Paracatu, was sentenced to

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:41 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

carcere a perpetuo. The other, João Henriques, a twenty-eight-year-old pharmacist, who had also come from Paracatu, was sentenced to death.[45] He was the last Brazilian Judaizer condemned to death by the Inquisition.

At the auto-da-fé of September 24, 1752, there appeared Antonio Ribeiro Furtado, a merchant from Minas do Serro do Frio, Brazil. Charged with Judaizing activities, he was sentenced to *carcere a arbitrio*.[46]

Maria de Valenca was summoned to the auto-da-fé of July 20, 1756. She was a New Christian, seventy-three years of age, from *engenho* "Velho" in Parahiba, and had been sentenced to *carcere perpetuo sem remissão*. This was her second conviction. She had been previously arrested in Brazil on October 7, 1729.[47]

At the auto-da-fé of September 20, 1761, four men and one woman from Brazil appeared. Two of the men were merchants, one was a farmer, and one a lawyer. Three of them had come from Villa Boa dos Goyazes, one came from Parahiba. All of them were accused of Judaizing activities. One of the defendants died in prison, and three were sentenced to *carcere a arbitrio*.[48]

Antonio de Sá Tinoco, a New Christian surgeon from Minas Geraes, arrested on August 2, 1763, was released on April 12, 1766, and sentenced only to the payment of expenses.[49]

The last Judaizer from Brazil to be tried was Manoel Abreu de Campos of Bahia, who was New Christian in part. He was sentenced to death, but he died before the sentence could be carried out. He was therefore executed *em estatua*, or burned in effigy. Arrested on August 2, 1763, he had appeared at the auto-da-fé of March 31, 1769.[50]

It was now approximately two hundred and fifty years since the Inquisition had begun to rage in Portugal. It had tried almost twenty-five thousand persons, of whom nearly fifteen hundred had been sentenced to death. Brazil had been plagued by emissaries of the Inquisition since 1591, but with relatively mild results. About four hundred Judaizers from Brazil were tried; most were sentenced to prison, and eighteen were condemned to death. There is evidence that only one of them, Isaac de Castro, was burned alive.

Despite the facts that two hundred and seventy-five years had elapsed since the compulsory baptism of Jews in Portugal and a large number of those who had undergone compulsory baptism had married Old Christians, and despite all the dangers, denunciations, trials, and verdicts

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:42 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

passed by the courts of the Inquisition, Portugal and Brazil both had a large number of Judaizers who regarded their conversion to Christianity as compulsory and continued to observe Jewish rites. They continued to prepare for the Sabbath by thoroughly cleaning their dwellings on Friday; they did not work on the Sabbath; they changed their clothing and bed linens on that day, fasted at least on Yom Kippur, were in the habit of saying certain prayers, and persisted in the conviction that there was only one God and that faith in Him would bring salvation to their souls. New Christians of this type, whose connection with Judaism was strengthened by the fact that they were called members of the Hebrew Nation, still attempted to escape to other countries. When they succeeded, their first concern was to be circumcized in order to strengthen God's covenant with Abraham and to appear openly and officially as Jews.

After the Portuguese people had been thus divided for two hundred and seventy-five years, and experience had shown that the methods hitherto employed were inadequate, the Portuguese Crown—and possibly also the Inquisition—finally realized that it was necessary to come to terms with this evil. "Judaism was a constitutional illness of the nation, with which the latter had to attempt to live. It had to adapt itself to the conditions which it was easiest to endure until by a natural process of defense the healthy elements of the organism would eliminate those that were detrimental to it."[51]

José de Carvalho e Mello, count of Oeiras and marquis de Pombal (1699–1782), Portuguese Minister of State, had the insight, courage, and authority to persuade the king to decree that the classification of the Portuguese people as Old Christians and New Christians be discontinued. This law was signed by the king on May 25, 1773. José de Carvalho e Mello was also responsible for many other laws effecting reforms.

All previous laws discriminating against New Christians were revoked and designated null and void. In Portugal and her colonies, the use of the words New Christian in speech or writing was prohibited under severe penalties: (1) for the people generally, whipping in public and exile to Angola; (2) for members of the nobility, loss of titles, positions, pensions, and royal decorations; (3) for members of the clergy, exile from Portugal. This threat of drastic punishment achieved the desired results.[52]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:43 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The law referred to above was supplemented by another, promulgated on September 1, 1744, which provided new procedures for the courts of the Inquisition. Among other points, the sentences passed by these courts henceforth required confirmation by the king.

List of Brazilian Jews Executed by the Inquisition in Lisbon, 1644–1748

Auto-dã-Fé	*Name*	*Dossier* [a]
July 10, 1644	Gaspar Gomes	5019
December 15, 1647	José de Lis (Isaac de Castro)	11550
July 14, 1686	Theotonio da Costa	2816
July 30, 1709	Rodrigo Alvares	999
October 14, 1714	Joáo Dique de Sousa	10139
November 16, 1720	Theresa Pays de Jesus	2218
October 16, 1729	Joáo Thomas de Castro	9999
June 17, 1731	Felix Nunes de Miranda	2293
	Miguel de Mendoça Valladolid	9973
	Guiomar Nunes	11772
July 6, 1732	Diogo Correia do Vale	821
	Domingo Nunes	1779
	Luis Miguel Correia	9249
September 20, 1733	Fernando Henriques Alvares	8172
September 1, 1737	Manoel da Costa Ribeiro	1361
October 18, 1739	Luis Mendes de Sá	8015
	Antonio José da Silva	3464
October 20, 1748	Joáo Henriques	8378

[a] All dossiers are in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.

During the period that followed, the Inquisition left the New Christians in peace and began to persecute new victims, principally the philosophers and Freemasons who made their appearance everywhere during the era of the Enlightenment.[53] They were now considered as the true heretics. No longer subject to persecution, and partly as a result of numerous mixed marriages, the Marranos in Brazil became more and more assimilated into the country's dominant religion, Catholicism, until they formed an inseparable part of Brazil's population. Professing Jews began to immigrate only after 1822, when the country separated from Portugal and became independent. They entered gradually, slowly building the foundations of Brazil's present Jewish community.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:44 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:44 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Personalia

ISAAC ABOAB DA FONSECA[1] was, from 1642 to 1654, the *hakham* (rabbi) and spiritual leader of the oldest Jewish community in the New World. He was a great-grandson of the last gaon of Castile, who had left Spain during the exodus of Jews in 1492 and established residence in Porto, Portugal. Isaac Aboab was the son of David Aboab and Isabella da Fonseca. During the compulsory conversion of Jews to Catholicism in 1497 they became Catholics—so-called New Christians. Isaac Aboab was born a Catholic, in the year 1605, in Castro d'Aire, Portugal. His parents left Portugal for Saint-Jean de Luz in the southwest of France near the Spanish border, where other New Christians from Portugal lived at that time because they could there observe Jewish rites and customs in secret. In order to be able to live freely as professing Jews, the family moved about 1612 to Amsterdam. David Aboab died shortly afterward. Isaac Aboab studied at the religious schools in Amsterdam, and the *hakham* Isaac Uziel of Fez was his Talmud teacher. Among his colleagues was Menasseh Ben Israel. At the age of twenty-one, in the year 1626, Isaac Aboab was nominated *hakham* of the Congregation Beth Israel of Amsterdam. In 1638, after the unification of the three existing Amsterdam congregations, Isaac Aboab was confirmed as one of the four *hakhamim* of the new congregation Talmud Torah. He was the youngest one among them. He taught Hebrew grammar in the religious schools, gave Talmud lessons for beginners, and preached at evening services. His salary was 450 florins a year.

In 5402 (1641/42) Isaac Aboab accepted the nomination for *hakham* of the growing Jewish community in Recife, Brazil, at a salary of 1,600 florins a year. In Recife he was in charge of all rabbinical functions and gave lectures in Talmud. There Isaac Aboab enjoyed a few prosperous years, from 1642 to 1645. After the outbreak of the Brazilian–Portuguese war of liberation he shared the sad lot of all the other inhabitants of Dutch Brazil.

In 1646 he wrote *Zekher asiti leniflaot El*, in which he described events in Dutch Brazil after the outbreak of the war. By 1647 he had written the still unpublished Hebrew grammar *Meleket ha-Dikduk*.

The rebellion caused the economic ruin of the Jews of Dutch Brazil; most of them became poor and insolvent. The salaries of the officers of the Congregation

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:44 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Zur Israel of Recife were reduced. Isaac Aboab's salary was, in 1649, reduced from 1,600 to 1,200 florins yearly. In 1653 he received an increase of 150 florins for assisting the teachers in the Talmud Torah school. While most of the Calvinist *predikants* (preachers) left Dutch Brazil for Holland as quickly as they could after the start of the rebellion, Isaac Aboab remained to lead and help his people until the last moment, leaving Recife within three months after the conquest and occupation of Recife by the victorious Brazilian–Portuguese troops on January 26, 1654.

In the yet unpublished manuscript of the minute book of the United Congregation Talmud Torah in Amsterdam, the Livro dos Acordos da Nacam, Escamot, e Eleicoems do K.K.T.T. que el dio augmente (Book of agreements of the Nation, regulations, and elections of the Holy Congregation Talmud Torah, which God may increase) covering the period from 5398 to 5440 (1638–80), in the Livraria Ets Haim–D. Montezinos, Amsterdam may be found the following entry (p. 373), written in Portuguese: "The *hakham* Isaac Aboab has come from Brazil because of the loss of the country and offered his services to the Gentlemen of the Executive Committee of the Congregation. In view of his past and present merits, and because he is generally loved by the whole Holy Congregation, he was engaged for the following service: He will be *hakham* of the Holy Congregation with one vote of the four Rabbinical votes; he will teach the Talmud lesson for advanced students instead of Mortera, and will preach once a month during the divine service and if necessary also nights during the winter season. His yearly salary will be 450 florins." The entry was dated the 29th of Elul, 5414 (September, 1654). He subsequently became rector of the rabbicinal schools Tora Or and Yeshiva de los Pintos. Isaac Aboab served as *hakham* of the Amsterdam congregation until his death on the 27th of Veadar, 5453 (1693), when he was eighty-eight years old.

In 1655 Isaac Aboab published a Hebrew translation of the Spanish cabalistic work of Abraham Cohen Herrera, *Casa de Dios e Puerta del Cielo*, under the title *Sha'ar ha Shamayim* (The gate of heaven). In his introduction he describes the sufferings of the Jews during the years 1645–54 in Dutch Brazil and their exodus in 1654. His inclination toward mysticism made of Aboab in 1665 one of the leading believers in the false messiah Sabbatai Zevi.

In 1681 Isaac Aboab published, in Amsterdam, a commentary on the Pentateuch entitled *Parafrasis Commentada sobre el Pentateucho*. His literary estate included the manuscripts of an essay concerning punishment and reward called "Nishmat Hayyim," many sermons, funeral orations, speeches for festive occasions, and elegies for the Ninth of Ab.

Isaac Aboab's first wife died in 1669. He married again and lost his second wife, Sarah, in 1689. During the last years of his life the *hakham* was blind. He left a son, David Aboab, and a daughter named Judith, who married Daniel Belillos, a *hakham* in Amsterdam and son of the former Marrano Balthasar da Fonseca.

Isaac Aboab was mourned in funeral sermons of his son-in-law, Daniel Belillos, by Salomon d'Oliveira, and by his youngest pupil, Selomoh Juda Leão Templo.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:44 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Abrãhãm d'Açevedo[3] was a member of the Mahamad of Congregation Zur Israel in 5409, 5411, 5412, (1648/9, 1652–53). He owned a house in Recife. In 1653, the government of Dutch Brazil sent three delegates to Holland, with an official letter dated July 16, 1652, which suggested that if Holland was unwilling to send more help to Dutch Brazil and had decided to surrender the colony to the Portuguese, negotations should be initiated to secure freedom of person and property for the Dutch, Jews, and Indians of Dutch Brazil. Gaspar van Heussen and Jacob Hamel were sent to represent the Dutch and Abraham d'Açevedo to represent the Jews. In Amsterdam Açevedo discovered that the two Dutch representatives had attempted, behind his back, to obtain restrictions of the rights of the Jews in Dutch Brazil. He enlisted the support of the Jewish community of Amsterdam against the intrigues of his Christian colleagues and signed his succesful petition to the authorities in Holland "in the name of the Jewish nation of Amsterdam, as well as of Brazil". Members of the Açevedo family became, in later years, prominent Dutch diplomats.

Moses Raphael de Aguilar[3] left Amsterdam for Brazil, together with *hakham* Isaac Aboab, in 5402. There he became *hakham* and *hazzan* (rabbi and reader) of one of the congregations, probably Magen Abraham of Mauricia. He had been, since 1637, a teacher in the rabbinical school Ez Hayyim in Amsterdam. He appears to have retired from his ecclesiastical functions in Brazil before 1648, because his name as *hakham* or *hazzan* is not mentioned at all in the Minute Book of Congregation Zur Israel and Magen Abraham which covers the period from 1648 to 1653. We find his signature as a member of the congregations in 1648. After his return to Amsterdam he became a member of the Rabbinical College and remained in that office until his death, on December 17, 1679. *Hahkam* Aguilar was a great scholar and grammarian. In 1660 he published a Hebrew grammar for use in schools, the *Compendio da Epitome Grammatica* (Leyden). In 1681, he published a book written in Portuguese, *Dinim de Bedicá* (Amsterdam), concerning the rules for the inspection of ritually slaughtered animals. Many unpublished manuscripts by Aguilar still are in the Livraria Ets Haim–D. Montezinos in Amsterdam.

Abrãhãm Cohen[4] was one of the members of Congregation Zur Israel who signed his name in the minute book in Hebrew (the others were *hakham* Isaac Aboab and Yizhak Al Farin). Cohen was a purchasing agent for the government in Recife, a rich man in great favor with Johan Maurits van Nassau. The Jewish poet Daniel Levi (Don Miguel) de Barrios (1625–79) dedicated a poem to Abraham Cohen, explaining that he was a high-minded man who had helped both Christians and Jews with equal magnanimity during the years from 1645 to 1654.

Michael Cardoso was the first Jewish lawyer and solicitor in Brazil. On April 7, 1645, he received permission from the authorities in Holland to practice law in Dutch Brazil. The Council of Justice in Recife refused him admittance because he was a Jew. The Jewry of Amsterdam intervened in his behalf, and on August 1, 1646, the authorities in Holland sent instructions to Recife that Michael Cardoso had the right to practice his profession in Recife.[5]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:45 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Dăvid Senior Coronel was in 5412 the treasurer of the Holy Land funds, elected by Congregation Zur Israel. His former name as a Catholic was Duarte Saraiva, as we discover from the manuscript of the minutes of the trial of the Brazilian Jewish martyr Isaac de Castro. He continued, as a Jew, to do business under the name Duarte Saraiva. He was about eighty years old in 1647, and one of the richest Jews in Dutch Brazil. He was owner of four *engenhos* in the captaincy of Pernambuco. In the years 1639 and 1644 he purchased from the government the right to farm taxes on sugar in Pernambuco for 233,000 florins; he also owned houses in Recife.[6]

Josef da Costa was a son of Bento da Costa and a brother of the famous Uriel da Costa, who was excommunicated by the Jewish community and committed suicide in 1640. Josef was a shareholder of the West India Company. In 1655 he was in New Amsterdam, where he became an important businessman.[7]

Samuel da Veiga was a member of the last Mahamad of Congregation Zur Israel of Recife, from 1653 until the exodus of the Jews from Dutch Brazil in 1654. In 1663 he became one of the elders of Congregation Sha'ar ha-Shamayim in London,[8] where he was an important jeweler and banker. Endenizened in 1661, he was admitted in 1663 a freeman of the City of London on the personal recommendation of the king, the first Jew to be so admitted. Veiga died, in London, in 1665, a victim of the plague.[8]

Daniel and Salomon Dormido were two of the four sons of David Abarbanel, known as Manuel Martinez Dormido, former Royal Treasurer of the customs and revenues of Andalusia, who had spent the years from 1627 to 1632 in the prison of the Spanish Inquisition under suspicion of being secretly a Jew. He succeeded in escaping to Bordeaux; he left soon afterward for Amsterdam, where he arrived on April 1, 1640. There he and his family openly embraced Judaism. In Amsterdam he became very prosperous in business and an important man in the Jewish community. David Abarbanel sent his two sons Daniel and Salomon to take care of his business in Brazil. Salomon Dormido was also a tax farmer in 1644 and 1645. We find the signatures of both as members of the Jewish community of Recife in the minute book of Congregation Zur Israel. From the manuscript of the minutes of the trial of Isaac de Castro we learn that the Catholic name of Daniel was Luis da Silva, and that he was, in 1647, about twenty-one years old; also that the Catholic name of Salomon was Antonio, and that his age, in 1647, was about twenty-five years.

In September, 1654, their father accompanied Menasseh ben Israel's son Samuel Soeiro to London, in order to continue negotiations concerning the readmittance of Jews to England. The Dormidos settled in 1655 in London. Manuel Martinez Dormido then drafted a petition to the British government requesting that England diplomatically intervene to assist him in recovering his fortune lost in Brazil in 1654. Oliver Cromwell, then Lord Protector of England, on February 26, 1655, sent an official letter to the king of Portugal requesting compensation for the losses of the Dormido family in Dutch Brazil. Luis da Silva became, in 1657, the first Jewish broker nominated to the Stock Exchange in London.[9]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:45 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Dăvid Senior Coronel was in 5412 the treasurer of the Holy Land funds, elected by Congregation Zur Israel. His former name as a Catholic was Duarte Saraiva, as we discover from the manuscript of the minutes of the trial of the Brazilian Jewish martyr Isaac de Castro. He continued, as a Jew, to do business under the name Duarte Saraiva. He was about eighty years old in 1647, and one of the richest Jews in Dutch Brazil. He was owner of four *engenhos* in the captaincy of Pernambuco. In the years 1639 and 1644 he purchased from the government the right to farm taxes on sugar in Pernambuco for 233,000 florins; he also owned houses in Recife.[6]

Josef da Costa was a son of Bento da Costa and a brother of the famous Uriel da Costa, who was excommunicated by the Jewish community and committed suicide in 1640. Josef was a shareholder of the West India Company. In 1655 he was in New Amsterdam, where he became an important businessman.[7]

Samuel da Veiga was a member of the last Mahamad of Congregation Zur Israel of Recife, from 1653 until the exodus of the Jews from Dutch Brazil in 1654. In 1663 he became one of the elders of Congregation Sha'ar ha-Shamayim in London,[8] where he was an important jeweler and banker. Endenizened in 1661, he was admitted in 1663 a freeman of the City of London on the personal recommendation of the king, the first Jew to be so admitted. Veiga died, in London, in 1665, a victim of the plague.[8]

Daniel and Salomon Dormido were two of the four sons of David Abarbanel, known as Manuel Martinez Dormido, former Royal Treasurer of the customs and revenues of Andalusia, who had spent the years from 1627 to 1632 in the prison of the Spanish Inquisition under suspicion of being secretly a Jew. He succeeded in escaping to Bordeaux; he left soon afterward for Amsterdam, where he arrived on April 1, 1640. There he and his family openly embraced Judaism. In Amsterdam he became very prosperous in business and an important man in the Jewish community. David Abarbanel sent his two sons Daniel and Salomon to take care of his business in Brazil. Salomon Dormido was also a tax farmer in 1644 and 1645. We find the signatures of both as members of the Jewish community of Recife in the minute book of Congregation Zur Israel. From the manuscript of the minutes of the trial of Isaac de Castro we learn that the Catholic name of Daniel was Luis da Silva, and that he was, in 1647, about twenty-one years old; also that the Catholic name of Salomon was Antonio, and that his age, in 1647, was about twenty-five years.

In September, 1654, their father accompanied Menasseh ben Israel's son Samuel Soeiro to London, in order to continue negotiations concerning the readmittance of Jews to England. The Dormidos settled in 1655 in London. Manuel Martinez Dormido then drafted a petition to the British government requesting that England diplomatically intervene to assist him in recovering his fortune lost in Brazil in 1654. Oliver Cromwell, then Lord Protector of England, on February 26, 1655, sent an official letter to the king of Portugal requesting compensation for the losses of the Dormido family in Dutch Brazil. Luis da Silva became, in 1657, the first Jewish broker nominated to the Stock Exchange in London.[9]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:47 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Isaac Franco Drago. The contemporary historian Manoel Calado, a priest and soldier who lived in Dutch Brazil from 1630 to 1646, stated that one Simão Drago of Recife abandoned Catholicism and became a Jew after the arrival of the Dutch in 1630. On June 10, 1633, an Isaac Franco, known as Simão Drago, a storeowner in Recife, purchased in Amsterdam a Sefer Torah with ornaments. Isaac de Castro, in his deposition in Lisbon in 1647, stated that he knew in Recife an Isaac Franco Drago, married, about forty years old, who was identical with the former Catholic Simão Drago, "natural do Brazil". In 1653 we find that he was President of Congregation Magen Abraham in Mauricia. In 1654 he left Brazil for Amsterdam in order to be able to continue to profess Judaism openly.[10]

Balthasar da Fonseca, was, on December 10, 1594, denounced before the *visitador* Mendoça in Olinda as one who did not believe in the Holy Virgin or in the Cross. On December 12 and 13, 1594, he was denounced as having said that he did not believe in the saints. On December 15, 1594, Balthasar da Fonseca appeared before the *visitador* and declared himself to be a native of Coimbra in Portugal, son of the mason Gaspar da Fonseca and Maria Francisca, both Old Christians. He was thirty-five years old, married to Isabel Nogueira, and living in Olinda. He denounced three men with whom he had years ago discussed Christ. The *visitador* did not molest him further.

The Catholic historian Calado states that Balthasar da Fonseca embraced Judaism after the conquest of Pernambuco by the Dutch in 1630. At that time he would have been about seventy-one years old.

In February, 1641, one Balthasar da Fonseca, "a man who had done similar jobs," was commissioned by Johan Maurits van Nassau to build a bridge across the Beberibe River, to connect Recife with the new erected town of Mauricia on the Island of Antonio Vaz. Balthasar was to receive 240,000 florins, in addition to a gift of 1,000 patacas in cash in the event of his marriage. To guarantee the fulfillment of the contract, he put up real estate in the value of about 100,000 florins; two wealthy Jews, Gaspar Francisco da Costa (Joseph Atias) and Fernão do Vale, were named as bondsmen. As explained earlier, when the bridge was half finished, in 1643, Balthasar encountered great technical difficulties and gave up the job.

The contract condition concerning the gift in case of marriage is perplexing, because Balthasar da Fonseca was then eighty-two years old. For that reason we are inclined to assume that the bridge builder was a son of the Balthasar da Fonseca who was denounced in 1594 as a Marrano. In 1643 the younger Balthasar purchased from the government the right to farm taxes in the value of 113,500 florins.

Manoel de Moraes testified during his trial before the tribunal of the Inquisition in Lisbon that Balthasar da Fonseca owned timber, many African slaves, houses, gardens, and olive trees in Olinda. Evidently Balthasar was one of the most important ex-Marranos and one of the richest Jews in Dutch Brazil. It seems that he was not circumcized before 5407 (1646). His son, Daniel Belillos, married Judith, the daughter of Isaac Aboab da Fonseca.[11]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:47 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Joseph Frances was a member of the Mahamad of Congregation Zur Israel in 1649/50 and 1652/53; he was *hatan Bereshit* in 1651.

He was considered one of the richest Jews in Dutch Brazil. A few days before the Dutch surrendered Recife to the victorious Portuguese–Brazilian army, Dutch soldiers were unwilling to continue the fight and some were overheard saying that they would prefer to pillage the houses, especially the home of the Jew Joseph Frances. After the occupation of Recife Frances received from General Barreto, as mentioned before, permission to accept Brazilian dyewood from Portuguese residents in payment of debts and to ship it to Holland free of any tax. He was allowed in this way to save a part of his fortune. He returned to Amsterdam in 1654. In the tax assessments of August 30, 1654, of the Congregation Talmud Torah of Amsterdam he is mentioned as the highest assessed taxpayer: 90 florins altogether.

