

Seventeenth-Century Brazilian Jewry: A Critical Review

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

When, in the year 1654, a handful of Jewish refugees from Brazil established themselves as a community at New Amsterdam on the Hudson River, Brazil became the "mother" of North American Jewry. This fact notwithstanding, English-language studies of seventeenth-century Brazilian Jewry have been remarkably uncommon. For this reason, the editors of the American Jewish Archives take pleasure in presenting the following review article. The efforts of Dr. Arnold Wiznitzer and of Dr. Emmanuel will, it is hoped, stimulate a deeper interest in the history of Brazil's Colonial Jewry than has hitherto been evident.

Dr. Emmanuel, the author of this review article, is a native of Salonica, Greece. He studied for the rabbinate at the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau and received his doctorate from the University of Lausanne. An eminent scholar, he has published a number of works on the history of Salonican Jewry and has also held pulpits in Curaçao, Panama, and Brazil. His most recent book — Masavot Saloniki — is being published by the Ben-Zvi Institute of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

In preparing himself to write on the history of the Jews in Colonial Brazil, Samuel Oppenheim compiled numerous documents from various archives. Among the sources which he assembled were the records of the Zur Israel community of Recife. Preserved in the Portuguese Jewish Community Archives of Amsterdam (PJCAA), this material was translated from Portuguese into English for the first time by Oppenheim himself. In addition, Oppenheim gathered together many documents of the West India Company and of the States General of Holland found in the Rijksarchief, the Royal Archives at The Hague. His collection of these latter documents was vast enough to merit mention in the 1924 report of the archivist Robert Fruin, of The Hague. This precious collection,

known as the "Samuel Oppenheim Collection," is in the library of the American Jewish Historical Society in New York City.

Arnold Wiznitzer, the author of the recently published *Jews in Colonial Brazil*,* has made use of Oppenheim's English translation both of the Zur Israel minutes and numerous other documents.¹ He has supplemented Oppenheim's valuable documents with other records from a number of archives and has made good use of periodicals and books published in Brazil about the New Christians and the colonial period in general—works listed in *Historiografia e Bibliografia do Domínio Holandês no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1949), by the Brazilian scholar and bibliographer, José Honorio Rodrigues. Still, though known to scholars dealing with Dutch Brazil, Rodrigues' work is surprisingly absent from Wiznitzer's bibliography. In 1920, the Rijksarchief at The Hague photographed extracts of various archives in Holland at the request of the Brazilian Legation, and this material has appeared in historical works published in Brazil.

Copious references to the archives of the West India Company and of the States General of Holland are given by Hermann Wätjen in his *Das holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien* (The Hague, 1921). Wiznitzer, in his notes, refers to several of these archival documents—especially those found in the Oppenheim Collection. Unfortunately, however, he neglected to consult numerous documents of the period which are at The Hague and which this reviewer was able to examine during his long stay in Holland.

The author devotes too much space (pp. 15–32) to the Judaizers' confessions, taken mainly from *Denúncias da Bahia*,² from *Con-*

* Wiznitzer, Arnold, *Jews in Colonial Brazil*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. xii, 227 pp. \$7.00

¹ See Herbert I. Bloom, "A Study of Brazilian Jewish History 1623–1654, Based Chiefly upon the Findings of the Late Samuel Oppenheim," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society [PAJHS]*, XXXIII (1934), 43–125. Here is Bloom's honest appraisal of Oppenheim's work:

They consist of many photostats of original documents, translations from the various documents and typewritten translated copies of photostats, also personal notes and comments upon material, abstracts and translations of both contemporary and more recently printed books, corrections of printed works on the subject and comparisons of these . . . translations from the Portuguese . . . (pp. 43–44).

² *Primeira Visitação do Santo Officio ás Partes do Brasil, pelo licenciado Heitor Furtado de Mendonça . . . Denúncias da Bahia, 1591–1593* (São Paulo: P. Prado, 1925).

fissões da Bahia,³ from *Denúncias de Pernambuco*,⁴ and from *Livro das denúncias que se fizeram na visitação do Santo Officio á Cidade do Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos do Brasil, no anno de 1618*.⁵

According to the notarial archives of the City of Amsterdam, the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam had been trading with their relatives in Bahia and "Fernambuco" since 1596.⁶ Among the Brazilian merchants were some New Christians who returned to Amsterdam and lived there as Jews—as, for instance, in 1617, Antonio Pinto "of Brazil." Wiznitzer's book fails to give us an adequate idea of a relationship which the West India Company considered extremely important to the successful colonization and trade of Brazil.

The instructions given to General Hendrik Corneliszoon Lonck (mentioned by Wiznitzer on pp. 57, 184, note 50), to respect the life and property of the inhabitants and not to molest them in matters of religion, are to be found in the manuscript "Secret Journal of the Meeting of the XIX, 1629-1645," Old West India Company Archive No. 2 (meeting of August 17, 1629), as follows: "ende inwoonders van Pernambuco . . . toestaen behoudenisse van Lyff ende goet, Vriheit van Conscientie soo wel de Christenen als de Jooden . . ."—Lonck was to preserve the life, property, and freedom of conscience of Christians and Jews alike.

DATA

There are several other instances in which comment and correction are required:

³ *Primeira Visitação do Santo Officio ás Partes do Brasil, pelo licenciado Heitor Furtado de Mendonça . . . Confissões da Bahia, 1591-92* (Rio de Janeiro: Sociedade Capistrano de Abreu, 1935).

⁴ *Primeira Visitação do Santo Officio ás Partes do Brasil, pelo licenciado Heitor Furtado de Mendonça . . . Denúncias de Pernambuco, 1593-1595* (São Paulo: P. Prado, 1929).

⁵ (Rio de Janeiro: Bibliotheca Nacional, 1936).

The works cited above (notes 2-5) are listed in Bruno Basseches, "Achegas para uma Bibliografia da História dos Judeus no Brasil," *Aonde Vamos?* (Rio de Janeiro), XVI (No. 743; Sept. 19, 1957), 6. See also *A Catalog of Books Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards Issued to July 31, 1942* (Ann Arbor, 1944), LXXIII, 355.

⁶ I. S. Emmanuel, "New Light on Early American Jewry," *American Jewish Archives [AJA]*, VII (1955), 4, 57, note 1.



Courtesy, H. G. Reissner, Flushing, N. Y.

*Pencil sketch by Julius Ludwig Sebbers, at the
Humboldt University, Berlin*

EDUARD GANS
(1798-1839)

President of the dreamers

(see p. 21)



Courtesy, H. G. Reissner, Flushing, N. Y.

*Pencil sketch by Wilhelm Hensel, 1829, in the
Nationalgalerie, Berlin*

HEINRICH HEINE
(1797-1856)
A dream of Ganstown
(see p. 25)

Jewish Soldiers — The number of Jewish soldiers in the service of the West India Company was very small. One of them, David Testa (p. 59), died on his return voyage to Amsterdam and left as his heirs, in 1633, Duarte Fernandez Vega and Jonas Israel Mendes.

The Sabbatai Responsum — Jehuda Covo,⁷ and not Corvo (p. 66), was the rabbi who headed the delegation of Salonica to Constantinople in 1637.

Sugar "Engenhos" — With reference to the sugar plantations and sugar mills cited by the author on p. 70, the following corrections and additions should be noted:

- "Birberike," or "Birberibe," belonging to Duarte Saraiva, was not identical with the "Camassarim," also owned by Saraiva;
- "Salgado," owned by Joseph d'Acosta, was not identical with "St. Jan," or "Trepiche," owned by Saraiva;
- "Novo," owned by Saraiva, was known also as "St. Michiel," and "Jurissaca," owned by Moses Navarro, was called also "Surifacque."

Though Wiznitzer does not mention it, one Domingo da Costa Brandau and his wife, Maria Henriques Brandoa, who lived in Amsterdam in 1639, had an *engenho* in "Arrerippi" (Recife?).

The author fails to mention, on p. 72, that the Jews also acted as purveyors of food, meats, etc., to the army and garrison.

Haham Aboab — As this reviewer has stated elsewhere,⁸ Haham Isaac Aboab da Fonseca arrived in Brazil in the fall of 1641 — not in 1642, as Wiznitzer says. David Franco Mendes, who consulted the archives of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam, also gives the year as 1641.

⁷ For details on the Rabbis Covo and their activities in Salonica, see I. S. Emmanuel's ספרות שאלוניקי [Masavot Saloniki] (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute), nos. 1018, 1033, 1253, 1370, 1475, 1544, 1563, 1569, 1673, 1684, 1695, 1703, 1708, 1710, 1737, 1743, 1760, 1771, 1774, 1782, 1785, and 1797.

⁸ I. S. Emmanuel, "Jewish Education in Curaçao (1692-1802)," *PAJHS*, XLIV (1955), 215; *AJA*, VII, 5, 58, note 12.

Palacio "Vrijburg" — Since their synagogues and Scrolls of the Law were mortgaged in 1648, the Jews of Recife could not have been in a position to offer the stupendous sum of 600,000 florins for the Vrijburg Palace to make it into a synagogue. This has been proved on another occasion.⁹ It is surprising that Wiznitzer, a retired businessman and surely aware of the value of 600,000 florins in 1644 (p. 89), did not question that statement.

Jewish Captives — The author leads us to believe that all three native Portuguese Jews captured by the rebels in Brazil continued living in Portugal as Christians (p. 109). This reviewer knows that at least one of them, Samuel Velho, escaped. Velho left Portugal on April 1, 1648, and arrived on May 20th, of the same year, in Amsterdam. At the time of his capture, Samuel Velho had a brother, David, in Brazil. One of the three captives born in Amsterdam was called David "Salom" and not "Salem." Isaac Johannis, *alias* Jans de la Manha, was from Germany — "de [a] la Manha."

Besides the captives listed by the author, there were others: Jacob Mendes, who was captured in the Pernambuco Campaign along with his mother and "Irmans" (brothers, or brothers and sisters). They were taken to Porto, Portugal. Freed, they reached Hamburg. Jacob's brother, Issaac Mendes, by decision of the Amsterdam *parnassim* (wardens of the congregation), under date of Adar 23, 5409 (1649), was given 100 florins for the Mendes family's fare from Hamburg to Amsterdam.¹⁰

Martyr Isaac de Castro — The author asks (p. 118) why sixteen-year-old Isaac de Castro left Amsterdam for Holland's territory in distant Brazil, and why he went on to Bahia in Portuguese Brazil. Although Wiznitzer has tried to explain de Castro's voyage to Bahia, he has left untouched the trip from Amsterdam to Dutch Brazil. This is the answer: De Castro left for Brazil in 1641 with his mother's brothers, i. e., Haham Moses d'Aguilar and Aron d'Aguilar. As for the trip to Bahia — up to the eighteenth century

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 63, note 62.

¹⁰ PJCAA, Acordos, p. 261.

it was not unusual for Amsterdam Jews to assume the risk of going to what the *parnassim* called the "Land of Idolatry" (Spain, Portugal, Brazil) to seek their fortunes. On returning to Amsterdam, these fortune-hunters had to make public penitence in the Portuguese Synagogue. Only then could they be included in the religious quorum — the *minyán*. Such adventurers could not, however, be called to the Torah or officiate as *hazzanim* (cantors) until four years after their return. One Daniel Habillo¹¹ and another, Isaac Correa, went to Brazil, "left the Law of God, and became Christians." When they returned to Amsterdam in 1645, they made public penitence in the synagogue.¹² It is, therefore, probable that young de Castro had commercial connections in Bahia and thus risked the trip.

Isaac de Castro's Execution Date — The author states (p. 116) that de Castro was executed on December 15, 1647, the day of the *auto-da-fé*. He bases this statement on a letter which the Amsterdam *parnassim* addressed to the States General of Holland. During his long stay in Holland, this reviewer found that on January 27, 1648, the States General had read several letters sent to them by the *parnassim* of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam. The *parnassim* lamented the fact that the three Jewish prisoners in Lisbon — citizens of Amsterdam — had been forced to relinquish their faith and that "a certain young man, also a citizen of Amsterdam, named Isaack de Crasto [*sic*] . . . was burned alive in that town on the 15th of December last, in the presence of the foresaid three other Jews."¹³

Our impression is that Wiznitzer is uncertain — and rightly so — about the early date of the execution. Why? Generally, a victim was not executed on the day of the *auto-da-fé*. The *parnassim* may have been misinformed. Isaac Cardozo, a contemporary, gives the date of execution as December 22nd. Surely he got it from one

¹¹ He owed 30 guilders to the West India Company for goods bought at auction (Bloom in *PAJHS*, XXXIII, 65; see also Wiznitzer, pp. 86-87).

¹² PJCAA, Acordos, pp. 192-95.

¹³ Rijksarchief, Staten-Generaal no. 3228, fol. 309v.

of the prisoners — Samuel Velho — who returned to Amsterdam. Bloom, who consulted various archives, designates December 21st as the day, while a microfilm of the “Isaac Miranda” manuscript at the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati gives the date as December 23rd. The Miranda manuscript contains, *inter alia*, “Elogios Varios Que curiosos diversos Dedicaron Al Martirio De Ishac de Crasto Tartas [Isaac de Castro] Que En Lisboa Fue quemado vivo por santificacion del Nombre del Señor Dios á 23 de Decembre de 1647.”¹⁴

Father Antonio Vieira — The author casually mentions the Jesuit Antonio Vieira; he does not touch on the friendly relations that obtained between Vieira and various prominent Amsterdam Jews,¹⁵ particularly the brothers Jeronimo Nunes da Costa and Lopo Ramirez, known in the synagogue as Moseh and David Curiel, respectively. Vieira actually bought their frigate for 11,332 florins to help liberate Brazil from the Dutch.

Number of Jews in Dutch Brazil — Wiznitzer has good reason to reduce the number of Jews who lived in Dutch Brazil calculated by other authors. He comes to the conclusion that 1,450 Jews lived there in 1645 and that 600 of them left for Amsterdam in 1654 (p. 130). From the numerous archival documents consulted in Amsterdam and especially those of its Portuguese Jewish Com-

¹⁴ “Several eulogies dedicated by various *amateurs* to Martyr Ishac de Crasto [Castro] Tartas who was burned alive in Lisbon, December 23, 1647.” Microfilm of the Miranda manuscript (pp. 94–98, incomplete as the ms. is torn), courtesy Dr. Jacob R. Marcus.

Following are some of the poets and *amateurs* featured in the ms., with the number of lines dedicated to de Castro: Jonas a Bravanel — three poems of 89 lines, 47 lines and 14 lines, respectively — cited by the author; Doctor Ischack Semah Aboaf, 14 lines; Mosseh Pinto Delgado, 76 lines; an *amateur*, 52 lines; Jahacob de Pina, 55 lines; an *amateur*, 37 lines; Abraham Cardoso, 14 lines; a gentleman of Hamburg, 126 lines. Two of these writers were in Brazil: Jahacob de Pina and Dr. Ischack Semah Aboaf, who seems to be the same Isaque Semah who, with nine prominent Jews of Recife, signed a letter in favor of Johan Maurits van Nassau (Bloom in *PAJHS*, XXXIII, 61, note). Unquestionably there were many more poets who expressed their grief over the heroic martyr. Wiznitzer could have furnished some of these eulogies.

¹⁵ See Ivan Monteiro de Barros Lins, *Aspectos do Padre Antônio Vieira* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria São José, 1956), pp. 147–81, for details on Father Vieira and the Jews; see also Antonio Vieira, *Obras Escolhidas* (Lisbon: Antonio Sergio e Hernani Cidade, 1951), vol. IV, in which Vieira evinces sympathy for the New Christians and antipathy for the Inquisition.

munity, however, this reviewer estimates that there were at the most 1,000 Jews in Brazil in 1645 and barely 600 in 1654. In a population of one thousand, families made up of relatively young immigrants or colonists must have had at least 250 children of both sexes born to them in Brazil between 1630 and 1654. There were in addition a few children born to New Christians before 1630 and adhering to Judaism. On the assumption that 25 per cent of these Brazilian children married in Brazil, the other 75 per cent must have married, for the most part, in Amsterdam. Nevertheless, the data obtained from the Marriage Register of the Amsterdam Municipality¹⁶ and from the *ketubot* (marriage documents) of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam show that only thirty-nine people (nineteen boys and twenty girls¹⁷), who married in Amsterdam between 1637 and 1691, declared themselves to have been born in Brazil. To this figure should be added thirty more to allow for those who may have married outside of Amsterdam. This small number of people born in Brazil during a period of twenty-four years compels us to conclude that there were fewer Jews in Brazil than is commonly believed.