In 1660 we find that Joseph Frances was a banker and insurance man in Amsterdam. He left Amsterdam for London, where he was elected, in 1674, a trustee of Congregation Sh'ar ha-Shamayim.[12]

Jacob Cohen Henriques was, in 1651/52, a member of the Mahamad of Congregation Zur Israel of Recife. He was the eldest son of the above mentioned Abraham Cohen. He was receiver-general (*contador mayor*) for Johan Maurits van Nassau. In July, 1655, we find him as a settler of New Amsterdam.[13]

Joseph Jesurun Mendes was *hatan Bereshit* in Recife in 1652. His father, David Mendes, also lived in Recife. They left Brazil for Amsterdam in 1654. Joseph emigrated again from Holland, this time to the oldest British colony, the island of Barbados. Here, in Bridgetown, he founded the first Jewish congregation in Barbados, Nidhe Israel (the scattered of Israel). He had six children. He was also known as Luis Dias or Ludovico Luis Gutteres. Joseph Jesurun Mendes died at the age of eighty-three, on Tebet 15, 5460 (December 27, 1699), and was buried in Bridgetown.[14]

Dr. Abraham de Mercado was the first Jewish physician and pharmacist in the New World. It seems that he was one of the founders of the Jewish community in Brazil, because as early as 1641 he was addressed by *hakham* Menasseh Ben Israel (who desired nomination as *hakham* in Recife) as a leader of the Jewish community in Recife, with greetings in the introduction to the Book of Kings which was included in the second part of Menasseh Ben Israel's *Conciliador*. Mercado was also a friend and confidant of many Portuguese Catholics in Dutch Brazil.

Dr. Mercado was, in June, 1645, entrusted to deliver to the Dutch authorities an anonymous letter in which was betrayed the plan of the Brazilian–Portuguese conspirators, headed by João Fernandes Vieira and André Vidal de Negreiros, to assassinate all the Dutch authorities during a banquet given on June 24, 1645, and then to occupy Recife.

Dr. Mercado must have left Recife in 1654 for Amsterdam, and gone from there to London. In April, 1655, he obtained in London, from Oliver Cromwell, a passport for "the Barbados where he had an order from his Highness to exercise his profession." He so attained a quasi official position in Barbados.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:47 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In 1648/49 Dr. Mercado was a member of the Mahamad of Congregation Zur Israel of Recife. The fact that his signature on the revised regulations of November 16, 1648 is first in order certainly indicates that he was then President of the Mahamad.[15]

Raphael de Mercado was a son of Dr. Abraham de Mercado. In 1653/54 he was elected treasurer of the funds for captives. He was also called David Raphael de Mercado, and he was a physician, as was his father. He came, together with his father, in 1655 to Barbados; there he received, in 1661, a letter of denization. While in Barbados he invented a new type of sugar mill, and he apparently became a rich man. From his will, dated July 21, 1685, we know that he owned a Sefer Torah with all its ornaments. He died on the 24th of Ab, 5445 (August 14, 1685), and was buried in the cemetery of Bridgetown, where his tombstone (No. 179) bears inscriptions in Hebrew, English, and Spanish.[16]

Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita was a member of a well-known Spanish–Portuguese Jewish family of Amsterdam.[17] His signature appears in the minute book of the Congregation Zur Israel and is one of the most legible there. His name, however, is never mentioned again in the minute book, and he never served in an official or honorary post in the synagogue or community between 1648 and 1653 (the time covered by the minute book).[18]

Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita certainly left Brazil between January 26 and April 26, 1654, probably starting out with other Jews on the Dutch ship *Valk* in February of 1654, bound for Martinique. The ship encountered adverse winds and put in at Jamaica, and the Jews who were on that ship were imprisoned there by the Spaniards.[19] It is quite possible that a number still languished in prison when the British conquered Jamaica in 1655.

There is documentary evidence that in 1664 Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita was a resident and merchant in Jamaica, and that he petitioned the king of England for relief from the provisions of the Navigation Act, which prevented him, a foreigner, from trading with His Majesty's plantations. Mesquita's entire property was located in that area; for that reason he desired from the king a grant or letter of endenization. On July 5, 1664, the Attorney General submitted a favorable opinion to the king concerning Mesquita's request, and the endenization was granted on October 24, 1664.

In 1665, Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita and his two sons were threatened with expulsion from Jamaica as a result of a dispute between Sir William Davidson, a Scottish supporter and friend of Charles II of England, and a Brazilian Jew named Abraham Israel de Pisa,[20] who also resided in Jamaica. The dispute involved Pisa's alleged failure to fulfill a contract with Davidson with regard to a certain gold mine in Jamaica.[21]

In 1679 Mesquita was a resident of the British island of Barbados. With a Negro slave, he lived in Christ Church Parish at the southern end of the island.[22] Barbados was an important center of former Dutch Brazilian Jews, as mentioned before. Abraham Bueno de Mesquita, a son of Benjamin, continued to live there

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:47 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

until the end of the seventeenth century, when he and his children emigrated to Nevis, where he became a planter.

Another son of Benjamin, Joseph Bueno (d. 1708), left Barbados for New Amsterdam. There he purchased, in 1682, the site on the New Bowery where his father was to be buried a year later.[23] Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita must have arrived in New York sometime after 1679, to spend his declining years with his son Joseph Bueno.

The oldest decipherable Jewish tombstone, the second oldest tombstone still in existence in New York, may be found in the cemetery of Congregation Shearith Israel. It was placed over the grave of Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita. The inscription is in Spanish, and it has been erroneously transcribed on frequent occasions.[24]

The correct text is as follows:

Debajo Desta Lossa Sepultado
Yasse Benyamin Buenode Mesq^ta
Falesio y deste mundo fue tomado
En quatro de Hesvan Sualma Benditta
Aquy de los Uiuientes apartado
Espera por tu Dios que Resusita
Los muertos de su pueblo con piadades
Para Biuir sin fin de Eternidades
5444

Below this burial stone
Lies Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita
He died and was taken from this world
On the Fourth of Hesvan his blessed soul
Here from the living separated
Wait for your God who revives
The dead of his people with mercy
To live to the end of eternity
1683

Moses Navarro, a son of Abraham Navarro of Amsterdam, arrived in Brazil as a naval cadet in the company of Captain Bonnet, a mercenary with the Dutch expedition that landed near Recife on February 15, 1630. In 1635 Navarro left the military service and received a broker's license to deal in sugar and tobacco. In 1637 he purchased the sugar plantation and mill "Jurisseca" in Pernambuco for 45,000 florins. From 1636 to 1645 he was an important tax farmer and one of the richest and most important Jews in Dutch Brazil. He left Brazil for Amsterdam in 1654.[25]

Benjamin de Pina Sarfatti was a member of the Mahamad of the Congregation Zur Israel of Recife in 1649–50. He was a tax farmer and owned several houses in Recife. After his return to Amsterdam his family assumed the name Sarfatti de Pina del Brasil.[26]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:48 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Aharon Serfatti was a member of the Mahamad of Congregation Zur Israel of Recife in 1653–54. He had studied in Amsterdam as a classmate of *hakham* Isaac Aboab and Menasseh ben Israel, learning Torah from *hakham* Isaac Uziel. He was a businessman and not an ecclesiastical officer in Recife, but he was called *hakham*.[27]

Joshua Velozino was the *hazzan* (cantor and reader) of Congregation Zur Israel and the father of Dr. Jacob de Andrade Velozino, who was born in Brazil in 1639. Dr. Velozino became later, in Amsterdam, a physician and philosopher. His book *Theologo Religioso* was written in opposition to Baruch Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico Politicus*.[28]

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:48 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:48 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Notes

Abbreviations

AJA	*American Jewish Archives*
JSS	*Jewish Social Studies*
PAJHS	*Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society
RIAHGP	*Revista do Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano*
RIHGB	*Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*
TJHSE	*Transactions* of the Jewish Historical Society of England

Notes to I. Exiles in a New World

[1] Azevedo, *História*, p. 497. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 497. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[4] Schwarz, *Os Christãos Novos em Portugal*, pp. 1-37.
[5] Azevedo, *História*, pp. 57-111.
[6] Correia, *Lendas da India*, I, 1, 125-26, 142, 149, 151.
[7] João de Barros, *Asia*, pp. 52-53. [8] Damião de Goes, *Chronica*, p. 41.
[9] Abreo, *O Descobrimento do Brasil*, p. 145.
[10] *História da Colonisação Portuguese do Brasil*, p. 100.
[11] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, I, 1, 20, 75-93; see also Paranhos, *Efemeridas Brasileiras*, pp. 210-24.
[12] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, I, 95.
[13] *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi Publiccati dalla R. Commissione Colombiana Pel Quarto Centenario della Scoperta Dell' America*, Vol. II, Part III, pp. 120-21. Piero Rondinelli, Lettera, Siviglia, 3 ottobre, 1502. A contemporary copy of the manuscript of the letter may be found in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, MS 1910, c 55 B. See Appendix.
[14] *Algums Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das Navegações e Conquistas Portuguezas*, pp. 459-60.
[15] *Archivo Histórico Portuguez* I, 244.
[16] *Algums Documentos*, pp. 459-60.
[17] "Relazione de Lunardo Cha Masser," in *Centenario do descobrimento da America: Memorias da Commissão Portugueza*, pp. 83-84.
[18] Manuscript published in Varnhagen, *História Geral*. I, 427-32.
[19] *Archivo Histórico Portuguez*, I, 326.
[20] *Grande Encyclopoedia Portuguesa-Brasileira*, XV, 468.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:49 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

[21] Simonsen, *História Econômica*, I, 145.
[22] Lippman, *História do Açucar*, II, 12. [23] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[24] Pina, *Chronica del Rey João II*, chap. lxxiii.
[25] Lippman, *História do Açucar*, II, 14.
[26] Simonsen, *História Econômica*, I, 145. Deerr, *History of Sugar*, pp. 101–4.
[27] Gileno De Carli, "O Açucar na Formação Econômica do Brazil," in *Annuario Açucareiro para 1936*, p. 7. "One should give axes and mattocks and all iron tools to the persons who go to populate Brazil and one has to procure and to choose a man experienced and capable in order that he goes to Brazil and starts a sugar-mill."
[28] "Este ultimo genero que es una produccion original del Asia aspénas tenía mas uso que en la medicina hasta la época de su introduccion y cultivo en America, adonde lo llevaron desde las islas de la Madera en 1549 unos Judíos proscritos de Portugal." *Memorias Historicas sobre la marina comercio y artes de la antiga ciudad de Barcelona*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 43. The Reverend Dr. Fischell, in "Chronological Notes of the History of the Jews in America," *Historical Magazine*, IV (ser. 1, 1860), 53, gives the date as 1548 instead of 1549. The date is also given as 1548 by Max J. Kohler in "Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800," PAJHS, II (1894), 99–100; by George Alexander Kohut in "Early Jewish Literature in America," *ibid.*, II (1895), 135; also by L. Huhner in his article on "Brazil" in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, III, 359.
[29] Carli, "O Açucar," p. 7.
[30] "Dey ordem a se fazerem enjenhos daçuquares que de la trouxe contratados fazendo tudo quande me requeriam. ... Temos grande soma de canas prantadas." Manuel de Oliveira Lima, "A Nova Lusitania," in *História da Colonisação Portuguesa do Brasil*, III, 199.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 231.
[32] "...pela mor parte judeus, que eram o melhor elemento economico do tempo que lucravam com fugir a furia religiosa que grassava na Peninsula." *Ibid.*, pp. 294–95.
[33] *The Masters and the Slaves*, p. 25.
[34] Such an admission would nullify Freyre's statement (*ibid.*, p. 231) that Jews have "a horror of agriculture." He refers to the notoriously racist author Houston Stewart Chamberlain's *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1911).
[35] Lima, "A Nova Lusitania," pp. 294–95.
[36] "...outro mais sufficiente na terra de que elle nao se achará." RIHGB, XLIX (Part 1A, 1886), 584–86.
[37] See Arnold Wiznitzer, "The Jews in the Sugar Industry of Colonial Brazil," JSS, XVIII (1956), 189–98, for a more detailed discussion of the entire situation.

Notes to II. Inquisitorial Activities

[1] Azevedo, *História*, p. 224. [2] *Confissões da Bahia*, p. v. [3] *Ibid.*, p. xiii.
[4] Esther Taanith. The fast day of Queen Esther was of major importance for all Judaizers, in view of the legend that Queen Esther had also been forced by circumstances to hide her Judaism for a period of time.
[5] A misspelling of *tefillin* (phylacteries).
[6] What is meant is the *Biblia de Ferrara* (the Ferrara Bible), the first Bible translated word by word from Hebrew to Spanish, printed in Ferrara on March 1, 1553. There was an edition for Christians, dedicated to the duke of Ferrara, edited by Duarte Pinel and published by Jeronimo de Vargas; another, for Jews, was dedicated

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:49 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

to Dona Gracia Mendes, edited by Abraham Usque and published by Yom Tob Athias (the same men, identified by their Jewish names). The latter edition showed the Jewish year and contained a list of the Haftarot. Reprints of this Bible were made in Amsterdam in 1611, 1630, 1646, and 1661. The last edition dates from 1726. See Arnold Wiznitzer, "A Biblia de Ferrara no Brasil," *Aonde Vamos?*, XII (No. 513, April 16, 1953), 7, 18.

[7] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, I, 354. [8] *Ibid.*, pp. 326, 348.

[9] *Confissões da Bahia*, pp. 23-24.

[10] A misspelling of the Hebrew word *olam* (world).

[11] *Confissões da Bahia*, pp. 173-74.

[12] She escaped to be burned at the stake. See Dossier 11618 in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, where the documents of the Inquisition still are preserved in excellent and readable condition. See also *Colleição das Noticias dos Autos de Fé's*, Vol. I (manuscript in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York).

[13] Colleção Moreira, Listas dos Autos da Fé, Vol. I, fol. 51 (manuscript in Bibliotêca Nacional, Lisbon).

[14] *Confissões da Bahia*, pp. 31-33. [15] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38. [16] *Ibid.*, pp. 75-78.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 132-34. [18] *Ibid.*, Dossier 1276 (1593).

[19] *Confissões da Bahia*, pp. 135-38.

[20] *Ibid.*, Dossier 12142 (auto-da-fé of August 3, 1603). The statement made by Rodolfo Garcia that Ana Rois was burned alive is erroneous. See *Confissões da Bahia*, p. xvii.

[21] *Diana* (Barcelona, 1614), by Jorge de Montemayor (1520-61), a romance in prose and verse. Montemayor was born in Portugal, but came to Spain at an early age and wrote in Spanish. See Henrique Perdigão, *Dicionário Universal da Literatura*, p. 77.

[22] Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. [23] *Confissões da Bahia*, p. 144.

[24] *Denunciações da Bahia*, pp. 247-48. [25] *Ibid.*, p. 275. [26] *Ibid.*, p. 308.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 420-21. [28] *Ibid.*, p. 449. [29] *Ibid.*, pp. 516-25.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 537. [31] *Ibid.*, p. 558. [32] *Ibid.*, p. 250. [33] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[34] "Aguilas e leones, ganarao la fortaleza, subiram em tanta Alteza, que amansen los dragones, y todos rebueltos en lid, vernam en sus confusiones, subiram francos leones, con uno de sangue de David." *Ibid.*, pp. 316-19.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 333. [36] *Ibid.*, p. 363. [37] *Ibid.*, pp. 442-48.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 465-69. [39] *Ibid.*, p. 475.

[40] Dossier 3216 (1592) in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

[41] *Denunciações da Bahia*, pp. 448-53.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 558. [43] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-62, 84-85, 471, 472, 479-81.

[44] Dossier 12464 (1592) in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. See also Colleção Moreira, fol. 44a.

[45] *Denunciações de Pernambuco*, p. viii. [46] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, II, 11.

[47] *Denunciações de Pernambuco*, p. xxxii.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-33, 44-47, 50-51, 54-58, 75-76, 90, 149-53, 181-83, 191-92, 200-2, 222, 251, 281-82, 406, 456-57.

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. xxv-xxvi. Works mentioned are the anonymous *Branca Dias dos Apipucos* (*ca.* 1850); José Joaquim de Abreu, *Livro de Branca* (Parahiba, 1905); and Carlos D. Fernandes, *Algoz de Branca Dias, A Novella* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922).

[50] Dossier 4580 (1599) in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. Francisco

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:49 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Augusto Pereira da Costa states in RIAHGP, VII (No. 45), 146, that "Brites Fernandes" had been arrested in 1601 and had probably been burned alive in Lisbon. Rodolfo Garcia, on the other hand, is of the opinion that Pereira's statement should be relegated to the realm of legend. See *Denunciações de Pernambuco*, p. xxiv. Neither scholar seems to have known of the dossiers in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo.

[51] *Denunciações de Pernambuco*, p. xxix.

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 117-19, 189-91, 236-38, 244-45.

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 365-68, 370-71, 374, 379.

[54] Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, pp. 276-77.

[55] *Denunciações da Bahia*, pp. 519-20.

[56] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, I, 456-63, 65.

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22. [58] *Ibid.*, pp. 95-99.

[59] *Denunciações de Pernambuco*, pp. xxvi-xxix, 40-43, 54, 56, 69, 128-30, 161, 170, 287-93, 352, 354, 453-54, 458-60.

[60] Wolf, *Histoire de Littérature brésilienne*, pp. 9-10; Lourenço do Couto, *Novo Orbe Serafico*, XXV, 7; Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, I, 512; Verissimo, *História da Literatura brasileira*, pp. 43, 45; Carvalho, *Pequena História da Literatura brasileira*, p. 79; Romeo, *História da Literatura brasileira*, I, 132-33; Teixeira, *Prosopopea*, pp. 9-16.

[61] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, III, 101-21.

[62] Mota, *História da Literatura brasileira*, I, 357-59.

[63] *Denunciações de Pernambuco*, pp. xviii-xxix. [64] Teixeira, *Prosopopea*.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 46. [66] Berakhot, p. 7, Amud 1. [67] Teixeira, *Prosopopea*, p. 76.

[68] Rosa, *Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden*, p. 27; Sokolow, *Baruch Spinoza Usemano*, pp. 101, 102.

[69] Dossier 5206 in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.

[70] *Denunciações de Pernambuco*, pp. 47-50. [71] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 306. [73] Dossier 4273 (1603) in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo.

[74] Dossier 2304 (1603). [75] Dossier 4503. See also Colleção Moreira, fol. 47a.

[76] Andrade e Silva, *Colleção Chronologica de Legislação Portuguesa*, I, 4-5.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 286-88. [78] Azevedo, *História*, p. 498.

[79] *Colleção de Legislação*, pp. 104-5; Thomas, *Repertório Geral*, I, 119-20, No. 868.

[80] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, II, 74. [81] *Repertório Geral*, pp. 119-20, No. 869.

[82] *Ibid.*, No. 870. [83] *Colleção de Legislação*, pp. 139-40.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 185. [85] *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, LVII, 36-37.

[86] Francisco Pyrard de Laval, *Viagem* (Porto, 1944), II, 227-45, trans. from the French original, *Second Partie de Voyage de François Pyrard* (Paris, 1625).

[87] *Colleção de Legislação*, pp. 286-88.

[88] *Denunciações de 1618*, in *Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XLIX, 77.

[89] The verses quoted are to be found in Psalm 68.13, 14, not in Psalm 67 as mentioned in the records and in the *Denunciações de 1618*.

[90] *Denunciações de 1618*, pp. 97-102. [91] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-32. [92] *Ibid.*, pp. 116-18.

[93] *Ibid.*, p. 117. [94] *Ibid.*, pp. 122-24. [95] *Ibid.*, pp. 132-34.

[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 134-36, 155-56, 162-66; Azevedo, *História*, p. 227.

[97] Dossier 3504 (1624), in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo.

[98] *Denunciações de 1618*, pp. 141-44. [99] *Ibid.*, pp. 149-51. [100] *Ibid.*, pp. 162-66

[101] *Ibid.*, pp. 166-68. [102] *Ibid.*, pp. 171-72. [103] *Ibid.*, pp. 183-84.

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 185. [105] *Ibid.*, p. 186. [106] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[107] *Ibid.*, p. 86. [108] *Ibid.*, p. 91. [109] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

[110] *Ibid.*, p. 93. [111] *Ibid.*, p. 93. [112] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:50 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 31. [19] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, pp. 185-86 n. 98; p. 221 n. 26.
[20] Guzman, *Compendia Historial de la Jornada del Brasil y sucesos della*, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la historia de Espana*, LV (Madrid, 1870), 43-200.
[21] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, pp. 185-86 n. 98; p. 221 n. 26; Guzman, *Compendia*.
[22] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, p. 185.
[23] Adler, "Documents sur les Marranes d'Espagne et de Portugal sous Philippe IV," *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XLVIII (1904), 2-3.
[24] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, p. 226.
[25] The author is grateful to Professor C. R. Boxer for having called to his attention the unpublished manuscript of the minutes of the company in the Library of King's College in London, DS 4987.
[26] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, pp. 210-13. [27] Boxer, *Salvador de Sá*, pp. 50-51.
[28] Guzman, *Compendia Historial*, p. 72. [29] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, p. 213.
[30] Freyre, *Nova Lusitania*, pp. 83-84.
[31] Southey, *História do Brasil*, II, 156; Huehner, "Bahia," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, 441-42; Landmann, "Bahia," in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, 32-33; Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, p. 20.
[32] Albert M. Friedenberg, "Brazil," in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, 510.
[33] See Egerton MS 1131-10547, p. 298, in the British Museum, London.
[34] *Relaçam verdadeira de tudo o sucedido na Restauração de Bahia de todos os Santos* (Lisbon, 1625). Reprinted in RIHGB, V (1843), 40.
[35] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, p. 223.
[36] Vargas, *Restauracion de la ciudad del Salvador, i Baia de Todos-Sanctos, en la Provincia del Brasil* (Madrid, 1628). See the Portuguese translation (Bahia, 1847). pp. 143-44.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 148-50. See also Zuniga, "História de la Recuperacion del Brasil hecha por las armas de Espana y Portugal el ano d 1623" [*sic*], *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, LXIX (1950), 218.
[38] Freyre, *Nova Lusitania*, p. 84.
[39] Barleus, *História dos feitos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1940), pp. 16-17.
[40] Zuniga, "História de la Recuperacion del Brasil", p. 223.
[41] Guzman, *Compendia Historial*.
[42] Freyre, *Nova Lusitania*, p. 140; Southey, *History of Brazil*, I, (London, 1810), 451; Bloom, "A Study," PAJHS, No. 33 (1934), p. 33; Roth, *A History of the Marranos*, p. 286.
[43] *Denunciações da 1618*, pp. 84, 86, 92.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 93. [45] *Ibid.*, p. 92. [46] *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 165. [47] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[48] The original manuscript, signed by Lope de Vega Carpio at Madrid on October 23, 1625, is now in the manuscript division of the New York Public Library, part of the Obadia Rich Collection. It was published by the Real Academia Espanola in Madrid in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, XIII (Madrid, 1902), 75-106.
[49] See Pelayo, *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de Vega*, VI, 253-54; also Gino de Solenni, *Lope de Vega's "El Brasil Restituido," Together with a Study of Patriotism in His Theater* (New York, 1929), pp. v-vi. C. R. Boxer, underestimates the Jewish and Marrano aid to the Dutch in the conquest of Bahia. See his *Salvador de Sá*, pp. 40-58.
[50] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, II, 241.
[51] *Groot Placaet-Boeck* ('s Gravenhage, 1664), II, 1236-37. The original Dutch text reads: "De Spaignerts, Portugiesen ende Naturelen van den Lande, 't zy Roomsch

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:52 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ofte Joots-gesinde, sullen gelaten werden by hare vryheyt, sonder moeyenisse ofte ondersoeck in hare conscientien, ofte particuliere Huysen: Ende en sal oock niemant hem bevorderen de selve eenigh belet, verstoornisse of hinderinge te doen, alles op arbitrale, oock naer ghelegentheyt rigoureuse ende exemplare corrective."