Of interest in this connection is the following list of persons who were born in Brazil and later married in Amsterdam. Among them are definitely two (and possibly three) New Christians who were born in Brazil before the Dutch occupation — Rica Monsanto, born in 1617; Aron Benveniste, born in 1620; and Jacob Athias, *alias* Francisco Vaz de Crasto, born in 1631.

¹⁶ According to the notes of A. M. Vaz Dias in the Municipal Archives of Amsterdam. Vaz Dias estimated that there were only 2,500 Jews in Amsterdam in 1674.

¹⁷ The men averaged over 30 years of age, while the women were a little under 25 years.

| Marriage Date | Name | Age | Birthplace | Relatives | Marriage Register, Municipal Archives No. |
|---------------|---|----------|---|--|---|
| 3/25/1672 | Ishac d'Aguillar (diamond cutter) Ester Mendes de Pas | 22 18 | Brazil Cadix | Father, "Garcham" Mozes Rafael d'Aguillar Mother, Lea de Pas | 688/164 |
| 1/11/1676 | Isaque de Aguilar (broker) Rachel d'Aguilar | 22 17 | Brazil Amsterdam | Father, Aron d'Aguilar Father, Moses Rafael d'Aguilar ("Gacham") | 690/76 |
| 9/19/1681 | Mozes Baruch Alvares Rachel Namias de Castro | 32 21 | Brazil Amsterdam | Mother, Rachel Alvares Nephew or cousin, Manuel Namias de Castro | 692/134v |
| 8/19/1660 | Jacob Athias, <i>alias</i> Francisco Vaz de Crasto Gratia Duarte | 29 28 | Brazil Amsterdam | Father, Isak Athias Sister, Leonore Duarte | 684/170 |
| 8/17/1663 | Rachel Athias Jacob da Costa | 29 30 | Brazil Pinheiro | Father, Isak Athias — | 685/169v |
| 7/16/1666 | Hester Baroques Henrigus Isaque Baruch (widower of Ganna d'Aguilar) | 26 — | Mauritsstad (Pernambuco) Porto Paraio | Uncle, Eleasar de Solis — | 686/188v |
| 7/12/1669 | Rachel Baroches Benjamin Henriques | 23 25 | Brazil Seville | Brother, Mozes Baroches Mother, Debora Henriques | 687/184 |

| Marriage Date | Name | Age | Birthplace | Relatives | Marriage Register, Municipal Archives No. |
|---------------|---|----------|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| 10/28/1655 | Aron Benveniste, <i>alias</i> Nicolas R. Lehman (He was born in 1620 to New Christians who had returned to Judaism. See Rica Monsanto, below.) Hester Benveniste Barzilaj | 35 | Brazil | — | 682/173v |
| 1/28/1659 | Ishac Cohen Caminha, <i>alias</i> Simon Correa Rifca Pessoa | — — | Amsterdam "Fernambuco" Lisbon | Father, Jacob Barzilay Uncle, Steven Louis da Costa Father, Abraham Israel Pessoa | 684/ 72v |
| 10/ 2/1671 | Jacob De Caseres, schoolteacher Rifca Henriques | 23 22 | Brazil Lisbon | Mother, Debora Henriques | 688/135v |
| 10/19/1681 | Salomon Senior Coronel, broker Sara de Rootje (Da Rocha) | 29 20 | Brazil Amsterdam | Sister, Sara Senior Coronel Uncle, Isak Furtado | 693/ 2v |
| 4/21/1673 | Emanuel [Narnias?] de Crasto Sara Teixeira | 30 18 | Brazil Amsterdam | — — | 689/ 35 |
| 6/ 9/1673 | Jacob Franco Drago Luna Mendes | 27 16 | Brazil Amsterdam | Father, Aron Mendes | 689/ 45v |
| 3/22/1669 | Rifca Dias da Fonseca Abraham da Fonseca (Dias) | 16 16 | "Fernambuco" Amsterdam | Father, David Dias da Fonseca Mother, Rifka da Fonseca | 687/160 |

| Marriage Date | Name | Age | Birthplace | Relatives | Marriage Register, Municipal Archives No. |
|---------------|--|----------|----------------------------------|--|---|
| 12/24/1663 | Rachel de Mercado | 18 | "St. Recife of Brazil Hamburg | Father, Abraham de Mercado — | 686/ 7v |
| 11/20/1637 | Joseph da Costa, <i>alias</i> Bernardo Dias Rica Monsanto (Since she was born in 1617, her family was among the New Christians who had returned to Judaism. See Aron Benveniste, above.) Isaack Patico | 20 21 | Pernambuco New Spain | Parents in Pernambuco — | 674/144 |
| 6/ 5/1671 | Clara Montezinos Mordechai Gallas, widower of Ribca Pires | 25 — | "Pernembuco" Amsterdam | Mother, Helena Montezinos — | 688/120v |
| 5/ 7/1677 | David Montezinos Jael Vas de Oliveira | 34 28 | "Brazil" Amsterdam | Mother, Lea Montezinos — | 691/ 7 |
| 9/16/1678 | Rachel Montezinos Isaack Susarte | 25 24 | Brazil Amsterdam | Mother, Lea Montezinos — | 691/ 76v |
| 9/30/1661 | Sara Montezinos Jacob Pereira | 21 26 | Brazil Venice | Father, Samuel Montezinos; Mother, Lea de Aro Mother in Venice | 685/ 51v |
| 10/10/1681 | Isac Moreno, broker Rachel Pinheiro | 33 22 | Brazil Amsterdam | Mother, Rachel Moreno Father, Isaac Pinheiro | 693/ 3 |

| Marriage Date | Name | Age | Birthplace | Relatives | Marriage Register, Municipal Archives No. |
|---------------|--|----------|---|--|---|
| 7/ 9/1683 | Jacob de Mathias Moreno Ribca de Mercado | 31 23 | Brazil Amsterdam | Mother, Rachel Moreno Father, Isak de Mercado | 693/195 |
| 5/17/1680 | Mozes Moreno Rachel Jesurun | 26 29 | Brazil Hamburg | Brother, Gabriel Moreno Uncle, Isak da Costa | 692/ 39v |
| 8/19/1667 | Ribca Moreno Moses de Castro de Pas, <i>alias</i> Moses Tartas, widower of Ester de Castro | 26 45 | Brazil Amsterdam | — — | 687/ 50 |
| 5/ 7/1677 | Sara Moreno Moses Baruch Isidro, diamond cutter | 30 27 | Brazil Hamburg | Mother, Rachel Moreno Father in Spain; mother, Ribca Barouch Isidro, in Amsterdam | 691/ 7v |
| 3/ 1/1669 | Rifka Nunes Salomon Marcus | 19 22 | 't Recif (Per- nambuco) Amsterdam | Mother, Claartje Nunes Father in Turkey | 687/157v |
| 11/20/1676 | Sara Nunes Joseph Vieira, "toebackspinder" (= tobacco roller?) | 23 23 | Brazil Amsterdam | Mother, Clara Nunes — | 690/124v |
| 5/15/1676 | Rachel Cohen Peixotte, widow of Mozes Cohen Peixotte (Haham Aboab's daugh- ter?) | — | Brazil | — | |

| Marriage Date | Name | Age | Birthplace | Relatives | Marriage Register, Municipal Archives No. |
|---------------|---|----------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| | Mordechai Cohen, widower of Rachel Benveniste | — | Hamburg | — | 690/ 99v |
| 3/26/1677 | Josua de Aron de Pina [<i>alias</i> Sarfati] Rifka Senior | 27 | Brazil Madrid | — Father, Mordechai Senior | 690/137v |
| 1/23/1671 | Sara Preta | 30 | "t Recife" (Pernambuco) | Father, Elias Preto | |
| | Jacob Soares (Britto) | 40 | Lisbon | — | 688/ 92 |
| 8/31/1674 | Rifca Rodrigues, widow of Salomon Rodrigues, <i>alias</i> Abraham Swart | — | Brazil | — | |
| | Abraham de Jacob Susarte, widower of Ester Rodrigues | — | Amsterdam | — | 689/125v |
| 4/17/1676 | Dr. Mozes Rephael Salom, <i>alias</i> André de Pas, M. D.* | 31 | Brazil | Mother, Rifca Salom d'Azevedo | |
| | Ester Aboab | 25 | Amsterdam | Brother, Salom de Benjamin Aboab | 690/ 91 |
| 11/ 6/1682 | Abraham Sanches Ester Baruch Isidro | 31 26 | Brazil Hamburg | — Mother, Rachel Brandon | 693/118 |

* He was graduated from the University of Leiden on December 15, 1661, under the name "Moyses Salom de Azevedo, Hebraicus, Brasiliensis." His thesis was on asthma.

| Marriage Date | Name | Age | Birthplace | Relatives | Marriage Register, Municipal Archives No. |
|---------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|--|---|
| 2/22/1664 | Mariam Senior Baruch Senior, <i>alias</i> Gabriel Henriques | 13 26 | "Fernambuco" Hamburg | Father, Jacob Senior Father, Josua Senior | 686/ 29 |
| 5/25/1691 | Abigail Nunes Torres Aron Abenatar | 36 27 | Brazil Venice | Brother, David Nunes Torres Mother, Ester Gabay | 697/ 76v |
| 11/21/1676 | Jacob Velho, schoolteacher Sara Nunes | 26 21 | Brazil Bayonne | Sister, Judith Obediente Father, Gabriel Nunes | 690/124 |
| 4/19/1675 | Rachel Vellosinos David Aboab, diamond cutter | 22 32 | "Brazille" Amsterdam | [Father, Jeosuah Velozinos] Father, "Gahan" Isak Aboab | 690/ 27v |
| 1/15/1698 | Isaac d'Andrade Velozinos, residing at The Hague Rachel Fidanque | (42) [44-45] 26 | Recif, Pernambuco Amsterdam | Uncle, Jacob Sem(e) [a]ch Cortusos Father, Benjamin Fidanque | 700/138 |
| 7/17/1660 | Ester Zacuta* Samuel de Pas | 16 30 | Brazil Antwerp | Parents in Vlissingen — | 684/105 |

* Salonican women sometimes feminized their surnames, e. g., *Pinta for Pinto*. See I. S. Emmanuel, עבודת שולחן [Guedolé Saloniki Ledorotam] (Tel Aviv, 1936), no. 194, p. 126; see also Emmanuel's soon-to-be-published עבודת שולחן [Masavot Saloniki], no. 266.

Couples whose parents were residing in Brazil
at the time of their marriage in Amsterdam

| Marriage Date | Name | Age | Birthplace | Relatives | Marriage Register, Municipal Archives No. |
|---------------|--|----------|---------------------|---|---|
| 1643 | Jean Guttières Brancka de Francisca de Mora | 45 28 | Lisbon Lisbon | Mother in Pernambuco Parents in Lisbon | 677/ 76 |
| 1642 | Aron Senior Sara Senior | 27 22 | Madrid Amsterdam | Parents in Brazil Daughter of Abraham and Rachel Senior | 677/ 7v |
| 1641 | Emanuel de Tovar Margrieta Fernand | 32 30 | Pharo Lisbon | Parents in Brazil — | 676/ 18 |

Ashkenazim and Sephardim — What is known of the spirit of the time makes questionable Wiznitzer's statement (p. 131) that the few *Ashkenazim* (Jews of non-Iberian descent) in Pernambuco were accepted officially as members of the Zur Israel community.¹⁸ Undoubtedly the *Ashkenazim* did receive financial and spiritual aid, their children were admitted to the *midras* (school), they had seats in the synagogue and space in the only Jewish cemetery — the same privileges, in short, that their Ashkenazic brothers had enjoyed for many generations in the Sephardic Curaçao community. But *Ashkenazim* certainly did not have the right to vote for, or to be elected to, the office of *parnas* or other key congregational posts. This reviewer's conviction is based on the fact that not a single Ashkenazic name is to be found among the 173 signers of the *hascamoth* (regulations) of 1648 (pp. 137–38). On the other hand, the signers did include two Sephardic Levantine Jews: Abraham Azubi and Abraham Cohen.

It is of some importance to correct the following misspelled signatures of the signers of the *hascamoth* referred to above:

Corrections

Abráo Gidon¹⁹
 Jaco Yzarael Mendez Diaz²⁰
 Fr^{co} [Francisco] De Faria
 Aram De Touar²¹
 Daud Israel Fr^{ra} [Fereira]²²
 Jacob Leuy Sr. [Sr. = the elder]
 The correct *alias* of Jahacob Mocata (p. 138) was Gil Correa da Vega.

Misreadings

Abrao Lion
 Salo Yzarael Mendes Dias
 Jacob Defaria
 Aram de Thoar
 Daud Israel Faro
 Jacob Leuy Paro
 The correct *alias* of Jahacob Mocata (p. 138) was Gil Correa da Vega.

¹⁸ Cf. Emmanuel in *AJA*, VII, 13–15.

¹⁹ His is among the names of those not entitled to indemnity from the Crown of Portugal. See page 56 of this review.

²⁰ One Jahacob Israel Mendes was a member of the "Dorar" charitable society in 5378 (1617–1618). He had a son called David.

²¹ Precisely Abraham de Tovar. He was *parnas* of the Amsterdam Talmud Torah in 1636: see Jaap Meijer, *Encyclopaedia Sefardica Neerlandica* (Amsterdam: Portugees-Israëlietische Gemeente, 5709 [1949] 1), p. 102; see also page 55, below.

²² He prosecuted a major lawsuit against one Pieter Wachtmeester in 1676; see "Index op de Sententiën van het Hof van Holland, 1635–1687," Rijksarchief, no. 1078, case no. 109.

Jewish Activities — Wiznitzer fails to list Amsterdam's outstanding Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzellas (Holy Society to Dower Orphaned Girls), which had its representatives in Recife.²³

Brazilian Marranos outside Dutch Brazil — The paragraph dealing with this subject (p. 138) would have been better placed as the introduction to Chapter VII (p. 143), which discusses "Late Brazilian Marranos, 1654-1822."

Jewish Capital Left in Brazil — Before the Dutch surrendered to Portuguese General Francisco Barreto, it was agreed that the Crown of Portugal would indemnify all the inhabitants as well as the West India Company for the goods and properties left behind in Brazil. Gysbert de Witt, president of the Judicial Council in Brazil, and Abraham d'Azevedo apparently took charge of this. From an inventory made by the Court of Justice in Brabant²⁴ on April 5, 1672, the States General of Holland claimed from the Portuguese Crown for those goods left in Brazil the sum of 4,117,672 guilders. The claim was based on the peace treaty agreed upon by Holland and Portugal on August 16, 1661, and ratified on January 10, 1663, and by the trade agreement of July 31, 1669.

Here follows the list of claims of Jews, former residents of Brazil, against the Crown of Portugal.

²³ Emmanuel in *AJA*, VII, 34-35.

²⁴ West India Company Archives, Loketkas 57-65, no. 62.

| Jewish residents of Brazil | Claims | | |
|--|----------|----------|-------|
| | Guilders | Stuivers | Cents |
| Abraham Cohen | 137,871 | 5 | 0 |
| Aaron de la Faia | 71,970 | 18 | 0 |
| Abraham Mercado & Son Isaac Mercado ²⁵ | 43,868 | 9 | 0 |
| Abraham d'Azevedo | 234,747 | 10 | 0 |
| Abraham Querido | 33,850 | 17 | 0 |
| Abraham Valverde ²⁶ | 97,292 | 8 | 0 |
| Abraham Rodrigues Junior ²⁷ | 12,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Abraham Drago | 1,582 | 10 | 0 |
| Abraham Colonel ²⁷ | 7,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Abraham de Merciena ²⁸ | 3,135 | 6 | 0 |
| Aaron Moreno ²⁷ | 7,332 | 2 | 0 |
| Antonio d'Acosta Cortizes ²⁹ | 42,666 | 0 | 0 |
| Antonio d'Acosta for Iosua Velosinos . . . | 13,972 | 3 | 0 |
| Baltazar de Fonseca, widow & heirs . . . | 145,311 | 3 | 0 |
| Benjamin de Pina | 78,802 | 2 | 0 |
| Daniel Alberti (Jew?) | 8,100 | 0 | 0 |
| Daniel Cardoso ³⁰ | 51,817 | 11 | 0 |
| Daniel Messias ²⁷ | 26,794 | 2 | 0 |
| Daniel Rodrigues ²⁷ | 3,911 | 18 | 0 |
| David Iuda Leon | 32,484 | 13 | 0 |
| Davidt Dias | 82,529 | 9 | 0 |

²⁵ Isaac Mercado is not mentioned by Wiznitzer.