[52] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, II, 254.

[53] Coelho, *Memorias diarias de la Guerra del Brasil*, p. 18. This entry in his journal is dated February, 1630.

[54] Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, Vol. I. See the Recife (1942) ed., p. 26.

[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

[56] West-Indische Compagnie Articulen (Amsterdam, 1630), Article XV. Bylsma, *Eene Geschiedenis van Hollandsch-Brazilie, West Indische Gids (1921)*, p. 375.

[57] Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, pp. 115-16.

[58] Koennen, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, pp. 227 ff.

[59] Notulen van Brasilie, May 24, 1635, in Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague (Oude West-Indische Compagnie, No. 68). "Moses Novara, adelborst onder de Compagnie van Capiteyn Bonnet, versoeckende vrijman te moegen werden, is sulcx toegestaen ten sensien densilven weinich dienst doet, derhalve hij oock die gagie dien hij gedurrende sijn uitwesen verdient heeft niet en sall heben te pretenderen maer aen de Compagnie laeten blijven." (Moses Navarro, naval cadet in the company of Captain Bonnet, requests permission to become a freeman. This can be authorized in view of the fact that he does not do much service. He shall not have the right to claim his salary earned during his absence, but it shall be left to the Company).

[60] *Ibid.*, July 26, 1936. [61] Mello neto, *Tempo dos Flamengos*, p. 57.

[62] Notulen van Brasilie, November 6, 1635, and March 31, 1636.

[63] Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, p. 116. [64] *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17, 357.

[65] Mello neto, *Tempo dos Flamengos*, pp. 291-92.

[66] Notulen van Brasilie, September 21, 1637.

[67] "Processo de Manoel de Moraes, Sacerdoto e Theologo," RIHGB, LXX, Part I (1908), 25-26, 39-40.

[68] Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, pp. 46-47; Coelho, *Memorias diarias de la Guerra del Brasil*, p. 116.

[69] Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, p. 66.

Notes to IV. The Governorship of Johan Maurits van Nassau

[1] *Groot Placaet-Boeck* ('s Gravenhage, 1664), II, 1252-53. The text of the instructions of October 13, 1629, is repeated here, more or less amplified by the following sentence: "Midts dat de vornoemde Roomsch ofte Joodsgesinde haer wachten van publijcque schandalen ende onteeringe van Godes onses Salichmaeckers heylige naem." (Provided also that the above mentioned people of Roman Catholic and Jewish faith shall beware of committing public scandals and of dishonoring the holy name of God our Savior.)

[2] Barlaeus, *Rerum per Octennium*, 2d ed. (Cleves, 1660), pp. 49-50. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[4] "The Jews complained today that they were urged to keep guard on their Sabbath, and asked in view of the fact that liberty of conscience had been promised to them to be excused from service on the mentioned day by paying the usual fine. Their request was considered reasonable and their Colonel will be notified in order

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:52 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

that this is generally known." Translated from the original Dutch document in Notulen van Brasilie, dated February 14, 1637.

[5] "Iudaeis eximendam inveteratem, de Legis Mosaicae aeterna observatione, opinionem, ut & de regni Hierosolymiyani restauratione: persuadendam Jesu Christi Filij Mariae, tanquam primissi & nati dudum Messiae reverentiam & fidem." Barlaeus, *Rerum per Octennium*, p. 86.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[7] "Classicale Acta van Brazilie," *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, XXIX (6th ser., Part IV, 1873). Translated into Portuguese by Pedro Souto Maior and published under the title "A Religião Crista Reformada no Brasil no Seculo XVII" (Atas dos Sinodos e classes do Brasil no seculo XVII, durante o dominio holandes), RIHGB, Tomo Especial, Parte I (Rio de Janeiro, 1915), pp. 707-80, esp. p. 713.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 722. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 731.

[10] Notulen van Brasilie, dated July 23, 1636. See also the letter of P. Serooskercke dated August 12, 1636, to the Chamber of Zeeland mentioned in Mello neto, *Tempo dos Flamengos*, p. 292.

[11] "Classicale Acta van Brazilie," p. 734.

[12] Jost, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes*, VIII, 266; Kohut, "Early Jewish Literature in America," PAJHS, No. 3 (1895), pp. 103-47; Eisenstein, "The Development of Jewish Casuistic Literature in America," *ibid.*, No. 12 (1904), pp. 140-41; Silver, "America in Hebrew Literature," *ibid.*, No. 22 (1914), p. 118; Sabbatai, *Sefer Torat Hayyim*, III, 2-4; Wiznitzer, "Os Judeus Brasileiros na Literatura de Responsa," *Aonde Vamos?*, XII (No. 498; January 1, 1953).

[13] Sabbatai, *Sefer Torat Hayyim*, title page.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[15] Emanuel, *Histoire de l'Industrie des Tissus des Israelites de Salonique*, pp. 49-50; *Histoire des Israelites de Salonique*, I, 293-95.

[16] Sabbatai, *Sefer Torat Hayyim*, p. 4.

[17] Kohut, "Early Jewish Literature in America," p. 104.

[18] "Sommier Discours over den Staet van de vier geconquesteerde capitanias Pernambuco, Itamarica, Paraiba, ende Rio Grande inde Noorder deelen van Brasil," dated 1638 and published in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht* (1879); also appeared as "Breve Discourso sobre o estado das quatro capitanias conquistadas de Pernambuco, Itamaraca, Paraiba e Rio Grande," RIAHGP, No. 34 (1887), pp. 139-94. See also Dussen, *Relatório sobre as capitanias conquistadas no Brasil pelos holandeses (1639): Suas condições economicas e sociais*, trans. from the original Dutch manuscript into Portuguese by Mello neto.

[19] Waetjen, *Das hollaendische Kolonialreich in Brasilien*, p. 267.

[20] Waetjen, *O Dominio Colonial do Brasil Hollandes*, pp. 334-35.

[21] Notulen van Brasilie, dated August 7, 1637.

[22] *Ibid.*, dated September 21, 1637.

[23] *Inventario dos Livros das Portarias do Reino, 1639–1653*, I (Lisbon, 1909), 113.

[24] Cf. Herbert I. Bloom, "A Study of Brazilian Jewish History 1623–1654, Based Chiefly upon the Findings of the Late Samuel Oppenheim," PAJHS, No. 33 (1934), pp. 58, 76: "We know, however, that Jorge Homen Pinto... was unquestionably a Jew..." See also Albert M. Friedenberg, "Brasil," in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, p. 512; Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, I, 107; Lebeson, *Pilgrim People*, p. 44; Friedman, "Some References to Jews in Sugar Trade," PAJHS No. 42, (1953),

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:56 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

p. 308; José Honório Rodriguez in his note 324 on page 227 of Johan Nieuhof's *Gedenkweerdige Brasiliaanse Zee- en Lant-Reize* (Amsterdam, 1682) in the Portuguese edition of *Memoravel Viagem*.

[25] Dussen, *Relatório*, p. 33. [26] *Ibid.* [27] *Ibid.*, p. 35. [28] *Ibid.*, p. 40. [29] *Ibid.*, p. 36. [30] *Ibid.*, p. 42. [31] *Ibid.*, p. 37. [32] *Ibid.*, p. 38. [33] *Ibid.*, p. 57. [34] *Ibid.*

[35] Mello neto, *Tempo dos Flamengos*, pp. 306–8; Bloom, "A Study" pp. 63–65.

[36] Notulen van Brasilie, July 30, 1636, and August 12, 1638. See also Bloom, "A Study," p. 62. His statement that Pina paid 43,000 florins for "São Antão Popica" is incorrect.

[37] Notulen van Brasilie, August 11, 1639. [38] *Ibid.*, July 31, 1641.

[39] Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, pp. 138–39.

[40] Notulen van Brasilie, May 4, 1643; September 22, 1643; July 29, 1644; October 24, 1644. See also Mello neto, *Tempo dos Flamengos*, p. 308.

[41] Notulen van Brasilie, October 20, 1644.

[42] Generale Missiven of the Dutch Government in Brazil to the Heeren XIX in Holland, September 24, 1642, quoted in Mello neto, *Tempo dos Flamengos*, p. 221 n. 46.

[43] Varnhagen, *História das Lutas*, pp. 129, 316–29.

[44] Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, I, 88–89.

[45] Classicale Acta van Brazilie, pp. 725–26, 734.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 734; Barlaeus, *História dos feitos*, p. 70.

[47] "Sommier discours," p. 1164.

[48] Letter of 66 Christian merchants to Johan Maurits in the year 1641. Manuscript in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague (Oude West-Indische Compagnie No. 68).

[49] Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, p. 81.

[50] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, II, 325–26 n. 28.

[51] The manuscript, in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, was published in Portuguese as "Atas da Assembleia Geral" in RIAHGP, No. 31 (1884), pp. 172–238.

[52] Barlaeus, *História dos Feitas*, pp. 156–57; Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, I, 276–77; Nieuhof, *Gedenkweerdige*, in *Memoravel Viagem*, pp. 22–23; Mello neto, *Tempo dos Flamengos*, pp. 111–12 nn. 209–10. Balthasar da Fonseca owned much timber, many slaves, houses, gardens, and olive trees in Olinda, according to Padre Manoel de Moraes's testimony during his trial in Lisbon. See "Processo de Manoel de Moraes," pp. 26–27.

[53] Bloom, "A Study," p. 65. [54] Lebeson, *Pilgrim People*, p. 43.

[55] Classicale Acta van Brazilie, pp. 753, 755, 761, 765.

[56] Barlaeus, *Rerum per Octennium*, pp. 48–49.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 191. [58] Classicale Acta van Brazilie, p. 759. [59] *Ibid.*, p. 768.

[60] Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 53–57.

[61] Generale Missiven, March 19 and May 23, 1638.

[62] Algemeen Rijksarchief, Oude West Indische Compagnie No. 56.

[63] *Ibid.* (copy in the Oppenheim Collection, packets 4 and 5).

[64] *Ibid.* (packets 6 and 7).

[65] Notulen van Brasilie, Archief Oude West Indische Compagnie No. 69.

[66] Menasseh ben Israel, *El Conciliador* (Amsterdam, 5041: 1641), pp. 87–88.

[67] "Processo de Manoel de Moraes," pp. 39–40. [68] Notulen van Brasilie, No. 69.

[69] *Ibid.* [70] *Ibid.*, August 5, 6, and 19, 1642. [71] *Ibid.*, March 17, 1642.

[72] Barlaeus, *Rerum per Octennium*, p. 244; Waetjen, *Das hollaendische Kolonialreich*, p. 127.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:56 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

[73] Algemeen Rijksarchief, Document 5773. The statement that the letter was written by the Jewish settlers of Mauricia only is erroneous. See Netscher, *Les Hollandais au Bresil*, p. 127; Waetjen, *Das hollaendische Kolonialreich*, pp. 128–29; Bloom, "A Study," pp. 60–61. Also erroneous is Netscher's statement (repeated by Waetjen) that the Jews said that they would, if necessary, even shed their blood in order to keep Johan Maurits as governor in Brazil.

[74] Classicale Acta van Brazilie, p. 770.

[75] Koennen, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, p. 279. Journael Ofte Kort Discours nopende de Rebellye ende verradeljecke Desseynen der Portugesen alhier in Brasil voorgenomen 't welck in Junio 1645, is ontdeckt. Ende wat vorder daer nae ghepasseert is tot den 28. April 1647. Beschreven door een Liefhebber, die selfs int begin der Rebellye daer te Lande is gheweest, ende aldaer noch is residerende (Arnheim, 1647). Published in Portuguese under the title "Diario ou Breve Discurso Acerca da Rebeliao e dos Perfidos Designios dos Portugeses do Brasil, descobertos em Junho de 1645, e do mais que se passou ate 28 de abril de 1647," RIAHGP, No. 32 (1887), pp. 121–225, esp. p. 130.

[76] Barlaeus, *Rerum per Octennium*, pp. 308–16.

[77] "Iudaeorum repagula. Iudaeis & abramidis haec posita repagula: novas synagogas ne aedificanto. Nulli Christianam uxorem ducere, aut concubinatu possidere fast esto neminem a Christo ad Mosen, ab Evangelica libertate ad legis onera, a luce ad umbras avocanto. Sacro sancto Iesu Christi nomini ne maledicito. In censu proxene tarum tertiam partem ne excedunto. Mercando neminem fraudibus circumveniunto. Liberos ex altero parente Iudaeo, altero Christiano natos iis defunctis, Christianis consanguineis educandos tradunto, his destituti Orphanotrophiis, si pauperes sint, sin divites, Secreti Concilii Senatoribus curae sunto." *Ibid.*, pp. 526–27.

Notes to V. Brazilian-Portuguese War of Liberation

[1] Notulen van Brasilie, dated January 31, 1645; February 3, 1645; and General Missive, dated February 13, 1645.

[2] Notulen van Brasilie, No. 76.

[3] The full letter was published by Johan Nieuhof, see *Memoravel Viagem*, pp. 108–10

[4] Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, I, 384; Frei Raphael de Jesus, *Castrioto Lusitano*, p. 267, speaks of three Jews killed in Ipojuca. Matheus van Den Broeck also speaks of three Jews, see the Portuguese translation of his diary, "Diario ou Naração Historica," RIHGB, No. 54, Part I (19), p. 9 (*Journal of the Historialse Beschrijvinge*, Amsterdam, 1651).

[5] Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, 385. [6] Broeck, "Diario," p. 31.

[7] Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, II, 112–16.

[8] Notulen van Brasilie, dated October 4, 1645, No. 60.

[9] "Dat de Joden op hare Sabbat dach sullen gehouden sijn te waecken soo lange dese onrusten dueren. Ingevalle allarm quame (dat het godt voor verhoede) sullen haer elxc op haer bescheyde plaetse moeten laten vinden." (The Jews on their Sabbath will be obliged to stand guard as long as these commotions continue. In case of alarm (which God forbid), they are obliged to be every one in the places assigned to them.) See Notulen van Brasilie, No. 70, dated June 19, 1645.

[10] Koennen, "Diario ou Breve Discourso," RIAHGP, No. 32 (1887), p. 139 (September 12, 1645).

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:56 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

[11] Notulen van Brasilie, dated June 26, 1645.

[12] "Diario ou Breve Discourso," p. 159 (November 13, 1645).

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 161-62 (November 21, 1645).

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 197 (June 18, 1646). [15] *Ibid.* (June 22, 1646).

[16] A copy of this petition is in the Oppenheim Collection, packet No. 8; mentioned by Herbert I. Bloom, "A Study," p. 75.

[17] Notulen van Staten Generaal, Archief Oude West-Indische Compagnie, No. 3, fols. 1720 ff. The order is published in its entirety by Bloom, "A Study" pp. 103-4. I. S. Emmanuel's statement in AJA, VII (1955, No. 1), 9, that he is publishing the document "for the first time" is therefore not correct.

[18] Nieuhof, in *Memoravel Viagem*, p. 144.

[19] Notulen van Brasilie, October 17, 1645. [20] *Ibid.*, October 4, 1645.

[21] Missivenboek der XIX, document dated August 1, 1646, in Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, Archief Oude West-Indische Compagnie, No. 10.

[22] See n. 17 above. [23] Notulen van Brasilie, No. 61.

[24] *Ibid.*, February 5, 1646.

[25] "Diario ou Breve Discourso." We found no evidence for Waetjen's statement that many wealthy Jewish farmers went over to the rebels in order to save their lives and goods. See his *Daz hollaendische Kolonialreich*, p. 129.

[26] Nieuhof, in *Memoravel Viagem*, pp. 255-56.

[27] The manuscript of Isaac Aboab's historical poem *Zekher asiti leniflaot El* is in the possession of the Livraria Ets Haim-/D. Montezinos in Amsterdam. Part of it was published by M. Kayserling in his article "Isaac Aboab, the First Jewish Author in America," PAJHS, No. 5 (1897), pp. 125-26; also in "Rabbi Yizhak Aboab Hashlishi," *Hagoren*, III (1902), 155-74.

[28] Barlaeus, *Rerum per Octennium*, p. 258; Moreau, *Histoire des derniers troubles du Bresil*, p. 69; Nieuhof, in *Memoravel Viagem*, p. 153; Guilherme Marcgrave Jorge Piso, *Tractatus Topographicus et Meteorilogicus Brasiliae* (Leiden, 1642), chap. xii, p. 25; Rovlox Baro, *Relation du Voyage de Rovlox Baro...au pays des Tapuies dans la terre ferme due Bresil* (Paris, 1651), pp. 222, 247; Carvalho, *Aventuras e Aventureiros no Brasil*, pp. 165-76; Wiznitzer, "Jacob Rabbi, alias Johannes Rabe, Cacique Indio e Salteador no Brasil Holandes (1637–1646)—Judeu ou Alemao de Waldeck na Alemanha?" *Aonde Vamos?*, XII (November 20, 1952), 6-7.

[29] Notulen van Brasilie, No. 62, dated December 4, 1646.

[30] Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, I, 278.
Varnhagen, *História Geral*, III, 42, 68-70.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[32] Dossiers in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo are as follows: Gabriel Mendes, 11362; João Nunes Velho, 11575; Diogo Henriques, 1770; Miguel Frances, 7276.

[33] Dossier 11575 (Gabriel Mendes). [34] Dossiers 11362, 11575, 1770.
In the minutes of the trial of João Nunes Velho (11575), p. 21 of the manuscript mentions the ten Jews from Brazil who were imprisoned during the Rio São Francisco campaign. It is said there that all of them declared they had been born as Jews. Four of them (David Michael, German; Isaac, native of Tarmustar; Jacob Polaco, from Poland; Salamão from Germany), it continues, had to be freed because there was no justification for keeping them in prison and having expenses with them. The other six Jews are described as speaking perfect Portuguese and therefore suspected of having been born in Portugal and baptized.

[35] Miguel Frances, also known as David Frances, was the son of Paulo Frances

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:57 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

of Amsterdam. Born as a Catholic in Lisbon, he became a Jew in Amsterdam. He arrived as a prisoner in Lisbon on February 25, 1646, on the same caravel as the prisoner Padre Manoel de Moraes. See "Processo de Manoel de Moraes," pp. 1-3.

[36] The text of the petition was published by Bloom, "A Study," pp. 105-6.

[37] Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, Dossier 3602. Copy in the Oppenheim Collection.

[38] *Ibid.*, Dossier 7017.

[39] "...que desse ao diabo os judeos, que nem por se queimarem estes, se avião de emmendar os outros, e que para queimar não faltarão la muitos." *Correspondencia Diplomatica de Francisco de Souza Coutinho durante a sua Embaixada em Hollanda*, II, 147.

[40] Algemeen Rijksarchief, Dossier 7017.

[41] Copy in the Oppenheim Collection.

[42] *Correspondencia Diplomatica*, II, 295, 313-14.

[43] *Cartas do Padre Antonio Vieira*, ed. by Azevedo, I, 157-58, 170-71.

[44] Algemeen Rijksarchief, Register Uitgaande Missiven, January 1649, Dossier 3505.

[45] Algemeen Rijksarchief, Dossier 7017.

[46] Dossier 306 in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. He appeared at the auto-da-fé of December 13, 1652.

[47] "Diario ou Breve Discourso," p. 197, n. 3.

[48] Bloom, "A Study," p. 115; Dussen, *Relatório* p. 157. The manuscript is in the Archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[49] This study is based on the original manuscript of the minutes of Isaac de Castro's trial before the tribunal of the Inquisition in Lisbon. The dossier, consisting of 1150 pages, bears the number 11550 in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.

[50] Avignon was at that time pontifical territory and professing Jews were tolerated there.

[51] He meant the days from Rosh Hodesh Elul and Rosh ha-Shanah to Yom Kippur.

[52] "Christi Jesu nomine inuocato declarao ao Reo Joseph de Liz ou Isack de Castro por convicto e confesso no crime de herezia e apostazia e q foi e ao prezente he hereje apostata da nossa sancte Fee, E q incorrer em sentenca do excomunhao maior, e confiscacao de todos seus bens para o fisco e Camara Real, e nas mais penas em direito contra os semelhantes e establecidas, E como hereje apostate, convicto E confesso, Profitente, affirmativo e pertinaz o condenao a relaxao a justica secular a quem pedem com muita instancia se aja com elle benigna e piedosamente, e nao procede a pena de morte nem effusao de sangue. Pedro de Castilho."

This was the customary formal expression of feigned clemency by the Inquisition. *De facto* death by strangulation and by burning at the stake circumvented the "effusion of blood."

[53] The original manuscript is in a volume entitled "Recuil De plusieurez lettres et Memoirez Concernant le Portugal," Tome II, vol. 3 of La Correspondance Politique Portugal (September, 1647–December, 1655), fols. 60/48 and 61/49, in the Archives of the French Foreign Office at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris.

[54] Colleção Moreira. Listas dos autos-da-fé. I: Colleção de Listas impressos e manuscriptos dos Autos da Fé publicos e particulares da Inquisição de Lisboa corrigida e annotada por Antonio Joaquim Moreira, Lisboa, fol. 161 (MS 863 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon).

[55] Cardoso, *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos*, pp. 324-25; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, X, 102; Sokolow, *Baruch Spinoza Usemano*, p. 196; Kohut, "Jewish Martyrs of the

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:57 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Inquisition in South America," *PAJHS*, No. 4 (1896), 129 ff.; Roth, *History of the Marranos*, pp. 157-58.

[56] Béthencourt, "L'Auto da Fé de Lisbonne, 15 Decembre 1647," *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XLIX (1904), 262-69. Béthencourt refers to fol. 157 instead of fol. 161.

[57] Cardoso, *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos*, pp. 324-25.

[58] Béthencourt, "L'Auto da Fé de Lisbonne," pp. 262-69.

[59] Manuscript in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, in Archieven Staten Generaal, Inv. No. 7017.

[60] See Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, p. 102.

[61] Oliveyra, *Sharsheret Gavulot*, p. 52b.

[62] See Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, p. 102.

[63] Menasseh ben Israel, *Mikweh Israel*, pp. 99-100.

[64] Cf. Arnold Wiznitzer, "Jewish Soldiers in Dutch Brazil (1630-1654)," PAJHS, vol. XLVI (Sept., 1956), pp. 40-50. For his statement, that Isaac de Castro had come to Bahia in order to teach Marranos Torah, Professor Simha Assaf erroneously quotes Menasseh ben Israel's aforementioned book. Cf. Simha Assaf, "Anusei Sefarad u-Portugal be-Sifrut ha-Teshubot" [Spanish and Portuguese Marranos in the Responsa literature], *Zion*, V (Jerusalem, 1933), 22.

[65] Yshac Cardoso, *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos*, pp. 324-25.

[66] Raphael de Jesus, *Castrioto Lusitano*, IX, 636-38 (No. 84-85).

[67] Adrade e Silva, *Colleção da Legislação*, VII, 27-29; Freitas, *A Companhia Geral do Comercio do Brasil (1649-1720)*, pp. 21, 26, 27; Boxer, "Padre Antonio Vieira, S. J., and the Institution of the Brazil Company in 1649," *The Hispano American Historical Review*, 1949, pp. 482-87.

[68] Andrade e Silva, *Colleção da Legislação*, pp. 31-41. In the royal decree the company is called "Companhia Geral para o Estado do Brasil" (general company for the state of Brazil). Later it was called by historians: "Companhia Geral do Brasil" (Azevedo), "Companhia Geral de Comercio para o Brasil" (Varnhagen), "Companhia Geral do Comercio do Brasil" (Freitas), even "Companhia da Bolsa" (exchange company, Roth). The banker Gaspar Dias de Mesquita, who signed the contract, was a Marrano and a friend of Padre Antonio Vieira. See Calmon, *História do Brasil*, II, 243. Calmon calls the company "Companhia Geral de Comercio." Certainly the correct name is that mentioned in the decree of February 6, 1649.

[69] Azevedo, *História*, p. 252.

[70] Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, p. 212.

[71] Dossier 8132 in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

[72] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, III, 82.

[73] The manuscript of the letter, written in Dutch, is in the manuscript division of the New York Public Library, Brazil Papers, Folder Catalogue 123, p. 3.

[74] Notulen of the XIX, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague. A copy is in the Oppenheim Collection.

[75] Notulen van Brasilie, Dossier 5252 (copy in the Oppenheim Collection). Cf. Wiznitzer, *Records*, p. 90.

[76] Waetjen, *Das hollaendische Kolonialreich*, p. 229.

[77] Notulen van Brasilie, Dossier 64. Copy in the Oppenhem Collection.

[78] Wiznitzer, *Records*, p. 30.

[79] Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, II, 241.

[80] Notulen van Brasilie, No. 64.

[81] Bloom, "A Study," p. 87.

[82] Notulen van Brasilie, Dossier 64.

[83] *Ibid.*, Dossier 5253.

[84] *Inventário dos prédios edificados ou reparados pelos Holandêses na cidade do Recife atê 1654* (Recife, 1839 and 1940), see 1940 ed., pp. 3-18.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:57 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

[85] Notulen van Brasilie, Dossier 5252, January 22, 1654. [86] *Ibid.*

[87] Haecxs, "Diario de Henrique Haecxs, membro do Alto Conselho do Brasil (1645–1654)," *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, LXIX (1950), 150.

[88] Van Haren, *De Geuzen* (Amsterdam, 1772).

Notes to VI. Jewish Communities in Dutch Brazil

[1] For a more detailed account of this subject see the author's "The Number of Jews in Dutch Brazil (1630–1654)," *JSS*, XVI (1954), 107–14.

[2] Menezes, *Historia de Portugal Restaurado*, I, 839.

[3] Boxer, "Padre Antonio Vieira, S. J., and the Institution of the Brazil Company in 1649," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXIX (1949), 474–97, esp. p. 495.

[4] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, III, 101–3.

[5] See "Het Dagboek van Haendrik Haecxs, Lid van den Hoogen Raad van Brazilië (1645–1654)," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap (Gevestigt te Utrecht)*, Part XVI (1925), 126–311, esp. pp. 298–99.

[6] Varnhagen, *História das Lutas*, pp. 316–23.

[7] "Classicale Acta van Brazilië," *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap (Gevestigt te Utrecht)*, XXIX (ser. VI, Part IV, 1874), 329.

[8] Mendes, "Toledot Gedolei Yisrael," in *Ha-Measef*, pp. 15–16.

[9] The original document is in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, Oude West-Indische Compagnie, No. 61.

[10] Notulen van Brasilie, February 21, 1654.

[11] Saul Levi Mortera, "Providencia de Dios con Israel"; see note 29. Mortera's manuscript was the source of Mendes's much-quoted article on the exodus of the Jews from Brazil in 1654.

[12] Bloom, *Economic Activities of the Jews*, p. 31.

[13] The original manuscript of this minute book is in the archives of the Portuguese Jewish Community in Amsterdam, the Livraria Ets Haim-D. Montezinos. The original Portuguese text was published by the author in the *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional* of Rio de Janeiro, LXXIV (1953), 213–40; an English translation with an analysis was published later in his *Records*.

Reexamination of the 172 legible signatures in the manuscript revealed several apparent misreadings. Further information from other sources, e.g. the minutes of the trial of Isaac de Castro and the tax assessment published by I. S. Emmanuel in "New Light on Early American Jewry," pp. 47–48, made possible more accurate readings. The entire list of the members of Congregation Zur Israel and Magen Abraham is therefore republished here as Appendix.

[14] Cf. manuscripts from the archives of the Portuguese Jewish Community in Amsterdam published in AJA, VII (No. 1, January, 1955), 24–34.

[15] Wiznitzer, *Records*, p. 79.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 90–91. [17] *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56. [18] *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57.

[19] His name as a Catholic was Gil Correia, as indicated by Isaac de Castro during his trial in Lisbon. In 1648 he was about seventy-seven years old.

[20] His name as a Catholic was Dr. Fernandes Patto. He was born in Spain and had spent many years in Madrid. See minutes of the trial of Isaac de Castro.

[21] For a more detailed account of this subject see the author's "The Exodus from Brazil and Arrival in New Amsterdam of the Jewish Pilgrim Fathers, 1654," PAJHS, XLIV (1954), 80–97.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:57 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

[22] *Inventário dos prédios edificados ou reparados pelos Holandêses na cidade de Recife até 1654* (Recife, 1839, 1940). See p. 7 of the 1940 ed. Cf. Wiznitzer, *Records*, p. 55 n. 44.

[23] Mello, *Biografias de Alguns Poetas*, II, 186–87.

[24] Haecxs, "Diario de Henrique Haecxs, membro do Alto Conselho do Brasil (1645–1654)," *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, LXIX (1950), 152 n. 147.

[25] Notulen van Brasilie, April 7, 1654 [Martis, den 7e Aprilis 1654], Archives of the West India Company, No. 75, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague (copy in the Oppenheim Collection, American Jewish Historical Society).

[26] The Dutch text reads as follows: "Dat in cas den vigairo generael, tegens die Jooden die Christenen waren geweest, eenige van de welcke bereyts in de inquisitie hadden geseten, iets quame voor te nemen 't selve bij hem niet soude comen werden beleth, dat derhalven deselve om alle ongemacken te eviteren, sich voor de expiratie van de drei maenden dienden t'embarcqueren."

[27] The Dutch text of the letter of General Francisco Barreto to the Supreme council reads as follows: "Alle het volck soo Christenen als Joden, die vermits dilaj van de vaertyuigen waermede sij souden mogen afgaen binnen de drie maenden van 't accoord niet sullen sijn vertrocken, sullen getracteert worden als tot noch toe, exempt de Joden die Christenen geweest zijn, dewelcke de heijlige inquisitie subject zijn waerinne ick mij niet can steecken." *Ibid.*; see also Wiznitzer, *Records*, p. 44.

[28] Notulen van Brasilie, April 8, 1654.

[29] Seven copies of this manuscript are extant: three in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; two in the Livraria Ets Haim-D. Montezinos, Amsterdam; two in the Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Hamburg. The oldest, written by Jehudah Machabeu and dated 5423 (1663), is in the Bodleian Library.

[30] Resolutien van de Staten Generaal, November 14, 1654, in Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague (copy in Oppenheim Collection, American Jewish Historical Society).

[31] Wiznitzer, "The Exodus from Brazil and Arrival in New Amsterdam of the Jewish Pilgrim Fathers, 1654," PAJHS, LXIV (1954), 87–94.

Notes to VII. Late Brazilian Marranos, 1654–1822

[1] These records also are to be found in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.

[2] Andrade e Silva, *Colleção Legislação*, IX, 91. [3] Azevedo, *História*, pp. 326–28.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 329. [5] Dossier 1292 in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo.

[6] Dossier 5509. [7] Dossier 2359.

[8] Frézier, *Relation d'un Voyage de la Mer du Sud aux Côtes du Chily et du Perou, fait pendant les annees 1712, 1713 et 1714* (Paris, 1716, p. 276); *Voyage de Marseille à Lima et dans les autres Indes Occidentales* (Paris, 1720), p. 132.

[9] Garcia, "Os Judeus no Brasil colonial," in *Os Judeus na Historia do Brasil*, pp. 9–46, esp. pp. 38–40.

[10] Azevedo, "Notas sobre o Judaismo e a Inquisição do Brasil," RIHGB, CXLV (1926), 680–97, esp. p. 682.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 683.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 683–84. See also Azevedo, *Novas Espanaforas*, pp. 142–43.

[13] Azevedo, "Notas sobre o Judaismo."

See also, concerning Rodrigo Alvares, Dossier 999 in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

[14] Dossier 4146.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:58 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

[15] See the list published by F. A. Varnhagen in RIHGB (1931), 52-57.

[16] Sousa, *Memorias Historicas do Rio de Janeiro*, I, 74-79, esp. p. 59.

[17] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, III, 325-26. [18] *Ibid.*, p. 326.

[19] See Dossier 5336 in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

[20] Azevedo, "Notas sobre o Judaismo," pp. 689-95.

[21] See "Processo de Manoel de Moraes, Sacerdoto e Theologo," RIHGB, LXX (Part I, 1908), 25-26.

[22] Azevedo, "Notas sobre o Judaismo," p. 692.

[23] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, III, 326 n. 39.; Handelmann *Geschichte von Brasilien*, pp. 412-13.

[24] "Em fim depois que a Inquisição descubrio no Rio de Janeiro a mina dos Judeos, e se lhes confiscarão os bens, de que os principaes erão os Engenhos de Asucar, que se perdião, foi preciso que S. Magestado ordenasse que os ditos Engenhos nao fossem confiscados, vendo o grande prejuizo que se fazia ao Commercio deste importante genero." Cunha, *Testamento Politico ou Carta escrita pelo Grande D. Luiz da Cunha ao Senhor Rei D. Jose I*, p. 54.

[25] Azevedo, "Notas sobre o Judaismo," pp. 695-97.

[26] Dossiers 4953, 4970, 4958, and 2037 in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo.

[27] Dossiers 2218, 2225, 1765, 1475, and 1476.

[28] Dossiers 675, 265, 274, 3580, 1381, 1910, and 679.

[29] Dossiers 3352, 4089, and 3234.

[30] See the list published by Varnhagen in RIHGB, p. 84.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 58. [32] Azevedo, *História*, p. 140.

[33] See Dossier 3464 in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo, published in its entirety in "Translado do Processo feito pela Inquisição de Lisboa contra Antonio Joze da Silva Poeta Brasileiro," *Revista Trimestral do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LIX (1896), 5-51.

[34] See Varnhagen's list in RIHGB, 61-63. See also Dossier 999 in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo (João Tomas de Castro).

[35] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, IV, 119-21. [36] See Varnhagen's list, pp. 61-63.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 64-67. See also Dossiers 2293 (Felis Nunes de Miranda), 11772 (Guiomar Nunes), and 9973 (Miguel de Mendoça) in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo.

[38] Varnhagen's list, pp. 67-69. See also Dossiers 821 (Diogo Correa do Valle), 1779 (Domingos Nunes), and 9249 (Luis Miguel Correa).

[39] Varnhagen's list, pp. 69-72. See also Dossier 8172 (Fernando Henriques Alvares).

[40] Dossier 1361. [41] See Varnhagen's list, pp. 72-74, and Dossier 1361.

[42] "Christi Jesu nomine invocato, decalaram o reo Antonio Joze da Silva por convicto, negativo, pertinaz, e relapso no crime de erezia e apostazia, e que foi erege apostata de nossa santa fe catholica, e que incorreo en sentenca de excomunhão maior, e confiscação de todos os seus bens para o fisco e camara real, e nas mais penas de direito contra similhantes establecidas, e como erego apostata de nossa santa fe catholica convicto, negativo, pertinaz, e relapso o condemnam e relaxam a justica secular, a quem pedem com muita instancia so haja com elle benigna e piedozamente, e nao proceda a pena de morte nem efuazao de sangue." Dossier 3464, published in its entirety in "Segundo Processo de Antonio Joze da Silva, Christão Novo, Advogado, natural de Rio de Janeiro e morador nesta cidade de Lisboa," *Revista Trimestral do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LIX (1896), 51-261. See also Azevedo, *História*, pp. 343-45, and Baião, *Episodios dramaticos da Inquisição Portuguesa*, II, 177-206.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:59 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

[43] Dossier 3754. [44] See Varnhagen's list, p. 77.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 78. See also Dossier 8378.
[46] See Varnhagen's list, p. 79, and Dossier 8378.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 84. [48] *Ibid.*, pp. 80–82. [49] Dossier 2490. [50] Dossier 1513.
[51] Azevedo, *História*, pp. 337–38, 349.
[52] See the king's decree, dated May 25, 1773, published in Silva, *Collecção da Legislação Portuguesa*, II, 672–78.
[53] Varnhagen, *História Geral*, IV, 363.

Notes to Personalia

[1] See Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 7, 19, 24–25, 38, 42–43, 45, 48, 50, 72, 79, 88, 91; Rosa, *Iets over den Amsterdamschen Oppenrabbijn Isaac Aboab;* Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, X, 1–26; Kayserling, *Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica*, p. 26; Kayserling, "Isaac Aboab, the First Jewish Author in America," PAJHS, No. 5 (1897), pp. 125–36; Kayserling, "The Earliest Rabbis and Jewish Writers of America," PAJHS, No. 3 (1895), pp. 103–47; Silber, "America in Hebrew Literature," PAJHS, No. 22 (1914), p. 118; MS of the Libro dos Acordos da Naçam, Escamot, E. Eleicoems do K. K. de T. T. que el Dio Augmente (1638–80), p. 373; Emmanuel, "New Light on Early American Jewry," AJA (January, 1955), p. 59 n. 16; Meijer, Encyclopaedia Sefardica Nederlandica, pp. 11–12, 14; Sholem, *Sabbatai Zevi, We-Hatenuah ha-Sabbatait Bijmei Hayyiav*, II, 432.

[2] See Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 48, 51, 58, 73, 75, 79–81, 84–86. See also MS Inventàrio das Armas e Petrechos Belicos, p. 10; Bloom, "A Study of Brazilian Jewish History 1623–1654, Based Chiefly upon the Findings of the Late Samuel Oppenheim," PAJHS, No. 33 (1934), pp. 91–93; Bloom, *Economic Activities of the Jews*, p. 209.

[3] See Rosa, *Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden*, pp. 66–67, 69, 74 ff., 88–89, 101, 104, 128; Remedios, *Os Judeus Portugueses em Amsterdam*, pp. 60–62; Kayserling, *Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica*, p. 9; Mendes, "Toledot Gedolei Yisrael," in *Ha-Measef*, pp. 26–27; Meijer, *Encyclopaedia Sefardica Nederlandica*, pp. 22–23; Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 20–21, 50, 78.

[4] See Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 51, 76; Bloom, "A Study," pp. 80, 97, 99, 100; Meijer, *Encyclopaedia Sefardica Nederlandica*, p. 152.

[5] See Extrat-Missive, dated August 1, 1646, West-Indische Compagnie No. 10, in Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague. Document published by Wiznitzer in "Michael Cardoso: O Primeiro Advocado Judeo No Brasil no Novo Mundo (1645)," *Aonde Vamos?*, XVI (2d ser., 1957), 65.

[6] See Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 46, 50–51, 75, 77–78, 85. See also MS of the minutes of the trial of Isaac de Castro, Dossier 11550, in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon; Wiznitzer, "The Jews in the Sugar Industry of Colonial Brazil," JSS, XVIII (July, 1956), 196; Notulen van Brasilie, August 11, 1639, and August 2, 1644, in Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague; Inventàrio das Armas, pp. 3–18.

[7] Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 49, 51, 76, 85–87; Meijer, *Encyclopaedia Sefardica Nederlandica*, pp. 155–74; Bloom, *Economic Activities of the Jews*, p. 168.

[8] See Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 4, 42, 49, 51, 78, 83, 89–91; Barnett, *El Libro de los Acuerdos*, frontispiece; Wolf, "Crypto Jews under the Commonwealth," TJHSE, I (1893–94), 70–71; Haymson, *Sephardim of England*, p. 32.

[9] Wolf, "Crypto Jews," pp. 70–71; Wolf, "American Elements in the Re-settle-

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:59 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ment," TJHSE, III (1899), 90–93; Roth, *Life of Menasseh ben Israel*, pp. 212 ff., 219–21, 227, 245, 259, 267, 337; Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 51–77. During his trial Isaac de Castro stated that Daniel Dormido's Christian name was Luis, Salamao's Antonio. The latter was about thirty-two years old in 1648.

[10] Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, pp. 116–17, 357; Emmanuel, "New Light on Early American Jewry, p. 5; Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 37, 50–51, 76, 89–90; minutes of the trial of Isaac de Castro.

[11] *Denunciaçoes de Pernambuco*, pp. 365–68, 370–71, 374, 379; Gaspar Barlaeus, *Rerum per Octennium* (Rio de Janeiro, 1940), pp. 156–57; Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, I, 276–77, and II, 116–17; Nieuhof, *Memoravel Viagem* (São Paulo, 1942), pp. 22–23; Mello neto, *Tempo dos Flamengos*, pp. 111–12 nn. 209–10; Notulen van Brasilie, July 31, 1643, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague (O.W.C. No. 68); "Processo de Manoel de Moraes, Sacerdoto e Theologo," RIHGB, LXX (Part I, 1905), 26–27; Emmanuel, "New Light on Early American Jewry," p. 59 n. 16.

[12] Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 49–51, 76, 81–83, 88–90; Notulen van Brasilie, January 22, 1654; Mello, *Biografias de Alguns Poetas*, II, 186–87; MS of the Libro dos Acordos da Naçam, pp. 369–70; Bloom, *Economic Activities of the Jews*, p. 196; Barnett, *El Libro de los Acuerdos*, p. 94; Mello neto, *Tempo dos Flamengos*.

[13] See Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 51–85; Kayserling, "The Earliest Rabbis," p. 15; Oppenheim, "The Early History of the Jews in New York, 1654–1664," PAJHS, No. 18, pp. 19, 27, 60, 61, 75.

[14] Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 50, 52, 76, 85, Their names are mentioned in the Tax Assessment of the Congregation Talmud Torah of Amsterdam, August 30, 1654, in the Libro dos Acordos da Naçam, pp. 369–70. See also Emmanuel, "New Light on Early American Jewry," p. 47; Adler, "Jews in the American Plantations between 1600–1700," PAJHS, No. 1 (1892), p. 108; Samuel, *Review of Jewish Colonists*, pp. 8–9, 15–16, 17, 22, 64, 68, 71, 73, 78, 95, 106–7; Shilstone, *Monumental Inscriptions* (tombstone 28), pp. 17–18.

[15] See Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 8–9, 48, 52, 58, 73, 75, 79–80; Menasseh ben Israel, *El Conciliador*, pp. 87–88. The full content of the letter was published by Nieuhof, *Memoravel Viagem*, pp. 108–10; see also Samuel, *Review of Jewish Colonists*, pp. 17–18, 95.

[16] See Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 43, 45, 50, 52, 90; Samuel, *Review of Jewish Colonists*, pp. 17–20, 64, 66, 69, 74, 95, 97.

[17] Kayserling, "The Colonization of America by the Jews," PAJHS, No. 2 (1894), p. 76.

[18] Wiznitzer, *Records*, pp. 52, 78.

[19] Wiznitzer, "The Exodus from Brazil and Arrival in New Amsterdam of the Jewish Pilgrim Fathers, 1654," PAJHS, LXIV (1954), 86–87, 95. Albert M. Hyamson's statement that Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita was a "London Jew" (*Sephardim of England*, p. 146) is without foundation.

[20] Herbert Friedenwald, "Material for the History of the Jews in the British West Indies," PAJHS, No. 5 (1897), pp. 48, 69–70; Samuel, *Review of Jewish Colonists*, pp. 14–15, 95.

[21] H. Friedenwald, "Jews in the British West Indies"; Samuel, *Review of Jewish Colonists*.

[22] Samuel, "Sir William Davidson, Royalist (1616–1689), and the Jews," TJHSE, XIV (1940), 57; Samuel, *Review of Jewish Colonists*, p. 14.

[23] N. Taylor Phillips, "A Landmark," PAJHS, No. 1 (1892), pp. 91–92; Rosalie S.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:59 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Phillips, "A Burial Place for the Jewish National Forever," PAJHS, No. 18 (1909), pp. 93-122; Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone*, pp. 11, 13, 81, 161, 163, 179, 187-89, 452, 490.

[24] Samuel, *Review of Jewish Colonists*, p. 14.

[25] Wiznitzer, "Jewish Soldiers in Dutch Brazil (1630–1654)," PAJHS, XVI (1956), 41-42; Wiznitzer, Records, pp. 9, 46, 58, 81.

[26] Notulen van Brasilie, August 12, 1638, August 11, 1639, July 31, 1645; Inventário das Armas, pp. 16-17.

[27] See Wiznitzer, *Records*, 42, 46, 49, 52, 76, 89-91; Roth, *Life of Menasseh ben Israel*, p. 26; Emmanuel, "New Light on Early American Jewry," pp. 30-34; Kohut, "Early Jewish Literature in America," PAJHS, No. 3 (1895), p. 144.

[28] Sokolow, *Baruch Spinoza Usemano*, p. 171; Kayserling, *Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica*, pp. 12, 108.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 14:59 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:00 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

List of Works Cited

Manuscript Sources

ENGLAND

The British Museum, London. Egerton MS 1131-10547.

Library of King's College, University of London. MS DS4987. Minutes of the Companhia de Navegação e Commercio da India, Mina e Guine.

FRANCE

Archives of the French Foreign Office, Paris. Recuil de plusieurez lettres et Memoirez Concernant le Portugal, in La Correspondance Politique Portugal (Sept. 1647-Dec. 1655). Tome II, Vol. 3.

HOLLAND

Livraria Ets Haim-D. Montezinos, Amsterdam. Libro dos Acordos da Naçam, Escamot, E. Eleicoems do K. K. de T. T. que el Dio Augmente (5398-5440: 1638-80). Minute book of the United Congregation Talmud Torah, Amsterdam.

Livraria Ets Haim-D. Montezinos, Amsterdam. Zekher asiti leniflaot El. MS of poem written by Isaac Aboab.

Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague. Archives of the West India Company.

PORTUGAL

Bibliotêca Nacional, Lisbon. MS 863. Colleção Moreira. Listas dos autos-da-fé. I: Colleção de Listas impressos e maniscriptos dos Autos da Fé publicos e particulares da Inquisição de Lisbon corrigida e annotada por Antonio Joaquim Moreira.

Archivo da Torre do Tombo. Archives of the Inquisition in Lisbon.

SPAIN

Archive General de Indias de Sevilha Estante 74, Cajon 3, Legajo 31. Records of the Inquisition in Peru; letter dated April 20, 1620.

UNITED STATES

American Jewish Historical Society, New York. The Samuel Oppenheim Collection. *Avisos* of the General Inquisitor to the State Council of Spain, November 9, 1611.

Relatorio Seruicos Segredos e avisos dados ao Viso Rey o. Bpo. Dom Pedro Castilho em Majo 605.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:00 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York. Colleição das Noticias do Auto de Fé's.

New York Public Library. The Obadiah Rich Collection. El Brasil Restituido. MS of the play by Lope de Vega Carpio. Brazil Papers.

Petition of the Hebrew Nation to Johan Maurits, May 1, 1642. Folder Catalogue 123.

Office of the City Clerk, Municipal Building, New York. Minutes of the Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1656, with the ordinances of New Amsterdam from 1647 to 1661.

Published Sources

Aboab da Fonseca, Isaac. Parafrasis Commentada sobre el Pentateucho. Amsterdam, 1681.

Aboab da Fonseca, Isaac, trans. Sha'ar ha-Shamayim. 1665. Trans. of Abraham Cohen Herrera's *Casa de Dios e Puerta del Cielo.*

Abreu, J. de Capistrano. O Descobrimento do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, 1929.

Abreu, José Joaquim de. Livro de Branca. Parahiba, 1905.

Adler, Cyrus, "Jews in the American Plantations between 1600-1700," PAJHS, No. 1 (1892).

Adler, Nathan Elkan, "Documents sur les Marranes d'Espagne et de Portugal sous Philippe IV," *Revue des Etudes Juives*, Vol. XLVIII (1904).

Aguilar, Moses Raphael de. Compendia da Epitome Grammatica. Leiden, 1660.

——— Dinim de Bedicá. Amsterdam, 1681.

Andrade e Silva, José Justino de. Colleção Chronologica de Legislação Portuguesa. Lisbon, 1854.