²⁶ He was also awarded part of a house which had been adjudged in favor of Antonio d'Acosta Cortizes.

²⁷ Not mentioned by Wiznitzer.

²⁸ Member of the Ez Haim Society in 1637. He died in Amsterdam in 1657. His widow Sara died in Curaçao in 1689. See I. S. Emmanuel, *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao* (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1957), pp. 155-56, 162-63.

²⁹ *Alias* Isac Semach. Born in Segovia, he married Leonora da Costa. After her death, he married Clara Gomes, *alias* Abigail Gomes, on February 19, 1648, in Amsterdam.

³⁰ There were also reserved to him certain rights to a house which had belonged to Iacob Abrichts.

| Jewish residents of Brazil | Claims | | |
|--|----------|----------|-------|
| | Guilders | Stuivers | Cents |
| David and Salomon Musafia ³¹ | 13,684 | 15 | 0 |
| David Brandon | 17,405 | 18 | 0 |
| David Michiels (Ashkenazi?) | 481 | 8 | 0 |
| David and Petro de la Torre | 28,046 | 12 | 0 |
| David Salom | 12,025 | 16 | 0 |
| David Colonel | 1,945 | 0 | 0 |
| David Lopes Henriques, Heir of Salomon Gabay | 4,435 | 10 | 0 |
| Elias Namias de Crasto ³² | 13,296 | 12 | 0 |
| Ferdinand Martins de Silva | 65,352 | 14 | 0 |
| For David Athias | 27,672 | 2 | 0 |
| For Salomon Cardosa ²⁷ | 5,198 | 0 | 0 |
| For Moses Mendes | 2,224 | 10 | 0 |
| Iacob Fondan | 28,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Iacob Navarro | 88,351 | 11 | 0 |
| Iacob de Pina ²⁷ [<i>alias</i> Naar] | 8,665 | 17 | 0 |
| Iacob Henriques, widow and children | 31,304 | 19 | 0 |
| Iacob Dorta de Pas ²⁷ | 9,145 | 15 | 0 |
| Iacob Iuda Leon ²⁷ | 8,407 | 4 | 0 |
| Iacob Nunes | 6,302 | 3 | 0 |
| Ioseph and David Alvares | 12,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Ioseph d'Acosta | 275,838 | 11 | 0 |
| Isaac Febos | 22,970 | 17 | 0 |
| Isaac Sacuto ²⁷ | 12,022 | 11 | 0 |
| Isaac Colonel as Executor of the Will of Duarte Saraiva ³³ | 351,502 | 6 | 0 |
| Isaac de Valenza ²⁷ | 2,509 | 3 | 0 |
| Iudica Cardoza, widow of Vasco Fernandes Cardoza | 14,225 | 15 | 0 |

³¹ David is not mentioned by Wiznitzer.

³² He settled in Curaçao, where he died in 1692. See Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, pp. 169-73.

³³ He was also granted rights to the "Salgado Mill" and other assets mortgaged in favor of Ioseph d'Acosta.



Courtesy, H. G. Reissner, Flushing, N. Y.

From a lithograph reproduced in J. Michael,
"Geschichte des ärztlichen Vereins und seiner
Mitglieder" (Hamburg, 1896)

WILLIAM LEO-WOLF

(1780-1850)

Es fehlt nicht an Geist

(see p. 26)



HAHAM ISAAC ABO-AB

1685

(see p. 37)

| Jewish residents of Brazil | Claims | | |
|---|----------|----------|-------|
| | Guilders | Stuivers | Cents |
| Louis Nunes Dovale, <i>alias</i> Judas Machabeu..... | 27,065 | 0 | 0 |
| Mardochai Senior ³⁴ | 1,732 | 7 | 0 |
| Mardochai Abendana..... | 54,278 | 2 | 0 |
| Manuel Duarte Brandon ²⁷ | 1,060 | 0 | 0 |
| Mathias Moreno..... | 11,178 | 0 | 0 |
| Michiel Rodrigues Mendes, widow..... | 31,494 | 17 | 0 |
| Moses Dolivera ²⁷ | 10,013 | 16 | 0 |
| Moyses Iuda Liao..... | 20,696 | 13 | 0 |
| Moses Nunes..... | 76,553 | 9 | 0 |
| Moses Namias da Crasto, widow..... | 22,206 | 19 | 0 |
| Moses Peres, for himself and for Iacob Peres..... | 12,006 | 13 | 0 |
| Manuel Carnero [de Moraes, Judaizer]... | 9,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Rodrigo Alvares..... | 91,044 | 19 | 0 |
| Sara Lumbrosa, <i>alias</i> Maria Henriques, widow of Domingo d'Acosta Brandao..... | 5,673 | 13 | 0 |
| Sara de Tovar, widow of Abraham de Tovar ³⁵ | 20,810 | 4 | 0 |
| Salomon Cats (Ashkenazi?) ³⁶ | 1,918 | 0 | 0 |
| Simon Michon (Jew?)..... | 1,330 | 0 | 0 |
| Simon (Elias) [and Luis] Rodrigo de Souza and David Velio ³⁷ | 28,515 | 3 | 0 |
| Simon Samuelsz (Ashkenazi)..... | 5,201 | 10 | 0 |
| Samuel Montesinos..... | 39,063 | 17 | 0 |
| Samuel Velio..... | 18,416 | 19 | 0 |
| Salomon Abenu [de Lima] ²⁷ | 5,349 | 4 | 0 |
| Tobias de Leon ²⁷ | 2,792 | 6 | 0 |
| Vincente Rodrigues Ville Real, heirs of... | 100,000 | 0 | 0 |

³⁴ He married in Amsterdam in 1653. His sons settled in Curaçao. In re Mordechai and his children, see Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, pp. 301-7.

³⁵ Besides, he had claims against the Estate of Iacob Abrichts (non-Jew).

³⁶ Included in the list are the claim of the widow of Pieter Coets for 36,832-2-0 guilders, and that of the heirs of Iacob Coets for 13,922-14-0 guilders. They were undoubtedly Gentiles.

³⁷ All three not mentioned by Wiznitzer.

The West India Company reserved to itself mortgage rights to the following *engenhos*: "Trepiche" or "St. Jan," "Novo" or "St. Michiel," "Comassarim" and "Biberike," coming to Isaac Coronel as son [and heir] of Duarte Saraiva; and "Salgado," coming to Joseph d'Acosta.

In addition to the foregoing claimants, the following persons were given the right to claim and share in the "million pounds" for private transactions which they had consummated with the Crown of Portugal:

Aaron and Moses Navarro

Christoffel de Tavera, *alias* David Nassi²⁷

Ferdinand Martins da Silva for Joseph, Salomon, and Benjamin Solis, as well as for Iacob and Isaac Gabay

Ieronimo de Haro, heirs of

Louis Pretto

Manuel de Fonseca Gomes, *alias* Iosua Velilios

Simon (Elias) [and Luis] Rodrigo de Sousa [Souza] for Iacob Lemos.

The following persons were not entitled to claims either under the treaty with Portugal or under the Resolutions of the High States of Holland:

Abraham and Simon Gidon

David Susarte

David Maduro²⁷ and Moise Mercado, heirs

David Iesurun Coelho

Diego Alvares Torres

Ester Franco, heir of her son Isaac Franco

Ferdinand Martins de Silva for Abraham Ferro

Francisco Vaz d'Acosta

Iacob Drago

Iohan de Faria

Isaac Mercado the elder²⁷

Isaac de Fontes, *alias* Simon de Fontes²⁷

Louis Dias Guteris

Moses Namias

Simon de Vale de Fonseca, heirs of.