Anais do Museu Paulista. São Paulo, 1925. Vol. II, Part II, *Documentação.*

Assaf, Simha, "Anusei Sefarad u-Portugal be-Sifrut ha-Teshubot," *Zion*, Vol. V (Jerusalem, 1933).

"Atas da Assembléia Geral de 1640," RIAHGP, No. 31 (1886), pp. 172-238.

Azevedo, João Lúcio d'. História dos christãos novos Portugueses. Lisbon, 1922.

——— "Notas sobre o Judaismo e a Inquisição do Brasil," RIHGB, CXLV (1926), 680-97.

——— Novas Espanaforas, Estudos de História e Literatura. Lisbon, 1932.

Baião, Antonio. Episodios Dramaticos da Inquisição Portuguesa. Vol. II. Rio de Janeiro.

Barleus, Gaspar [Kaspar van Baerle]. Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi gestarum, sub Praefectura Illustrissimi Comitis I Mauritii Nassaviao & c. Comitis Historia. 1st ed., Amsterdam, 1647. 2nd ed., Cleves, 1660.

Translated as *História dos feitos recentemente praticados durante oito anos no Brasil e noutras partes sob o governo do illustrissimo João Mauricio Conde de Nassau...* Rio de Janeiro, 1940.

Barnett, Lionel D. El Libro de los Açuerdos. Oxford, 1931.

Baro, Rovlox. Relation du Voyage de Rovlox Baro... au pays des Tapuies dans la terre ferme due Bresil. Paris, 1651.

Barros, João de. Asia dos feitos, que os Portugeses fizerao descubrimento, e conquista dos mares, e terras do Oriente. Lisbon, 1552.

Béthencourt, Cardoso de, "L'Auto da Fé de Lisbonne, 15 Decembre 1647," *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XLIX (1904), 262-69.

Bloom, Herbert I., "A Study of Brazilian Jewish History, 1623-1654, Based Chiefly on the Findings of the Late Samuel Oppenheim, PAJHS, No. 33 (1934).

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:00 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

——— The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Williamsport, 1937.

Boxer, C. R., "Padre Antonio Vieira, S. J., and the Institution of the Brazil Company in 1649," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXIX (1949), 474-97.

——— Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602-1686. London, 1952.

——— The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654. London, 1957.

Brito Freire, Francisco de. Nova Lusitânia. Lisbon, 1675.

Broeck, Matheus van Den, "Diario ou Naração Historica," RIHGB, XL, No. 54, Part 1 (1877), p. 5.

Bylsma, R. Eene Geschiedenis van Hollandsch-Brazilie West Indische Gids. 1921.

Calado, Frei Manoel. Valeroso lucideno ou o triunfo da liberdade. Lisbon, 1668. Reprinted in Recife, 1942.

Calmon, Pedro. História do Brasil. São Paulo, 1940. Vol. II.

Cardoso, Yshac. Las Excelencias de los Hebreos. Amsterdam, 1679.

Carli, Gileno de, "O Açucar na Formação Econômica do Brazil," in *Annuario Açucareiro para 1936*. Rio de Janeiro, 1936.

Carvalho, Alfredo de. Aventuras e Aventureiros no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, 1930.

——— Pequena História da Literatura Brasileira.

Clark, G. N. The Seventeenth Century. Oxford, 1950.

Classicale Acta van Brazilie, in *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*. Trans. by Pedro Souto Maior. Utrecht, 1874.

Coelho, Duarte de Albuquerque. Memorias diarias de la Guerra del Brasil por discurso de nueve anos empecando desde de M.DC XXX. Madrid, 1654.

Colleição das Noticias dos Autos de Fé's. Vol. I. Lisbon, 1784.

Confissões da Bahia. Primeira Visitação do Santo Officio as Partes do Brasil. Pelo Licenciado Heitor Furtado de Mendoça. Capellão fidalgo del rey nosso Senhor e do seu desembargo deputado do Santo Officio. Confissões da Bahia, 1591-1592. Rio de Janeiro, 1935.

Correia, Gaspar. Lendas da India. Lisbon, 1859.

Couto, Lourenço do. Novo Orbe Serafico. Rio de Janeiro, 1858.

Cunha, Luiz da. Testamento Politico ou Carta escrita pelo Grande D. Luiz da Cunha ao Senhor Rei D. José I. Lisbon, 1820.

Deerr, Noel. The History of Sugar. London, 1949.

Denunciações da Bahia. Primeira Visitação do Santo Officio as Partes do Brasil. Pel licenciado Heitor Furtado de Mendoça. Capellão fidalgo del rey nossa Senhor e do seu desembargo, deputado do Santo Officio. Denunciações da Bahia, 1591-1593. São Paulo, 1925.

Denunciações de Pernambuco. Primeira Visitação do Santo Officio as Partes do Brasil. Pelo licenciado Heitor Furtado de Mendoça. Capellão fidalgo del rey nosso Senhor e do seu desembargo. Deputado do Santo Officio. Denunciações de Pernambuco, 1593-1595. São Paulo, 1929.

Denunciações de 1618. Livro dad Denunciações que se fizerao no Visitação do Santo Officio a Cidade do Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos do Estado do Brasil, no anno de 1618. Inspector e Visitador o Licenciado Marcos Texeira. In *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro, 1936.

"Diario ou Breve Discourso Açerca da Rebelião e dos Perfidos Designios dos Portugeses do Brasil, descobertos em Junho de 1645, e do mais que se passou ate 28 de abril de 1647," RIAHGP, No. 32 (1887), pp. 121-225.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:01 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Dias, A. M., "De Stichters van Beth Jaacob, de eerste Joodsche Gemeente in Amsterdam," *De Vrijdagavond, Joodsch Weekblad*, Vol. VIII (No. 41, January 8, 1932).

Dussen, Adriaen van der. Relatório sobre as capitanias conquistadas no Brasil pelos holandeses (1639) Suas condições econômicas e sociais. Trans. by José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, neto. Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

Eisenstein, J. D., "The Development of Jewish Casuistic Literature in America," PAJHS, No. 12 (1904).

Emanuel, I. S. Histoire de l'Industrie des Tissus des Israelites de Salonique. Paris, 1935.

——— Histoire des Israelites de Salonique. Paris, 1936. Vol. I.

——— "New Light on Early American Jewry," AJA, Vol. VII (January, 1955).

Fernandes, Carlos D. Algoz de Branca Dias, a Novella. 1922.

Fischell, The Reverend Dr., "Chronological Notes of the History of the Jews in America," *Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV (ser. 1, 1860).

Freitas, Gustavo de. A Companhia Geral do Comercio do Brasil (1649-1720). São Paulo, 1951.

Frézier. Relation d'un Voyage de la Mer due Sud aux Cotes due Chily et due Perou, fait pendant les annees 1712, 1713 et 1714. Paris, 1716.

——— Voyage de Marseille a Lima et dans les autres Indes Occidentales. Paris, 1720.

Friedenberg, Albert M., "Brazil," in *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*. New York, 1948.

Friedenwald, Herbert, "Material for the History of the Jews in the British West Indies," PAJHS, No. 5 (1897).

Friedman, Lee M., "Some References to Jews in Sugar Trade," PAJHS, No. 42 (1953).

Garcia, Rodolfo, "Os Judeus no Brasil colonial," in *Os Judeus na História do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, 1936. Pages 9-46.

Goes, Damião de. Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Manuel. Lisbon, 1566-67.

Graetz, Heinrich. Geschichte der Juden. Leipzig, 1882.

Groot Placaet-Boeck. 's-Gravenhage, 1664. Vol. II.

Guzman, Juan de Valencia y. Compendia Historial de la Jornada del Brasil y sucesos della, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la Historia de España*, LV (Madrid, 1870), 43-200.

Haecxs, Hendrik, "Diario de Henrique Haecxs, membro do Alto Conselho do Brasil (1645-1654)," *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, Vol. LXIX (1950).

Haecxs, Hendrik, "Het Dagboek van Haendrik Haecxs, Lid van den Hoogen Raad van Braziliê (1645-1654)," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* (Gevestigd te Utrecht), Part XVI (1925), 126-311.

Haymson, Albert M. The Sephardim of England: A History of the Spanish and Portuguese Community, 1492-1951. London, 1951.

Huhner, Leon, "Bahia," and "Brazil," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. New York, 1902.

Inventario das Armas e Petrechos Belicos que os Holandeses deixaram em Pernambuco e dos prédios edificados e reparados ate 1654. Recife, 1940.

Inventario dos Livros das Portarias do Reino, 1639-1653. Lisbon, 1909.

Inventário dos prédios edificados ou reparados pelos Holandêses na cidade do Recife atê 1654. Recife, 1839; Recife, 1940.

Israel, Menasseh ben. Mikweh Israel. Amsterdam, 1640.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:01 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

——— El Conciliador. Amsterdam, 1641.
Jost, I. M. Allgemeine Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes. Berlin, 1832.
Kayserling, M. Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica. Strasbourg, 1890.
——— "The Colonization of America by the Jews," PAJHS, No. 2 (1894).
——— "The Earliest Rabbis and Jewish Writers of America," PAJHS, No. 3 (1895).
——— "Isaac Aboab, the First Jewish Author in America," PAJHS, No. 5 (1897).
——— "Rabbi Yizhak Aboab Hashlishi," *Hagoren*, III (1902), 155-74.
Koennen, H. J. Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland. Utrecht, 1843.
Kohler, Max J., "Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800," PAJHS, No. 2 (1894).
Kohut, George A., "Early Jewish Literature in America," PAJHS, No. 3 (1895).
Landmann, David, "Bahia," in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*. New York, 1948.
Lebeson, Anita Libman. Pilgrim People. New York, 1950.
Lewin, Boleslão. El Judio en la época colonial; un aspecto de la história rioplatense. Buenos Aires, 1939.
Lippman, Edmund O. von. História do Açucar. Rio de Janeiro, 1942.
Machado, Diogo Barbosa. Bibliotheca Lusitana. Lisbon, 1741.
Marcgrave, Jorge, and Guilherme Piso. Tractatus Topographicus et Meteorilogicus Brasiliae. Leiden, 1642.
Marcus, Jacob Rader. Early American Jewry. Philadelphia, 1951.
Medina, José Toribio de. El Tribunal del Santo Officio della Inquisiçion en las Provincias del Plata. Santiago, 1899.
Meijer, J. Encyclopaedia Sefardica Nederlandica. Amsterdam, 1954.
Mello, Antonio Joaquim de. Biografias de Alguns Poetas e Homens Illustres da Provincia de Pernambuco. Vol. II. Recife, 1856.
Mello, José Antonio Gonsalves de, neto. Tempo dos Flamengos. Rio de Janeiro, 1947.
Mendes, David Franco, "Toledot Gedolei Yisrael," in *Ha-Measef*. Königsberg, 1784-85.
Menendez y Pelayo, M. Observaciones Preliminares.
Menezes, Dom Luis de. História de Portugal Restaurado. Vol. I. Lisbon, 1710.
Moerbeeck, Jan Andries. Redenen Waeromme de West-Indische Compagnie dient te trachten het Land van Brasilia den Coninck van Spagnien te Ontmachtigen. Amsterdam, 1624.
Translated as *Motivos por que a Companhia das Indias ocidentais deve tentar ao Rei Espanha a terra do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, 1942.
Moraes, Manoel de, "Processo de Manoel de Moraes, Sacerdoto e Theologo," RIHGB, LXX, Part 1 (1908), pp. 25-26, 39-40.
Moreau, Pierre. Histoire des derniers troubles du Bresil: Entre les Hollandais et les Portugais. Paris, 1651.
Mota, Artur. História da Literatura brasileira. São Paulo, 1930.
Narbona y Zuniga, Eugenio, "História de la Recuperacion del Brasil hecha por las armas de España y Portugal el ano d 1623," *(sic) Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, Vol. LXIX (1950).
Netscher, P. N. Les Hollandais au Brésil. La Haye, 1853.
Nieuhof, Johan. Gedenkweerdige Brasiliaanse Zee- en Lant-Reize. Amsterdam, 1682.
Translated as *Memoravel Viagem Maritima e Terrestre ao Brasil*. São Paulo, 1942. Ed. by José Honório Rodrigues.
Oliveyra, Salomon de, Sharsheret Gavulot. Amsterdam, 1665.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:01 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Oliviera Lima, Manuel de, "A Nova Lusitania," in *História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil*. Porto, 1924. Vol. III.

Oppenheim, Samuel, "The Early History of the Jews in New York, 1654-1664," PAJHS, No. 18 (1909), pp. 1-91.

Paranhos, José María da Silva, barão do Rio Branco. Efeméridas Brasileiras. Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

Perdigão, Henrique. Dicionário Universal da Literatura. Porto, 1940.

Philips, N. Taylor, "A Landmark," PAJHS, No. 1 (1892), pp. 91-92.

Phillips, Rosalie S., "A Burial Place for the Jewish Nation Forever," PAJHS, No. 18 (1909), pp. 93-122.

Piso, Guilherme, and Jorge Marcgrave. Tractatus Topographicus et Meteorilogicus Brasiliae. Leiden, 1642.

Pool, David de Sola. Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers 1682-1831. New York, 1952.

Pyrard de Laval, Francisco. Viagem. Porto, 1944. Vol. II. Translation of *Second Partie de Voyage de François Pyrard*, Paris, 1625.

Raphael de Jesus, Frei. Castrioto Lusitano. Lisbon, 1679.

Remedios, J. Mendes dos. Os Judeus Portugueses em Amsterdam. Coimbra, 1911.

Romeo, Silvio. História da Literatura brasileira. Rio de Janeiro, 1902.

Rosa, J. S. da Silva. Iets over den Amsterdamschen Oppenrabbijn Isaac Aboab. Amsterdam, 1913.

——— Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam 1593-1925. Amsterdam, 1925.

Roth, Cecil. A History of the Marranos. Philadelphia, 1947.

——— A Life of Menasseh ben Israel. Philadelphia, 1945.

Sabbatai, Hayyim. Sefer Torat Hayyim. Salonica, 1722.

Samuel, Wilfred S. Review of the Jewish Colonists in Barbados in the Year 1680. London, 1936.

——— "Sir William Davidson, Royalist (1616-1689), and the Jews," TJHSE, Vol. XIV (1940).

Schwarz, Samuel. Os Christãos Novos em Portugal no Seculo XX. Lisbon, 1925.

Shilstone, Eustace M. Monumental Inscriptions in the Burial Ground of the Jewish Synagogue at Bridgetown, Barbados. London, 1958.

Sholem, Gershon. Sabbatai Zevi We-Hatenuah ha-Sabbatait Bijmei Hayjav. Vol. II. Tel Aviv, 1957.

Silber, Mendel, "America in Hebrew Literature," PAJHS, No. 22 (1914).

Silva, Antonio José da, "Translado do Processo feito pela Inquisição de Lisboa contra Antonio Joze da Silva Poeta Brasileiro," *Revista Trimestral do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LIX (1896), 5-51.

——— "Segundo Processo de Antonio Joze da Silva, Christão Novo, Advogado, Natural de Rio de Janeiro e morador nesta cidade de Lisboa," *Revista Trimestral do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LIX (1896), 51-261.

Simonsen, Roberto C. História Econômica do Brasil 1500-1820. São Paulo, 1944.

Soares de Albergaria, Antonio. Tropheos Lusitenos. Lisbon, 1631.

Sokolow, Nahum. Baruch Spinoza Usemano. Paris, 1929.

Solenni, Gino de. Lope de Vega's *El Brasil Restituido*, Together with a Study of Patriotism in His Theater. New York, 1929.

"Sommier Discours over den Staet van de vier geconquesteerde capitanias Pernambuco, Itamarica, Paraiba, ende Rio Grande inde Noorder deelen van Brasil," (1638) in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*. Utrecht, 1879.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:02 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Translated as "Breve Discourso sobre o estado das quatro capitanias conquistadas de Pernambuco, Itamaracà, Parahiba e Rio Grande," RIAHGP, No. 34 (1887), pp. 139–94.

Sousa, Jozé Azevedo Pizarro e Araujo de. Memorias Historicas do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, 1820. Vol. I.

Southey, Robert. History of Brazil. Vol. I. London, 1810.

Translated as *História do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, 1862. 6 vols. Trans. and annotated by J. O. Castro and Fernandes Pinheiro.

Souto Maior, Pedro, "A Religião Crista Reformada no Brasil no Seculo XVII," RIHGB, Tomo Especial, Parte I (1915) pp. 708–80

Souza Coutinho, Francisco de. Correspondencia Diplomatica de Francisco de Souza Coutinho durante a sua Embaixada em Hollanda. Vol. II. Coimbra, 1926.

Teixeira, Bento. Prosopopea. Ed. by Afranio Peixoto. Rio de Janeiro, 1933.

Thomas, Manoel Fernandes. Repertório Geral ou Indice Alphabetico das Leis Extravagantes do Reino de Portugal. Coimbra, 1843.

Van Haren, Onno Zwier. De Geuzen. Amsterdam, 1772.

Varnhagen, Francisco Adolfo de. História das Lutas contra Hollandeses no Brasil desde 1624-1654. Lisbon, 1872.

——— "List of Brazilians at the Auto-da-Fé of July 26, 1711," RIHGB, (1931).

——— História Geral do Brasil, Antes da Sua Separação e Independencia de Portugal. São Paulo, 1948. 5 vols.

Verissimo, José. História da Literatura brasileira. Rio de Janeiro, 1916.

Vieira, Antonio. Cartas do Padre Antonio Vieira. Vol. I. Coimbra, 1925. Ed. by J. Lucio de Azevedo.

Waetjen, Herman. Das Judentum und die Anfange der modernen Kolonisation. Stuttgart, 1914.

——— Das holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien. The Hague, 1921.

Wiznitzer, Arnold, "Jacob Rabbi, alias Johannes Rabe, Cacique Indio e Salteador no Brasil Holandes (1637-1646)—Judeu ou Alemão de Waldeck na Alemanha?," *Aonde Vamos?*, Vol. XII (November, 1952).

——— "Os Judeus Brasileiros na Literatura de Responsa," *Aonde Vamos?*, XII (January, 1953).

——— "A Biblia de Ferrara no Brasil," *Aonde Vamos?*, Vol. XII (April, 1953).

——— "The Exodus from Brazil and Arrival in New Amsterdam of the Jewish Pilgrim Fathers, 1654," PAJHS, XLIV (1954), 80–97.

——— "The Number of Jews in Dutch Brazil (1630–1654)," JSS, XVI (1954), 107–14.

——— The Records of the Earliest Jewish Community in the New World. New York, 1954.

——— "Jewish Soldiers in Dutch Brazil (1630–1654)," PAJHS, XLVI (September, 1956), 40–50.

——— "The Jews in the Sugar Industry of Colonial Brazil," JSS, XVIII (July, 1956), 189–98.

——— "Michael Cardoso: O Primeiro Advocado Judeo no Brasil e no Novo Mundo (1645)," *Aonde Vamos?*, Vol. XVI (2nd series, 1957).

——— "Isaac de Castro, Brazilian Jewish Matyr," PAJHS, XLVII (December 1957), 63–75.

Wolf, Ferdinand. Histoire de Littérature brésilienne. Berlin, 1863.

Wolf, Lucien, "Crypto Jews under the Commonwealth," TJHSE, Vol. I (1893–94).

——— "American Elements in the Re-settlement," TJHSE, Vol. III (1899).

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:03 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Appendix

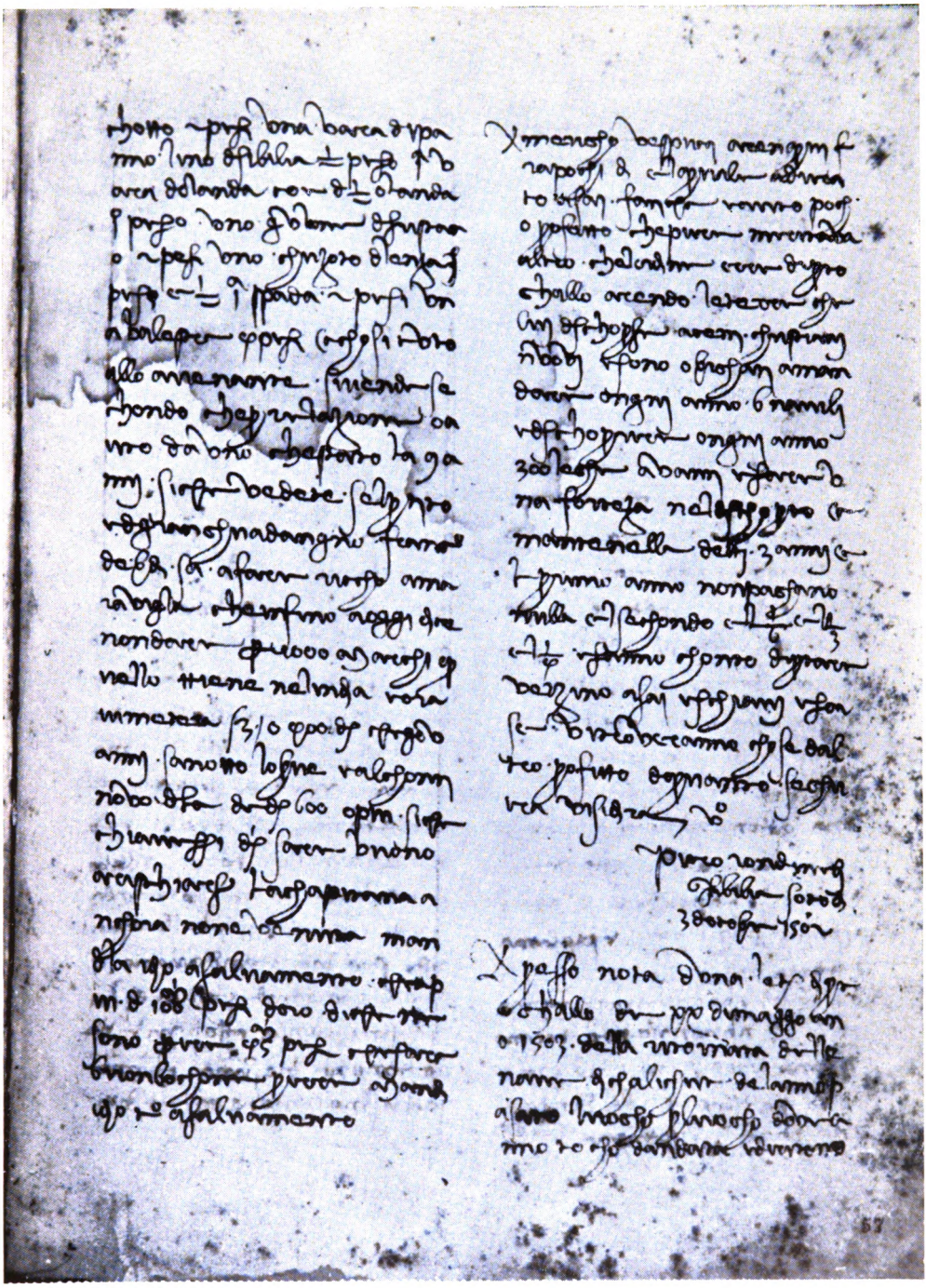
...e' re di Portoghallo arendò le terre che lui dischoperse a certi Christiani nuovi, e sono obrighati a mandare ogni anno .6. navili e dischoprire ogni anno .300. leghe avanti, e fare una forteza nel dischoperto e mantenella detti .3. anni, e 'l primo anno non paghano nulla, e 'l secondo el $\frac{1}{8}$, el terzo el $\frac{1}{4}$, e fanno chonto di portare verzino asai e schiavi, e forse vi troveranno chose d'altro profitto. di quanto seghuirà vi si dirà. vostro

PIERO RONDINELLI
Sibilia, soto dì
.3. d'otobre .1502.

...the king of Portugal has leased the territories that had been discovered for him to certain New Christians under the condition that they dispatch every year 6 ships in order to discover yearly 300 leagues ahead and build and entertain a fortress in the discovered region during 3 years. The lessees do not have to pay during the first year; in the second year they have to pay $\frac{1}{8}$ and in the third year $\frac{1}{4}$ [of the value of their exports], and they intend to export much dyewood, slaves, and perhaps other profitable things. I shall keep you informed of future happenings. Yours,

PIERO RONDINELLI
Seville,
October 3, 1502

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:03 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



EXTRACT FROM A LETTER BY PIERO RONDINELLI, OCTOBER 3, 1502

The oldest known document dealing with the first concession to colonize and exploit Brazil, granted by Manoel I to a consortium of New Christians headed by Fernão de Noronha. Reproduced from a photocopy of the original, MS 1910, c. 55 B, in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:03 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Vermaarde ende Autorisable natie

Doorluchtichste Heer

De Hooplieden, ende andere Bande Hebreische natie, die in
deese capitanien geseeten Syn, verclaeren, hoe Sy verstaen
hebben, dat V. Exc.tie door alle de Camers Van deesen Staet, last
gegeuen heeft, Van Syn doen en laeten, voor desen tot noch
toe gepleegt, attestatien te lichten, hoedaenigen Oplet ge-
lyck mede de presentatien, welcke Sy weeten, dat Sijne Ex.tie
door Syne missiuen aende geseyde Camers gedaen heeft Van
Syn assistentie in Holland, geeft Suppliten genoeck te ver-
staen, dat V. Exc.tie Van sins is, weder nae Holland te Over-
trecken, te meer alsoo den verstenden tyt, Van Syn gou-
vernament alhier, nu al verstreecken is; Ende soo by dese
gelegentheyt, de vorengemelte Hebræische natie Van
deesen staet V. Exc.tie niet en konnen genoegh vertoonen,
hoe hoogh Sy het achten, te mogen met een helliger stemme,
de andere volckeren ende natien vergeselschappen, in die
attestatien welcke V. Exc.tie waerdiglyck toebehoiren, Van
voegen Syn aengenaemen voorsichtige, ende geluckige regee-
ringhe: Godt dat al schoon deese haere getuygenissen minder
als wel betaemt, ende te geringe Syn, aende persoon Van
V. Exc.tie Sy nochtans nimmermeer manqueeren en sullen de
wel daeden, eer ende gunste Van Syn Vant genooten, cond te
maecken, ende te erkennen, en sullen ook niet naelaeten
met eenige hertelycke toegeneegene weldaet te betoonen,
wat een grooten treck Sy hebben, om V. Exc.tie in deesen Staet
te houden: Ende al ist dat haere presentatie niet soo waer
dig, als wel schuldig Sal bevonden worden, soo Salse euen:wel
connen dienen om haeren Sucht nae Syn Ex.tie openbaer te
maecken, Nae de welcke Sy verclaeren niet minder als
d'andere ingesetene, ofte haere Camers te Syn, schoon de
wercken: te kynen gelimiteert te Syn, Ende erkennende
d'onwaerdicheyt Van het tegenwoordige, soo presenteeren
Sy aen V. Exc.tie Drie duysent florinen tot een Regael
alle nieuwe jaeren, ende dat soo Lange als Syn Ex.tie Gouver-
neur Generael Vanden Staet Van Brasil Sal Syn, verhoe-
ckende dat Syn Ex.tie met goetwilliger herten gelieue aen te
nemen, de selgeringe presentatie aen Syn doorluchtigen per-
soon gedaen, uyt de Liefde de welcke Sy alle gesamentlyck
draegen tegens V. Exc.tie welckers persoon Godt bewaeren
Seegenen voor veele jaeren.

Ende soo V. Exc.tie dit aenneemt, sullen Suppliten groten
faueur en waerdigheyt genieten.

Duarte Saraiua
Josse Mathias
Benjamin de Pina
Isaque Castanka
Isack da Costa
Jacacob Mocata
Miquel Diz Mendes
Jacob Mose Chaym Nhur
Isaque Senak
Abraham Abeneka

'S RYKS ARCHIEF

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:03 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Remonstrance of the
Hebrew Nation

Most Illustrious Sir

The merchants and others of the Hebrew Nation, living in these captaincies, declare that they have learned that Your Excellency has instructed all through the Chambers of this state to attest to all his deeds, done to them up to now; his diligence, the presentations which they know that His Excellency has made by his letters to the aforesaid Chambers, his assistance in Holland; which allows the suppliants sufficiently to understand that Your Excellency intends to return to Holland, the more as the fixed time of his administration has now expired; and so with this occasion the aforesaid Hebrew Nation of this state cannot sufficiently exhibit how highly they appreciate their being allowed to be in company with the other peoples and nations with a strong voice in those attestations, which worthily belong to Your Excellency on account of his agreeable, careful, and happy administration. So that, although these their testimonies are less than is proper, and too inconsiderable, still they will never fail to make known and to acknowledge the benefits, honor, and favor enjoyed from his part and [they] also will never fail to show with cordial devoted action the pleasure they have in keeping Your Excellency in this state. And if their presentation is unworthy, as indeed it may be judged, then may it yet serve to make known their desire of His Excellency. After which they declare themselves to be not inferior to the other inhabitants or their Chambers, although their works seem to be limited. And acknowledging the unworthiness of the present one, they offer to Your Excellency three thousand florins as a donation, the first of every year, and that so long as His Excellency will be Governor-General of the state of Brazil, we request, that His Excellency will accept with a willing heart this inconsiderable presentation made to his illustrious person, from the regard which all of them entertain towards your Excellency, whose person may God keep and bless for many years.

And if Your Excellency accepts this, the suppliants will enjoy great favor and dignity.

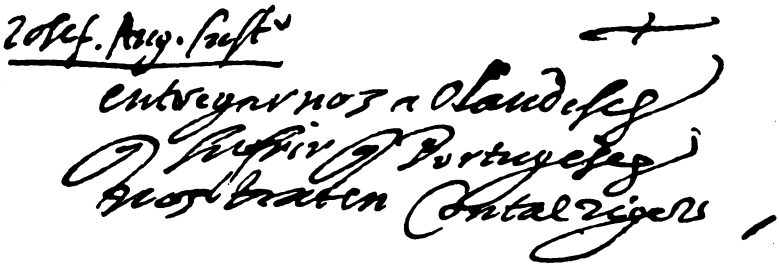
Duarte Saraiva
Josef Atias
Benjamin de Pina
Isaac Castanha
Isaac da Costa
Jacob Mocata
Miguel Rois Mendes
Jacob Moses Aaron Nhul
Isaac Semah
Abraham Abeneka

PETITION OF THE JEWS OF DUTCH BRAZIL TO JOHAN MAURITS VAN NASSAU, May 1, 1642

Reproduced from a photocopy of the original manuscript, Document 5773 in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:04 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Temiendo el santo oficio
enuia vn visitador
de cuyo graue rigor
tenemos bastante indicio
los q̃ sin razon
viuimos en el Brasil
q̃ tiene por gente vil
la christiana Religion
por escusar las prisiones
los gastos pleytos y afrentas
y ver desto y cuyo essentas
de tantas obligaciones
Nras familias y casas
que tal miseria han llegado
por q̃ dixe y enojado
dios con nosotros esta
sabemos escrito q̃ Olanda
con armada se apresta
de quien tenemos respuesta
q̃ sobre seys naos anda
Juzgando sera mexor



BERNARDO'S SPEECH FROM *El Brasil Restituido* (1625), BY LOPE DE VEGA

Reproduced from a photocopy of the original manuscript, signed by the author, in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library, Obadiah Rich Collection.

Temiendo que el Santo Oficio
enuía un visitador,
de cuyo graue rigor
tenemos bastante indicio
los que de nuestra nación
viuimos en el Brasil
que tiene por gente vil
la cristiana Religión
por escusar las prisiones
los gastos pleytos y afrentas
y ver deste yugo essentas
de tantas obligaciones
nuestras familias, que ya
á tal miseria han llegado
porque dizen que enojado
Dios con nosotros está
hauemos escrito á Olanda
que con armada se apresta
de quien tenemos respuesta
que sobre sus aguas anda
juzgando será mexor
entregarnos á Olandesque
que sufrir que portugeses
nos traten con tal rigor.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:04 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

High and Mighty States. I, Dom João, by the grace of God King of Portugal and of Algarve, on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, Lord of Guinea and of the conquest, navigation, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, etc., send many greetings to your high authorities, which as devoted friends I love and esteem highly. Before the arrival of the letter of the tenth of October from your high authorities, concerning the liberation of ten Jews who arrived here from Bahia with the advice of the Governor of the state of Brazil that they should be given passage to any of the ports of your high powers, David Michael, Salamao Jacob, Jacob Polaco, and Isaac had already embarked for the voyage; while they awaited embarcation they were properly taken care of, and in addition they received provisons for their journey. Still awaiting embarkation here are Samuel Israel, Isaac Carvalho, and David Salem, who are being taken care of with the same kindness, and when they embark they will receive the necessary provisions in order that they can travel without any penury or distress. These men and three more, who still are in the Holy Office, were all in that Court for registration, as it is customary in this Kingdom, concerning the religion of individuals. These people are not and could not be included in the renowned truce agreement with your high authorities, and consequently it was not violated. Any persons that were or desired to be considered vassals of your high authorities were always received with kindness in any of the harbors of these Kingdoms and Signories because this is required, in addition to other considerations, by the friendship and conveniency between these two nations. High and Mighty Estates that I love and respect much as devoted friends, may our Lord keep us under his protection. Written in Almeirima on the 7th of December, 1646.

JOÃO, THE KING

LETTER BY JOÃO IV, KING OF PORTUGAL

Addressed to the States General in The Hague on December 7, 1646, this letter concerns ten Jews who were brought as prisoners of war from Bahia to Lisbon. Reproduced from a manuscript copy in the American Jewish Historical Society, The Oppenheim Collection, New York City. The original manuscript is in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:04 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Datte y data — 6.1 1646 R. 2017 — 1647

8t fen 7017

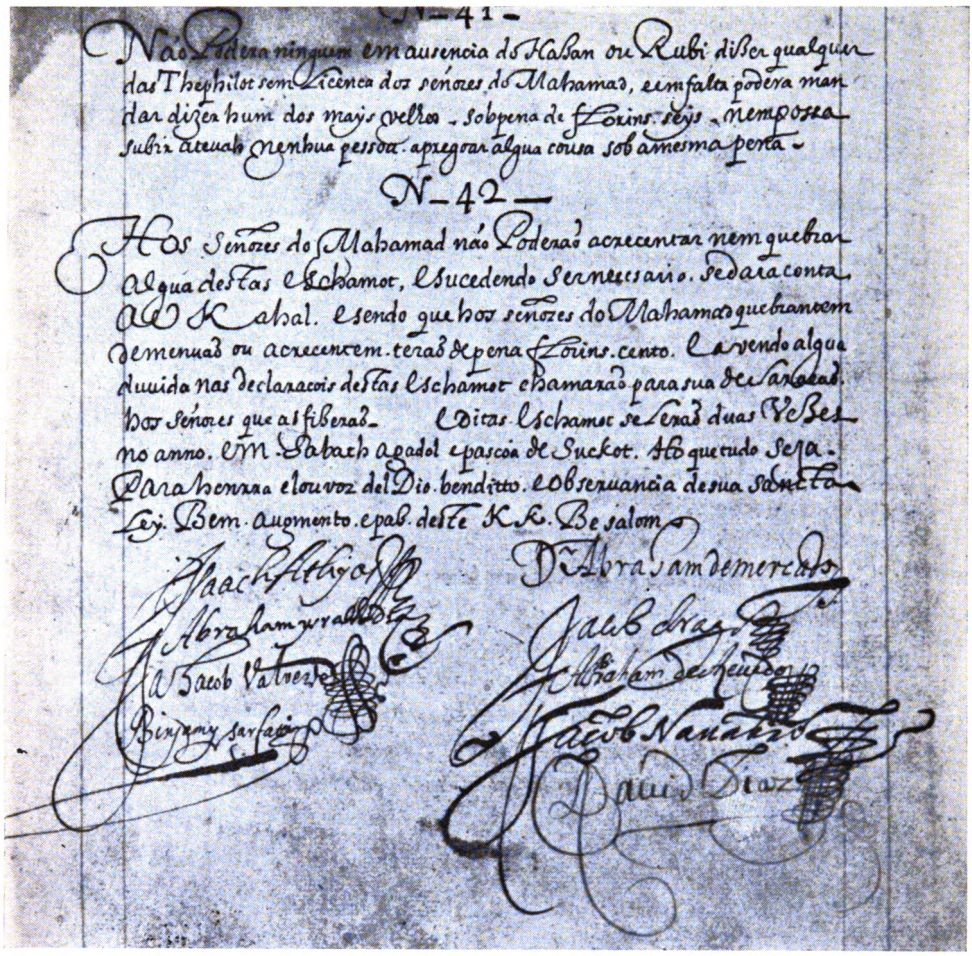
Altos, E Poderosos Estados. E Dom Joaõ por graça de Deos Rey de Portugal E dos Algarues daquem, E dalem mar em Africa senhor de Guiné E da conquista, Navegaçaõ E comercio da Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia E da India &c. A Vossos Altos poderes Envio muito sanda como aquelles que como amigos Eafeiçoados muito amo E preso. Antes de se receber esta carta de Vossos Altos poderes de 28 de Outubro sobre a liberdade de ir, judeos que aqui chegaraõ da Bahia com aviso do governador do Estado do Brazil para se lhe darem passagem para alguns dos portos de Vossos Altos poderes, se tinhaõ ja Embarcado para fazerem sua viagem Daniel Michael, Selamo Jacob, Saco colaco, E Isac, E comquanto se detiuerão a esperar por embarcaçaõ foraõ pontualmente socorridos, E sobre isso se lhe deo matalotagem para fazerem sua jornada, E agora estaõ esperando por embarcaçaõ Samuel Israel, Isac fernandes, David Salem, E com a mesma pontualidade dado ordem E Recommendo, E se lhe hade dar quando se Embarcarem a matalotagem necessaria para passarem sem falta ou necessidade alguã. Estes E outros mais que se estaõ ainda no Santisso officio foraõ todos registados Aquelle tribunal, como he costume deste Reyno para alguns particulares tocantes á Religiaõ que naõ saõ nem podiaõ ser comprehendidos na trego celebrada com Vossos Altos poderes, E como isto nem se falta nella, nem aberta correspondencia, E Acostumando que sempre achara do em que a tiuer dos deste meus Reynos, E Senhorios quaisquer portos que tenhaõ, me queiraõ ter nome de vassallos de Vossos Altos poderes porque assy o pedem demais de outros respeitos a amisa de Commumencia entre estas duas naçoes. D. Altos E Poderosos Estados que como amigos E afeiçoados muito amo E Preso: Nosso Senhor os haja em Sua Santa guarda. E Escrita em Almeirim a 7 de Dezembro de 1646

El Rey...

COLONIAL BRAZIL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Reproduced from a photocopy of the original map by Jansonnius of Amsterdam. Courtesy of the National Library, Rio de Janeiro.

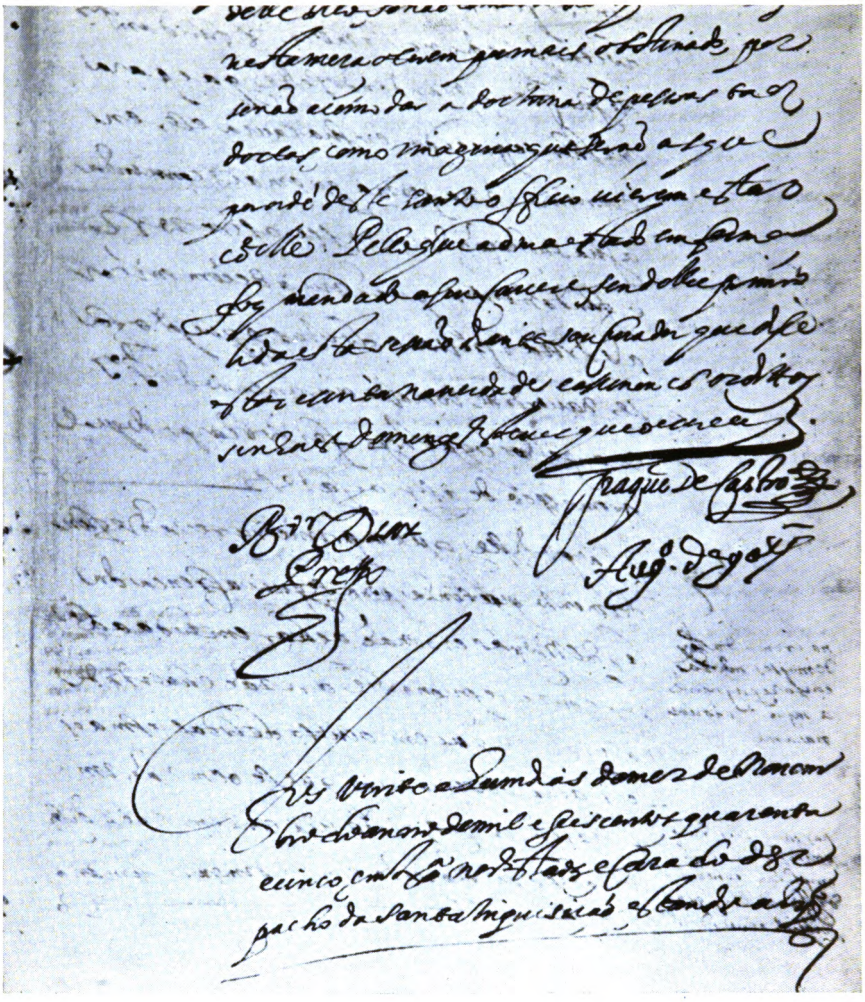
Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:05 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



SIGNATURES OF THE NINE ELDERS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN DUTCH BRAZIL

These signatures appear on the last page of the revised haskamot *(regulations) of Congregations Zur Israel and Magen Abraham, recorded in 1648. Reproduced from a photocopy of the original in the Livraria Ets Haim—D. Montezinos, Amsterdam.*

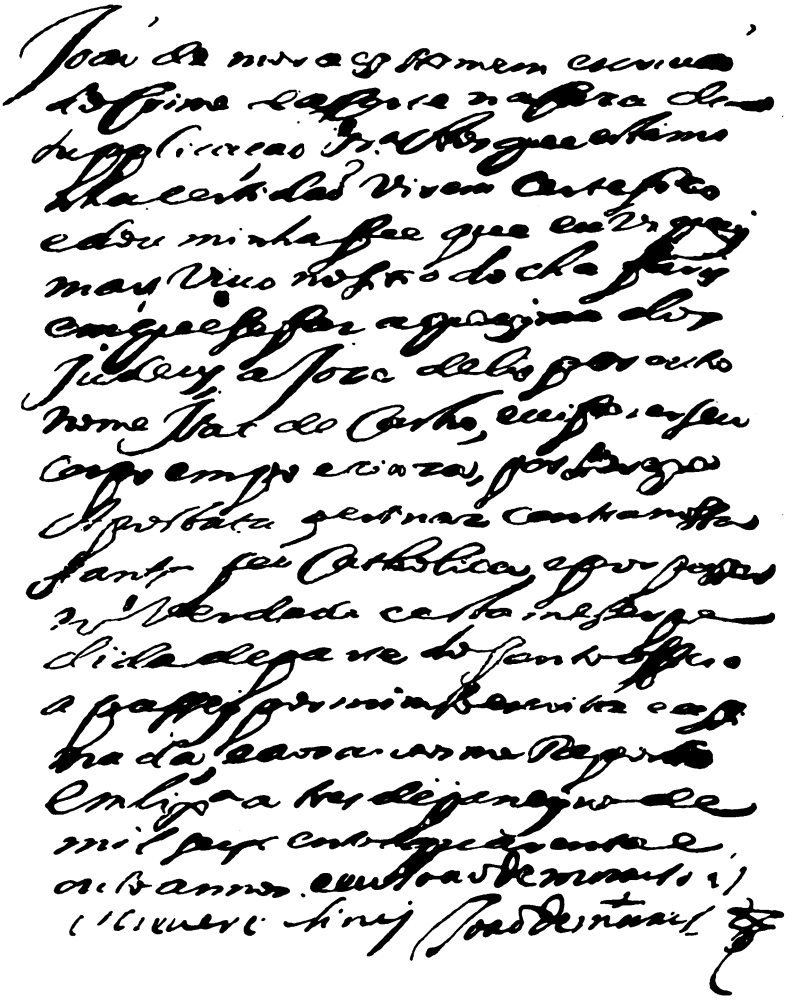
Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:05 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE TRIAL OF ISAAC DE CASTRO, SHOWING HIS SIGNATURE

Reproduced from a photocopy of the original manuscript, Dossier 11550 in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:05 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE TRIAL OF ISAAC DE CASTRO IN THE HANDWRITING OF JOÃO DE MORAES HOMEN

Reproduced from a photocopy of the original manuscript, Dossier 11550 in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:06 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

João de moraes Homen escrivão do Crime da Corte na Caza da Supplicação &. Aos que esta minha certidão virem certefico e dou minha fee que eu vi queymar vivo no sitio do chafaris em que se faz a queyma dos Judeus, a Jose delis por outro nome Isac de Castro, e vi fazer seu corpo em po e cinza, por ser grao Apostata pertinaz contra nossa Santa fee Catholica e por passar na verdade e esta me ser pedida de parte do Santo officio a passey por mim escrita e assinada, e aos autos me reporto em lixª a tres de Janeyro de mil seis centos quarenta e outo annos e eu João de morais o fis escrever e asinei.

JOÃO DE MORAIS

João de Moraes Homen, Clerk of the Criminal Court in the tribunal of supplication, etc. For those who will see this my certificate, I certify on my faith that I saw José de Lis, alias Isaac de Castro, burning alive on the place where the Jews are burned, and I saw his body becoming dust and ashes, because he was a stubborn heretic Apostate against our Holy Catholic faith. And because this is the truth and this certificate was requested of me by the Holy Office, I made it, written and signed by myself, and I refer myself to the documents of the trial. In Lisbon, January 3, 1647. And I, João de Moraes, wrote and signed it.

JOÃO DE MORAES

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:06 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

LINES FROM *Zekher asiti leniflaot El* (1646), BY ISAAC ABOAB DE FONSECA

These lines contain the name of Congregation Zur Israel. Reproduced from a photocopy of the original manuscript in the Livraria Ets Haim—D. Montezinos, Amsterdam.