Another list gives these additional claimants:

Ishack da Costa
 Aaron Musafia
 Nataniel Samuels.

These lists indicate that, of a capital of 4,117,672 guilders which the West India Company was entitled to claim from the Crown of Portugal, more than 2,797,957 guilders, or almost 68 per cent of the total, belonged to Jews.

The five most prominent Jewish claimants were: the heirs of Duarte Saraiva, with the highest claim of 351,502 guilders; Ioseph d'Acosta, brother of Uriel d'Acosta (275,838); Abraham d'Azevedo (234,747); the heirs of Balthazar de Fonseca (145,311); and Abraham Cohen (137,871).³⁸

A number of these claimants do not figure among the signers of the *hascamoth* of the Zur Israel community in 1648, possibly because they had either died before then or had already left Recife.

It is noteworthy that in this list of 109 there are only four *Ashkenazim*.

Wealthy Ioseph Frances apparently succeeded in liquidating his assets in time.

Brazilian Marranos — The compilation of the Brazilian Marranos molested by the Inquisition (pp. 143–67) is interesting. While Wiznitzer depicts their struggle in handing down and conserving Judaism among themselves, he fails to note that several Jews of Amsterdam and of the colonies as late as 1716 still had relatives living in Brazil as Christians. That was the situation with twenty-seven-year-old Jacob Israel Franco, born in Idanha, Portugal, who married in Amsterdam in 1669 while his father was in Brazil.³⁹ One David Bernal, of Curaçao, by his will executed in Curaçao in 1716, left some 10,000 florins to his niece Anna Maria and his

³⁸ The five highest-ranking Gentile claimants were: Servaes and Roeland de Carpentier (240,000); Matthias Bex, later Vice Governor of Curaçao (235,986); Gillis Crol (201,080.--); Prince Iohan Maurits van Nassau (189,089); and Gysbert de Witt (187,797).

³⁹ Municipal Archives of Amsterdam, Marriage Register, vol. 687/176.

nephews Pedro and Manuel in Bahia; they were children of his sister Isabel Bernal, who had married Dr. Francisco Nunes de Bernal Miranda. These Bahian legatees apparently were afraid of some complication with the Holy Office and did not insist upon collecting their shares⁴⁰ from the Amsterdam *parnassim*, who had tried to obtain the necessary identification papers.

The author does not mention the bibliography which George Alexander Kohut compiled on the Brazil-born martyr, Antonio José da Silva, who was among eighteenth-century Portugal's leading poets and dramatists.⁴¹

PERSONALIA

Various corrections and annotations are here submitted on the biographical notes which Wiznitzer covered rather quickly at the end of his book.

Haham Isaac Aboab, alias Simon da Fonseca — Henriques de Castro's excellent biographical study of Haham Isaac Aboab⁴² is not cited in *Jews in Colonial Brazil*. Wiznitzer says that Aboab's father was David Aboab, but according to Vaz Dias, Haham Aboab's father was Iacob da Fonseca. Vaz Dias' conclusion was based on the fact that Haham Aboab had inherited membership in the "Dotar" as a "descendant" of Jacob da Fonseca, Member No. 38; in the "Dotar," the qualification "descendant" very often signified "son." It is thought that Haham Aboab's father was known also as Alvaro da Fonseca and that Diego Rodrigues da Fonseca was Alvaro's brother.

Isaac Aboab was the *haham* — rabbi — of Amsterdam's Beth Ysrael Congregation together with Menasseh ben Israel; each of them, in 1635, received a yearly salary of 300 florins.⁴³

⁴⁰ See Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, pp. 247-50.

⁴¹ See George Alexander Kohut, "Jewish Martyrs of the Inquisition in South America," *PAJHS*, IV (1896), 181-87; see also Kohut, *Jewish Martyrs of the Inquisition in South America* (Baltimore, 1895).

⁴² David Henriques de Castro Mz., *Keur van Grafsteenen op de Nederl.-Portug.-Israël. Begraafplaats te Ouderkerk aan den Amstel* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1883), pp. 67-76.

⁴³ According to the Neveh Salom and Beth Ysrael congregational archives, which form a part of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish Community Archives consulted by this reviewer.

The *haham's* first wife was Esther. In addition to a daughter married to Daniel Belilos, he had most probably another daughter, married to a Cohen Peixotto. He positively had two sons — David and Abraham — and not one; Wiznitzer mentions only one, David (p. 170). In 1671, Haham Isaac Aboab and his sons donated 100 florins for the construction of the present Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam.

Haham Aboab was rector of the Amsterdam *yeshivot* — academies — Keter Tora and Neve Zedek; despite Wiznitzer's remarks (p. 170), these *yeshivot* were *not* rabbinical schools. According to David Franco Mendes, he had fifty-three pupils in Amsterdam's Ez Haim Seminary, and they distinguished themselves for their learning. He also was a *mohel*, or circumciser. He brought back from Brazil a list of the children whom he had circumcised and of the marriages which he had performed. There is a complete list of his works — and of the large number of scholars who mourned his death — in the biography by Henriques de Castro.⁴⁴

Abraham d'Azevedo — In his account of Azevedo (p. 171), Wiznitzer omits a very important fact which would tellingly prove the heavy losses sustained by the Jews in Brazil. It appears that, in addition to the total amount given above in these pages as due his coreligionists from the Crown of Portugal, there was due him personally from Portugal the sum of 60,000 cruzados, or 120,000 florins. Holland made several attempts to claim this amount from Portugal, and it figured in Article 20 of the commercial treaty and alliance of July 31, 1669, between Holland and Portugal. When Azevedo died, his son Isaac put forward a claim. Isaac died, and his executors, sons of Samuel Palache, as late as 1718 were still claiming the principal which, with interest, had then mounted to 370,054 florins. This reviewer carefully examined the Resolutions of the States General of Holland, but was not able to determine whether the Azevedos finally collected.

Haham Moses Raphael d'Aguilar — His father, Isaac Israel d'Aguilar, was treasurer of the "Terra Santa" (Holy Land) fund of the Beth

⁴⁴ D. H. de Castro Mz., pp. 73-74.

Ysrael Synagogue in 5380 (1620). Haham d'Aguilar had three brothers: Aron, Jacob, and Abraham; and a sister, the mother of the martyr Isaac de Castro Tartas. The *haham* went to Brazil in 1641 with his brother Aron and his nephew, the unfortunate Isaac de Castro Tartas. Aguilar was not called by the *parnassim* to their service at the Ez Haim Seminary directly after his arrival from Brazil, though Wiznitzer leaves this impression (p. 171). Actually, he opened a school in his home, and it was only after his "wonderful work with his 26 pupils" that the *parnassim* had him fill the late Menasseh ben Israel's post at the Ez Haim Seminary. He was engaged on Tamuz 8, 5419 (1659), to teach "Gemara, mefarsim, gramatica" (i. e., Talmud, commentaries, and Hebrew grammar) at a yearly salary of 400 florins.⁴⁵

Besides the works cited by Wiznitzer, Haham d'Aguilar wrote *aprobaciones* to two books by Abraham Israel Pereira, *alias* Thomas Rodriguez Pereira.⁴⁶ He also left the following manuscripts:

1. Alphabetical index of the passages "Maamarim" from *Talmud Babli* and *Yerushalmi*, in folio;
2. Alphabetical index on the *Yalcut* (also probably an index on the *Zohar*, called *Or Noga*);
3. "Several treatises . . . as well as Responsa to Various Arguments."⁴⁷

His *Tratado da Immortalidade da Alma* was published by Dr. M. de Jong (Coimbra, 1935).⁴⁸

Haham d'Aguilar died relatively young and left behind his widow Esther (who died on Nisan 14, 5462 [1702]); his two sons, Isaac and Abraham; and five — or possibly six — daughters. Of all his children, only Isaac was born in Brazil.

⁴⁵ PJCAA, Acordos, p. 459.

⁴⁶ A. I. Pereyra (Pereira), *La Certeza del Camino* (Amsterdam, 1666) and *Espejo de la Vanidad del Mundo* (Amsterdam, 1671).

⁴⁷ According to *Lista dos Livros do Catalogo do Sr. Salamon Levy Maduro — Livreiro* (Amsterdam, 1773).

⁴⁸ Meijer, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 44. For more details on Aguilar, see also Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Berlin, 1852-1860), p. 1763, no. 6419.

As two of Haham d'Aguilar's daughters settled in the Americas, the marriages of his children are noted here:

Ribca married Ishac de Abraham de Castro, a druggist, in 1667 and settled with him in Jamaica. Sara married Jehuda Azulay in 1671. Isaac married Ester Mendes de Pas in 1672. Gracia married Joseph Franco Serrano in 1675. Rachel married her cousin, Isaac de Aron d'Aguilar, in 1676. Simha married Jahacob Baruch Alvares in 1685 and went with him to Jamaica. Jehudith married Jacob Hisquiah de David Alvares in 1695. Abraham married his sister Sara's daughter, Rachel de Jehuda Azulay, in 1695. There is in the Archives of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam an eighteenth-century document from Jamaica naming as Haham d'Aguilar's son-in-law his brother Abraham, whose wife's name is not given; it is quite likely that the writer of that document was misinformed.

The Aguilars were also in Curaçao during the eighteenth century.

Michael Cardozo — *Alias* Juan Cardozo. He had been a "brother" (member) of the "Dotar" since 1623 and was *parnas* of the Talmud Thora School of Amsterdam in 1641. After his death in 1655, his son Simon replaced him as a brother of the "Dotar."

Abraham Cohen — Known as Abraham Cohen do Brazil, he is not to be confused with Abraham Cohen Henriques, who died in 1638. Born to his father Mordechai in the Orient, our Abraham married Rebecca Palache at Pernambuco in 1653. On the same day and in the same place, Rebecca Palache's sister, Eva, very surprisingly married the *Ashkenazi* Simon bar Mayer, who was known as "rootkop" (redhead). It seems that Simon died shortly afterwards in Pernambuco and left a daughter, Hana. Eva then married Moses Josua Henriques.

Abraham and Rebecca had five children: Mordechay, Jacob (not to be confused with Jacob Cohen Henriques), Moses, Eva, and Esther. Their marital history follows:

Mordechay married the non-Jewess Maria Catharina Vackers against his mother's wishes. A convert to Protestantism, he took the name of Francisco Pedro de Cohen. On his death, his family

tried to bury him in the Portuguese Jewish cemetery, but the *parnassim* naturally disallowed this. Eva, too, married a non-Jew, Michiel Verboom. Esther married Samuel Nathan Palache, and Moses married Eva de Simon Palache.

Nothing is known about Jacob's marriage, but there is a record that he died on Nisan 2, 5472 (1712), and was buried near the Palaches.

Abraham Cohen and David Nassy jointly founded a colony at Cayenne, now French Guiana, in 1662. He was the financier, and Nassy was the manager. Abraham died relatively young in 1671. His epitaph follows:

אל על יקרא קול בשופר
ובלב רך נדכה ונשבר
ויען אברהם ויאמר
אנכי עפר ואפר

מצבת קבורת החסיד
אברהם בן מרדכי
כהן דו בראזיל נפטר
לבית עולמו ביום כ"ב
לחדש כסלו שנת התלכ*
ה'נ'ז'ה

His wife's epitaph reads as follows:

מצבת קבורת רבקה אשת
הגביר אברהם הכהן
היתה פטירתה שבעה
ועשרים לחדש אב שנת
התמ(ד)[ה]**

David Senior Coronel — His *alias* Duarte Saraiva, also Seraiva, comes up quite often in the archives of Holland. Born in Marante, Portugal (?), in 1575, he married Maria Nunes, the daughter of Pedro Homen and Branca Nunes, at Amsterdam in 1598. His brother

*Corresponding to November 24, 1671.

**Corresponding to August 27, 1685.

was Jehuda Senior, *alias* Philipe Henriques, the grandfather of the earliest Seniors of Curaçao.⁴⁹ In 1604, David became a citizen of Amsterdam. In 1636, he left with Manuel Abendana for Brazil, where he distinguished himself for his generosity.⁵⁰ In 1624, his son Isaac, *alias* Pedro Homen Coronel, married Sara, daughter of Thomas Nunes Pina (*alias* Josua Sarfati), in Amsterdam. Isaac thereby became the brother-in-law of the brothers Benjamin and Aaron de Pina, *alias* Sarfati, who had been in Brazil since 1636. Isaac went to Brazil in 1643, probably for the second time. Since David Senior Coronel died at Pernambuco (Recife) in 1650, the David Senior Coronel said by Wiznitzer (p. 172) to have been treasurer of the Holy Land funds at Recife in 1652 was not the same notable as that of Wiznitzer's biographical sketch.⁵¹

David Senior Coronel's *engenhos* had been mortgaged by the West India Company. His assets in Brazil were estimated at 351,502 florins. His son Isaac dedicated himself to rabbinical studies on returning to Amsterdam and thus earned the title *haharn*. Isaac died in 1655 at Amsterdam, whereupon his son Jeoshua took over his membership in the "Dotar."

Joseph da Costa — His *alias* was João Perez da Cunha. He was member no. 127 of the "Dotar," an influential member of the Beth Ysrael Synagogue in 1630, and president (*parnas*) of the Talmud Thora School in Amsterdam in 1633 and 1636. Already in 1650 he was acting as president of the Amsterdam community. He died at Amsterdam in 5424 (1663–1664); his second (?) wife, Debora, died in 5440 (1679–1680), and was buried near him.

Daniel and Salomon Dormido — Ample details on David Dormido, the father of Daniel and Salomon, in Spain, Bordeaux, Amsterdam, Brazil, and London, have been supplied by Albert M. Hyamson,⁵²

⁴⁹ Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 302.

⁵⁰ Emmanuel in *AJA*, VII, 37.

⁵¹ He was one of David Senior Coronel's grandsons and was given the exact name of his grandfather in keeping with Sephardic custom.

⁵² Albert M. Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England: A History of the Spanish and Portuguese Community* (London: Methuen and Co., 1951), pp. 21, 24–26, 40.

who has also furnished data about Salomon Dormido.⁵³ Wiznitzer, however, fails to cite Hyamson as a source with regard to David. David was related to Menasseh ben Israel, became member no. 135 of the "Dotar" in 5400 (1639-1640), and had an important claim against Nunes d'Acongna and the Ambassador of Portugal, Francisco da Souza, during the years 1654-1655.⁵⁴

Isaac Franco Drago, alias Simon Drago — He also went by the second *alias* Michael Fernandes d'Oliveras. He was born in 1608 and died before 1672, leaving his mother Esther as his heiress.

Balthasar da Fonseca, alias Samuel Belillos — He had a brother in Brazil, Manuel da Fonseca Gomes, *alias* Jeosua Velilos. Shortly after Balthasar's death in 1652, his widow claimed payment from the West India Company for the twenty-four stone pillars and irons which her husband had erected on the bridge between Recife and Mauritsstad under a contract dated March 6, 1641.⁵⁵ Besides his widow, he was survived by at least one daughter, Sara, who married Salomon Machoro at Amsterdam in 1673, and by a son, Daniel Belillos, who married Haham Aboab's daughter Judith. Beginning with the year 5425 (1664-1665), Daniel served as a teacher in the Ez Haim Seminary to translate the *perasha*, or weekly pentateuchal portion, into Ladino at a yearly salary of 330 florins. According to the poet Miguel de Barrios, Daniel was "star of the Maskil El Dal Society, of which midrash [school] he was the shining intellect."⁵⁶ During the years 5453-5454 (1692-1694), he wrote a Scroll of the Law for the famous jeweler Manuel Levy Duarte. Daniel, who had lost his wife Judith in 1686 during Haham Aboab's lifetime, died on Adar 16, 5461 (February, 1701).

Joseph Frances — Born in Nantes in or about 1614, he was already in Brazil in 1642. A member of the "Dotar" since 1645, he married

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 26, 142.

⁵⁴ "Index op de Sententiën van het Hof van Holland, 1635-1687," Rijksarchief, no. 1078, case no. 17.

⁵⁵ Rijksarchief, Old West India Company, no. 67.

⁵⁶ "Luz del Maskil El Dal del Medras Mente."

Sara, the daughter of Dr. Jacob Bueno, in December, 1654, at Amsterdam. In 1671 he donated 200 florins for the construction of the present Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam. He had left for London in or about 1662.⁵⁷

Jacob Cohen Henriques — He was not, as Wiznitzer states (p. 174), the son of Abraham Cohen do Brasil; Abraham Cohen's son Jacob was born after 1650. Jacob Cohen Henriques was the son of Abraham Cohen Henriques, *alias* Francisco Vaz (Vaez) de Leon, who died in London in 1674.⁵⁸

Dr. Abraham de Mercado — Before going to Brazil, he had been associated with the Amsterdam *yeshiva* led by the teacher-principal Ribi Isaac Meatob. Dr. Abraham had two sons, Isaac and David Rephael, in addition to three daughters, Rachel, Debora, and Sarah. Both sons are encountered in Brazil. Dr. Abraham was still in Amsterdam on June 25, 1657. His wife Esther died in Amsterdam on Elul 11, 5418 (September, 1658), and he himself died eleven years later on Veadar 18, 5429 (March, 1669), in Amsterdam — not in Barbados. The children of Dr. Abraham and his wife Esther bequeathed to the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish Community 300 florins for memorial prayers for their parents. In 1661, Dr. Abraham's son David (*alias* George Nunes) commissioned Joseph Athias to print two to three thousand copies of the *Shulhan Aruch*, but neglected to make the down payment agreed upon. Between 1658 and 1682, David was in litigation with Diego Rodrigues Aries; Sebastiaan Henriques de Crasto, the Count of Espinosa; and Samuel Bruiningh. The cases were appealed to the Hof van Holland.⁵⁹ David's wife, Esther, died in Amsterdam on Nisan 14, 5451 (April, 1691). His will, cited by Samuel Oppenheim,⁶⁰ is not mentioned by Wiznitzer.

Dr. Abraham's daughter Rachel, born in Recife, married Joseph

⁵⁷ Emmanuel in *AJA*, VII, 47.

⁵⁸ Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, pp. 272-75.

⁵⁹ "Index op de Sententiën," Rijksarchief, lawsuits nos. 70, 97, 182.

⁶⁰ *PAJHS*, XXXII, 58.

da Costa, *alias* Bernardo Dias, in 1663 at Amsterdam. Another daughter, Sarah, married Benjamin da Costa d'Andrade in 1676 at Amsterdam, and received a dowry of 6,000 florins.

Contemporaneously there lived in Amsterdam a physician named Samuel Israel de Mercado. He died in 1650, bequeathing 400 florins to the synagogue of Amsterdam for memorial prayers. A Jacob de Mercado was treasurer of the Ez Haim Seminary in 5406 (1645–1646), while the *haham hashalem*, Moshe de Mercado, died at Amsterdam in Tamus, 5412 (June, 1652) and was mourned by Haham Saul Morteira.

Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita — After leaving Brazil, Benjamin returned to the “Land of Idolatry” (Spain or Portugal), where he lived as a Christian. When he arrived in Amsterdam, he was constrained to do public penitence. He accepted all the purifications prescribed by the *hahamim* for the absolution of his sin.⁶¹ A photograph of Benjamin’s epitaph is supplied by David de Sola Pool in his *Portraits Etched in Stone*. Compare Benjamin’s epitaph with that of Esther de Abraham de Sousa Mendes in this reviewer’s *Precious Stones*.⁶²

Moses Navarro — A member of the “Dotar” since 1637, he represented this brotherhood from 1639 until 1641.⁶³ He apparently fell into financial difficulties in Salé, Morocco, during 1656, as one of his creditors, Abraham Franco Silveira, empowered Haham Jacob Sasportas, of Salé, to prosecute Navarro for debts outstanding. There were four Navarro brothers — Moses, Aron, Jacob, and Isaac. The last-named went to Curaçao.

Aaron and Benjamin de Pina, alias Sarfati — Early in the seventeenth century, the *alias* “de Pina” was used by two Jewish families in Amsterdam — by the Naar family and the Sarfati family. Before

⁶¹ PJCAA, Acordos, Resolution of Heshvan 20, 5423 (1662).

⁶² David de Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682–1831* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), opposite p. 161; Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 213.

⁶³ Emmanuel in *AJA*, VII, 35.

1596, one Thomas Nunes de Pina had settled in Amsterdam. On adopting the Jewish faith, he assumed the name Jeosua Sarfati. He was one of the founders of the Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas in 1615. He owned two boats in 1623 — the *Hamburg* and *De Hope*. He is known to have had four sons and a daughter — Abraham (born in Amsterdam in 1596), Salomon, Benjamin, Aaron, and Sara. Sara married Isaac Senior Coronel, son of Duarte Saraiva. Benjamin and Aaron went to Brazil in 1636. Benjamin was the last representative of the “Dotar” in Brazil. Aaron, who after a grave illness was also called Hizquiahu,⁶⁴ dedicated himself to the study of the Talmud, and for this reason his epitaph describes him as *haham hashalem*. He died at the age of sixty-three on the fortieth day of the 'Omer of 5430 (1670). His daughter Sara married the famous scribe Eliau de Michael Jehuda Leão at Amsterdam in Tebet, 5435 (1675) and received a dowry of 3,650 florins. Aaron's son Jeoshuah, who was born in Brazil, was first married to Sara Sarfati, and on her death he married Ribca Senior at Amsterdam in Adar, 5437 (1677). She brought a dowry of 8,000 florins. Aaron's daughter Ribca married Menasseh Gaon.

Samuel da Veiga — He was taxed 30 florins by the Jewish Community of Amsterdam for the year 1656.

Joshua Velozinos — His *alias* was Manuel de Fonseca Gomes. His son was not Dr. Jacob, as the author states (p. 177), but Dr. Isaac. On Adar 1, 5458 (February, 1698), at the age of forty-four or forty-five, Dr. Isaac married Rachel, the twenty-six-year-old daughter of Benjamin Fidanque. She was the sister of Joseph Fidanque, founder of the Fidanque families in Curaçao and Panama. In the *ketubah*, Haham Jacob Sasportas gave Velozinos the following title:

חתן החכם הנעלה הרופא המובהק כה"ר יצחק בר כבוד
 החכם הנעלה כה"ר יהושע די אנדראדי וילחינוס נ"ע.⁶⁵

Strangely, the *ketubah* did not designate him as *habachur* (unmarried)

⁶⁴ See Emmanuel, *Precious Stones*, p. 76, regarding this name assumed mainly by Portuguese Jews.

⁶⁵ PJCAA, Ketuboth, vol. VI, no. 139.

or as *haguevir* (married, i. e., widower or divorcé). Dr. Isaac was one of the persons privileged to speak on the occasion of the dedication of the present Portuguese Synagogue of Amsterdam in 1675. His father, Hazzan Joshua Velozinos, also had two daughters — Rachel, married at Amsterdam in 1675 to Haham Isaac Aboab's son David, and Esther, married to Isaac Henriques Faro in 1681.

Jehuda Machabeu — Known also as Louis Nunes Dovale, he should have been included in Wiznitzer's "Personalialia" as well as in the list of Jews in Brazil (p. 138). According to David Franco Mendes, he was a "famous writer in Phernambuco" in 1646.⁶⁶ In 1627, he assisted at the marriage of his sister, Debora Israel Macabè, to one David Pereira in Amsterdam. Da Silva Rosa states that Jehuda was a noted designer and calligrapher.⁶⁷

CONCLUSION

Despite its shortcomings, Wiznitzer's *Jews in Colonial Brazil* is of considerable value for the history of the Jews in the Western Hemisphere. The book gives an interesting account of Jewish participation in the colonization of Brazil, the Jews' loyalty to their ancestral faith, their successful fight against the fanaticism of the Protestant ministers, and their fealty to the Dutch government which afforded them protection. Wiznitzer's work, in short, may be considered a good introduction to the history of the Jews in Colonial Brazil.

⁶⁶ "Memorias dos Judeos Portuguezes & Hespanhões de Amsterdam" (Ms., PJCAA), p. 74.

⁶⁷ Jacob S. da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1925), p. 102.