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:06 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:06 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Index

Abarbanel, David, 172
Abenacar, Moseh, 137
Abendana, Dauid, 137
Abendana, Isaac, 137
Abendana, Jacob, 137
Abendana, Manuel, 137
Abendana, Mardocai, 87
Abendana, Moses, 87
Abeneka, Abraham, 88
Aboab, Abraham Jeosua, 137
Aboab, David, 137, 169
Aboab, Isaac, *see* Fonseca, Isaac Aboab da
Aboab, Moseh, 137
Abrabanel, Jona, 117
Abrantes, Diogo Lopes de, 52, 55, 56
Açevedo, Abraham de, 122–23, 125, 131, 136, 137, 171
Açevedo, Belchior Mendes de, 19, 21–22
Açevedo, José Luis de, 160
Açevedo, Manoel Rodrigues de, 55, 56
Afonso, Gaspar, 39
Africa, 2, 45, 46, 48, 82, 83, 106, 116
Aguiar, Isabel Ribeira de, 143
Aguiar, Manoel Soares de, 143
Aguilar, Moses Raphael de, 86, 129, 137, 171
Albert, archduke of Austria, 12
Albuquerque, Dona Brites de, *see* Coelho, Dona Brites de Albuquerque de,
Albuquerque, Jeronimo de, 10
Albuquerque, Jorge de, *see* Coelho, Jorge de Albuquerque de
Albuquerque, Mathias de, *see* Coelho, Mathias de Albuquerque de
Albuquerque, Paulo Afonso de, 147
Alamagna, David Michael de, *see* Michael, David
Alcoforado, Ana, *see* Vasconcellos, Ana Alcoforado de
Almeida, Izak de, 139
Almeida, José de Carvalho de, 158
Almeida, Manoel da Costa Ribeiro de, 158, 167
Alvares, Afonso, 71
Alvares, Antonio, 29
Alvares, David, 71, 137
Alvares, Fernando Henriques, 158, 167
Alvares, Joseph, 71, 137
Alvares, Luis, 37–38, 46
Alvares, Mosses Baruch, 137
Alvares, Rodrigo, 148, 167
Alvarez, Nuno, 19, 27
America: first Jewish community in, 52; first Jewish literature in, 66–67
Amsterdam: Brazilian Jewry and Jews of, 40, 43–45, 46, 48, 97, 99, 108–10, 117, 123, 130, 142
Andrade, Catherina de, 150
Andrade, Marianna de, 150
Anglo-Dutch War of 1652–54, 127, 128
Angola, 45–46, 88, 106, 116, 127, 166
Anriques, Duarte Dias, 19
Antonia, 161
Antonio, Dom, prior do Crato, 46–47
Antunes, Alvaro Lopes, 15
Antunes, Ana Rois Dias, 14, 17–18, 19, 20, 39, 42
Antunes, Antão, 18
Antunes, Beatriz, *see* Faria, Beatriz Antunes de
Antunes, Heitor, 14–15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 41
Antunes, Isabel, 15–16

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:07 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Antunes, Jorge, 15
Antunes, Leonor, *see* Telles, Leonor Antunes
Antunes, Nuno Fernandes, 14, 18–19
Antunes, Violante, 15, 18
Atias, David, 125, 136, 137
Atias, Isaac, 131, 136, 137
Atias, Joseph, 137, 173; *see also* Costa, Gaspar Francisco da
Auto-da-fé, description of, 115–116
Avila, Jehosuah Ys: de, 137
Avisos, 46
Ayres, Estovão Rodrigues, 145
Ayres, Ignes, 152
Azeuedo, Moseh de, 137
Azevedo, João Lucio de, 143
Azubj, Abram, 136, 137

Bagnolo, 64
Bahia: Dutch capture and loss of, 51–57, 75–76; Heeren XIX, and, 48–50; Inquisition in, 12–23, 36–42
Baptista, Antonio, 160
Barbados, v, 174, 175
Barera, Teresa, 147
Barleus, Gaspar, 55, 90, 104
Baron, Rudolf, 104
Barradas, Dom Constantino, bishop, 34–35, 38
Barreto, Cristovão Paes, 70
Barreto de Menezes, Francisco, 106, 120, 125, 126, 128–29, 130, 140–42, 174
Barrios, Daniel Levi de [Don Miguel], 171
Barros, Ines de, 20
Barros, João de, 4
Barros, Leonor Rodrigues de, 28
Barros, Manoel Alvares de, 28
Baruh, David, 138
Baruh, Isaque, 137
Barzilai, Benjamin, 136, 137
Barzilai Samuel, 137
Bas, Pedro Jansen, 92
Bautista, João, 20
Beatriz, slave, 150
Becerra, Gonzalo, captain, 55
Belillos, Daniel, 170, 173
Belillos, Joseph Israel, 137
Belillos, Judith da Fonseca, 170, 173
Belmonte, Daniel, 137
Belmonte, Diego Nunes [Jacob Israel], 47
Belmonte, Moses, 47
Belmonte, Dona Simha Querido, 47
Bemvinist, Yosef, 137
Bemvinista, Jeudah, 137
Benhacar e Bomdia, Isaac, 137
Berghen, 125
Bernardes, Fabião, 156
Bernardes, Isabel *see* Miranda, Isabel Bernardes de
Beth Israel congregation in Amsterdam, 44, 47
Beth Jacob congregation in Amsterdam, 44, 47
Béthencourt, Cardoso de, 117
Bezerra, Luis Bras, 94
Bibles: in Spanish, 40–41, 46, 180–81 n. 6; in vernacular, 14
Blaer, captain, 95
Bloom, 71
Bomdia, Dauid Leui, 137
Bonnet, captain, 59, 176, 185 n. 59
Bragança, Duke of, *see* João IV
Bragança, Melchior de, 36–38
Brandão, David, 125
Brandão, Francisco Lopes, 37
Brandoa, Catherina Soares, 147, 149
Bras, Manoel, 19
Brava, Beatriz Nunes, 56
Bravo, Alvaro Gomes, 56
Bravo, Dinis, 36–37, 39, 40, 55, 56
Bravo, Herculano, 56
Bravo, Margarida Dinis, 38, 56
Bravo, Pascoal, 37, 38, 55, 56
Braz, João, 21
Brazil: colonial government of, 12; concessions in, 1, 6, 206; Dutch conquests in, 51–62; Dutch defeat, 119–27; early names of, 2–3; Inquisition in, 12–42, 107–119, 143–167; introduction of sugar cane in, 8–11; New Christians in, 2–8;
Brazil Company, 120–21, 122, 125 191 n. 68
Brazil Restituido, El [Lope de Vega], 57, Bernardo's speech from, 208–9
Brazilian-Portuguese War of Liberation, 92–127; effects of capitulation agreement, 139–42
Brest, 126

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:08 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Brinck, Colonel, 119
Bueno, Abraham, 107–8, 109
Bullenstrate, A. van, 92
Burgos, Aráo, 137
Burgos, David, 137
Burgos, Elyau, 137

Cabo Verde, 12, 159
Cabral, Pedro Alvares, 2, 3, 4, 5
Caja, Jorge Dias de, 20, 25
Calabar, 61
Calado, Manoel Salvador, 58, 60, 94–96, 104, 124, 173
Caldeira, João Peres, 152
Calvinists, and Jews, 44; in Dutch Brazil, 65, 124
Camara, José da, 161
Camaragibe, synagogue of, 25, 32
Camello, Jorge, 22
Campos, Domingos da Costa Brandão de, 60
Campos, Manoel Abreu de, 165
Campos, Pero de, 60
Canchess, Izaque, 137
Cardosa, Ishac, 117, 118–19
Cardoso, Brites, 153
Cardoso, Daniel, 110
Cardoso, Dauid, 137
Cardoso, Michael, 99, 171
Cardoso, Simeon, 137
Cardozo, Eliau Aboab, 137
Cardozo, Fernando, 159
Carillo, Jacob, 101
Carvalho, Isaac, 107–8, 109
Carvalho, Leonor Maria de, *see* Silva, Leonor Maria de Carvalho da
Carvalho, Manoel, 61
Carvalho, Manoel Lopes de, 153
Carvalho, Sebastião de, 94
Carvalho e Mello, José de, 166
Castanho, Garbiel, 60, 125
Castanho, Isaac, 85, 88, 136, 137
Castanho, João, 61
Castiel, Dauid, 137
Castro, Abraham de, *see* Luis, Cristovão
Castro, Isaac de, 110–19, 165, 167, 172 191 n. 64, 192 n. 19, 212–13
Castro, João Tomas de, 157, 167
Castilho, Dom Pedro de, 40, 45
Catholics, in Dutch Brazil, 65, 74, 81
Ceuten, M. van, 75
Chação, Francisco Botelho, 121
Chação, Manoel Gomes, 107–8
Charles II of England, 175
Charter of Dutch Brazil, 63
Children of Jewish exiles, 144
Christian Reformed Church of the Dutch, 58, 63, 64–65
Clark, G. N., quoted, 45
Classis, and Jews, 74, 77–91, 129; charges of, against Jews, 92, 100, 104
Coelho, Bastião, 24
Coelho, Dauid Jesurun, 137
Coelho, Duarte, 10–11, 25
Coelho, Gonçalo, 10
Coelho, Isabel Fernandes, 24
Coelho, Jorge de Albuquerque de, 24, 29, 61
Coelho, Mathias de Albuquerque de, 58, 61
Coelho, Nicolau, 3, 5
Coelho de Albuquerque, Dona Brites, 10, 25
Cohen, Abraham, 126, 137, 171, 174
Cohen, Moses, 59
Cohen, Samuel, 59
Cohen Farro, Dauid, 137
Colver, Dirck Pieters, 52
Companhia Geral para o Estado do Brazil, *see* Brazil Company
Companhia de Navegação e Commercio da India, Mina e Guine, 51
Conciliador, 85
Concubines, 92
Confessions and Denunciations, 12, 15–32, 36–42, 147
Coronel, David Senior, 85, 136, 137, 172
Coronel, Ishac Senior, 137
Coronel, Jehosuah Senior, 137
Correia, Gaspar, 4–5
Correia, Gil, 125, 192 n. 19
Correia, Jacob Gabbay, 71, 137
Correia, Luis Miguel, *see* Vale, Luis Migue Correia do
Correia, Simão, 61
Cortiçado, 32
Corvo, Rabbi, 66
Costa, Ana da, 34, 41

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:08 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Costa, Anna da, *see* Pereira, Anna da Costa
Costa, Alexander Henriques da, 146
Costa, Bento da, 172
Costa, Brites da, 34, 41
Costa, Catherina Favella da, 33, 41
Costa, Dauid da, 137
Costa, Felippa da Paz, 24, 26, 33
Costa, Gaspar Francisco da, 60, 77, 93, 125, 173
Costa, Isaac da, 88, 101
Costa, Joseph da, 136, 137, 172
Costa, Manoel da, 101
Costa, Matheus da, 110
Costa, Pedro Rodrigues da, 146
Costa, Pero da, 24, 33
Costa, Uriel da, 172
Costa de Mesquita, Gaspar da, 145
Costa de Mesquita, Theotonio da, 145, 167
Coutinho, Balthasar Rodrigues, 153
Coutinho, Branca Maria, 154
Coutinho, Diogo Cardoso, 153
Coutinho, Francisca, 153
Coutinho, Francisco de Sousa, 109
Coutinho, Isabel Cardoso, 153, 156–57, 159
Coutinho, Lourença, *see* Silva, Lourença Coutinho da
Coutinho, Manoel Cardoso, 153
Coutinho, Sousa, 106
Coutinho, Sebastião da Fonseca, 152
Couto, Diogo do, 22, 32, 35
Crasto, Manoel de, 61
Crasto, Manoel Mendes de, *see* Mendes de Crasto, Manoel
Crasto, Mosse de, 137
Crasto, João Paes da, 70
Crasto de Hamburgo, Daniel de, 137
Crastoz, Mosseh Nhemias, 137
Criminals, deportation of, to Brazil, 12, 143
Cruz, Elena Gaetana da, 163
Cruz, Francisca da, 163
Cruz, Maria Messia da, 163
Cunha, Dom Luis da, 151
Cunha, Moses da, *see* Costa, Gaspar Francisco da

Dagama, Abraham, 137
D'Albuquerque, Diogo, 37
Daltero, Cristovão Pais, 20
Daltero, Pero d'Aguiar, 20
Dassinex, captain, 87
Dasylua, Salamão, 137
Davidson, William, 175
Decaserez, Abrão, 137
Defaria, Jacob, 137
Defontes, Izaque, 137
Delafaia, Francisca de Faria, 61
Delafaia, João, 61
d'Elvas, Diogo Fernandes, 38
Demarchena, Abraham, 137
Denunciations, *see* Confessions and Denunciations
Depaz, Aron Dorta, 137
Dialogos das Grandezas do Brazil, 27–28, 32
Diana [Montemayor], 18, 28
Dias, Abraham Israel, 131, 136, 137; *see also* Patto, Fernandes
Dias, Ana Rois, *see* Antunes, Ana Rois Dias
Dias, Branca, *see* Fernandes, Branca Dias
Dias, David, 131, 136, 137
Dias, Diogo, 17
Dias, Diogo, 21
Dias, Diogo, *see* Querido, Diogo Dias
Dias, Ines, 20
Dias, Luis, *see* Mendes, Joseph Jesurun
Dias, Manoel Espinoza, 41
Diaz, Salo Yzarael Mendes, 137
Dinis, Margarida, *see* Bravo, Margarida Dinis
Dique, Dona Ventura Isabel, *see* de Sousa, Dona Ventura Isabel Dique
Discources on the Commerce of the Two Indies, 50
d'Oliveira, Ana, 20
d'Oliveira, Antonia, 15, 17
d'Oliveira, Joane Mendes, 22
d'Oliveira, Salomon, 117, 170
Doncker, Wilhelm, 74
Dormido, Daniel, 137, 172
Dormido, Manuel Martinez, 172
Dormido, Salomon, 71, 137, 172
Dorth, Jan Van, 51, 53
Doutel, Francisco Pinto, 19, 26–27
Drago, Abraham, 137
Drago, Isaac Franco, 137, 173
Drago, Jacob, 101, 123–24, 131, 136, 137
Drago, Moseh, 137
Drago, Simão, 60, 173
Duarte, Paula, 41

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:08 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Duchs, Francisco, 50
Dussen, Adriaen van der, 75
Dutch: conquests, 43–62; defeat of, in Brazil, 119–27; in Bahia, 43–57, 75–76; in Pernambuco, 57–62; rebellion against, 72
Dutch Brazil: charter for, 63; end of, 126; expansion of, 82–83; government of, 76; Jewish communities in, 128–142; Jewish exodus from, 139–42; population of, 129

East India Company, 47, 48, 50
Eisenstein, 66
England, 45, 122, 125, 126, 172, 174
Esperança, Dona, *see* Montarroio, Dona Esperança
Esteves, Antonio Gomes, 160
Escobar, Lucas, 15
Evora, 2, 16, 147
Expulsion Edict, of March 31, 1492, 1; of 1497, 149
Ez Hayyim Talmud School in Recife, 81, 132

Falloo, captain, 126
Faria, Bastão de, 17
Faria, Beatriz Antunes de, 15, 17, 18, 19, 41
Farin, Yishak al, 137
Faro, Abraham, 137
Farro, David Cohen, *see* Cohen Farro, David
Fathias, Josse, 88
Favella, Catherina, *see* Costa, Catherina Favella da
Faya, Aron de la, 137
Febos, Isaque, 137
Fereira, Gaspar Dias, 69, 74, 105, 106
Fernandes, Ana, 24
Fernandes, Andresa Jorge, *see* Sousa, Andresa Jorge Fernandes de
Fernandes, Antonia de Oliveira, 15, 17, 20
Fernandes, Beatriz, 24, 26, 41, 181–82 n. 50
Fernandes, Branca Dias, 24–26, 32, 33
Fernandes, Clara, 16–17
Fernandes, Diogo, 24–25
Fernandes, Diogo, 10–11, 24–26, 32, 33, 39
Fernandes, Duarte, 25
Fernandes, Felippa da Paz, *see* Costa, Felippa da Paz Fernandes da
Fernandes, Gaspar, 19
Fernandes, Guiomar, see Frasão, Guiomar Fernandes
Fernandes, Henrique, 39
Fernandes, Inas, *see* Leitão, Inas Fernandes
Fernandes, Isabel, *see* Coelho, Isabel Fernandes
Fernandes, Jorge Dias da Paz, 24
Fernandes, Vasco, 60
Fernandes, Violante, *see* Pereira, Violante Fernandes
Fernandez, Pedro, 15
Ferreira, Francisca, *see* Ribeiro, Francisca Ferreira
Figeroa, Dauid de, 137
Fonseca, Abaan da, 137
Fonseca, Antonio da, 19
Fonseca, Balthasar da, 26, 60, 71, 77, 78, 99, 170, 173
Fonseca, Damião da, 28
Fonseca, Gaspar da, 173
Fonseca, Isaac Aboab da, ii, 44, 86, 102–3, 124, 129, 136, 137, 169–70, 171, 173, 177
Fonseca, Isabel Nogueira da, 173
Fonseca, Isabella da, 169
Fonseca, João da, 87
Fonseca, Judith, *see* Belillos, Judith da Fonseca
Fonseca, Maria Francisca da, 173
Fonseca, Philipina da, 60
Fonseca, Simão della Vale da, 71
Fontes, Diogo, 41
Fontes, Guiomar de, 20
Frances, David, *see* Frances, Miguel
Frances, Joseph, 126, 128, 136, 137, 140, 174
Frances, Miguel, 107–8, 189–90 n. 34
Frances, Paulo, 189–90 n. 34
Francisco, Prince, 156
Franco, Diogo Lopes, 37, 39
Franco, Francisco Lopes, 46
Franco, Isaac, *see* Drago, Simão
Franco, Jacob, 71
Franco, Lopes Matheus, 41
Frasão, Francisco, 24
Frasão, Guiomar Fernandes, 24, 26
Frazao, Jacob 137
Frazao, Josseph, 137
Frazao, Samuel, 136, 137
Freemasons, 167

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:08 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Freire, Manoel Lopes, 145
Freire, José da Mata, 161
Freyre, Gilberto, 10
Freyre, André da Veyga, 152
Fundão, Jacob, 125, 137
Furtado, Antonio Ribeira, 165
Furtado, Diogo de Mendoça, 52

Gabai, Izaque, 137
Gabay, Salamao, 137
Gabbay de Morais, Jacob, 137
Gabilho, Daniel, 86-87
Gago, Moseh Hamis, 137
Galegos, Manoel Alvares de, 38
Galegos, Pero de, 19
Gama, Balthasar da, 5
Gama, Gaspar da, 3-5
Gama, Vasco da, 3
Gamme, Abraham de, 71
Garces, João, 21
Garcia, Pero, 39, 40
Garcia, Rodolfo, 29-30, 31
Garstman, Col., 104
Gidion, Samson, 71
Goch, Councilor van, 124
Goes, Damião de, 4
Golijath, Cornelius, 135
Gollas, Jacob, 137
Gomes, Antonio, 159
Gomes, Gaspar, 139, 167
Gomes, Leonor, 159, 161-63
Gomes, Leonor Maria, 159
Gomes, Miguel, 17
Gomes, Paula, 149
Gonçalves, Adam, 39
Gonçalves, Diogo Laso, 41
Gonçalves, Felippa, 38
Guabay, Aron, 137
Gujdon, Samson, 138
Gutteres, Ludovico Luis, *see* Mendes, Joseph Jesurun

Hack, Jacques, 74
Haecxs, Hendrik 124-25, 126, 141
Hamel, Henrique, 92
Hamel, Jacob, 122-23, 125, 171
Haren, Onno Zwier van, 127 [poem of]
Haro, Josua Jessuron, 138
Haus, Lt.-Col., 94-95
Hebreo, Dioguinho, *see* Rodrigues, Diogo Rois
Heeren XIX, projected expedition against Brazil, 48-50; Henrique, Bento, and, 79-80; Jewish question, and, 80-81, 84-85, 87, 92; Maurits, Johan, and, 63, 82
Henrique, Bento, 79-80
Henrique, Moses Cohen, 71, 138
Henriques, Abr: Bueno, 138
Henriques, Alexander, *see* Costa, Alexander Henriques da
Henriques, Diogo, *see* Bueno, Abraham
Henriques, Isaac, 137, 138
Henriques, Jacob, 137, 138
Henriques, Jacob Cohen, 136, 138, 174
Henriques, João, 165, 167
Henriques, Marcos, *see* Silva, José Gomes da
Henriques, Moseh, 138
Henriques, Moseh Cohen, 138
Henriques, Pedro Mendes, 151
Henriquez, Joseph Bueno, 138
Herrera, Abraham Cohen, 170
Heussen, Gaspar van, 122-23, 171
Heyn, Pieter, vice-admiral, 51
Hoeb, Dauid, 138
Homen, João de Moraes, and de Castro, Isaac, 116, 212-13; extract of minutes of trial of de Castro,
Homen, Manoel, 46
Hoogstraeten, Major, 96
Huygens, Constantine, 123

Ilhoa, Diogo Lopes, 19
India, 45-46, 127
Indians, 5, 10, 24, 27, 31, 63, 65, 79, 94-95, 97, 103-4, 123, 129, 157
Inquisition: after War of Liberation, 107-119, 143-167; in Bahia, 12-23, 36-42, 138-39; in Buenos Aires, 183 n. 115; in Pernambuco, 23-32; in Peru, 183 n, 115; list of Jews executed by, 1644-1748, 167; Jews tried by, 165-66
Israel, Abraham, 137, 142
Israel, David, 142
Israel, Menasseh ben, 44, 85-86, 118, 136, 169, 172, 174, 177, 191 n. 64
Israel, Samuel, 107, 109

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:09 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Israel, Samuel Soeiro ben, 172
Itaberaba, discovery of gold in, 157
Itamaracá, Jews in, 129
Izrael, Isaque, 138

Jacob, Salamão bar, 107–8, 109
Jaques, Cristovão, 10
Jesuits, 12, 22, 32, 41, 57, 115, 138
Jesus, Leonor de, 153
Jesus, Maria de, 153
Jesus, Theresa Pays de, *see* Simoes, Theresa Pays de Jesus
Jewish Cemetery, 132, 134, 135
Jewish Communities in Dutch Brazil, 128–42; leaders of, 136–37; list of members of, 137–38; Zur Israel and Magen Abraham 130–35
Jews: compulsory conversion of, in Portugal, 1–2; exiles in New World, 1–11; exodus of, from Dutch Brazil, 139–42; Marranos outside Dutch Brazil, 138–39; numbers of, in Dutch Brazil, 1630–1654, 128–30; in sugar industry, 67–70; as tax farmers, 71–73; *see also* Amsterdam, Brazilian Jewry and Jews of
João III, 8, 11
João IV, 15, 82, 93, 108, 120; letter to States General, The Hague, 210
João V, 151, 156
Johannis, Isaac, 107–8, 109
Jol, Cornelis, admiral, 83
Jost, I. M., 66
Jozea, 138

Kohut, George A., 66

Lafaia, João de, 125
Lara, Miguel de Castro, 148, 157
Lasnier, 115, 116–17, 118
Lassos, Diogo Gonçalves, 38–39, 46
Laval, Pyrard de, 35
Leal, José Rodrigues, 161, 162
Leão, Moses de, 101, 138
Leão, Simão de, 38
Leão, Dauid Juda, 138
Leitão, Balthasar, 24
Leitão, Inas Fernandes, 24
Lemon, Sebastião Soares de, 144
Lemos, Jacob de, 123–24, 136, 138
Lendas da India, 4
Leonor, Dona, 146
Levy, Benjamin, 136, 138
Levy, Isaque, 138
Levy, Manoel, 138
Leuy, Jacob, 138
Lichthardt, Admiral, 96
Lima, Munos de, 143–44
Lima, Oliveira, 10
Lion, Abrao, 138
Lis, José de, *see* Castro, Isaac de
Lisbão, Tinoco de, 38
Literature, in Brazil, 27–28, 29, 31, 32, 164; of Jews in America, 66–67, 102, 186 n. 12, 195 n. 1
Lonck, General, 57
Lopes, Branco Rois, 15
Lopes, Brites, 153
Lopes, Daui, 138
Lopes, Diogo, 33, 31, 47, 57
Lopes, Fernão de, 15, 16
Lopes, Francisco, 164
Lopes, Franco [Matheus], 38
Lopes, Gemmes, 19
Lopes, Guiomar, 41
Lopes, Luis, 38
Lopes, Maria, *see* Mendes, Maria Lopes
Lopes, Vilante, 17
Loronha, *see* Noronha, Fernão de
Lucena, Capt. Francisco, 50, 56
Luis, Cristovão, 112
Luis, Isabel de Paz, 112
Luis, Tomas, *see* Castro, Isaac de
Lumbroso, Mose, 138, 142

Maçedo, Antonio de Sousa, 122
Machabeu, Jehudah, 138
Machado, Abbot Diogo Barboza, 31
Machado, Simão, 38
Machorro, Mordehay, 138
Madeira, Gonzalo, 5
Madeira, Pedro, 20
Maestro, Dauid, 138
Magalhaes, Pedro Jaques de, 125
Magen Abraham Congregation, 130, 131, 135, 137–38, 171
Maia, Salvador da, 21, 42

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:09 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Manha, Isaac Johannis de la, *see* Johannis, Isaac
Manoel I, 1, 3-4, 6, 7, 8, 9
Manoel, Antonio, 59
Manoel, Dom, 46
Manoel from Sao Miguel, 39
Marcgrav, 104
Mariz, João Carneiro de, 74
Marranos, in Amsterdam, 43-44; in Bahia, 52-53; in Brazil, 24, 30, 31, 32, 40, 43, 58; extradited to Lisbon, 143-67; late Brazilian, 1654-1822, 143-67; outside Dutch Brazil, 138-39; of Pernambuco, 60; persecution of, 147-67; of Recife, 58
Martin, Luis, 55, 56
Martins, Fernao, 125
Martyr, Isaac de Castro, Brazilian, 110-19
Masser, Lunardo Chá, 7
Matos, Antonio de, 55, 56
Mattos, Manoel de, 139
Mattos, Rodrigues da, 138
Mattos, Simão Nunes de, *see* Nunes de Mattos, Simão
Mauricia, bridge of, 77-78; Jews in, 129; siege of, 101
Maurits van Nassau, Johan, 26, 92, 93, 100, 104, 105, 129, 171, 173, 174; governorship of Dutch Brazil of, 63-91; petition of Jews to, 88, 207; resignation of, 88-89
Mazarin, Jules, cardinal, 116
Meatoga, Abraham, 111
Meatoga, Sarah, 111
Mendes, Abraham, *see* Mendes, Gabriel
Mendes, Afonso, 15
Mendes, Ana de Oliveira, 15
Mendes, Anrique, 21
Mendes, Catharina, 15
Mendes, David, 138, 174
Mendes, Gabriel, 107, 108, 109
Mendes, Henrique, 42
Mendes, Isabel, *see* Peres, Isabel Mendes
Mendes, Israel Levy, 138
Mendes, Jacob Franco, 138
Mendes, Joseph Jesurun, 136, 174
Mendes, Manoel Afonso, 15
Mendes, Maria Lopes, 15, 16
Mendes, Miguel Rodrigues, 60
Mendes, Miguel Roiz, 88
Mendes, Moses, 95-96, 107-8
Mendes de Crasto, Manoel, 81, 129
Mendoça, Clara de, 39
Mendoça, Heitor Furtado de, 12, 22, 23, 32, 33, 47, 173
Menezes, Dom Diogo de, 34
Menezes, Francisco Barreto de, *see* Barreto de Menezes, Gen. Francisco
Menezes, Dona Luis de, 128
Mercado, Abraham de, 85, 94, 99, 131, 136, 138, 174-75
Mercado, Luis de, 71, 124
Mercado, Moseh de, 138
Mercado, Rafael de, 137, 138, 175
Mesa, Manoel Mendes, 40
Mesquita, Abraham Bueno de, 175-76
Mesquita, Antão de, 69
Mesquita, Antonio de, 55
Mesquita, Benjamin Bueno de, 138, 175-76
Mesquita, Gaspar Dias, 121
Mesquita, Joseph Bueno, 176
Mesquite, Isaac Montezinos, 137
Michael, David, 107-8, 109, 189 n. 33
Mikweh Israel, 85, 118
Minas Geraes, gold mines of, 157
Miranda, Antonio de, 42
Miranda, Antonio Nunes de, 146, 151
Miranda, Felix Nunes de, 157, 167
Miranda, Francisco Nunes de, 146
Miranda, Guiomar Nunes de, 146
Miranda, Isabel Bernardes de, 146
Miranda, Manoel de, 94
Mocata, Abraham, 137, 138
Mocata, Jacob, 88, 136, 138; *see* Correia, Gil
Mochoro, Yacob, 138
Moerbeeck, Jan Andries, 48-49, 52
Monica, 31
Monitory Letter, 12-13, 23
Monsancto, Manoel Rodrigues, 60, 150
Montarroio, Diogo de, 154
Montarroio, Dona Esperança de, 154
Montesinos, Isaque, 138
Montesinos, Semuel, 138
Montpalau, Don Antonio de Capmany, 9
Moreno, Mathathias, 138
Moraes, Manoel de, 60, 150, 173, 189-90 n. 34
Morais, Jacob Gabbay de, *see* Gabbay de Morais, Jacob

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:09 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Moreira, Antonio Joaquim, 117
Morin, Francisco de, 55, 56
Morisot, 104
Morreau, Pierre, 104
Mortera, Saul Levi, 117, 142, 147
Mose, Jacob, 88
"Mouco," 39
Moura, Gaspar Dias de, 39
Moura, Dona Isabella de, 70
Mucate, Jahacob, 85
Mueller, Dirck, 104
Musaphia, Salamon, 101
Muts, 109

Nahamias, Isaac, 136, 138
Nahamias, Samuel, 110
Nahmias, Eliau, 136, 138
Namiaz, Daniel, 138
Namiaz de Amburgo, Moseh, 138
Navarro, Aaron, 99, 126
Navarro, Abraham, 176
Navarro, Jacob, 99, 101, 131, 136, 138
Navarro, Moses, 59–60, 70, 71–72, 99, 120, 125, 138, 176, 185 n. 59
Navigation Acts, 122
Negroes, 55, 56, 79, 125, 157; *see also* Slaves
Netto, Aharon, 88
Netto, Moses, 71, 125, 138
New Christians, 2–8; and Brazil Company, 120–21; discontinuation of use of term, 166–67
New York, city records, 142; congregation Shearith Israel in, 176; first Jewish community in, 142
Neweh Shalom congregation in Amsterdam, 30, 44, 85
Nieuhof, 104
Nizza, Marques da, 110
Nogueira, Isabel, *see* Fonseca, Isabel Nogueira da
Noronha, Antonio de, 8
Noronha, Conde de Linhares, 8
Noronha, Fernão de, 5–8
Novena, Aharon, 110
Nunes, Beatriz, *see* Bravo, Beatriz Nunes
Nunes, Diogo, 26
Nunes, Domingo, 158, 167
Nunes, Duarte, 71
Nunes, Gonçallo, 37
Nunes, Gregorio, 20
Nunes, Guiomar, *see* Miranda, Guiomar Nunes de
Nunes, Guiomar, *see* Pereira, Guiomar Nunes
Nunes, Jacob, 71
Nunes, João, 19, 21–23, 26, 32, 39, 42, 71
Nunes, Manoel, 19
Nunes, Mosche, 138
Nunes, Moses, 138
Nunes, Tomas, 19
Nunes de Mattos, 37, 38, 39, 40

Oliveira, Antonia de, *see* Fernandes, Antonia de Oliveira
Oliveyra, Solomon de, *see* d'Oliveira, Salomon
Omoso, Ab. Querido, 138
O Uelho, Isaque Isry, 138
Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 18–19

Pacheco, Alvaro [Mendes], 15, 17
Paiva, Luis Vas de, 39
Paiva, Admiral Serrão de, 96
Paiz Abrao Aboab, 138
Paparrobalos, Antonio Dias, 58
Parahiba, Jews in, 129
Parede, David, 71
Paredes, Catharina Marques da Silva de, 147, 149
Paredes, Isabel de, *see* Silva, Isabel de Paredes da
Paredes, Luis Lopes de, 39, 40
Paredes, Manoel de, 147
Parier, Jean Ayeur de, 78
Patto, Fernandes, 192 n. 20
Paz, Isabel de, *see* Luis, Isabel de Paz
Pechotte, Diogo, 71
Pedro II, 151
Pena, Moses Israel, 137, 138
Pereira, Anna da Costa, 144
Pereira, Dona Anna Sodre, 152
Pereira, Bento, 160
Pereira, Francisco, 157
Pereira, Francisco de Brito, 74
Pereira, Gaspar, 144
Pereira, Guiomar Nunes, 157, 167
Pereira, Izaque, 138
Pereira, João, 24

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:10 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Pereira, João Alvares, 20
Pereira, Pedro Alvarez, 50
Pereira, Violante Fernandes, 24, 25, 26
Peres, Isabel Mendes, 139
Peres, Luis, 139
Peres, Mose, 138
Pernambuco, Dutch conquest of, 57-62; Dutch loss of, 105; Inquisition in, 23-32
Pero, Rodrigo, 50
Petition of Jews of Dutch Brazil to Maurits, 88, 207
Philip III, 48
Phoenix, emblem of, 30-31
Picard, Major Alexander, 61
Pina, Aaron de, 123
Pina, Benjamin de, 71-72, 88, 125
Pineiro, Capt. Ruy Carvalho, 55
Pinheiro, Abraham, 138
Pinheiro, J., 31
Pinto Artur Homen, 69
Pinto, Bento Teixeira, *see* Teixeira, Bento
Pinto, Jorge Homen, 68-69
Pinto, Lourenço Homen, 69
Pisa, Abraham Israel de, 138, 175
Polaco, Jacob, 107, 109, 189 n. 33
Polonia, Juda bar Jacob de, *see* Polaco, Jacob
Pombero, Francisco, 55
Pope Benedict XIII, 156
Pope Clement VIII, 16
Pope Paul III, 2
Portuguese Israelite Community in Amsterdam, archives of, 47
Prosopopea, 29-32
Preto, Arao, 138

Querido, Abraham, 138
Querido, David, and East India Company, 47
Querido, Diogo Dias, 46, 47
Querido, Abraham, 138

Rabe, Johann, 104
Rabi, Jacob, *see* Rabe, Johann
Raesvelt, John van, 123
Raphael, Pedro Fernandes, 39
Raposa, Felippa, *see* Teixeira, Felippa Raposa
Rebellion, effect on economy, 98
Recife: attack on, 1654, 125-26; bridge to Mauricia, 77-78; capitulation of, 126, 128-29; exodus of Jews and others from, 139-42; reconquest of, 93-95, 97; siege of, 101-3, 105-6; synagogues closed, 75; under the Dutch, 65-66
Religion, freedom of, 57-58, 60, 63, 73-75, 78-82, 83-87, 90-91
Responsum, first American, 66-67
Rezio, Arom Levy, 138
Ribeira, Isabel, *see* Aguiar, Isabel Ribeira
Ribeira, Manoel, 22
Ribeira, Balthasar, 38, 46
Ribeiro, Duarte Alvares, 55, 56
Ribeiro, Francisca Ferreira, 22
Ribeiro, Capt. Francisco, 47
Ribeiro, Manoel da Costa, *see* Almeida, Manoel da Costa de
Ridder, Nicolaes de, 69
Rison, Isaque, 138
Rivert, D., 79
Rocha, Antonio da, 20, 21
Rocque, 16
Rodrigues, Ana, 15
Rodrigues, Ana Rois, 15, 16
Rodrigues, Diogo Afonso, 15
Rodrigues Diogo Rois (Abrahão), 149
Rodrigues, Leonor, *see* Barros, Leonor Rodrigues de
Rodrigues, Mathias Rois, 15
Rogna, Firnanda della, see Noronha, Fernão de
Rois, Ana, *see* Antunes, Ana Rois Dias
Rois, Anrique, 19
Rois, Isabel, 17
Rois, Vicente, 60-61
Rois, Violante, 17
Rojas, Dom Luis de, 61
Rondinelli, Piero, concessions in Brazil, and, 6, 206;
Rosa, Leonor da, 15
Rotres, 94
Ruiter, Dirck de, 52
Rusten, Isaac, 95-96, 107

Sá, Antonio de, 70
Sá, Luis Mendes da, 159, 167
Sá, Mem de, 15
Sabbatai, Rabbi Hayyim, 66-67

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:11 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Sacute, Moses, 71
Salem, David, 107, 109
Salom, Isaiah, 138
Sanches, Alvaro, 19, 47
Sanches, Antonio Ribeiro, 164–65
Sanches, Gabriel Rodrigues, 50, 56
Sanches, Manoel Rodrigues, 37, 40, 55, 56
Sanches, Manoel Rois, 46
Sanches, Miguel Nunes, 164
Santiago, Bento Dias, 24, 25, 26, 27, 32
São Jeronimo, Francisco de, 147
São Paulo, minute books of council of, 138–39
São Thomé, 9, 10, 12, 45, 87, 88, 106, 127
Saraiva, Duarte, 61, 70, 71–72, 87, 88, 125, 172; *see* Coronel, David Senior
Sarfatti, Aaron de Pina, 126
Sarfatti, Benjamin de Pina, 131, 136, 138, 176
Schmient, 79
Schonenburgh, Walter van, president of Supreme Council, 103, 124–25, 126, 141
Schoppe, Sigismund von, 105, 126, 140
Schoot, Col. Albert, 53
Sefer Torat Hayyim, 66
Semah, Isaque, 88
Semler, 79
Senah, Isaque Gabai, 138
Senior, Jacob, 87, 138
Senior, Mordechaj, 138
Sera, Isaac, 71
Serfatti, Aharon, 136, 138, 177
Serpa, Dominguos Alvares de, 36–38
Serra, Isaque de, 138
Serrão, Isabel, 19
Silva, Aaron de, 136, 138
Silva, Andre de Barros da, 152
Silva, Antonia da, 152
Silva, Antonia Maria Theodora da, 163
Silva, Antonio José da, 153–57, 159–64, 167
Silva, Antonio Telles da, 93, 98
Silva, Balthasar Rodrigues Coutinho da, 163
Silva, Bernardo Mendes da, 153
Silva, Catharina Marques da, *see* Paredes, Catharina Marques de Silva de
Silva, Dom Diogo da, 13
Silva, Dionisio da, 164
Silva, Duarte da, 120, 121
Silva, Fernão Martin da, 125
Silva, Francisco Gomes da, 147
Silva, Isaac de, 136, 138
Silva, Isabel de Paredes da, 151
Silva, Jacob da, 136, 138
Silva, João Mendes da, 153
Silva, José Gomes da, 147, 149, 151, 152
Silva, Leonor Maria de Carvalho da, 161
Silva, Lourença da, 161
Silva, Lourença Coutinho da, 153–54, 156, 159
Silva, Luis da, *see* Dormido, Daniel
Silva, Luis Mendes da, 153
Silva, Manoel de, 139
Silva, Maximiliano Gomes da, 160
Silva, Dom Pedro, 61, 111
Silveira, Afonso Serrão de, 121
Silveira, Domingos José da, 148
Silveira, Duarte da, 121
Simha, Dona, *see* Belmonte, Dona Simha Querido
Simoes, Brandão Mendes de, 152
Simoes, Theresa Pays de Jesus, 152, 167
"Simon Lion," 60
Slaves, 15, 24, 46, 55, 68, 70–72, 101, 106, 129, 150
Slecht, Simon, 97
Soares, Antonio da Costa, 163
Soares, Fernão, 31
Soares, Francisco Vaz, 19, 20
Soares, João Alvares, 154
Soares, Simão Soeiro, 20
Soeiro, Ephraim, 85
Soeiro, Manoel Dias, *see* Israel, Menasseh ben
Soeiro, Samuel, *see* Israel, Samuel Soeiro ben
Solis, 150
Solis, Benjamin de, 138
Solis, Duarte Gomes de, 50
Solis, Joseph de, 110
Solorzano, Don Geronimo Quijada de, 55
Sousa, Andresa Jorge Fernandes de, 24, 33
Sousa, Beatris de, 32–33, 42
Sousa, Belchior de, 21
Sousa, Diogo Duarte de, 150
Sousa, Fernão de, 24, 32, 33
Sousa, Fernão Dique de, 150
Sousa, Dom Francisco de, 47
Sousa, Gaspar Lobo de, 21

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:12 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Sousa, João Dique de, 150, 152, 167
Sousa, João Pereira de, 42
Sousa, Jorge de, 42
Sousa, Luis de, 70
Sousa, Dom Luis de, 47
Sousa, Luis Dique de, 150
Sousa, Martin Afonso de, 10
Sousa, Dona Ventura Isabel Dique de, 150-51, 152
Stachover, Jacob, 69
Sugar industry, 8-11, 27, 40, 67-70, 98-99, 151, n. 37 (I), 180
Supreme Council, First, 78-82, 92, 93, 96, 97, 98-99, 100-102; Second, 103, 106, 108, 124-25

Talmud Torah Congregation and School, in Amsterdam, 44, 85, 170, 174; School in Recife, 81, 132, 170
Tax farming, 71-73
Teixeira, Bento, 20, 25, 28-32, 42
Teixeira, Diogo, 42
Teixeira, Felippa Raposa, 28
Teixeira, Fernão Rodrigues, 28
Teixeira, Fernão Rodrigues de Paz, 28
Teixeira, Dom Marcos [bishop of Brazil], 41, 51, 53
Teixeira, Marcos [*visitador*], 36, 41
Telles, Anrique Monis, 37
Telles, Henrique Monis, 39
Telles, Leonor Antunes, 15, 18, 19, 39
Templo, Selomoh Juda Leão, 170
Testa, David, 59
Thaide, Francisco de, 19
Thoar, Aram de, 138
Tinoco, Antonio de Sá, 165
Tinoco, Francisco Duarte, 38
Toledo, Don Fadrique, 53, 54
Tollner, 87-88
Tomas, Antonio, 21
Torres, Daniel Aluares, 138
Torres, David, 71, 137
Torres, Dauid Aluares de, 138
Torres, João de, 71
Trego, Franco de, 41

Uilareal, Abraham Gabay, 138
Ulhoa, André Lopes, 42
Ulhoa, Antonio Lopes, 15
Ulhoa, Branca de Leão Mendes, 15
Usselincx, Willem, 48
Utrecht, Treaty of, 43

Vale, Diogo, Correia da, 158, 167
Vale, Fernão do, 60, 69, 70, 77, 94, 173
Vale, Luis Miguel Correia do, 158, 167
Vale, Simão do, 60
Valenca, Maria de, 165
Valencia y Guzman, Don Juan de, 56
Valladolid, Miguel de Mendoça, 157, 167
Valuerdo, Abraham, 138
Valverde, Jacob, 101, 125, 131, 136, 138
Vandale, Manoel, 50
Vasconcellos, Ana Alcoforado de, 15-16, 34, 41
Vasconcellos, Nicolo Faleiro de, 15-16
Vaz, Guiomar, *see* Belmonte, Dona Simha Querido
Vaz, Diogo, 19, 144
Vaz, Pantalião, 19
Vaz, Simão, 19
Vego, Lope de, 57, 208-9
Veiga, Samuel da, 136, 137, 172
Velho, Antonio, 38
Velho, João Nunes, 107-8, 109, 189 n. 33
Velho, Manoel de Vasconcellos, 148-49
Velho, Samuel, *see* Velho João Nunes
Velozino, Jacob de Andrade, 177
Velozino, Joshua, 136, 138, 177
Vera, Pedro Lopes de, 69, 70
Vidal de Negreiros, Andre, 93, 95, 96, 126 174
Vidigueira, Gaspar Dias, 21
Viegas, Antonio, 39
Vieira, Antonio, 106-7, 110, 120
Vieira, João Fernandes, 71, 72, 93-95, 103, 126, 174
Vingboons, Johannes, 135
Vischer, Claes Ians, 135

Waetjen, Hermann, 68, 124
War of Liberation, Brazilian-Portuguese, 92-127; capitulation agreement of, 139-42; termination of, 126-27
West India Company, 48-62, 63, 68, 72, 74, 79, 81, 85, 87, 88, 98-99, 100, 105, 106, 107, 110, 124, 129, 172
Westminster, Treaty of 127

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:12 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Willekens, Admiral Jacob, 51
With, 126

Ximenes, João Correa, 153

Zacutto, Jacob, 125, 138
Zacutto, Moseh, 138
Zekker asiti leniflaot El, 102-3, 136, 211
Zur Israel Congregation, 66, 100-101, 102, 123-24, 171, 174, 175, 177; conflict with Magen Abraham Congregation, 135; members of, 137-38; minute book of, 130-36, 192 n. 13; officers of, 136-37; site of synagogue of, 135
Zuzarte, Dauid, 138

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:12 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Printed in Holland

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:13 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:13 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:14 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

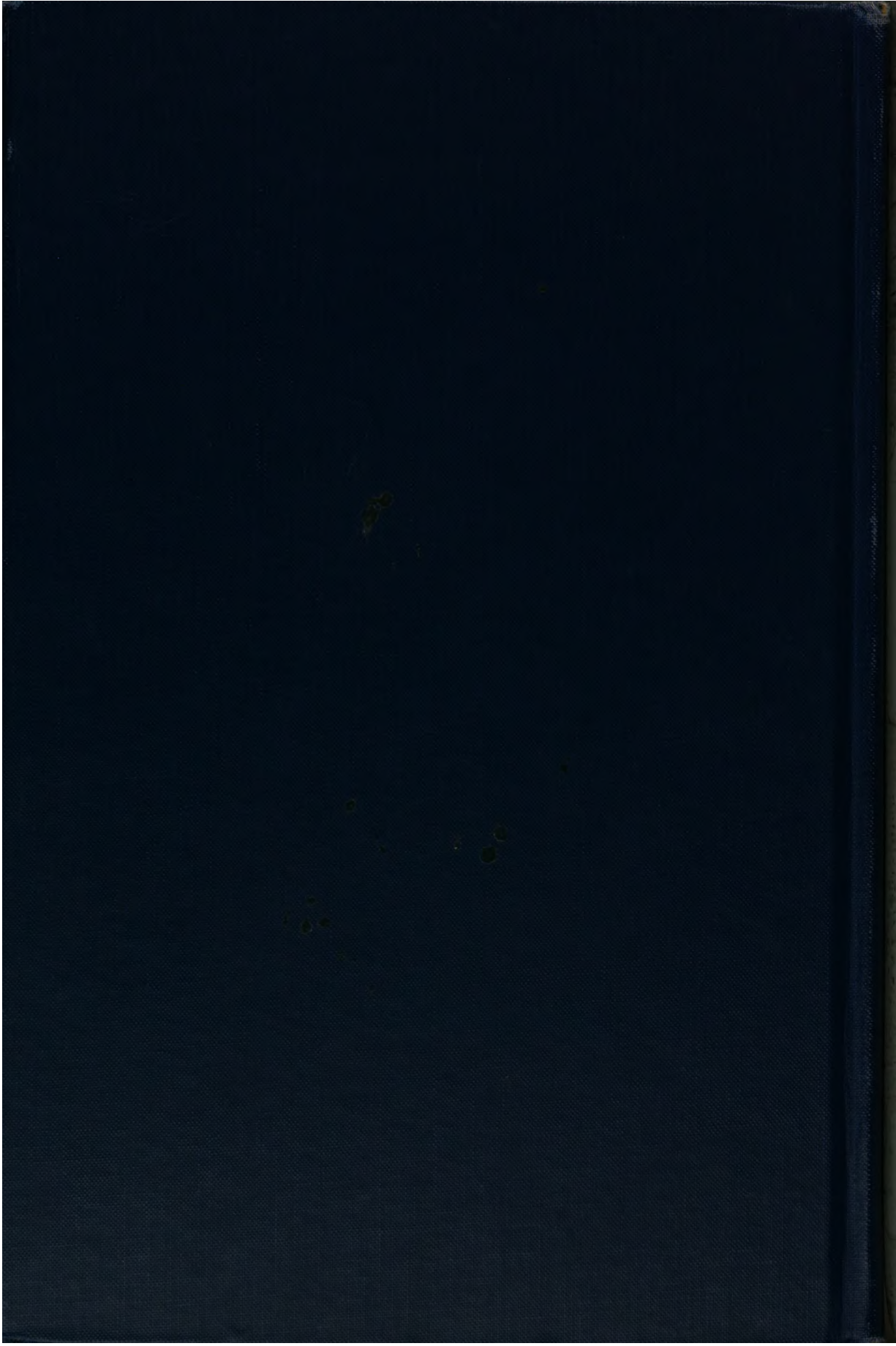
Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:15 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



Generated through HathiTrust on 2026-07-20 15:16 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011883470 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN